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THE LIFE
CORRESPONDENCE & COLLECTIONS
OF
THOMAS HOWARD
EARL OF ARUNDEL

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Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. By Rubens, 1629

THE LIFE
CORRESPONDENCE & COLLECTIONS

OF

THOMAS HOWARD
EARL OF ARUNDEL

“FATHER OF VERTU IN ENGLAND”

BY

MARY F. S. HERVEY

AUTHOR OF *HOLBEIN'S AMBASSADORS*
AND OTHER WORKS

CAMBRIDGE
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1921

N O T E

The proofs of this book have all been read, revised, prepared for the press and passed, by Dr G. C. Williamson, who undertook this work at the request of Miss Hervey's executors immediately upon her decease. Any extra notes that he has added are distinguished thus (*Ed.*). He has also supplied the headlines and dates to the pages, and he and Miss Hervey's record searcher, Miss Constance White, have endeavoured to verify all the references.

PRELUDE

MARY FREDERICA SOPHIA HERVEY, the writer of this work, was the only daughter of Lord Alfred Hervey, sixth son of the first Marquess of Bristol. She inherited a full share of the well-known love of literature which has always characterized her family. This heritage found a kindred soil for development in a disposition peculiarly sensitive to everything that was beautiful, both in letters and art. No one could doubt of that who had ever accompanied Miss Hervey to a picture gallery and witnessed her delight in the great works of art, but it was not delight alone, for the same serious study she spent on literature was destined to make her equally at home in the realms of art. Both found their expression in her book: *Holbein's Ambassadors, The Picture and the Men*¹.

As a proof of her skill in that work in determining the mystery of the picture with which it was concerned, it may be interesting to quote Sir Edward Poynter's letter to *The Times*, 10th December, 1895, in which he announced not only that the two men in the painting had been identified but went on to say that

Miss Hervey to whose untiring research is due the settlement of the much mooted question concerning the names of Holbein's two Ambassadors, has presented the original document which proves her contention, to the Trustees of the National Gallery and it will be framed and hung in the Gallery probably in the Octagon Room, as there is no place for it in the crowded Flemish Room where Holbein's picture is hung.

After this discovery and the publication of her book Miss Hervey was invited to write for the various art journals.

To the *Burlington Magazine* she contributed (in co-operation with other well-known writers "Some Portraits identified"²); on her own account, "Notes on Portraits in Tudor Times"³, and "Notes on a Tudor Painter"⁴, Gherlach Flick, I, II"; also an article on a forgotten French painter, Felix Chrétien, in conjunction with Robert Marten Holland.

In this last-named study she carried still further with marked success her investigations into the life and times of Holbein's Ambassadors.

¹ London, George Bell & Sons. 1900.

³ June, 1909.

² July, 1904.

⁴ April and June, 1910.

To the Walpole Society, of which she was at first the only woman member, she sent articles in conjunction with Dr Lionel Cust on Haunce Eworth¹, and on The Lumley Inventories².

The last effort of a mind cultivated by years of unremitting labour and trained observation, was this *Life of Lord Arundel*, a towering figure in the disturbed history of the seventeenth century, and rightly designated by Horace Walpole, on the side of Art, as the "Father of Vertu in England"³.

The book represents over nine years of concentrated study, careful research among original sources, and patient literary effort in the face, as it neared its completion, of serious illness and consequent suffering.

The biography having been accepted for publication by the Cambridge University Press, Miss Hervey thought it advisable to send in the greater part of the MSS. to be printed, intending to finish the manuscript as the proofs proceeded through the press.

The illness however advanced with such rapidity that when the first proofs arrived she held them in her hands but could not read them. Within a few days of their arrival she passed away⁴.

Two chapters remained to be written. It has been the privilege of the writer of this brief Prelude to complete the work. But for the verbal instructions of the author, in many previous conversations, and her written memoranda as to the scheme for the concluding pages, supplemented with many notes as to details, it would have been impossible for anyone but the Author to complete the task. With these however to refer to for guidance, and with the ever present recollection of the years of patient labour spent upon the book the writer has endeavoured to carry forward the biography on the same lines, as nearly as possible, as those chosen by the author in her original composition.

In the Preface which immediately follows Miss Hervey has been at pains to acknowledge her debt to Dr George C. Williamson, to whose suggestion she owed the incentive of the book, whose advice has guided her through long years of work and whose assurance, as the end of her life drew near, that he would himself revise the proofs and pass them through the press removed all

¹ 4th April, 1911. Vol. III, 1913-14.

² Vol. VI, 1917-18.

³ Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, Vol. I, p. 292-3.

⁴ At a meeting of the Council of the Walpole Society, 14th June, 1920, Dr Lionel Cust paid a very warm tribute "to the valuable work Miss Hervey had done for the Society and spoke of the great loss it had sustained by her death. The Council passed a vote of regret at the death of so valued a member."



Photo Jas. Watson & Co. Cape Town

Mary Frederica Sophia Hervey

Born December 18, 1853

Died March 20, 1920



anxiety from her mind on that account. From another quarter there is a further grateful acknowledgment to be made, in so far that this support was not withdrawn till it had also given confidence to the hand which would otherwise have trembled with the effort to bring a work of such a calibre to its conclusion¹.

CATHERINE MARY PHILLIMORE.

December 1920.

¹ "L' abito dell' arte e man che trema." *Divina Commedia*, Par. XIII, p. 78. Cary's Trans. (The Artist) "Whose faltering hand is faithless to his skill."

PREFACE

THE object of the following pages is to present, as far as possible, a connected view of one of the most interesting personalities of the first half of the seventeenth century. Familiar passages concerning Lord Arundel are scattered broadcast in many publications, contemporary and posthumous; while the wealth of manuscript sources is enormous. I have endeavoured to weld some of these broken fragments, so far as lay in my power, into a consecutive narrative; and thus, for the first time on a considerable scale, to give a distinct impression of the man as a whole.

I have not sought to emphasize his position as the greatest of early English collectors to the detriment of other aspects of his career. The life, public and private, of a distinguished Englishman of early Stuart times, offers in itself, I venture to think, sufficient points of interest to repay sympathetic study. To lift even a corner of the veil, which conceals from view the vicissitudes of our forefathers, is a task profoundly fascinating to all who value the by-gone associations of their country.

In Lord Arundel's case such an aim has a double import. Beyond the intrinsic interest of treading in the footprints of the past, it is surely no small gain to understand the soil from which sprang the first fine flower of English connoisseurship. When the extent and value of his vast collections are considered, and the high standard of individual taste by which they are marked, it is impossible to resist the questions: What manner of man was this? What influence helped to mould the character to these fine issues? How did that love of the beautiful, hitherto of partial and sporadic growth in England, develop to such striking and universal proportions? To endeavour, in some measure, to answer these enquiries is the aim of this account of his life.

I am deeply indebted to the late Duke of Norfolk for placing at my disposal the large collection of Autograph Letters preserved at Arundel Castle, most of which have never before been published¹; and for permission, now kindly confirmed by the Duchess, to reproduce here a series of valuable historical portraits culminating in the splendid group of Lord Arundel and his eldest grandson, Thomas Howard, by Van Dyck. In the long range of vivid contemporary

¹ Tierney printed a limited selection in his *History of Arundel*.

documents comprised in the Arundel MSS., it is perhaps invidious to single out any one in particular. Yet I cannot help thinking that special interest attaches to the notes given in 1646, by Lord Arundel to John Evelyn, advising him what to see on his journey through Northern Italy. Evelyn, in his *Diary*, mentions having received such a paper from Arundel, at Padua, "all written with his own hand." This identical paper is amongst the Arundel Autographs, and is here printed for the first time.

My best thanks are also due to Sir Henry Stafford Jerningham, Bart., for permission given on behalf of the late Lord Stafford to make use of the Costessy MSS. Amongst these is a valuable Historical Account of Lord Arundel, written by his son William, Viscount Stafford, which has never before been published. Leave was also kindly given for the reproduction of several works of art in that interesting collection, including the beautiful drawing by Fruytiers, after Van Dyck, of Lord and Lady Arundel and their grandchildren.

In addition to private sources, the unpublished papers, English and Foreign, of the Public Record Office, the MSS. of the British Museum, the College of Heralds, the Bodleian Library, and many other collections have been freely utilized so far as they appeared likely to serve the present purpose. Much new light has thus, it is hoped, been thrown upon the life of Thomas, Earl of Arundel; though, in the immense wealth of documentary resources, research cannot pretend to be exhaustive.

These copious fountains of information dry up, or become poor and meagre, after the final departure of Lord and Lady Arundel from England in 1642. Dutch Archives, which I have caused to be examined, have yielded little or no result. Yet even so, through Evelyn's *Diary* and other channels, an occasional light, full of interest, is flashed through the shadows of these declining years.

In this sense, no contribution to our knowledge is of greater value than the inventory drawn up at Amsterdam in 1655 of the Arundel pictures, which was discovered some years ago by Miss Mary Cox, at the Record Office, and published, with an introduction by Dr Lionel Cust, in the *Burlington Magazine* for August and September, 1911. The usefulness to students of this interesting find was, however, much impaired by the total absence of method in its arrangement. It had apparently been hurriedly copied, probably for purposes of litigation, from an inventory in Italian, or from several such inventories rolled into one, by some person imperfectly acquainted with the language. The artists' names are often placed not opposite their works; in many cases they are wanting altogether;

in others it is difficult to decide whether a second mention of the same subject is a repeated entry, or another picture.

I have endeavoured to unravel this tangled skein, so far as possible; reducing it to alphabetical order, under methodical headings, from a rotograph copy taken direct from the original. (Appendix V.)

By these means its contents are easily seized at a glance. I have also added notes pointing out pitfalls of duplication, and other stumbling-blocks. I hope thus to have smoothed the path in some degree for those who desire to acquaint themselves with the composition of the extraordinarily interesting collection of paintings and drawings which, as regards the major part, must have accompanied or followed Lord and Lady Arundel to the Netherlands in 1642.

In printing from manuscript I have, with one exception, preserved the old orthography and abbreviations. The exception is that, to save trouble to modern readers, "u" has been replaced by "v" and "i" by "j," when those vowels are used as consonants. Nevertheless, I have to apologize for some inconsistency of spelling. In a few instances, when copying letters from printed sources, such as the Strafford or Clarendon papers, the orthography had already been modified by the previous editor, and I had to take it as it stood.

Published sources are acknowledged as the work proceeds. Yet I cannot refrain from mentioning my special indebtedness to Walker's contemporary account of Lord Arundel, printed in the *Historical Discourses*; to Tierney's excellent and usually careful *History of Arundel*; and to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The assistance of the latter has been particularly valuable to me when drawing up the small biographical notices inserted in the footnotes.

To no proprietor of works of art do I owe more gratitude than to Mrs Gardner of Fenway Court, Boston, Mass., U.S.A., who most kindly allows me to present to English readers a reproduction of the magnificent portrait of Lord Arundel by Rubens, formerly at Warwick Castle, now in her possession.

I must also gratefully acknowledge the kindness of the Duke of Buccleuch in permitting me to reproduce two early portraits of Lord Arundel at Boughton House, Northamptonshire; and of Lord Sackville in granting a similar permission with respect to Van Dyck's "Madagascar" portrait-group of Lord and Lady Arundel, with the Librarian, Francis Junius, preserved at Knole Park, Kent.

My warmest thanks are owed to Dr George C. Williamson, to whose initiative the inception of this work was due, and whose sympathy and help in its progress has been a constant source of encouragement; to Dr Lionel Cust for many hints as to sources of information, and

for his kindness in permitting me to use his own notes on Lord and Lady Arundel; to Mr A. J. Finberg, editor of the *Walpole Society's Annual Volumes*, for most kindly examining and reporting upon various pictures and other objects of interest at Arundel Castle, which illness prevented my visiting in person; to both the last-named gentlemen, and to the Committee of the Walpole Society, for allowing the reproduction of the portrait of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, published in the *Volume* for 1913-1914; to the authorities of Worcester College, Oxford, for permitting me the use of their copy of "Palladio," annotated by Inigo Jones; to Father Pollen, S.J.¹, for the kind loan of a number of transcripts in his possession, from MSS. concerning Lord Arundel in the British Museum; to Mr R. C. Wilton, Librarian to the Duchess of Norfolk; to M. Henri Clouzot for research and enquiry very kindly undertaken; to Mr Charles Scott for much valuable information respecting the portraits of Lord Arundel at Boughton House, Northamptonshire; and to many others without whose unfailing co-operation I could not have brought the work to completion.

M. F. S. H.

¹ Father Pollen has also been good enough to read through the proofs of the book and to make many helpful suggestions concerning them. (*Ed.*)

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Lady Arundel starts on her foreign travels. She is accompanied by Francesco Vercellini. His connection with Lord Arundel and long service. Mr Trumbull, English Agent at Brussels, engages apartments for Lady Arundel at Spa. Before proceeding thither, she sits to Rubens at Antwerp. Italian letter to Lord Arundel describing the first sitting. Vercellini its probable author. The picture. Designed by Rubens as a portrait of Lady Arundel, with jester, dwarf, and dog. Male figure, called Lord Arundel, added many years later by an unknown hand. Various descriptions of the picture. Deschamps. Mechel. Sir Joshua Reynolds. The catalogue of the Old Pinacothek at Munich. M. Emile Michel. M. Max Rooses. Lady Arundel moves on to Brussels and Spa. Letters of Mr Thomas Coke to Lord Arundel, from Padua. Lady Arundel arrives at Milan. She goes on to Padua 173

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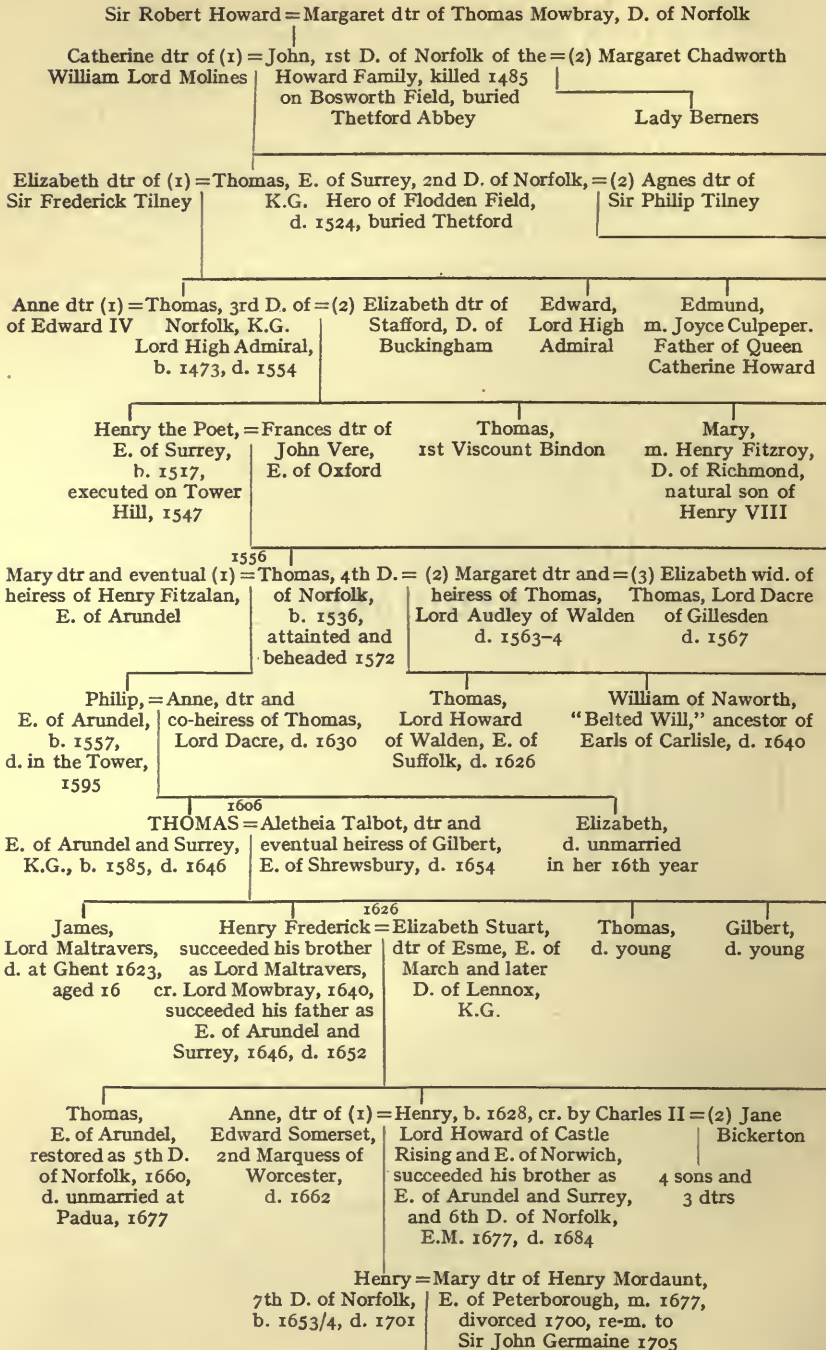
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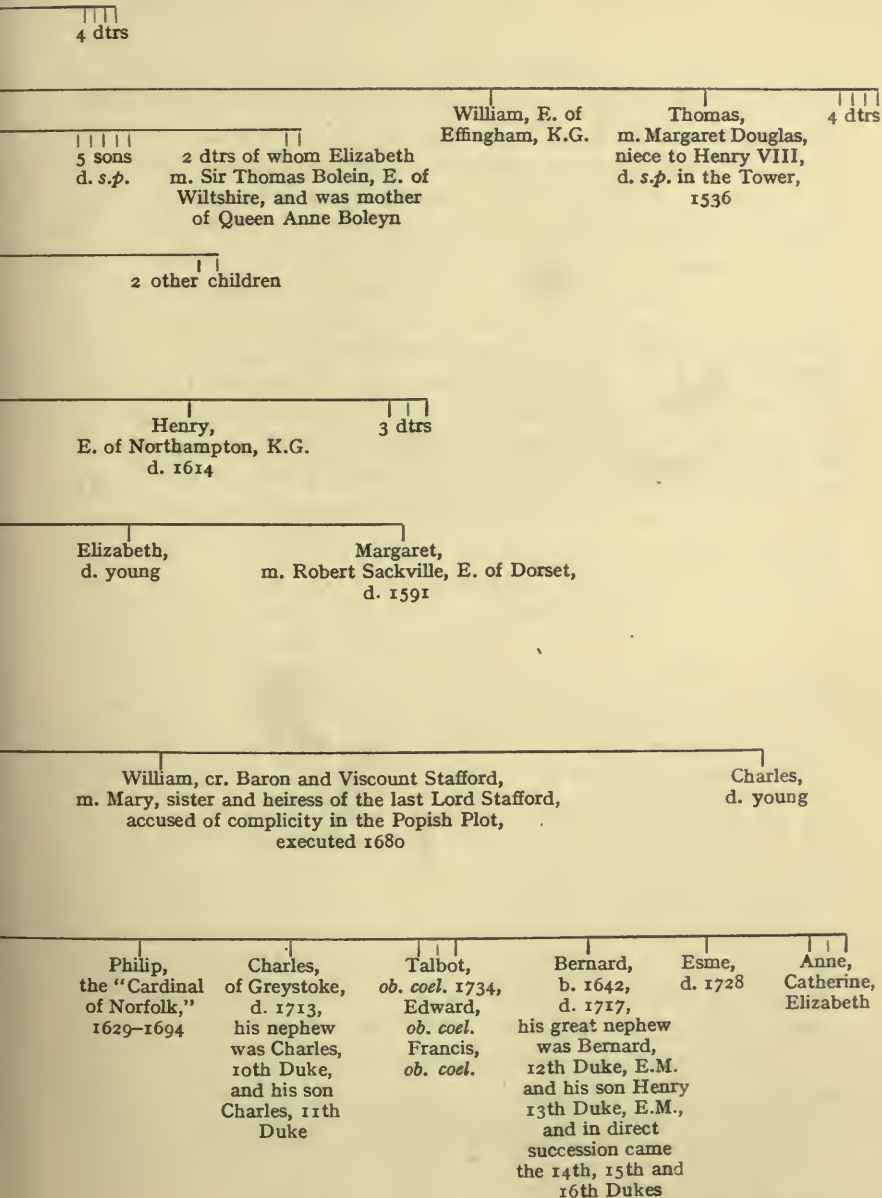
PEDIGREE

IMMEDIATE ANCESTORS AND DESCENDANTS OF



The 6th Duke had other children and the 8th and 9th Dukes were his nephews

THOMAS HOWARD EARL OF ARUNDEL



[The Editor has made many additions to this pedigree to render it more complete.]

People seek a central point, and that is difficult, and not even well. I should say that a rich, varied life, unfolding before our eyes, has a value of its own, apart from pronounced tendency....But if this be insisted upon, then let them hold to the words...: "Thou seemest to me as Saul, the son of Kish, who went out to seek his father's asses, and found a kingdom."

GOETHE'S *Conversations with Eckermann.*

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

1470—1595.

NO account of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, would be comprehensible, without a previous glance at the lives of his immediate ancestors. Judging by what we know of him in after years, the tragic story of their vicissitudes, which threw so deep a shadow on the opening of his own career, indelibly impressed his mind; while the rigorous lessons learned in early youth, doubtless contributed their share in moulding the stern and noble character by which he was distinguished in later life. Something, too, of the magnificence of taste which has made his name famous, he inherited from past generations. Before entering upon the history of his life, it will therefore be well to pass in brief review the events, good and evil, which chequer the records of his predecessors.

Descended in long line from an ancient stock in Norfolk, the Howards had, in the Wars of the Roses, been partisans of the House of York. The first Duke of Norfolk of Howard race, whose father, Sir Robert Howard, had married the heiress of the last of the family of Mowbray to hold that title, was slain at Bosworth in 1485. The estates of the Howards were forfeited to the Crown; and, for a time a dark cloud enveloped their fortunes.

The son of this Duke, Sir Thomas Howard, first Earl of Surrey, the hero of Flodden Field (1513), regained all the family honours and possessions. He was made a Knight of the Garter, Earl Marshal, and restored to his father's title of Duke of Norfolk. Tradition asserts that he slew with his own hand King James IV of Scotland. The sword with which the deed was said to have been done was long preserved in the Howard family as a precious heirloom¹. Three further relics of the day, a gold ring set with a turquoise, a sword and a dagger, reputed to have been taken from the body of the Scottish King on the field of battle, were sent in 1682 by Henry, sixth Duke of Norfolk, to be preserved at the College of Arms in London, where they may still be seen. The fame of this great victory raised the House of Howard to the highest pinnacle of prosperity.

¹ It is doubtless that which appears in the group of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, and his family, by Fruytiers, after Van Dyck. See illustration, and, for further details respecting all these relics, Appendix I.

Thomas Howard (1473-1554), third Duke of Norfolk, whose cynical features have come down to us in a masterpiece by Holbein, was a conspicuous servant of the State throughout the reign of Henry VIII. Sagacious and wary, the veteran Duke managed to weather most of the storms which in turn engulfed so many of his contemporaries. Notwithstanding his great services, however, he ended by falling under suspicion, was arrested and placed in the Tower, and escaped execution only by the timely death of the King. Throughout the reign of Edward VI the aged Duke, grown grey in the service of the Crown, was held a prisoner. He was released on the accession of Mary when, notwithstanding his eighty years, he at once returned to public life. But his days were numbered: and, in 1554, he too was gathered to his fathers.

Seven years earlier a tragic fate had overtaken his brilliant son, the "poet Earl" of Surrey (1517-1547), whose head fell upon the scaffold in 1547. The offence for which he was condemned, consisted in having set up and borne the arms of Edward the Confessor; a perfectly legitimate proceeding, in view of his connection with the royal line. The very fact of that relationship, however, made the members of his family constant objects of suspicion at a time when dynastic stability was so little assured. In consequence of this disaster, the third Duke of Norfolk was succeeded in the family honours by his grandson, another Thomas Howard, the son of the unfortunate Earl of Surrey.

Eighteen years of age at the death of his grandfather, the fourth Duke (1536-1572) married, in 1556, Mary, second daughter of Henry Fitzalan, fourteenth Earl of Arundel of his race, and twenty-second in succession to that title.

This marriage brought the Arundel inheritance into the Howard family. Henry, Lord Maltravers, only son of Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, died at Brussels in his nineteenth year. Mary, Duchess of Norfolk, and her sister Jane, married to John, Lord Lumley, consequently became co-heiresses to their father. Both predeceased him: and on his death, the estates and earldom of Arundel devolved upon his grandson, Philip Howard, only son of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk.

We must pause for a moment to bestow a passing glance on Henry Fitzalan (1512?-1580), last Earl of Arundel of that name, who was one of the notable personalities of his time. Brought up in the household of Henry VIII, who was his godfather, he later distinguished himself as Deputy of Calais, and commander of the English forces at the siege of Boulogne. In recognition of his services he was



Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk. From an original drawing by Lucas de Heere

appointed Lord Chamberlain, a post he retained in the following reign, till the jealousy of Warwick brought about his dismissal. His career during the life of Edward VI, remained chequered. On the death of the King, while apparently lending his influence to the schemes on behalf of Lady Jane Grey, he secretly plotted to bring Mary to the throne, conducting the negotiations against the unfortunate Northumberland with consummate hypocrisy. That his attachment to the daughter of his first master, Henry VIII, and his devotion to the Roman Catholic religion, should lead him to favour Mary's undoubted claim, was natural. But the manner in which he executed his plans showed him a past master in the wiles of Machiavellian diplomacy. Grateful for his timely support, Mary showered favours upon him; and her reign finds Arundel at the height of prosperity, closely bound up with the Spanish and Catholic cause. Important diplomatic missions were entrusted to him, while at home he held a variety of high offices. When Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, she was discreet enough to retain him in her employment, even adding to his honours. But Arundel made the mistake of aspiring to her hand. He was rebuffed; and deeply mortified, he sought and obtained permission to visit the waters of Padua, for the benefit of his gout. He was absent a year; and, on his return, was magnificently received, and appeared to regain a large measure of his former favour. But the intrigues which he stirred up on behalf of Mary, Queen of Scots, again brought him into disgrace. Arundel was once more arrested when the Ridolfi plot came to light; and though set at liberty after a short imprisonment, he seems, never again, to have resided at Court. His health was by this time failing, and he spent the remainder of his days in retirement, mostly in the country, where his only surviving child, Jane, Lady Lumley, was his constant companion and solace until her death, in 1576. He died at Arundel House, in the Strand, in 1580; having outlived two wives and all his children and grandchildren excepting Philip, son of his daughter, Mary, Duchess of Norfolk.

The Palace of Nonsuch, he bequeathed to his son-in-law, Lord Lumley. Left incomplete by Henry VIII, that amazing edifice was acquired by Lord Arundel from Queen Mary, at a moment when destruction appeared to threaten it; and finished in the same magnificent spirit in which it had been begun. The minarets and medallions with which it had been adorned by the Italian workmen of Henry VIII, shone forth in pristine beauty from the "buildings, reparations, paviments and gardens¹," devised by the Earl of Arundel. A splendid

¹ *The Life of Henry Ffytzallen, last Earle of Arundell of that name, etc.*, British Museum, Royal MSS. XVII. A. IX. f. 26^b.

library was added to the attractions of a place which was regarded by contemporaries as one of the wonders of the age. It can hardly be doubted that the vast majority of the pictures enumerated in the celebrated Lumley inventory of 1590¹, were acquired by Lord Arundel for the embellishment of this famous residence. On this point there will, later, be more to say.

Vigour, capacity and craft, are mingled in the portraits of Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel. The dark and watchful eye shows the habitual alertness to all contingencies, the firmly closed mouth the power of concealment, so characteristic of certain types of Tudor countenance². In private life, he seems to have been of generous and kindly disposition: in public affairs, silent, cautious and energetic.

It is time to return to his son-in-law, the fourth Duke of Norfolk. Attached to the Court of Queen Mary from the time of her accession, life opened for him prosperously enough. Philip of Spain stood sponsor to his first-born son, who received the King's name. The birth of the child was soon followed by a heavy blow, in the death of the young Duchess. After the custom of the age, Norfolk soon married again; his second wife being Margaret, daughter and heiress of Lord Audley of Walden, by whom he had two sons, Thomas and William, and a daughter, Margaret³, of all of whom more will presently be heard. On the demise of his second wife, the Duke entered upon a third alliance; his choice falling upon Elizabeth, widow of Thomas, Lord Dacre "of the North," who brought him another considerable inheritance. She died without issue, by him, in 1567. Troubles now grew thick upon him. Popular, of attractive appearance, and possessing a charm to which contemporaries bear ready testimony, it was the tragedy of Norfolk's life that personal ambition led him to espouse a cause in which he did not really believe. Inwardly sympathising with the Reformation—in his youth he had come under the influence of Foxe, the Martyrologist—he was singled out by his name and traditions to play a leading part in the rebellious intrigues of the opposite faction, and lacked the strength of character to resist the bait dangled before his eyes. It was part of the Catholic scheme for the restoration of the ancient faith, that Mary, Queen of Scots, should sit on the throne of England; and Norfolk, who aspired to her hand, became deeply involved in a

¹ Still preserved at Lumley Castle, in the possession of Lord Scarborough. See *Records of the Lumleys*, by Miss Edith Milner, and the *Walpole Society Annual*, Vol. vi, for 1917-18, in both of which the Inventory of 1590 is printed in full.

² The Duke of Norfolk has several portraits of Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel. Another (a replica of one of those at Arundel) is owned by Lord Bath, and was engraved by Lodge.

³ A second daughter died in infancy.



Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk

conspiracy which had for its object this twofold aim. Yet it seems likely that he never went into the matter wholeheartedly, and did not realize, till too late, the lengths to which he was being carried by the nefarious designs of the conspirators. Hemmed in on every side, he found himself unwilling to go forward, and unable to turn back.

"I understand," writes the Spanish ambassador, who was of course in the thick of the plot, to King Philip, in September, 1569, "considering the number of the Duke's friends in England, he cannot be ruined, except by pusillanimity, and the Queen of Scotland has sent to urge him to behave valiantly, and not to fear for his life, which God would protect¹." But it was no ignoble timidity which was holding Norfolk back. The imputation of fear was put forward by the Bishop of Ross, a chief conspirator, no doubt for his own reasons. The rebel leaders in the north knew better. "They are against the marriage with the Duke of Norfolk," continues the letter quoted above, "as he belongs to the Augsburg Confession, and they only wish to have to do with a real Catholic." There lay the truth. On the one hand, the marriage with Mary, and the brilliant future, if the conspiracy succeeded; on the other, the knowledge that it could only be effected by foreswearing his allegiance and his most sacred convictions. Enough indeed to paralyse his right arm, whether for good or evil. The sequel is well known. The plot was discovered. Norfolk was tried for high treason, attainted and executed on Tower Hill, 2nd June, 1572.

There are few documents in history more pathetic than the letter addressed by the condemned man from his prison to his "loving children, especially to Philip and Nan²." Who will not be reminded, by the passionate appeal to his son to forego greatness, of the immortal words in which, a few years later, Shakespeare was to clothe Wolsey's address to Cromwell?

"Oh Philip!" writes the Duke, "serve and fear God above all things! . . . Beware of high degree. To a vainglorious, proud stomach, it seemeth the first sweet. Look into all chronicles, and you shall find that, in the end, it brings heaps of cares, toils in the state, and, most commonly in

¹ *State Papers, Spanish*, Vol. II, Elizabeth, No. 146. Sept. 30th, 1569. Guerau de Spes to King of Spain.

² Philip, Earl of Surrey, later Earl of Arundel, had been betrothed in 1569, and married in 1571, at the age of fifteen, to Anne Dacre, eldest daughter of the Duke's third wife by her first husband, Thomas, Lord Dacre. Of this lady, who like her husband, was fifteen years old at the time of her marriage, much more will be heard in the sequel. By the early death, through an accident, of her only brother, she and her sister Elizabeth (who married Philip's half-brother, Lord William Howard), became co-heiresses of the large Dacre estates. A third sister, Mary, died young.

the end, utter overthrow... You may, by the Grace of God, be a great deal richer and quieter in your low degree, wherein, once again, I wish you to continue... Beware of the court, except it be to do your prince service, and that, as near as you can, in the meanest degree. For that place hath no certainty: either a man, by following thereof, hath too much of worldly pomp, which, in the end, throws him down headlong; or else he liveth there unsatisfied, either that he cannot attain to himself that he would, or else he cannot do for his friends as his heart desireth. Remember these notes, and follow them; and then you, by God's help, shall reap the commodity of them in your old years..."

There follow various private and personal directions as to the education of his children and other matters, concluding with the frank confession of his real position towards the religious question.

Lastly, delight to spend some time in reading of the Scriptures; for therein is the whole comfort of man's life... And, upon my blessing, beware of blind papistry, which brings nothing but bondage to men's consciences... I write somewhat the more herein, because, perchance, you have heretofore heard, or, perchance, may hereafter (*sic*) hear, false bruits that I was a papist: but, trust unto it, I never, since I knew what religion meant, (I thank God) was of other mind than now you shall hear that I die in; although (I cry God mercy) I have not given fruits and testimony of my faith as I ought to have done; the which is the thing I do now chiefest repent...¹.

Some prominence is here given to these passages because it may well be, that they were not without influence on the mental development of his grandson, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. Certain it is that, although the character of the latter was at all times of unimpeachable loyalty, and built of far stronger stuff than that of the unhappy Duke, Lord Arundel, in his religious convictions, had more in common with his grandfather than with his father. He never saw either: so that his knowledge of them rested solely on what he was told, or on documents such as that just quoted. Perhaps, also, those points of inherent resemblance should be taken into account which often link together, so strangely, men of the same blood though of different generations.

There are many portraits extant of the fourth Duke of Norfolk. They show a tall, slim figure, surmounted by a long but rather feeble countenance, the features of which are, however, strongly reminiscent of those of his father, the "poet Earl" of Surrey².

¹ Tierney, *History of Arundel*, p. 362. Tierney quoted from Nott's *Surrey and Wyatt, Works*, Vol. I, App. LXXXIII, from a copy in the Harleian mss. No. 787.

² The present Duke of Norfolk has several portraits of the fourth Duke. One of the most characteristic, owned by the late Lord Rothschild, at Tring Park, was published by Dr Lionel Cust in the *Walpole Society Annual*, Vol. II, for 1912-13. By kind permission this is here reproduced.



Photo Donald Macbeth

Philip, Earl of Arundel

On the death of the fourth Duke, the young Philip, known as Earl of Surrey until the demise of his maternal grandfather, the "olde" Earl of Arundel, succeeded as head of the Howard family. The ducal title was in abeyance owing to his father's attainder.

The boy was sent to Cambridge, notwithstanding his marriage, to pursue his studies in accordance with the directions left by the Duke. There he seems to have made the worst possible use of his time. At Court, after leaving the University, he continued the same reckless and dissipated career. He systematically neglected his wife and endeavoured to make himself agreeable to Queen Elizabeth by every kind of extravagance and folly, heaping up debts which became a serious embarrassment in the future. His grandfather, Lord Arundel, and his aunt, Lady Lumley, were deeply disturbed by these irregularities, but their admonitions fell on deaf ears. This state of things was not, however, destined to continue. Some better chord was struck, and the headlong career was arrested. Reconciliation with his wife, followed by a fervent adoption of the Catholic faith, to which his wife had already become a convert, were the first-fruits of the change.

Arundel—for he had now succeeded to that title on the death of his grandfather—well knew the temper of his imperious sovereign, and the danger of the step he was taking in religion. He sought secretly to leave the country in order to find safety abroad. His intention soon became known. He was taken captive when already at sea, and sent to the Tower. There was no evidence to support the charge of treason brought against him; though suspicion was excited by his relations with certain prescribed members of the papal faction. It must be admitted that, with the recollection still fresh of his father's complicity in the Ridolfi plot, his imprudence in endeavouring to leave the kingdom by stealth, and without license, was almost incredible. He wrote, however, an elaborate letter to Elizabeth declaring religion to be the sole cause of his attempted flight. A trial ensued, in which he was condemned to pay a heavy fine, and to remain a prisoner during Her Majesty's pleasure.

Now began those years of heroic fortitude under suffering which have made his name memorable. If, as is generally conceded, his faith was his only fault, then was he a martyr indeed. But whatever view be taken of his culpability, nothing can excuse the gratuitous cruelties which blacken the story of his imprisonment. He was placed in a noisome dungeon where the stench was so great that even his gaolers recoiled from it. He was cut off completely from his wife, who was expecting her second child, and received no news of what

befell her. When some time had elapsed after the birth of a son—the subject of this narrative—he was informed that he had another daughter, simply because it was known that he greatly desired an heir. There was no exhibition of petty spite to which his tormentors did not descend, in their treatment of a political prisoner, who, in his relations with them, showed only the most exemplary spirit of Christian patience.

By degrees, the rigour of his captivity was somewhat relaxed, which gave him the opportunity of communicating with fellow-prisoners of his own creed, and the services of a priest. But now a fresh and more heinous charge, was preferred against him. It was the year 1588, when the cloud of the Spanish Armada hung darkly over England. Arundel's enemies declared that he had caused Mass to be said for the success of the Spaniards. The unhappy man was tried for high treason, found guilty and condemned to be executed. It seems likely, from the nature of the evidence, that the charge was wholly untrue; had it been justified, he would surely have suffered the capital sentence. But for some reason, Elizabeth chose to stay her hand. The death-warrant was not signed. Seven years longer, the victim lingered in prison, not knowing that each day might not be his last. His splendid physique at length began to give way beneath the prolonged strain, combined with the rigid asceticism he imposed upon himself. A roast teal, suspected of having been poisoned, helped to bring about the final collapse of his constitution. For many weeks he battled with severe illness; but, although he rallied for a time, he never regained his health.

Feeling the end approaching, he begged to be allowed a parting interview with his wife; a boon said to have been promised him. The Queen replied that if he would once attend a service of the English Church, he should have his desire. Arundel would not be tempted, even by so great a bait, to forsake the principles for which he had suffered so much. The request was accordingly refused. Death at last came to release him from his sufferings, the measure of which can perhaps be better gauged by a comparison between the accompanying portraits, than by the most eloquent words. One represents him in youth and prosperity; the other was painted in the Tower, apparently towards the close of his long imprisonment¹. He passed away on the 19th October, 1595².

¹ The first is in the possession of the Duke of Norfolk; the second was in that of Lord Stafford, Costessy Park, Norwich. The latter is a very small painting on panel, here reproduced.

² On account of his sufferings in the cause of the Roman Catholic religion, Philip, Earl of Arundel, was in 1886 pronounced "Venerable" by the Pope.



Philip, Earl of Arundel, when in the Tower

CHAPTER II.

CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH.

1585—1603.

THOMAS HOWARD, Earl of Arundel, was born at the Parsonage of Finchingfield, in Essex, 7th July, 1585¹. The ancient building in which he first saw the light still exists. Finchingfield was family property. In the early twelfth century, the ancestor of the Howards, William Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and Earl Marshal, founded Thetford Priory and gave it lands and dues from his Lordship of Finchingfield. At the dissolution of the monasteries, Henry VIII granted the Rectory and Vicarage of Finchingfield to Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk. Taken from this nobleman under Edward VI, the property was restored to him by Philip and Mary. The Duke then gave it on lease for ninety-nine years to Robert Kemp, Esqre of Spains Hall, in the same county. If the Parsonage was not reserved from this arrangement—it is a distinct house from the Rectory—it must have been from him, or from one of his successors, that Anne, Lady Arundel, held it, in 1585, when the event took place².

Three months before the birth of his son, Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, had been committed to the Tower, which he was never again to leave. The upbringing of the boy, and of his elder sister, Elizabeth, therefore devolved entirely on their mother. Anne Dacre, Countess of Arundel, was a woman of strong intellect and warm affections, who fulfilled her double task with the utmost care and devotion. She was, however, an ardent Catholic, having adopted that religion, to the dire displeasure of Queen Elizabeth, some time before her husband took a similar step. Such was the wrath of the Queen that, about a year and a half before this history begins, Lady Arundel was, by royal command, removed from her home, and placed

¹ The Rev. J. Percy Noyes, Vicar of Finchingfield, has kindly furnished the information that the Parish Registers go back only to 1617, and therefore contain no record of the birth of Lord Arundel. The latter's own statement on the subject is, however, conclusive. (See his will, Appendix II.)

² The further particulars respecting Finchingfield are derived from Holman's *MS. History of Essex*, preserved in part in Colchester Museum and in part at the Bodleian Library, Oxford; and were imparted by Miss E. Vaughan, daughter of a former Vicar of Finchingfield, who has also most kindly supplied the illustration of the Parsonage, Lord Arundel's birth-place. Miss Vaughan further states that there was formerly in Finchingfield Church, a window containing the various Coats of Arms of the Howard ancestry. It is not known when, or through what causes, it disappeared.

as a prisoner in the charge of Sir Thomas Shirley, at Wiston, in Sussex, where she remained over a year. Here her daughter, Elizabeth, was born.

Anne, Lady Arundel, was a zealous protector of the Jesuit Fathers. The secret comings and goings of these emissaries of Rome, often disguised in secular dress, and passing under an endless variety of false names, were a source of constant disquietude to the authorities, who had too much reason to dread the atmosphere of political intrigue that accompanied their movements. So far as Lady Arundel was concerned, her loyalty to the Crown was unquestioned. If she assisted the proscribed priests, it was from convinced devotion to the faith for which her husband was languishing in the Tower, and ultimately yielded his life; and from a large-hearted compassion she was never known to withhold, from those she deemed unfortunate. However devoid of political motive, the shelter and encouragement she afforded to the recusant ecclesiastics excited, not unnaturally, the bitter resentment of Queen Elizabeth, whose enmity pursued her with unrelaxing severity. After the imprisonment of her husband, Lady Arundel was only allowed to reside at Arundel House, in London, from time to time, by special permission, receiving peremptory notice to leave whenever Elizabeth desired to occupy Somerset House, hard by. On one occasion, the Queen even visited Arundel House in the absence of its owners, and, finding some sentence scratched on the glass of a window, betokening hope of better fortune in the future, she immediately wrote beneath it, a reply containing "much passion and disdain."

These circumstances perhaps explain, how it came about, that the birth of Lady Arundel's son, the future head of the Howard family, took place in the modest country parsonage in Essex. Throughout his childhood, his mother trembled for the boy's safety, and kept him as much as possible out of the public eye. She was indeed put to sore straits to rear him in a befitting manner. The attainder and condemnation of her imprisoned husband, in 1589, when the child was four years old, brought with them an aggravation of misfortune. Not only were Lord Arundel's estate and income forfeited to the Crown, but also those of his wife, who had been a considerable heiress. She and her children were left almost penniless.

The utmost severity was displayed in executing the sentence. It seems uncertain in what house she was then living; but wherever it was, no corner was left unsearched. Trunks and coffers were wrenched open; her pleadings harshly rejected. "All her goods," says her chaplain, in the account from which most of these details



The Parsonage at Finchingfield, Essex, where Lord Arundel was born

are derived¹, "were seiz'd for the Queen: they left her nothing but the beds on which her self and a few servants were to take their rest, and those, only lent her, for a time." She asked to buy her coach, at the valuation placed upon it by her unwelcome visitors. The request was refused. "And thus was she, when business required, forced to go on foot...being the Prime Countesse of the Kingdom, and for Dignity and Degree the next person to the Queen..."

For some time after this confiscation, no allowance for subsistence was made to her by the Queen, as was usual in such cases. She had to part with most of her servants, and to sell jewels to pay the wages of those that remained, and the food required for her diminished household. Finally, a meagre provision of eight pounds a week was grudgingly allowed to her; but even this was irregularly paid. A letter written by her at about this time to Lord Treasurer Burleigh, gives a vivid picture of the sad condition to which she was reduced:

Anne, Countess of Arundel, to Lord Treasurer Burleigh.

My very Good Lord,

My case being so miserable that extremyte inforceth me to crave succour, I am bold to commend my necessary to your lordshippes favorable consideration, whom as I have ever found a most honorable frind, so I hope still to enioy the benefitt of your accustomed curtesyes. So it is, good my lord, that, since Michelmas was twelmonethes, I have never received any peny of suche allowances as I usually had for the clothing of my selfe, or my pore children, nor for anye other charges of phisicke, and suche like occasions, which my diseased and weake body doth, with continuall payne, almost dayly enforce me to use. Also, my good lord, the wages of my poore sarvants are due for more then a whole yeare: and I, standing wholly uppon hir maiestis gracious reliefe, am no way hable to discharge them, withoute your Lo. goodness. And, therefore, I most humbly beseche your good Lo. to take some compassion of my most desolate estate, the reliefe wherof I know not howe to procure, but by your lordshippes favorable meanes to hir ma^{ty}, for hir gracious clemencye towards me. And thus, in all dutifull sorte, most humbly intreating your Lo. to stand my honorable frind, in this my heavy fortune, I comitt my sute to your good remembrance, and your lordshipp to the tuition of God, this 12 of November.

Your good Lo. poore frind, most unfortunate,

ANNE ARUNDELL.

*To the Right Honorable my very good lord
the Lord Burleigh, Lord Highe Tresurer of England².*

¹ *The Life of the Right Honourable Lady, the Lady Anne, Countesse of Arundell and Surrey, Foundresse of the English College of the Society of Jesus in Gant.* This is preceded by: *The Life and Death of the renowned Confessor, Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel.* Both *Lives* were edited and printed, in 1857, by the fourteenth Duke of Norfolk, from the ms. in his possession.

² Arundel mss. Printed by Tierney, *History and Antiquities of Arundel*, p. 412. Endorsed by Burleigh's Secretary: "Countess of Arundell to my Lo. 12 November 1589."

In such circumstances, her expenditure had necessarily to be strictly limited. For some time she seems to have lived in a succession of small houses in, or near, London. Thus we learn that when "put out of her own house by Queen Elizabeth," she hired one at "the Spittle, without Bishopsgate," while later, she was living at a little house at Acton, then six miles from London. The date at which she took up her residence here, can be fixed with some precision. Amongst those who enjoyed Lady Arundel's special protection, was the well-known Jesuit, Father Southwell. She provided him with a house where it was his habit to receive the Superior of the Society, when the latter visited London. In June, 1592, Father Southwell was captured, and after this event Lady Arundel transferred her abode to the house he had vacated. This, probably, was the little house at Acton referred to above¹.

Here, too, she received the famous Father John Gerard, about the year 1594, when Father Southwell was confined in the Tower²; and here she was probably living at the time of her husband's death in 1595.

Little is known of those who befriended her during these years of stress and sorrow. She felt deeply the death of her sister-in-law, Lady Margaret Sackville, who, like herself, had become a Roman Catholic, and to whom she was warmly attached. This lady's husband, and two sons, became in succession Earls of Dorset; and although the sons were a few years younger than the future Earl of Arundel, it seems likely that these cousins were always on intimate terms³.

Yet harsher measures now awaited her. Not only was her jointure withheld, at any rate for a time, but at a later period she had actually to compound for the return of some of her lawful property by the payment of a sum of £10,000.

Her health, already weak, suffered severely from the blow of her husband's melancholy end in the Tower, and for a while she was prostrate. Her courage and energy, however, stood her in good stead. There were her two children to be thought of; and to them she now devoted herself with unceasing care.

The young Thomas Howard, still called by courtesy, after his father's attainder and death, Lord Maltravers, was now ten years

¹ See note at end of Chapter.

² Father Southwell was executed in the spring of 1595. See the *Life of Father John Gerard, S.J.*, by John Morris, of the same Society, from which many of the facts given above are taken. It does not seem clear whence Lady Arundel, in her straightened circumstances derived the means to practise these hospitalities. But Elizabeth's object is plain, in reducing the unhappy lady's income to a bare subsistence for herself and her children.

³ Later in life, Lord Arundel appointed the survivor of them an executor of his will.

old; a delicate and weakly boy, whose health was a constant source of anxiety to his mother. That he early gave promise of future distinction seems certain. Robert, Earl of Essex, of whose kindness to him in youth, Lord Arundel frequently spoke in after years, was wont to foretell that, if he lived, he would be a great and wise man; and playfully called him "the Winter Pear¹." The description is pithy; and calls up a picture of the boy as he probably appeared in these years, tall, thin, dark, with brilliant black eyes; grave, perhaps, beyond his years, and early ripened intellectually by the vicissitudes of an adverse fate.

Few details of his childhood have been preserved. Indeed, the veil that has been drawn over it almost suggests intentional secrecy, so great was Lady Arundel's dread lest he should be removed from her care. But some idea of the atmosphere of his home may be gathered from the *Life* of his mother, already referred to, which, although describing a later period, when some measure of prosperity had returned; is rich in suggestive touches.

Religious austerity was the key-note of the household. Lady Arundel rose early, and the day was punctuated by regular attendances at the services in the chapel, while many intervals were spent in devotional reading and private prayer. The utmost order and regularity prevailed in her household. Her servants, and doubtless her children, were schooled to the strictest observances of Catholic orthodoxy. Yet through all the stern discipline imposed upon her by her faith, there shone a large and gracious personality, that never failed to earn for her, affection and respect.

Her charities were unbounded; and, in spite of infirmity of health, she would, at any time, go considerable distances, on foot, to relieve a case of urgent distress, and personally tend the sufferer. A work of mercy to which she was especially addicted was that of preparing and dispensing medicines and healing balms, for the sick and needy. Poor persons would often come many miles, even from adjoining counties, to consult her about their ailments, and obtain her ever-ready succour. The assistance given to her co-religionists has already been noted. Many was the hunted priest, we may be sure, to whom she stretched out a helping hand. The Jesuit Fathers were the objects of her special munificence; and, in more affluent days, she became the secret foundress of their English College at Ghent. Her liberality was not, however, restricted to members of her own creed. Neighbours of all denominations had reason to

¹ Walker's *Historical Discourses*, ed. 1705, p. 210. Tierney was mistaken in saying this was the Earl of Essex who married Lady Frances Howard. It was his father; the celebrated favourite of Queen Elizabeth.

praise her bounty; while her unaffected piety and kindly disposition won her friends in many and varied quarters.

Judging by her portraits, Anne, Lady Arundel, can never have possessed beauty in the conventional sense of the word. But her tall figure and dignified carriage gave distinction to her appearance; and she held the secret of charm. To external advantages, she paid, indeed, little heed. Her dress was of the plainest, and it will presently be seen that this strong bent to simplicity of apparel was one of the most marked characteristics that Thomas, Lord Arundel, inherited from his mother¹.

It would have been surprising had such a woman, whose character earned for her a position almost of celebrity in an age that produced many remarkable specimens of her sex, failed to impress herself on the lively sensibilities of her young and gifted son. Notwithstanding divergency of opinion on religious matters which, early manifested, took definite shape in later years; Lord Arundel retained to the end of his life the tenderest admiration and affection for her memory, always speaking of her as "my blessed mother."

His only sister, Elizabeth, died of consumption in 1599, when in her sixteenth year; endeared by many amiable and promising qualities to those amongst whom her short life had been passed. Of her education we are told that it was well advanced, and that she could translate both Latin and Italian into English at sight. The circumstance that these were the languages in which her brother chiefly excelled in after years², perhaps points to their having at some period had instruction in common.

A characteristic story related of Lady Arundel, opens the door to some speculation as to the influences under which young Maltravers was educated. Meeting a relation, Mrs Vaux³, one day not very long after her daughter's death, Lady Arundel is reported to have said, "Ah Cosen, my Bess has gon to heaven, and if it were God Almighty's will, I wish y^e other were as well gone after her." "Meaning," adds her chaplain significantly, "her Son, *and fearing, as it seems, that which did afterwards befall him*⁴."

There is probably more in this anecdote than appears at first sight. What reason could Lady Arundel have to fear in her son an

¹ He derived it also from his grandfather, the fourth Duke of Norfolk.

² Sir E. Walker's *Historical Discourses*, p. 221.

³ If this is the lady alluded to in the State Papers, as seems probable, she was a violent recusant, and got herself into great trouble politically. In 1612, "Mrs Vaux, Lord Vaux's mother, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment" for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to King James. See *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.* 1611-18, p. 121.

⁴ *Life of Anne, Countesse of Arundell*, etc. as quoted above, p. 226.

inclination to Protestantism? What likelihood was there that a boy of fourteen or so, would develop any such leanings for himself, steeped since childhood in the strict Catholicism of his mother's house, and shielded from all outside influences? Clearly her remark indicates that some breath of outer air had, in fact, reached the precocious and independent intellect she guarded with such jealous care. From what quarter had it blown?

One only of Lord Arundel's biographers¹ asserts that he was educated at Westminster and at Trinity College, Cambridge; and the fact that this statement, so far, lacks corroboration from any other source has given rise, in some quarters, to hesitation in accepting it. There seems, however, no reason to doubt its accuracy. Under the old statute of Queen Elizabeth, who had newly founded Westminster School earlier in her reign, the boys were divided into four classes: (1) the Queen's Scholars, who lived in the College Dormitory; (2) the Pensioners, who were probably boys of superior rank, and who boarded with the Dean, Prebendaries or Masters; (3) the Peregrines, who were boys from the country, and who boarded with their relations and friends; and (4) the Oppidans, who were the sons of residents in Westminster or the vicinity. No lists of the pupils of Westminster School—except those of the Queen's Scholars, of whom Lord Maltravers was certainly not one—have been preserved prior to 1763. The fact, therefore that his name is not found amongst the records of the School in no way invalidates Lloyd's statement, and can excite no surprise. He shares this position with all private pupils of the Elizabethan period; that is to say with all the boys classed under the three last categories mentioned above².

Queen Elizabeth had more than once threatened to take Lord Maltravers from his mother, and to place him in the charge of some Protestant tutor of her own choosing. This prospect was so alarming to Lady Arundel that she was prepared, if necessary, to send him secretly abroad, sooner than risk such a contingency. But no better plan could have been devised, in order to avert this danger, than to educate her son at the school in which Elizabeth was known to take so warm an interest; while she would doubtless seek, in this case,

¹ Lloyd's *Memoirs of Persons that suffered*, etc., edition 1677, p. 284. Life and Death of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel.

² The information respecting Westminster School was kindly imparted by Mr G. F. Russell Barker, joint author of *The Westminster School Register, 1764-1883*, and by Dr Gow, the late Head Master. William Camden, the antiquary, was Head Master at the time when Lord Maltravers was probably a pupil. Camden's attachment to the English Church was well known. At a later period, he certainly came into contact with Lord Arundel: of this early stage, nothing whatever is known.

to avert the risk of Church of England influence by lodging him at Westminster with some carefully selected member of the Roman Catholic Communion. No extravagance attaches to such a supposition. There was nothing unusual at this period in the presence of a Roman Catholic boy amongst the pupils of Westminster. There exists, in fact, definite testimony on that point¹.

Accepting Lloyd's statement as probably correct, we find that he has explicit information to offer, as to the approximate date of Lord Maltravers' attendance at the School. "Bred (when his father was under a cloud)," he says, "at Westminster, near London." Supposing the boy to have gone to school at eight years old, not an uncommon age at that time, the event must have taken place in 1593, when his father had yet two years of imprisonment to undergo, ere death released him from his bonds. What then ensued is not recorded. That subsequently he pursued his studies at Cambridge, seems hardly open to doubt; though again, there is only the solitary statement of Lloyd to be relied upon. His evidence is here so vivid and circumstantial, that it is difficult to believe it unfounded. While at Trinity, he says, Lord Maltravers

had so much moderation as to appear constantly at our Prayers and Sermons, and so much insight into the Protestant principles, as to judge that the distance between the Catholick and Reformed Churches grew not from their Controversies, but their Interests; not from the Opinions themselves, which might be compounded, but from the passions of those that managed them, which could not be reconciled².

This middle position between the extremes of heated partisans, so eminently represents Lord Arundel's attitude of mind all through his life, and that balanced and independent judgment for which he became noted, that the narrative can hardly fail to carry conviction.

At what age Lord Maltravers was sent to Cambridge, it is more difficult to decide. Many boys began their University career at twelve years of age; his friend, Lord Essex, was at Trinity College at eleven. Probably Maltravers was already a student at Cambridge at the time of his sister's death, in 1599, when he was about fourteen years of age. If then, his attitude towards religion, while at the University, is considered in conjunction with Lady Arundel's remark to Mrs Vaux at that period, his mother's anxiety about his orthodoxy as a Catholic, otherwise unaccountable, becomes clear.

Another factor may, indeed, have played its part in the case. It would be of interest to know at what period he became acquainted

¹ Letter from Camden to Usher, quoted in the *Dict. Nat. Biography*, Art. "Wm. Camden," p. 279.

² Lloyd, *loc. cit.* p. 284.

with the letter already quoted¹, addressed by his grandfather, Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, to his father, Philip, Lord Arundel. Viewing his own actions of later life, it is hard to doubt that, at some time, that tragic document had deeply impressed his heart. In any case, enough light seems to shimmer through the mists of scanty records and uncertain events—perhaps intentionally obscured—to show that the change of religion of later years was no sudden step taken from motives of worldly wisdom, as has often been suggested; but the expression of an attitude of mind which ripened slowly through many years.

Of the progress of his studies, nothing, unfortunately, is known. In after-life he was reputed rather a protector of men of light than a learned man himself². Yet the ardour he displayed in collecting trophies of the ancient world, especially inscribed marbles, at unstinted trouble and expense, speaks strongly of enthusiasm for the classical tradition. The surprising connoisseurship, in many and varied branches of art, in which he became a pioneer to his age and country, may well be set against any shortcomings in the more conventional aspects of learning. In the latter, he would have found no lack of competent instruction. In the former, he had to break his own path, in ground almost untrodden in England: always the mark of an original and powerful mind.

It was a frequent custom to send young noblemen, on the termination of their studies at college, to travel for a time on the Continent. By these means, the preparation was completed for that distinguished career at Court, or in the service of the state, which might be supposed to await them. Apparently, Lord Maltravers was no exception to this rule. Not satisfied, says his biographer³, only to read what men thought, he travelled to see what they did, "either in Courts, as at France and Rome; or in Camps, as in the Low Countries; or in Universities, as in St Omer, etc., from whence he returned a very accomplished gentleman. . . ."

From about the opening of the seventeenth century to the accession of King James, there is an interval in the annals concerned with Lord Maltravers, which may well have been filled in this way, whether in whole or in part. So long as Queen Elizabeth sat on the throne of England, the son of Philip, Earl of Arundel, and grandson of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, had no favour to hope for at Court. If, at this juncture Lady Arundel, alarmed as we know she

¹ See Chap. I, p. 5.

² Walker's *Historical Discourses*, edition 1705 (Life of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel), p. 221.

³ Lloyd, *loc. cit.* p. 284.

had been at her son's lukewarm Catholicism, sought to nullify the reforming influences of Cambridge by urging upon him some stay at the strictly Catholic centre of St Omer, such a proceeding would not seem otherwise than natural. It must be remembered that the activities of the Jesuits, with whom Lady Arundel was so closely linked, were incessant at this time, between England and the opposite shore of the Channel. As to other foreign cities, reputed now to have been visited by Lord Maltravers, nothing can be conjectured. Possibly the threads of several journeys, of varying date, have here been gathered into one.

But whatever his previous movements, the death of Queen Elizabeth soon brought Lord Maltravers to London, to do homage to the new Sovereign.

N.B. The information contained on page 12 is not quite complete. Lady Arundel had the use of part of Arundel House, with an entrance to the garden. This is proved by the Lansdowne MS. (B.M., XLV. n. 85) in which allusion is made to Lady Arundel having lodgings in "three ground rooms, three rooms over them, three lobbies and the roof on the west side of the great court," etc. At the end of the same MS. there is a reference to the fact that Lady Arundel had in her own custody a key of the garden. See *Catholic Record Society Proceedings* XXI. 313. (*Ed.*)

CHAPTER III.

EARLY YEARS AT THE COURT OF KING JAMES.

1603—1606.

THE Tudor dynasty which for nearly a hundred and twenty years had guided the destinies of England, had flickered out. New actors appear on the scene, bringing other problems to be solved, and conflicting ideals to be reconciled. The outer crust of society assumes another complexion. Thought and expression become more modern. The transition is subtle. Men of middle age, born and brought up in the Elizabethan era, form living links between the old time and the new. Scarcely an occasional rumble beneath the surface, unheeded for the most part, gives warning of the yet distant cataclysm. For the moment, the peace-loving, pedantic, but not unkindly monarch who now occupies the throne of England, reigns undisturbed by any premonition of evil to come: bestowing honours and titles right and left on his new subjects, especially on those who had helped to pave the way to his present exalted position; spending with the prodigal extravagance of a poor man who, dazzled by a sudden accession of wealth, believes it to be inexhaustible: for the rest, insisting rigidly on the power of the royal prerogative, without possessing that magic touch, on the pulse of the people, in which his Tudor predecessor had never failed.

To a casual observer, visiting London in the year 1603, the most obvious outward indication of the changed state of things probably lay in the inundation of the English capital by the Scottish attendants, Scottish favourites and Scottish place-mongers of the new King. Mingled with these, were a tribe of needy gentlemen who, having for one reason or another fallen under the displeasure of Elizabeth, were now eager bidders for a return of Court favour under the new dispensation. Towering above all others, were the distinguished survivors of the Elizabethan age. Sir Robert Cecil, son of the great Lord Burghley, confirmed by King James as Secretary of State, and subsequently made Earl of Salisbury; Lord Howard of Effingham, of Armada renown, created by James; Earl of Nottingham; Thomas, Lord Howard of Walden, who became the first Earl of Suffolk; Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, retained by the new monarch in the post of Lord Treasurer, and afterwards made Earl of Dorset;

Sir Walter Raleigh; Francis Bacon, to be advanced step by step till he became Lord Chancellor and Viscount St Albans before his tragic downfall; these, and many others of almost equal fame, whose star had risen in other days, were yet there, to see it wax or wane under the altered conditions.

Lord Maltravers was now in his eighteenth year; and, shortly after the arrival of King James in England, "hee went, as he was bound, to kiss his hands, and to offer him his service¹."

It was natural to suppose that the new sovereign would be graciously inclined towards one whose grandfather had lost all in the cause of that sovereign's mother, Mary, Queen of Scots. Maltravers certainly expected that the vast estates which had passed to the Crown by the attainder of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, and Philip, Earl of Arundel, would have been restored to him, so soon as the King had leisure to attend to the private affairs of his subjects. By birth he should have inherited the Dukedom of Norfolk, the Earldoms of Arundel and Surrey, and many ancient baronies, with the lands belonging to them; as well as his share of the great properties brought into the family by marriage with a succession of heiresses. The office, too, of Earl Marshal of England had anciently been hereditary in his family. But for the misfortunes of his immediate predecessors, he would, in fact, have occupied a position second only to royalty in dignity and wealth. Instead of this, he had to present himself at Court, shorn of all honours and possessions; the owner of not one acre of land; the very title by which he was called, his only by courtesy.

There was the more reason to hope for a happy turn of events as several of his relations stood in high favour with the King. This was especially the case with his great-uncle, Lord Henry Howard, and his step-uncle, Lord Thomas Howard.

Lord Henry Howard, soon to be created Baron of Marnhill and Earl of Northampton, was the second son of the ill-fated Earl of Surrey. During Elizabeth's reign, he had been looked upon somewhat coldly, having participated in the intrigues with Mary, Queen of Scots which brought his brother, Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk,

¹ *Historical Account of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, by his son, William Howard, Lord Stafford; with letter from the latter enclosing the Hist. Account to his mother, Alethea, Countess of Arundel, 1646.* (Costessy Park, Norwich.) The Costessy papers were kindly placed at my disposal by Sir Henry Stafford Jerningham, Bart. They were examined and annotated by Dr Lingard, who appears, however, to have made no use of the Account of Lord Arundel. It will be found printed *in extenso* in Appendix III of this work. Although mutilated (by the loss of some gatherings in the centre) it is too important and authentic a contribution to Lord Arundel's career to remain unpublished.

to the scaffold. He was also known to be a Catholic in all but name. A man of great learning he had held a lectureship at Cambridge at the lowest ebb of his fortunes. It was not his intention, however, to be permanently overlooked by fate. He associated himself with Sir Robert Cecil in the secret correspondence carried on with James by that statesman, during the life-time of Elizabeth, and with like result. Before the Scottish King had set foot in England, both had achieved a high place in his good graces.

Not less favoured was Lord Thomas Howard, half-brother of Philip, Earl of Arundel, and eldest son of the fourth Duke of Norfolk by his second wife, Margaret Audley. Queen Elizabeth had called him to Parliament, as heir to his mother, by the title of Lord Howard of Walden. He had distinguished himself in the battle with the Armada, when he commanded a ship. In June, 1603, James raised him to the dignity of Earl of Suffolk. He had been admitted to the Privy Council in the previous month of May, on the same day with Lord Henry Howard, and was subsequently made a Knight of the Garter.

With such powerful relations at hand to plead his cause, the future of Lord Maltravers must have seemed already assured. It is not pleasant to relate that the use to which his kinsmen put their influence with the King was to beg for themselves their nephew's inheritance before he had time to obtain a hearing¹. The friendless boy of seventeen found himself bereft of the possessions of his father and grandfather by those who should have been the first to guard his interests. Some idea of the indecent haste displayed by his uncles to divide the spoils may be gathered from the following letters written at this time by Lord and Lady Howard of Walden to Mr Buxton, a Norfolk gentleman who had been in the service of Philip, Earl of Arundel, and, after the death of that nobleman, had been appointed one of the Commissioners for the survey of his lands. Katherine, Lady Howard, was the second wife of her second husband. The daughter and co-heir of Sir Henry Knevet, of Charlton, in Wiltshire, she married first, Richard, eldest son of Robert, Lord Rich. A renowned beauty in her day, she was hardly less celebrated for her avaricious disposition, which in later years was to lead both her and her husband into dire misfortune².

¹ See amongst other authorities, Lord Stafford's *Hist. Account*, etc., Appendix III; Letter from Aletheia, Countess of Arundel, to Lord Andover, Appendix IV; Tierney, *History of Arundel*, p. 416, etc.

² Another famous beauty was their daughter. This was the notorious Lady Frances Howard, Countess of Essex, and subsequently Countess of Somerset, who was concerned in the murder of Sir John Overbury.

Katherine, Lady Howard of Walden, to Robert Buxton (extract).

May 14, 1603.—My lord's intentions were such as he himself could not intend to write unto you but referred the matter to me. We are at this instant to be informed what lands the Duke or my Lord of Arundel lost by either of their attainders; either crown lands or otherwise, which no man can so well tell as yourself, and therefore I heartily pray you to advise yourself well and to come up to London with all the speed possible, for it much imports my Lord; and to bring with you all such notes as may any ways concern this business.

Fail not, Mr Buxton, to be here on Friday or Saturday at the latest.
To my loving good friend, Mr Robert Buxton, esquire, give these.

The unedifying eagerness of this epistle apparently overshot its mark, for a month later, Lord Howard reiterates his wife's request in language which, if less preemptory, is hardly more pleasing.

Thomas, Lord Howard of Walden, to Robert Buxton (extract).

June 10, 1603.—I am very desirous to understand truly both the names and the values of such lands as my brother did lose wherein I am in remainder, and to this end I have directed myself unto you knowing that you are best able to satisfy all my doubts. My meaning is not to prejudice my nephew in anything, but happily to help myself a little without his harm. When I have a particular of the things from you, and have considered of them I will acquaint you further with my purpose before I deal for anything. I pray you set down the values at which my brother left them, and the inrollments as you think they may be worth at a rackt rent, and also the tenures of the lands how they hold. Your son I have sent on purpose, being acquainted with the meaning of my letter, by whom you may return me that which is too tedious to write.—Howard House, this 10 of June.

To my loving good friend Mr Robert Buxton¹.

These manœuvres answered only too well. A portion of the Sussex properties had not come under the attainder, and formed part of Lady Arundel's jointure, and in the course of the next few years, the whole of the Norfolk and other estates in the Eastern Counties, and some others in Surrey and elsewhere, were given away amongst the various relations of the rightful heir².

Even less creditable was the proceeding of the Lord Admiral, Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, who, in August, 1603, begged from the King a "grant of Arundel House, Strand, part of the land of Philip, late Earl of Arundel, attained³." The Admiral was

¹ *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Various Collections*, 1903, Vol. II, p. 249. (Collection of Miss Buxton of Shadwell Court.)

² See for further details of these properties, Tierney's *History of Arundel*, Vol. II, p. 416 and note.

³ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, James I, 1603-1610*, p. 390.

descended from the second Duke of Norfolk, whose son, Lord William Howard, was created Lord Howard of Effingham in the reign of Queen Mary. His branch of the family had thus divided from the main stem long before the Arundel succession came into it. Not a shadow of claim could he therefore pretend to the possession of Arundel House, which formed part of that succession. The hasty forestalling of his young cousin was, in these circumstances, doubly to be regretted; especially on the part of one held in such high esteem as the hero of the Armada. In spite of his great career and many honours, the Admiral was not, at this time, a rich man; and it is to be feared that cupidity outweighed the more generous instinct which should have stayed his hand.

The grasping relations had, however, miscalculated the trend of things if they thought their young kinsman could be treated as a negligible quantity. It is true that their conduct involved him in pecuniary embarrassments which hampered his whole career, and have often been attributed solely to the great cost of his famous collections. As a matter of fact, his debts had their beginning in the large sums he was forced to borrow at high interest in order to buy back the properties of which he had been deprived. This endeavour became a principal aim in his life; and, in course of time, was crowned by a large measure of success.

Meanwhile he was rapidly winning his way. What he lacked in worldly goods, he replaced by strong character and an eminently distinguished appearance. To these qualities was quickly added a reputation for unusual ability. If the King, in his haste to reward those who had helped his attainment of the English throne, had alienated many possessions which should have been granted to the direct descendant of those who had forfeited them, he was clear-sighted enough to perceive the exceptional promise displayed by young Maltravers, and the wisdom of attaching him to the service of the Crown. In the "Rolle of the Barons of the Parliament as they were placed in the first year of the Raigne of our Sovereigne Lord King James¹," there appears the name of "Howard, Earle of Arondell." It figures, indeed, last but one of the seventy-eight names recorded; showing that although he had regained his father's title, he had not yet been granted the ancient precedence. But, in addition to the earldom of Arundel, to which was added that of Surrey, the titles of the baronies held by his predecessors were renewed to him; unsupported though the latter unfortunately were by the lands that had formerly attached to them. In July, 1604, however, the "manor

¹ Printed in full by Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, Vol. I, p. 424.

of Arundel, and others in Sussex" were restored to him as well as the precedence pertaining to the earldom¹; while a year later there followed "the King's interest"—that is, the portion which fell to the Crown in consequence of the attainder—in various properties granted by Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, to his three sons, Philip, "late" Earl of Arundel, Thomas "now" Earl of Suffolk, and Lord William Howard².

Arundel's thoughts were now turning to a subject even more engrossing than the recovery of his ancient patrimony. He was contemplating marriage with Lady Aletheia Talbot, youngest daughter of Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, and grand-daughter, through her mother, of the famous Bess of Hardwick, now Countess Dowager of Shrewsbury³. Lady Aletheia's two elder sisters were already married; Lady Mary Talbot, to William, third Earl of Pembroke⁴, and Lady Elizabeth, to Henry Grey, subsequently Earl of Kent. To lady Aletheia Queen Elizabeth had stood godmother; bestowing upon her a name then first heard at the font, "out of her maiestie's true consideration and judgment of that worthy family which was ever 'true' to the state; 'Aletheia' signifying in our English, veritie' or 'truth'⁵." Lord Shrewsbury had no surviving son, and his three daughters were co-heiresses of his great wealth.

They were nearly related to many of the most distinguished families in the realm. Lady Arabella Stuart who, on her father's

¹ *Cal. State Papers, James I*, 1603-1610, p. 129, 6th July, 1604. *Ibid.* p. 225, 25th June, 1605.

² Of Naworth: the ancestor of the Earls of Carlisle.

³ Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, born 1521, daughter and co-heiress of John Hardwick, of Hardwick, in Derbyshire, was married four times; 1, to Robert Barlow, of Barlow, Dronfield; 2, to Sir William Cavendish, who bought the Chatsworth estate; 3, to Sir William St Loe, of Tormarton, Gloucestershire; and 4, to George Talbot, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury. Her sons by her second husband inherited the vast wealth she had accumulated through her manifold alliances. She possessed beauty, a masterful temperament, and a mania for building, of which Hardwick is now the most notable example. She died in 1608.

⁴ William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, was born in 1580. He was educated at Oxford, of which university he, late in life, became Chancellor. Poets and learned men found in him a willing patron. His gentle, kindly disposition made him a general favourite, though his dissolute life marred an otherwise estimable character. His marriage with Lady Mary Talbot was unhappy. She was a person of difficult temperament, which was doubtless not improved by his frequent delinquencies. Pembroke often appeared in the masques and tiltings at Court, and received many honours from James I. On the fall of Somerset, in 1615, he was made Lord Chamberlain; and the King was repeatedly his guest at Wilton. The colonial "plantations," then attracting much attention, excited his keen interest. He was an opponent of the Spanish marriage and often disagreed with Buckingham. Pembroke died in 1630.

⁵ Quoted in Hunter's *Hallamshire* (Gatty's edition), p. 127, from A. Vincent's *Discov.*, p. 470.

side, was first cousin to King James¹, stood in a similar relationship to the Talbot sisters through her mother, who was Lady Shrewsbury's sister. Lord Arundel, for his part, was the head of a family which yielded to none in illustrious traditions. He was, indeed, already connected with the lady whose hand he sought, several intermarriages having taken place between the houses of Talbot and Dacre, to the latter of which, as we know, his mother belonged. Yet the utter shipwreck of his financial position, through the calamities which had overtaken the last two generations, a position he had, as yet, had neither time nor opportunity to retrieve, might well be weighed in the balance with the brilliant memories of a more remote past, and the attraction of his personality. Arundel's haughty and sensitive temperament was not of a kind lightly to risk rebuff. The young suitor—he was but eighteen when the courtship began, and Lady Aletheia probably about the same age—accordingly approached the matter with becoming circumspection. A feeler was put out, in the first instance, through the agency of mutual friends: Mr Edmund Lascelles, a near acquaintance and correspondent of Lord Shrewsbury², and Sir John Hobart, of Norfolk, an intimate friend of Lord Arundel³.

Mr Edmund Lascelles to the Countess of Shrewsbury.

...Madam, within⁴...dayes a gentleman of very good sort, and very familiar and inward with my Lord of Arundall, asked of me if I knew whether my Ladye Allathye, your La: daughter, were bestowed in marriage or not. I answered him, I knew not certaynly, but I thought rather not. Hee intreated me, that I would use means to learne it certaynly and let him know. For if it weare not, he thought my Lo: of Arundayle, by some discourse he had held with him, was perswaded to offer him self to my La:

¹ Charles, Earl of Lennox, Lady Arabella's father, was the brother of Henry, Lord Darnley, the King's father.

² Lodge says that Mr Lascelles sprang from an old family who formerly resided at Gateford, near Worksop, in Nottinghamshire; and that his friendship with Lord Shrewsbury probably arose from their having been neighbours in the country when young. Under King James, he was given some small place about Court, but subsequently lost it, after having wasted all his means by extravagant expenditure. Finally he had to fly from his creditors leaving his wife and three children in a state of penury; and ended his days in the service of the Duke of Brunswick, to whom he had been recommended by Anne of Denmark. *Illus. of Brit. Hist.* Vol. III, p. 109, n.

³ Sir John Hobart came of a distinguished Norfolk family. Nichols states that he resided at Blickling, which had been newly built by his father, Sir Henry Hobart of Intwood, an eminent judge, who became Attorney General, and ultimately, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. Sir John was M.P. for Thetford in 1625, and for Norfolk in 1641. His son entertained Charles II at Blickling. The friendship doubtless arose through Lord Arundel's local ties with Norfolk, which even in the years when many of his estates were under attainder, or bestowed upon his relations, seem never to have been forgotten or neglected.

⁴ Mutilated.

for a husband. I though fit to acquaint your Ladiship hearwith, and to intreat such instruction from your Ladiship hearin, as shalbe thought fittest by your La: for me to answer him with.

Your Ladiships ever

EDMUND LASSELLS.

The gentleman that asked me this question was Sir John Hobbart a Norfolk man.

Grinwitch the XIth of April. [1604.]

To the Right Honorable

...*good Lady*...¹.

What reply was made to these overtures is not recorded. That they were not unwelcome to the mother of the young lady seems probable, from a passage in a letter written by Elizabeth, Lady Lumley to Lady Shrewsbury, in October of the same year (1604), which evidently refers to the projected marriage. It will be remembered that Jane, Lady Lumley, was the sister of Mary, Duchess of Norfolk², and therefore great-aunt to young Arundel. After the death of his first wife, Lord Lumley married secondly Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Darcy of Chiche, the author of the letter in question.

...Presently after your La: departar, and sens my coming to the town, (writes Lady Lumley) I hard sum speech of that match wharto I wish all happines; for the yong man is my nere kinsman, and the yong lady I honour and love w^t my harte; but assuar your La: it shall no way be spoken of by me³.

Lady Shrewsbury evidently desired to keep the matter quiet for a time. A few weeks later, Sir Thomas Edmondes⁴, a friend of both families, wrote to Lord Shrewsbury in a strain that plainly revealed that, for the present, the marriage was in abeyance. There was, in fact, a rival suitor in the field, preferred by the lady's father. Hence the difficulty and hence also, perhaps, Lord Arundel's careful enquiry in the first instance.

¹ *Talbot Papers*, College of Arms, Book K, f. 248.

² See *ante*, p. 2.

³ Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, Vol. I, p. 459.

⁴ Sir Thomas Edmondes was a native of Devonshire. Beginning under Queen Elizabeth, he was for the greater part of his life employed abroad, in a series of important diplomatic posts, culminating in those of "leiger" (i.e. resident) ambassador at Brussels and Paris in succession. When at home, he held various honourable appointments at Court, including that of Secretary for the French tongue, in which he was specially proficient. On the termination, in 1616, of his long embassy to France, he was made a Privy Councillor and Comptroller of the Household. Other distinguished offices were subsequently conferred upon him. 'Little Edmondes,' as he was called by the Duc de Sully, died at an advanced age in 1639.

Sir Thomas Edmondes to the Earl of Shrewsbury (extract).

...I was in good hope that, the Parliament holding, your Lordship would have returned shortly into these parts, and the rather for the purifying¹, as I was told of the Lady Allathy's marriage; but seeing it doth otherwise fall out, I will not fail at my first commodity of leisure (which be now dear unto me)...to discharge my duty to you...

I am so straightly tied to attend [at Court], this being my time of waiting, as I have not had leisure to see my Lady of Pembroke, and Sir Charles Cavendish², and the Ladies, above once since their arrival, but I hope to have leisure better to discharge that duty the next week. And so, with the remembrance of my most humble duty to your Lordship and my honourable good Lady, I take my leave.

Your Lordship's most humble bounden

THOMAS EDMONDES.

From the Court at Whitehall, Dec. 28th, 1604³.

Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, called "the great and glorious" chiefly, perhaps, on account of his lavish expenditure, had an almost royal position in the north of England. His father, George, sixth Earl, had for seventeen years been the custodian of Mary, Queen of Scots, at his Castle of Sheffield. He himself had magnificently rebuilt and enlarged Sheffield Lodge, or Manor, which stood in the midst of the park, about two miles distant from the Castle⁴. This seems to have been his usual place of residence, and the home of "the Lady Allathy." (How charming is the old-world abbreviation!) Lord Shrewsbury was a patron of the learned; and on one occasion had been sent as ambassador by Queen Elizabeth to Henri IV of France. His public preferments had, on the whole, been few. In later years he went seldom to Court, and contented himself, for the most part, with living, in considerable splendour, on his immense estates in the north.

He married Mary, daughter of the celebrated heiress of Hardwick by her second husband, Sir William Cavendish. That lady herself espoused, as her fourth husband, George, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, who predeceased her by many years. Unfortunately, Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, having only one brother, married but childless, to succeed him in the title, saw before him the prospect of

¹ Feb. 2nd, the Festival of the Purification.

² Lady Shrewsbury's third brother; he was the ancestor of the Cavendish's, Dukes of Newcastle. The eldest brother, Henry, died without issue; the second, William, was created Earl of Devonshire, and was the ancestor of the present ducal line.

³ *Talbot Papers*, College of Arms, Vol. K, f. 240. Printed in Lodge's *Illustrations*, Vol. III, p. 121.

⁴ The greater part of the details here given respecting Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, are derived from Hunter's *Hallamshire*.

the extinction of the Talbot name in connection with the Yorkshire properties, and their dispersal amongst the families of his several sons-in-law. It was perhaps not unnatural, in these circumstances, that he should have set his heart on a union between Lady Aletheia and her distant cousin, George Talbot¹, on whom the title would necessarily devolve after the death of her father and uncle. Such a union would avert the break-up which was otherwise inevitable. The major part of the property would still be associated with the old name; for it was Lord Shrewsbury's intention, if this marriage took place, to settle upon Lady Aletheia a large portion of the estates.

This, then, was the position with which the young lovers were confronted. When it is added that Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, was a man of despotic temper and exceedingly difficult disposition, who had quarrelled with nearly all his relations, neighbours and tenants, it must be owned that the outlook was sufficiently formidable. He had his match, however, in his wife, who appears to have inherited a good slice of her mother's temperament. As it may also perhaps be assumed, from the tone of Lady Lumley's letter that Lady Shrewsbury's sympathies were on the side of the young couple, their prospects, though trembling in the balance, were not so desperate as might have been supposed. They triumphed, as we know, in the end²; but meanwhile everything was at a standstill.

In the following year, 1605, a glimpse is caught of Lord Arundel at Cambridge, where he went for the purpose of taking his M.A. degree³.

The King, meanwhile, though still hesitating to extend to him the full measure of royal cordiality, seems to have formed a shrewd estimate of Arundel's capacity. He was called upon to take his seat in the House of Lords before he was of age or restored in blood, a proceeding said to have been without precedent in the annals of Parliament. This circumstance, related by his son⁴, receives curious corroboration in the accounts of the great sensation of 1605. It will be remembered that, on the 5th November of that year, the country

¹ Descended from John, Second Earl.

² By the death of her two sisters without issue, the entire inheritance ultimately devolved upon Lady Aletheia and her Howard descendants.

³ A fact kindly communicated by Mr A. G. W. Murray, Librarian of Trinity College. The early lists of undergraduates being imperfect, Mr Murray sees no reason, in the absence of Lord Arundel's name, to doubt his having been a student at Cambridge. The uncertain point, in his estimation, is which College he was at; no Howard having previously been at Trinity. It was however the College chiefly connected with Westminster School: a fact which might equally account for Lord Arundel having been sent there, or in the opposite event, for Lloyd erring in naming Trinity as his College.

⁴ *Historical Account*, etc. (Appendix III).

was startled by the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. In the subsequent examination of the conspirators, it transpired that they had wished to warn Lord Arundel, amongst other Catholic peers, to absent himself from the House on the day fixed for the execution of their purpose; "but," it is added, "*though under age*, he was eager to be present¹." So anxious were they regarding his safety, that a project was actually formed to inflict upon him some slight wound, in order that he might perforce be kept within his own doors².

On the 1st January, 1606, his name appears with a gift of £20 in the list of New Year's presents made to the King. His mother, "the Countesse of Arundell, widdow," figures for a like amount. This seems to have been, in days when everything was strictly measured according to the degree of the giver, the usual offering for persons of their rank. In return, the King bestowed on each thirty ounces of "guilt plate." Barons mostly gave £10, and were proportionately rewarded.

On Twelfth Night, 1606, Lord Arundel took part in one of those Masques at Court, so popular in the early seventeenth century. Henceforward his name frequently recurs amongst the actors in that sparkling form of art, which, ephemeral though it was, lent life and grace to the royal entertainments³. Muses and nymphs, virtues and vices, sprites and fays, woven into fantastic allegory, and personified by the lords and ladies of the Court, declaimed the verse of Ben Jonson amidst the decorations devised by Inigo Jones. It was the last glimmer of the spirit of the Renaissance in England, before the light wings of gaiety and beauty sank, bruised and broken, beneath the heavy heel of Puritanism. Such performances were specially in vogue when there was a marriage to celebrate between favoured members of the Court. In January, 1606, the occasion was the wedding of Robert, Earl of Essex, son of Arundel's early friend⁴, and his cousin, Lady Frances Howard, second daughter of the Earl of Suffolk. Ill-starred as the union was to prove in the sequel, it was gallantly begun; and Ben Jonson's *Masque of Hymen* was the signal for a brilliant display of pageantry in the presence of the King and of his Danish Consort, Queen Anne.

Whether this was Lord Arundel's first contact with the great architect with whom he was later to be so closely associated, is not

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, James I, 1603-1610*, p. 258. Nov. 16th, 1605. Declaration of Guy Fawkes.

² Gardiner, *History of England*, edition 1883, Vol. I, p. 246.

³ For an excellent description of these Masques, see E. Law's *History of Hampton Court*, Vol. II (Hampton Court in Stuart Times), Chap. II.

⁴ See *ante*, p. 13.

known. It is quite possible that he had witnessed the performance at Court, the previous year, of the *Masque of Blackness*, when Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones collaborated for the first time. The latter had then but recently returned from Denmark, where he had spent some years in the service of King Christian, the brother of Queen Anne.

It is worth pausing for a moment to take a passing glance at the earlier career of the man to whom we owe the Banqueting House at Whitehall, and whose name will frequently recur in the course of this narrative. Inigo Jones was born in London in 1573. He was thus some twelve years senior to Lord Arundel; and the legend which suggests the latter as the patron of Inigo's first journey to Italy becomes a chronological impossibility. The architect says of himself that in his "younger years," wishing to "study the arts of design," he "passed into foreign parts, to converse with the great masters thereof in Italy¹." At this period, Lord Arundel must have been a boy; and even if his interest in such subjects had already been aroused, which there is no reason to assume, he lacked the means to give assistance. At a much later date, as will presently be seen, he carried Inigo Jones in his train to Italy; and this doubtless gave rise to a confusion between the two journeys. Much the same thing may be said of the supposed early patronage of Lord Pembroke². Both Lord Arundel and his brother-in-law had ample opportunity of becoming acquainted with Inigo Jones when masques became the fashion at Court; and it is known that Lord Pembroke and the younger brother who succeeded him in the title, employed the architect professionally, at Wilton, on several occasions.

Inigo Jones began life as a painter. During his first stay in Italy, he made a searching study of ancient buildings, and henceforth turned his attention, at least in equal measure, to the sister-art. That he was profoundly impressed by the splendid monuments of the Renaissance, and especially by the works of Palladio, is well known. Like the great Italian himself, Inigo Jones thought it no condescension to bestow his genius on lending beauty to the passing entertainments of the hour. Those who recall the wonderful Teatro Olimpico at Vicenza, will understand the type of model that hovered before his mind's eye as he designed the superb stage decorations with which his name is connected in England. The description of one of his designs for a masque performed before the King in the Hall of Christ

¹ *Life of Inigo Jones* by Peter Cunningham, p. 3 (Shakespeare Society).

² Unless this is to be referred to Henry, second Earl of Pembroke, instead of to his son, William, third Earl, mentioned above.

Church, Oxford, in 1605, is very suggestive of the Palladian conception. "The stage," it is said, "was built close to the upper end of the Hall, as it seemed at the first sight: but indeed it was but a false wall, faire painted, and adorned with stately pillars, which pillars would turn about; by reason whereof, with the held of other painted cloths, their stage did vary three times in the acting one of tragedy."

It was not, however, only to scenic effect that he devoted his attention. The costumes for the actors were often designed by him, and many rapid sketches are still extant which bear testimony to his gifts in this direction. Vandyck, with whom he was on terms of friendship, and who painted his portrait more than once, is said to have declared his skill in designing with his pen to be unequalled "by whatsoever great masters of his time, for boldness, softness, sweetness, and sureness of his touches¹."

The private stage of that time left, indeed, little for modern luxury or archaeological accuracy to add or discover²; while the wealth of invention displayed in the spectacular devices and mechanical contrivances fill the student with admiration. The highly imaginative quality which often distinguishes these settings of the light drama of the masque, must have given them a poetic value, when acted, that is perhaps not easy to realize by a generation long strangers to the pulse-beat of the seventeenth century.

Apart from the actual words of the masque itself, the inimitable beauty of some of Ben Jonson's descriptions of the desired scenic effects, is too well known to need comment here. Take for example—almost at random—that of the figure of Reason, as represented in the *Masque of Hymen*, with which we are just now more immediately concerned: "Reason seated on the top of the globe, as in the brain,

¹ *Life of Inigo Jones* by Peter Cunningham, pp. 6 and 40; the latter quoted from Webb (the pupil of Jones), *Vindication of Stonehenge*. I had written these passages respecting Inigo Jones before I became acquainted with the interesting articles of Mr Lethaby in the *Architectural Review* (April, 1912, and Oct. 1916) and of Mr W. G. Keith in the *Burlington Magazine* (Aug. and Sept. 1917). As the new information contains nothing which is at variance with the conclusions given above, I have allowed the paragraphs to stand as they were written. It is, however, much to be desired that one of these gentlemen, or other competent authority, should give to the world an adequate and consecutive biography of Inigo Jones, embodying the results of recent research; to which I hope to have contributed a modest quota by showing that his second journey to Italy was undertaken in the company and service of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel; and by adding some other details relating to his connection with the great collector. In "New Light on Inigo Jones" (*Arch. Rev.* Oct. 1916), Mr Lethaby shows that, in 1603, after his first sojourn in Italy, Jones was still described as a "picture maker"; and offers interesting suggestions bringing the enlarged version of the play of *Hamlet*, which appeared in 1604, into relation with the mission from James I to the King of Denmark, in which Jones took part, in 1603.

² *Life of William Shakespeare* by Sir Sidney Lee, edition 1915, p. 69.

or highest part of man, figured in a venerable personage, her hair white, and trailing to her waist, crowned with light, her garments blue, and semined with stars, girded unto her with a white band. . . in one hand bearing a lamp, in the other a bright sword. . .” Almost every page of these masques, when they are the work of Jonson and Inigo Jones, are scattered with such descriptions, which call up a succession of lovely pictures before the mind. In endeavouring to trace the influences which in early manhood roused and moulded Lord Arundel’s instinct for the beautiful, they surely must be awarded a high place.

And what of a yet greater name than these? William Shakespeare was at this time a prominent member of the “King’s Players,” so called when James, on his accession, took into his own service the company formerly known as “the Lord Chamberlain’s men.” Regular performances at Court took place during the winter season. In some years we are told that as many as twenty-three plays were acted in the royal presence. With all this activity Shakespeare was closely associated both as actor and author, until his retirement in 1611 to Stratford¹. It is beyond question, therefore, that Arundel must often have been face to face with the great dramatist though the eye scans the records in vain for any mention of the fact.

¹ *Life of William Shakespeare* by Sir Sidney Lee, edition 1915, pp. 53-4, 67 69, etc.

CHAPTER IV.

MARRIAGE AND LIFE AT COURT.

1606—1609.

A CIRCUMSTANCE now arose which is a little puzzling to interpret. It is known only through a letter written by Lord Northampton to Sir Thomas Edmondes, who had meanwhile become ambassador at Brussels. Notwithstanding the part played by the former in depriving his great nephew of a portion of his inheritance, it seems that the two were on increasingly friendly terms. Although Lord Northampton, at a later period, left away to the sons of Lord Suffolk some of the alienated estates, so that they never returned to the elder line, he replaced them by legacies of considerable value in favour of Lord Arundel, who felt for him a warm affection. Lord Northampton now writes to Sir Thomas Edmondes in terms which clearly suggest that some cause unknown had temporarily removed the young man from the vicinity of the Court. Arundel was passing an unwilling absence with his friend at Brussels and was anxious to get home again.

The Earl of Northampton to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

... I pray your Lordship tell my Lord Arundel that the King perused the last letter he sent to me with no sharp word or countenance acknowledging any tartness in his mind; though on the other side, I cannot say he spake any thing to show favour. My lord's wise carriage continued in the place wherein he serves for the proof of his own true affection, may prevail more than flourishes¹...

March 2nd, 1606².

Whatever the source of disfavour, the cloud quickly passed. On the 24th March, the anniversary of the King's accession, Arundel was back at Court, now in residence at Greenwich, taking his place for the first time in the tilting with which the occasion was celebrated².

In July of this year, Christian, King of Denmark, landed in England to pay a long-deferred visit to his brother-in-law, King James. His arrival was the signal for an outbreak of extravagant festivities inaugurated in his honour.

Lord Salisbury amongst others lavishly entertained the two sovereigns at Theobalds. This magnificent abode, soon to be yielded

¹ Birch, *Court and Times of James I*, Vol. I, p. 57.

² Nichols, *Prog. of James I*, Vol. II, p. 43.

by its owner in exchange for Hatfield, and ever after the most favoured residence of King James, was an apt theatre for such an occasion. The four noble courts and two great quadrangles; the towers and pinnacles; the black-and-white marble fountain adorned with figures of Venus and Cupid; the great hall, paved with Purbeck marble, and roofed with timber curiously carved; the Green Gallery, "excellent well painted round with all the shires of England and the armes of noble-men and gentlemen in the same"; the chiming bells and clock; the many large and small chambers, richly and variously decorated: who shall enumerate all its charms and curiosities? Nor were the gardens less attractive than the buildings. Part of the pleasaunce known as the Pheasant Garden seems to have been especially popular, having "nine knotts exquisitely and artificially made, one of which was the likeness of the King's arms." The "Meanders" comprised labyrinth-like walks "compact of bayes, rosemarie, and the like¹."

There followed a royal progress through the City of London, when the various sights of the capital were displayed in some detail to the Danish guest. Hunting, hawking, tennis, wrestling, fencing, and a masque produced at Whitehall, took their turn in the round of amusements offered to the royal visitor. The latter was, unfortunately, not renowned for sobriety, and at times the festivities degenerated into orgies which involved both entertainers and entertained. Arundel's austere refinement must have recoiled from these excesses if, as seems likely, his duty sometimes obliged him to be present. His name, however, appears only in the tilting lists, when the nature of the sport necessarily imposed moderation. On 5th August, there was a grand display of this sort at Court, in which the King of Denmark took a personal part. In order, no doubt, that none might outshine the visitor, the tilters were all "in plain armour; except Christianus who, mounted on a dapple-gray, had his armour sky-coloured, spangled with some gold; he wore in his helm a bunch of blew and white feathers, as the rest of his company."

The Duke of Lennox was the first opponent. Then "the noble and most toward, Earl of Arundell ranne with his Majestie of Denmark, and brake three staves apeece, to the great joy of all the beholders." There followed the Earl of Southampton and Lord Compton; till the declining sun put an end to the sport.

The visit was prolonged to the 14th August, when after many expressions of mutual good-will, the monarchs parted, and the royal guest set sail for Denmark².

¹ Theobalds, in contemporary pronunciation "Tibbalds" or "Tibbaudes," was dismantled in 1650.

² Nichols, *Progresses*, etc., Vol. II, pp. 80-88.



Mary, wife of William Herbert,
3rd Earl of Pembroke
ob. 1649



Photo Dr G. C. Williamson

Aletheia, god-daughter of Queen
Elizabeth and wife of Thomas
Howard, Earl of Arundel
ob. 1654

Portraits of two of the three daughters of Gilbert, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, K.G. (1552-1616) from two miniatures, attributed to Alexander Cooper, and at one time set in a rock crystal locket in a fine contemporary enamelled frame and then in the possession of Sir Henry Howard, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

The baronies of Talbot, Furnivall and Strange of Blackmere fell into abeyance between Lord Shrewsbury's three daughters and eventually became vested in Lady Arundel. The Barony of Furnivall emerged in favour of its present holder in 1913.

But the great event of Lord Arundel's life, in 1606, was the successful termination of his long courtship. On what date, exactly, his marriage with Lady Aletheia Talbot took place is not known¹; nor the circumstances which finally led up to it. But it may be gathered that the wedding was celebrated within a very few weeks of the King of Denmark's departure, since on the 24th September Rowland White writes from Hampton Court to Lord Shrewsbury:

... Your two worthy daughters, Arundel and Pembroke, are here in Court, to grace the Court. They are well, and live here in great honour²...

Sir Thomas Edmondes, too, the old friend whose good offices, it may perhaps be surmised, had not been without effect in bringing about the happy conclusion, writes a few days later to Lady Shrewsbury:

... I am exceeding gladde to understand of the happie marriage of my lady of Arondell, not onlie for the place where she is matched, but to her La: I will be bould to saie, in respect of that w^{ch} she hath otherwise escaped. It is an Argument of great force and assurance, that her wise genius, w^{ch} hath so well dyrected her in her choice, doth promise the encrease of yor honor's comfortes, in her succeeding fortunes. And it deserveth also to add the more to her honor's Joye, in that this, including the last of yor honors naturall cares, yor honors are satisfied in the conclusion thereof with so much Contentment.

I have acknowledged thanks to my lady of Arondell from my wife and my self, for the gloves which it pleased her la: to send us; as we doe owe the lyke obligation to yo^r la: for so favourable a remembrance and yo^r goodnes manie other waies extended towards us...

From Bruxelles the last of September 1606.

Yo^r honor's

Most humbly bounden

THOMAS EDMONDES.

*To the right honorable my verie good lady
the Countess of Shrewsbury³.*

In the following month, October, glimpses are caught of the closer relationship now established with the Talbot family, in a letter written by Lord Arundel's mother to her "very loving Sister," the Countess of Shrewsbury. Lord Shrewsbury had, it seems, been

¹ The *Dictionary of National Biography* (Art. "Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel") states, without citing authority, that the marriage took place on Sept. 30th. But this is not possible: as Rowland White's letter of Sept. 24th alludes to Lady Arundel, by that title, as already fully established at Court. The internal evidence of Sir Thomas Edmondes' letter, dated Sept. 30th, also shows that the marriage was not then quite recent, since there had been time for it to prove "happie," and for the bride to send him gloves to Brussels.

² Lodge's *Illus.* Vol. III, p. 187. Rowland White was one of those Court gossips who made it their business to keep personalities of importance, living at a distance, informed on current social events. Sometimes they were paid for these services.

³ *Talbot Papers*, College of Arms, Vol. L, f. 61.

suffering from gout, an infirmity to which he was subject; and the Dowager Lady Arundel expresses her pleasure in hearing he has recovered, having feared his indisposition might prevent a projected visit to London, "which wee all here doe much desire." She thanks both of them for the "good redd deer which this berer hath brought upp very well"; no light achievement when the venison had to be conveyed all the way from Sheffield by private hand, along bad roads. Her "daughter" would have written, but for the "hast" of the messenger¹.

The young Lord and Lady Arundel, meanwhile, were taking their place in the round of Court gaities. In the years that follow, they acted in many of the masques which were performed; while Arundel, as has been seen, contributed his full share to the favourite pastime of running at tilt. His letters, dated variously from the many royal residences visited in turn by the King, who was much addicted to hunting, show that he was winning his way to the confidence of his timid and cautious sovereign. His personality was one that could not be overlooked, though it was not of a kind ever to command general popularity. Courteous and restrained as he usually was, his haughty and irascible temper was apt to betray him into sudden heat. His greatness of nature, his unimpeachable truth and honour, won for him, indeed, universal respect. It was in his own home, however, that his warm affections and genuine simplicity of heart shone at their brightest; and an event was now impending which was to put the climax to his domestic felicity. In the month of June, 1607, a son was born to the young couple; an event acclaimed with great rejoicing. The King announced his intention of standing sponsor to the infant, bestowing upon it his own name: and Lord and Lady Arundel had bethought them—doubtless not without a side-glance at policy, since the lady was already eighty-six years of age—of inviting the child's rich and awesome great-grandmother, the Dowager Lady Shrewsbury, to be its godmother. But at this juncture, Queen Anne unexpectedly intervened, offering herself to undertake that office. It is to this perplexing situation that the following letter refers; the first written by Lord Arundel, that has been preserved. The undisguised discomfiture of its tone, in consequence of the proposed honour, is amusing.

The Earl of Arundel to the Countess Dowager of Shrewsbury.

Madam

As soone as ever God, out of his greate goodnes had blessed us with a sonne, wee all resolved to have bin sutors unto your La: that you would

¹ *Talbot Papers*, College of Arms, Vol. O, f. 129.

vouchsafe to have bin his godmother. But it hath pleased the Queenes Ma^{tie} (oute of her especial favor) to interpose her selfe, farre contrary to oure expectation (seeing it hath never till this time beene seene or knowne that the Kinge's Ma^{tie} and the Queene have christened any childe together) w^{ch} must at this time stay the proceedinge in oure firste desire; unlesse eyther the unusualnes in like cases, or some other accidente may divert the Queene from her intente: which if it doe happne, then wee will advertise your La^p thereof by poaste, and will earnestly goe forward in oure humble suite. In the meane time, my wife and my selfe beseech your La^p that you will make us both, with our little one, happy by the continuance of your La^p's good wishes, and daily blessinge: and cease not our continuall prayers to God for your la^p's longe health and happines. And so I reſte

Your La^p's lovinge and dutifull son to comāde

ARUNDELL.

Arundell House, this 27th June, 1607.

To my most honorable and worthy grandmother the Countess of Shrewsbury at Hardwicke¹.

How it came about is not revealed; but the fact remains that the Queen altered her intention. On the 17th of July, "the Earl of Arundel's son was christened in the Chapel at Court, the King and Lord Chamberlain (Earl of Salisbury) being godfathers, with the Lady Arbella in the name of the old Countess of Shrewsbury²."

On the day preceding the christening, 16th July, the King and his eldest son, Prince Henry, now thirteen years old, dined at the Merchant Taylors' Hall, and were made free of that Company. They were attended by a goodly train of gentlemen to whom the freedom was also extended. Of these Lord Arundel was one. The Lord Mayor met the King on arrival, and again escorted him on departure. Music and recitation adorned the feast, and purses of gold, of £100 and £50 respectively, were presented to the King and the Prince. A similar purse, containing £50, was prepared for the Queen; but in the minutes of the worthy merchants it is prudently laid down that "if the Queene do not come, then that £50 to be saved." This desirable economy was presumably effected, since Her Majesty was not present³.

This is the first occasion on which Lord Arundel's name is mentioned in direct connection with that of Prince Henry, amongst

¹ Hunter's *Hallamshire*, p. 123.

² Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, Vol. II, p. 144. Nichols gives the date of the ceremony as 16th July, which is certainly an error, as on that day the visit to the Merchant Taylors' Hall took place. Camden is probably correct in placing it on 17th July, as that day was a Friday, on which week-day most authorities state that the christening occurred. The *Calendar of State Papers* gives the date as 20th July. Birch says the second godfather was the Lord Chancellor (Earl of Ellesmere).

³ Nichols, Vol. II, pp. 136-143.

whose companions he here figures. The young Prince was already displaying that precocity of intellect, combined with enthusiasm for all manly sports, for which he was subsequently so remarkable. Lord Arundel's character and pursuits were so much in harmony with his own, that it is not surprising to find a warm attachment springing up between the Prince and the friend who was nearly nine years his senior¹. Arundel's attendance was in frequent request; and it seems as though his influence, at a later date, could be clearly read in the development of Prince Henry's tastes.

Meanwhile the correspondence of Anne, Lady Arundel, with Lord and Lady Shrewsbury continues; and the exchange of such contributions to the dinner-table as each side had at disposal, reveal a most friendly footing between the two families. About the month of August, the Dowager Lady Arundel sends from the seaside in Sussex, an offering of fish, accompanied by a characteristic letter.

The Countess Dowager of Arundel to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

Noble Lord

I hoped to have sentt unto you befor this time, but in^a. . . I will now make my true confession unto y^r Lo. of the cause of my stay, which was the unwillingness of the fishermen to leave harvest woork, or otherwise the wisdome of good fishe to escape the Nettes, for till the last fryday I could not gett one fishe woorth the sending; and now I make bolde to send yo^r Lo. that one, and some littell onse to kepe him from shaking. I doe earnestly desir to know how yo^r Lo. doth like them, that if any thing be distastefull unto y^u, it may be amended if God send me life to the next yeere, for mullett and base doth goe out with the buck. But I trust yo^r Lo. and my Lady shall often see better store in Sussex then this short abode did yeald.

Thus ever beseching our Lord to continue your health and increase all yo^r Lo. comforts, I leave further to trouble y^u, ever remainyng

Your Lo. ever affectionatt poor frind and loving Sister

ANNE ARUNDELL.

*To the right honorable my very good Lord and Brother
the Earle of Shrewesbury³.*

Later she is found invoking Lord Shrewsbury's help and mediation in some project to "gett goold mins for Iron Ston" on part of her property "on the borders of Waylls"; whether actually or figuratively does not appear quite clearly, probably the latter! The scheme however involved a good deal of legal negotiation; Sir George Mainwaring, who held certain leases on part of the property in question, having feared their infringement by the new enterprise⁴.

¹ *Hist. Acc.* etc. (Appendix III).

² Mutilated.

³ *Talbot Papers*, College of Arms, Vol. O, f. 137. Docketed 1607, Countess Dowager of Arundell.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. O, ff. 131 and 133.

The most attractive of her letters at this time, are those concerning her little grandson, and the later additions to her son's family, which breathe a spirit of tender affection and concern for their weal, that well illustrate her charm of character. To Lady Shrewsbury she confides her anxieties respecting those infant ailments of which they seem to have had rather more than their fair share. The young parents were thankful to benefit by the Dowager's large knowledge and experience in matters of health, to which allusion has already been made. Consequently one or more of the children, as the family increased, was generally to be found in the care of this devoted grandmother, profiting by the fresh air of Sussex or of Surrey. "My lady and our little boy wee hoope are well," writes the young Lady Arundel to her mother in the autumn of 1607, "and wee looke for them heere this night, when I will not forget to deliver y^r La^{ps} kinde comendacions.¹ . . ."

September found Lord and Lady Arundel at Hampton Court, where the royal family were in residence. A short visit paid by Lord Arundel some weeks later, to his father-in-law, in Sheffield, was followed by some correspondence on the subject of a complaint made by Lord Shrewsbury's tenants of Glossopdale². The tenants carried their grievance before the King; and on his way back from Sheffield to Newmarket, where the Court then was, Lord Arundel seems to have come across the aggrieved deputation, in full cry. He at once wrote off to Lord Shrewsbury to inform him of what was going forward, and to ask for instructions. Meanwhile the news had reached his father-in-law, who in turn sent off a messenger to Lord Arundel. The latter, however, had already persuaded the King to hand the question over to the Council, who delegated it to a committee composed of the Lord Chancellor (Earl of Ellesmere), the Lord Treasurer (Earl of Dorset), the Earl of Worcester, Lord Zouche, Sir Francis Knollys, and Sir Henry Wotton. What the matter was, is not revealed, but it must have been a question of some moment, since it required so many important personages to settle it. Arundel, meanwhile, used all his influence, which now was considerable, to get the hearing postponed till after the New Year. By that time he hoped for the support of Lord Shrewsbury's legal representative, Mr Davenport (a cousin of the Dowager Lady Arundel), and that of the bailiff of the property on which the complainants resided. All but four members of the deputation were sent home; these remaining to

¹ *Talbot Papers*, College of Arms, Vol. O, f. 135.

² This estate passed with the rest of Lady Aletheia's inheritance to the Howard family, and at a much later date (1869) furnished the title of a Howard peerage.

present their case. It may be presumed to have ended satisfactorily, since little more is heard of it.

The only trouble seems now to have been, the health of the young Lady Arundel, which was at this time causing some anxiety.

The Earl of Arundel to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

My Lord

I thank God my wife hath never been very ill since I wrote to your Lordship, but still rather of the mending hand, though yet nothing strong; but we are both exceedingly sorry to hear that your Lordship hath an ill fit of the gout, which we hope is before this time past, and wish that your Lordship would confidently believe that your coming to London, and conversation with your friends here that wish you, would rid you of any more trouble with it hereafter. Your Lordship shall by this bearer be informed of the Glossopdale men's offer whom I have sent for that purpose.

I spoke this day with a Low Country Captain, newly come, who saith that the issue of this treaty is yet uncertain; that the people of the country are much divided upon it, some very inclinable to it, some contrary, as their places of habitation are subject to offence, by the enemy or otherwise; that the soldiers do all fear it; and himself telleth me that the Hollanders are marvellously strong at sea; and by their ungrateful carriage to Englishmen, and not acknowledging of any favour ever done them by this nation, he hath great reason to doubt we shall in all things find them very hollow-hearted friends¹.

My Lord Haddington's wedding with my Lord of Sussex's daughter is at Shrovetide, at the Court; and it is said that a match is concluded between Sir Jarvis Clifton's daughter and my Lord D'Aubigny, and Clifton shall be a Baron, but when I hear not.

Old Southampton, I am sure you hear, is dead, and hath left the best part of her stuff to her son, and the greatest part to her husband, the most of which I think will be sold, and dispersed into the hands of many men, of which number I would be one, if the Admiral were not damned for making me pay £4000 for this house, as well as Sir Thomas Heneage is for that stuff.

And so, hoping that sickness shall plead your daughter's pardon for not writing, and her not writing, mine for troubling your Lordship with one so long a letter instead of two, I rest

Your Lordship's affectionate son, to do you all service,

ARUNDELL.

Arundell House, November 17th (1607)

*To my right honorable father the Earl of Shrewsbury*².

¹ A truce had been signed early in 1607 between the Archduke and the States of the United Provinces, in order to arrange terms of peace. Difficulties having arisen in the negotiations, France and England were asked by the States to promise help in case of failure, or at least to guarantee the terms if concluded. The States were already in debt to the King of England, and discrepancies of opinion as to the amount owed, and the date when payment would fall due, long deferred the completion of the proposed English treaty to which Lord Arundel alludes. See Gardiner's *History of James I*, Vol. II, pp. 21-26.

² *Talbot Papers*, College of Arms, Vol. L, f. 167. Printed in Lodge's *Illustrations*, Vol. III, p. 207.

It is interesting to observe that both the letters in the preceding pages, written by Lord Arundel, are dated from Arundel House, in the Strand. That residence, it will be remembered, had been given by the King, some years previously, to the Admiral, Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham. The actual grant by which it was restored to its rightful owner bears date December 23rd, 1607¹. It appears, therefore, that Lord Arundel had managed to obtain possession of the London abode of his ancestors, some time before the grant was actually registered, and that his eldest son was born there. No doubt he had taken up his residence in the family mansion as soon as the Admiral could be persuaded, by a heavy bribe, to replace it in the hands of the King; by whom it was then regranted to Arundel. But the process was expensive; and it is not surprising that the restored proprietor was annoyed at having to find a sum of £4000 in order to purchase that which should have been already his own, and for which his cousin had paid nothing.

Originally the town residence of the Bishops of Bath and Wells, and known as Bath's Inn, Arundel House had early been acquired by the Fitzalans, Earls of Arundel. The spacious architecture, shown in the pair of early portraits of Lord and Lady Arundel², speaks eloquently of the spirit which animated its new possessors. The house seems to have been conceived on the plan of an Italian palace; at any rate, it was capable of supplying ample accommodation for the entertainment of an ambassador, without disturbing the main building occupied by the family. The gallery, too, opening into the beautiful gardens, is very suggestive of Italy. One seems to feel the hand of the magnificent old Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, in all these large and splendid arrangements; and to realize the thrill that his great-grandson must have experienced, extortion notwithstanding, on regaining possession of the ancestral mansion.

What the "stuff" was of which Arundel would willingly have bought part, had the Admiral's rapacity not deprived him of ready

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, James I*, Vol. VIII, 1603-10, p. 390. Grant to the Earl of Arundel and Robert Cannefield, in fee simple, of Arundel House, St Clement Danes, without Temple Bar, lately conveyed to the King by the Earl of Nottingham. (Perhaps it had been necessary to place a mortgage on the house, and that Mr Cannefield was the mortgagee.)

² See illustrations. It had been hoped to include an illustration of the exterior of old Arundel House, as it appeared in the time of the subject of this memoir. But no view exists which at all corresponds with the descriptions given by contemporary writers. Hollar's two engravings are of the courtyard, out-buildings, etc., showing only a narrow inadequate view of the house at the side; while an engraving of 1700, in the British Museum, purporting to give the approach from the river, suggests no hint anywhere of the garden, by universal acknowledgment, amongst its most conspicuous features.

money, does not appear. Sir Thomas Heneage, who shares the malediction bestowed on the Admiral, had at this time been dead many years; but had obviously obtained the property in some manner disapproved by Lord Arundel.

The lady alluded to as "old Southampton" was Mary, eldest daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montacute. Her past was linked in various ways with the Howard family. Henry Wriothesley, second Earl of Southampton, her first husband, had been the friend and companion of Arundel's grandfather, the fourth Duke of Norfolk, and had got himself into trouble by endeavouring to further the Duke's proposed marriage with Mary Queen of Scots. After Lord Southampton's death, which occurred in 1581—some years before Lord Arundel was born, so it can scarcely excite surprise if Lady Southampton's vicissitudes appeared to him somewhat ancient history—she married Sir Thomas Heneage. But this union was of short duration; and on the death of her second husband she allied herself with Sir William Hervey, an eminent soldier who survived her many years, and was subsequently created Lord Hervey of Kidbrook in recognition of his military services. The son, between whom and her third husband Lord Arundel states that Lady Southampton divided her property, was Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton, well known as the patron of Shakespeare. Involved in the rebellion of Essex, who was his intimate friend, he too was tried and condemned to be executed. Southampton's life was, however, spared; and, on the accession of James I, he was restored to position and honour.

The records for the year 1608 are especially full and interesting, and make it possible to trace Lord Arundel's footsteps with considerable clearness. The opening days of the new year are, as usual, much occupied with preparations for the masque ordered by Queen Anne, to whose initiative and love of amusement so many of the Court festivities were due.

"My wife would fayne have written," so runs a letter from Lord Arundel on the 8th January to Lord Shrewsbury, "but that her practisinge of the masque, which is now deferred untill Sondag nexte, will not give her leave." The *Masque of Beauty*, written by Ben Jonson, was presented at Court on the Sunday after Twelfth Night, 1608. Sixteen ladies of the Court, headed by the Queen herself, composed the group of masquers who executed the elaborate and beautiful dances, which so delighted the King that, after an interval during which they danced with the lords, and took a brief space of rest while a song rejoiced the company, he begged to have

both dances repeated! Half of the masquers were attired in orange-tawny and silver, the other in sea-green and silver, with bodies and short skirts on white and gold for all. They arrived on an island floating on calm water, having in the centre the Throne of Beauty, and were received on land by the River god, "Thamesis, that lay along the shores, leaning upon his urn that flowed with water, and crowned with flowers; with a blue cloth-of-silver robe about him." This important personage was enacted by "Master Thomas Giles, who made the dances."

It does not appear that Inigo Jones had any part in the dispositions for the *Masque of Beauty*. Although he and Ben Jonson were still collaborating on other occasions, the jealousy which ultimately parted them had already, perhaps, begun to make itself felt; for the desire of the poet to claim the whole credit for the invention, in this case, is hardly veiled. The part of the King's Master Carpenter, it is carefully explained, was only that of setting the scene in motion; while the Painters are deprived of any merit at all¹.

Lord Shrewsbury seems to have taken a warm interest in the performances in which his daughter took part, and it is not surprising to find Lord Arundel again alluding to the same subject in a further letter to his father-in-law on 1st February.

The Earl of Arundel to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

My Lord

I am sure you have ere this hearde of the adiornement of the parliamente, which therefore I shall not need to write of; and though y^r fitte of the goute. woulde not have given you leave to have been at this cession, yet it cannot serve y^r turne for an excuse at St George his day, when wee hope wee shall see y^r Lo^p: heere.

For the instructions received by Morehouse, I thanke y^r Lo^p: and doubte not but he will let y^r Lo^p: understande what hath bin done heere.

My wife defers her writinge till she may send yo^r Lo^p: the booke of the Queene's masque, w^{ch} will be shortly: and I am so troubled wth another masque, as I want leisure to write any more to y^r Lo^p: at this time. And therefore comending both our humble services to y^r Lo^p: I rest

Y^r Lo^{ps}: affectionat sone to coffmande

ARUNDELL.

Arundell House this first of February (1608)².

¹ Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, Vol. II, p. 164, where the complete masque is given, with all Ben Jonson's directions and comments.

² *Talbot Papers*, College of Arms, Vol. L, f. 173.

The other masque mentioned by Lord Arundel was to be a very grand affair. A letter from Rowland White to Lord Shrewsbury gives some interesting details concerning it.

The King (he says) is newly gone to Theobalds for six days. The Spanish Ambassador hath invited the fifteen ladies that were of the Queen's mask to dinner on Thursday next, and they are to bring with them whom they please, without limitation. The great mask intended for my Lord Haddington's marriage is now the only thing thought upon at Court by five English; Lord Arundel, Lord Pembroke, Lord Montgomery, Lord Theophilus Howard and Sir Robert Rich; and by seven Scots; The Duke of Lennox, D'Aubigny, Hay, Master of Mar, young Erskine, Sanquhar and Kennedy. It will cost them about £300 a man¹...

This then was the performance about which Lord Arundel was so troubled. Hardly had it come off, however, when an event occurred which was abruptly to turn the current of his thoughts into a wholly different channel. On the 13th February, 1608, the old Countess Dowager of Shrewsbury died at Hardwick, at the age of eighty-seven. The demise of this celebrated personage was a social event of the first magnitude. With the intellect of a man and the instincts of a despot, violent, strong-willed and tyrannical, "Bess of Hardwick" was more feared than loved, and it might well have been doubted whether any would be found to mourn her. Yet it would seem that, even in this hard soil, nature had planted some root of tenderness, since her daughter, the younger Lady Shrewsbury, was inconsolable in her sorrow. Lord Salisbury, who was on terms of affectionate friendship with Lord Shrewsbury, not unmixed, however, with an amusing plainness of speech, now writes to him,

I will not offer counsel to my Lady, but good wishes; only I will remember [remind] her that that noble Lady her state is better than her own; and therefore, in mourning she doth her wrong whom she so much loved.

The Dowager Lady Arundel, too, hastens to offer her condolence.

The Countess Dowager of Arundel to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

My honorable good Lord

I am sorry to here my good Sister doth take th^e death of the Lady hir mother so hevely. I have been bold to writt unto hir by this meanes, and my daughter would hir selfe most willingly have come to have done hir duty to hir La: in this time of hir heavines, but indeed I assur y^or Lo: she is not fitt to travel...and withal she hath an unsarten disposition to a fever these divers days...but she will doe well with rest and quiett... My littell boy can not but comfort hir with his sight...

¹ *Talbot Papers*, College of Arms, Vol. L, f. 131. Printed by Lodge, Vol. III, p. 223.

For my owne littell common welth of Iron Ston I dare very well rely on y^{or} Lo: judgment in a far greater matter.

Thus with my most hartly well wishes for continuance of y^{or} Lo: good health, and increase of many comforts, I now and ever rest

Your Lo: assured loving Sister and ever true frind

ANNE ARUNDELL.

My sonne is now with the King otherwise y^{or} Lo: should have hard from him.

To the right honorable my very good Lord and brother th^e Earl of Shrewsbury¹.

Lord Arundel was at Newmarket where the Court now sojourned. Thence he wrote to his wife the first that has been preserved of that series of intimate letters which, spread over many years, give so happy an impression of the atmosphere of his home. No estimate of Lord Arundel as he appeared to the outer world, whether in the performance of public duties, or as a past master of ceremonial, or as the great lover of art, would be complete which omitted to take cognizance of this aspect of his character. In grace and tenderness these letters rank high in the domestic correspondence of the period.

The Earl of Arundel to the Countess of Arundel.

My owne harte

To satisfy thy expectacion, and my promise, I write to thee at this time, though I have nothinge worthy the advertisinge of from hence, but only, the good health of thy husband, whoe hath an earnest desire, to heare the like from thee, and thy deere little boy, which he protesteth, shalbe as welcome to him as this is to thee, which is more then any newes the worlde can afforde besides.

My Lo: of Pembroke setteth forward from hence on his jorney towarde Sheffield, on Monday, and will be backe heere agayne on Saterdag.

Soe with my best love to thee, I cease to write but never to remayne

Thy ever most affectionate husband

ARUNDELL.

Newmarket this 26 of February (1608)

To my deerly beloved wife the Countesse of Arundell².

Another letter, undated, may probably be referred to about the same time.

The Same to the Same.

My dearest hart

Since the period of our mutuall happines is one in an other, I am never quiet till I send both to assure thee of my good health, and to under-

¹ *Talbot Papers*, College of Arms, Vol. O, f. 139.

² *Autograph Letters*, Arundel Castle, No. 153.

stand of thine, which shall ever be as welcome to me as the other will be to thee. Other newes I can sende thee none, but wish that the progresse were done that I might enjoy thy dearest company and for the meantime sweet

Thy most truly affectionate husband

ARUNDELL.

Tedington this Friday night.

I pray thee commend my service to my Lady & deliver my deere love to my little boy, of whose good health I shall be most glad to heare.

To my most deerely beloved wife the Countesse of Arundell hast¹.

The health of the family seems indeed to have given some cause for preoccupation at this time, as is vividly brought home by the following letter written by Lord Arundel's mother.

The Dowager Countess of Arundel to the Countess of Shrewsbury.

Good Madam

I am almost ashamed of my selfe, that I have reseved two letters from your La. since I writt unto y^u. But beleve it, good Sister, it hath not been my want of goodwill that hath caused my stay in retorne of thanks. . . . After my sonne coome from Newmarket, I assur y^u good Sister, he fell to so great a reume and sorness in his throtte, and a veament distemper for some few days, as I did assuredly think he would never have been able to have borne armour so sone after; but I doe thank our Lord, though he doe look thinn, yett he is . . . ly well. But my good daughter and y^{ors} is not so well as I hooped to have written unto y^u off; for when I last writt in hast to my honorable good brother, my Daughter had bene less well some small tim than usuall of late she hath bene. But good Sister, going out to tak a littell ayre yesterday, after her long sickly keping in, she grew soe much distempered this last night as she could not stur out of hir bed all day, but she is something better this night. . . .

Our littell Jewell hath had three fits of an ague three nights together, but I thank our Lord he hath skaped it two or three nights, but no more teeth yett broken fleshe, though we hope that to be the cause. I besech y^u, good Sister, lett me know whether y^u think it fitt now he is thus olde to lett him somtim suck of a littell bone, for hetherto I have not suffered the Nurse to use him to any fleshe.

Thus good Sister, rejoysing very much of y^{or} comfortable lines consarning the happy end of y^{or} good Lady your woorthemother, wishing y^{or} La. a happy Victory against all your melincony, which I think will best be acomplised by good open aire, which I besече you still to use as much as may be, and with all other my best wishes of love to y^{or} La., I now and ever remaine

Your La. loving Sister and ever assured frind

ANNE ARUNDELL.

Sonday night late, 3 March (1608).

I comende my most loving remembrance to my Honorable good L.

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 154.

and brother, and desir that I may not be forgotten to my Lady Elizabeth, my brother and sister Cavendishe.

To the right honorable my very loving Sister the Countess of Shrewesburye¹.

Meanwhile great preparations were going forward for the funeral of the Dowager Lady Shrewsbury. This was not to take place till May, although the poor lady had departed this life in February! So long was ofttimes required in those days to bury the mighty dead with becoming pomp. On the 3rd of April, Lord Arundel writes from Arundel House to inform his father-in-law that "the funerall at Derby is apointed to be eyther on the fourth or fifth of May, but which, Garter yet knoweth not, but rather thinketh on the fourth, because the other is holy day."

In the midst of all this, with singular incongruity, the family circle was startled with the intelligence of a sudden and secret marriage between the grandson of the deceased lady, William, eldest son of Lord Cavendish of Hardwick, and Christian, daughter and heir of Edward, Lord Kinloss. The event made a sensation; and surmise was rife as to who had promoted the match. Some said that the King had been anxious to do a good turn to Lord Kinloss, a Scottish peer, in reward for past service; an assertion which received some colour of probability from the fact that His Majesty made up the lady's dowry from the royal exchequer. Lord and Lady Arundel had another version of the tale to relate; which they hastened to be the first to impart to Lord Shrewsbury.

The Earl and Countess of Arundel to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

My Lord

Wee could not omitte to advertize your Lordship of an accident that will be soe welcome to you as that our cosin Cavendishe hath gotten a good wife, whoe was this Sondag in the morninge married to my Lo. of Kinlos his daughter. The matter hath bin soe secretly carried as it was never heard of, of any, till it was done; and, for me, I thinke I was the last; for, at my going to Whitehall after dinner, the Queene told me of it, and says that in the morning John Elveston asked her leave to goe to the wedding, which she coulde not beleeve till she heard it confirmed by more certainty. The Queene heares that Elveston, and (it is thought) my La. Arbella, were the mach-makers, and that Elveston hath five or sixe hundred pounce; that the wench is a pretty, red-headed wench, and that her porcion is seaven thousand pownde; and that she heares the youth at first refused her; and my Lo. Cavendishe told him Kinlos was well favoured by the

¹ *Talbot Papers*, College of Arms, Vol. O, f. 141. Lady Elizabeth was the young Lady Arundel's elder sister, married to Henry Grey, afterwards Earl of Kent. "My brother and sister Cavendishe" were doubtless Henry Cavendish, eldest son of the Dowager Lady Shrewsbury (by her second husband, Sir William Cavendish), who had married Grace, sister of Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury.

Queene, and if he refused it would make him the worse by an hundred thousand pounce; but I am sure the Queene is far from being pleased withall nowe it is done.

And soe, with our service to your L. and my La. we rest your Lordship's affectionate sone and daughter to comand,

ARUNDELL. A. ARUNDELL¹.

Lord Arundel himself appears not to have been present at the obsequies of the Dowager Lady Shrewsbury; his attendance on the King probably detaining him at Newmarket. It is not recorded whether the sponsorship of his eldest son produced any tangible result such as was perhaps hoped for, especially in view of the fact that a good deal of Talbot money had been wheedled out of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, by the insatiable lady. At any rate, it fell to Lord Pembroke, as the husband of the eldest Talbot grand-daughter, and to the Cavendish family, who succeeded to Hardwick and to most of its owner's wealth, to take the principal parts in the funeral ceremonial.

The Earl of Arundel to the Countess of Arundel.

My deerest harte

Since my thoughtes are withoute intermission fixed on thee, I cannot let any occasion slippe whereby I may contente thee, and please my selfe, by repeateing the infinite happines and only contentment of my life, which I enjoy by thee.

I shall not neede to tell you what I have hearde from Sheffeld, because I sende you the only letter which I received by Havers², whome I mette within foure or five miles of London. He brought from my Lo: a greate packet w^{ch} he hath sente to Mr Hamon; wherein are letters to my Lo: of Salisbury, and many others. He sayes y^r mother takes the death of y^r Grandmother very ill; and because she knowes you will do soe to, she badde him desire me, if he mette me at Newmarket, to go presently to London to comfort yⁿ; and my Lo: sayes he will presently paye all his debtes.

My Lo: Cavendishe his sonne went from the interring of his Grandmother's body at Derby, to his uncle Henry³, and there remayneth still. Havers telleth me to, my Lo: of Pembroke goes on Monday from Newmarkette to visit Sheffelde. I wish that there were no more dissembling in any body then there is betweene thee and mee; then there should neede none of all this adoe, but everye bodyes deedes and sayings should agree

¹ *Talbot Papers*, College of Arms, Vol. L, f. 155. Printed by Lodge, Vol. III, p. 232, and by Nichols, *Progresses*, etc., Vol. II, p. 193. The two A's are conjoined.

² The Havers family had served the Howards for many generations, John Havers was Gentleman of the Horse to the Duke of Norfolk, who perished at the battle of Bosworth. A succession of his descendants were stewards and bailiffs to the various heads of the Howard family. Ultimately they purchased the manor of Winfarthing (in Norfolk) and built a mansion there. (Blomefield's *Norfolk*, Vol. I, p. 150.) At this time, however, Winfarthing was still the property of Lord Arundel. (See p. 96, text and note.)

³ See note 2, p. 27.

with theyre meaninges, as it is between thee and thy most affectionat loving husband

ARUNDELL.

I pray give my little sweete boy very greate thanks for his token, and because I have none heere to requite it, give him twenty kisses from me, and my deerest blessing ever.

*To my most deerly beloved wife, the Countesse of Arundell (May, 1608)*¹.

On the 15th August, 1608, Lord Arundel's second son, Henry Frederick, was born. The grandmother, as usual, writes to Lady Shrewsbury, to give her all details of the interesting event. The child is "not sicke, but a most earnest criar²." The christening was again a subject of much debate. Queen Anne proffered herself as godmother, this time in good earnest. But the plague made her afraid to go to London; and she seemed unable to make up her mind whether to have the child brought to Hampton Court, or to send someone to Arundel House to act as her proxy, or to postpone the ceremony to wholesomer days. The poor grandmother was in despair. Lord Arundel was suffering acutely from tooth-ache, and quite unfit to go backwards and forwards to the Court, trying to bring the Queen to some definite decision. Meanwhile the elder Lady Arundel, alarmed by the violent fits of crying, which upset the child's health, trembled lest it should die unregenerate. "I will not willingly be in the house again wher a poore child shalbe so long defered from christening in such a case," is her distressful exclamation, in a letter written at this time to Lady Shrewsbury³.

Ultimately, however, the ceremony was fixed for the day month of the boy's birth, and came off with general satisfaction, the Queen and her two elder children being present in person.

Your Lordship's little ones here, I thank God, be reasonably well (writes the Dowager Lady Arundel to Lord Shrewsbury, not long after the christening), and the younger is now named Frederick Henry⁴. I will not trouble your Lordship with any long discourse, but the Queen's Majesty, and the sweet Prince, and my Lady Elizabeth her Grace, were all well pleased, for anything I saw or heard, but the foul weather did keep back the pretty sweet Duke. I assure your Lordship the greatest want was your worthy self and my good Lady my sister⁵.

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 155.

² *Talbot Papers*, College of Arms, Vol. O, f. 143.

³ *Ibid.* f. 145.

⁴ It should be Henry Frederick.

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. O, f. 149. Printed by Lodge, Vol. III, p. 238. The "sweet Prince" was Henry, soon to be created Prince of Wales; "my Lady Elizabeth," the future Princess Palatine and Queen of Bohemia; "the pretty sweet Duke," Prince Charles, who now bore the title of Duke of York.

After the many anxieties of this devoted lady concerning the various members of her son's family, it is refreshing to read in a letter from Thomas Coke to Lady Shrewsbury, written on 17th September, that "my Lord and Lady of Arundel, together with the young Lord [James Lord Maltravers] and his fair brother, are all very well¹."

Two further letters may round off this cycle of domestic correspondence. The first is from the pen of the young Lady Arundel, in response to a request from her parents to send the children to be seen of certain friends who unluckily are unnamed. The grandparents seem playfully to have addressed their request direct to the eldest little boy. The children meanwhile were staying at Sutton with the Dowager Lady Arundel, the faithful scribe of the second letter.

The Countess of Arundel to her father, the Earl of Shrewsbury.

I received a letter from your lo^p. and my lady, written to our littel boye, for whome and his brother (both because they are not yet able to aunswere for them selves, and for that there isus [issues] in it a taske layde upon me, to see them performe your comandmentes), I must in theyre behalfe undertake, that, the nexte fayre day after they come from Sutton, they shall performe the jorney to that good lord and his lady, to whome I forbear to signify your Lo^{ps} pleasure and my ladyes, till the children may be here to accomplish it.

My lord ment to have written nowe, but that he is gone to Royston with the Kinge, and this bearer goeth away in his absence.

So with the remembrance of my humbel duti to your Lo^p and my

¹ *Talbot Papers*, College of Arms, Vol. M, f. 535. Printed by Lodge, Vol. III, p. 241. Thomas Coke often reappears in these annals. He was a man of education, and seems to have been one of those gentlemen, younger sons of good families, or members of the minor gentry, frequently found at this period in the service of noblemen. He was employed at this time by Lord Shrewsbury; as becomes evident not only from the letter quoted above, but from the fact that his name occurs in a list of "six of my Lord's servants" granted by the King to attend on Lady Shrewsbury during her imprisonment, at a rather later date, in the Tower. Other names of similar standing, familiar as the writers of letters, or through mention in correspondence, such as Hercy, Hammond, etc., occur in the same list (*Loc. cit.* Vol. O, f. 153.) Subsequently Thomas Coke, or more probably a son of like name, was in the service of Lord Arundel, who sent him to Italy in charge of his two elder sons. The latter were brought up as members of the Established Church, into which they were baptized at Court. The Catholic chaplain of Anne, Lady Arundel, says that "the man who, by his father's appointment, taught and tutored" James, Lord Maltravers, "both in England and Italy, was not only an heretic, but also a minister." Tierney, relying probably on this passage, says Coke was, he "believes," a clergyman. (p. 421.) It seems a little difficult to understand how an ordained member of the Church of England, should have been engaged in the service of a definite Roman Catholic family, such as the Talbots then were. (Aletheia, Lady Arundel, remained all her life of that communion.) But it is quite possible that Coke's ordination, if it was a fact, only took place after the severance of his connection with Lord Shrewsbury: or more probable still that the tutor, Thomas Coke, was, as suggested above, the son of Lord Shrewsbury's old servant. The frequency with which successive generations took opposite sides in religion, needs no comment.

lady, beseeching you both for your blesings to me and my boys, I humbly take my leve and will remeane evere,

Your Lo^{ps} and my ladys most obedient daughter

A. ARUNDELL.

Whitehall, this 1st January (1609).

To the right honorable my very good lord and father the Earle of Shrewsbury¹.

The Countess Dowager of Arundel to the Countess of Shrewsbury.

My honorable good Sister

I praye you think it no want of dew respect unto your La. my long silence, for I had no newes to writt of my swett boys till now, and, for all other matters, I presume manny that can sett forth in far better sortt will advertize your La.

And now good Sister, to fall to my theme, the pretty swett Maltraverse begineth to find his feete prettly well, and hath one of his great teth this last week; and his littell pretty brother hath his first teeth come, and two within seven days, so as I thank God, though they have had paine and great trouble with them, yett I trust they shall well pass over the others to come, only I am to lett your La. know that these littell bonns [bones] hath bene the cause why they have bene letted in the discharge of the first coñmandement it pleased the Noble Grandfather and your La. to geve them in charge, and, God willing, I hope very shortly they shall performe. I will not trouble you, good Sister, now, with any longer lines, butt meaneth to salute y^u with my letters againe before my departur towards Norfolk, wher God willing I will see how the sea ayre will woork with my lame limes [limbs], which maketh me much worse disposed for hart of exercise; but ever with my best respects to your La. and my honorable Brother, I ever rest,

Your La. assured loving Sister

A. ARUNDELL.

To the right honorable my very loving Sister the Countess of Shrowsbury².

(January, 1609.)

Other children joined the little group as the years rolled on. Six sons altogether were born to Lord and Lady Arundel. Thomas and Gilbert, the third and fourth sons, died in infancy. William, the fifth son, born the 30th November, 1611, lived to become Lord Stafford, and perished on the scaffold in 1680, falsely accused of participation in the Popish Plot. He was the author of the *Historical Account of Thomas Earl of Arundel*, often quoted here³. Charles, the sixth son, died a child, in 1620. Two only of this numerous progeny survived their father: Henry Frederick, who succeeded him; and William, Lord Stafford⁴.

¹ *Talbot Papers*, Coll. of Arms, Vol. O, f. 155.

² *Ibid.* Vol. O, f. 159.

³ See Appendix III.

⁴ Tierney says (p. 487) there was *also* one daughter, Catherine, quoting Dugdale's *Baronage*, II, 277, as his authority. But neither in Dugdale, nor elsewhere, can I find any mention of such a daughter. Nor does Lord Arundel himself, when speaking in his will of his six sons, make any allusion to a daughter. The statement of Tierney would therefore appear to rest on error. (Henry Frederick had a daughter Catherine, who married John Digby and who figures in the Van Dyck—Fruytiers group of Thomas and Aletheia with their *grandchildren*. See *post*, p. 1.)

CHAPTER V.

THE FITZALAN COLLECTIONS LEFT TO LORD LUMLEY.

1609.

THE year 1609 is usually named as that in which Lord Arundel made his first great journey abroad. So far as any prolonged absence from England is concerned, that statement appears to rest on error. It is quite possible that, towards the middle of the year, he may have made one of those short trips to the Continent which leave little or no recorded trace. But this, though far from improbable, rests wholly on surmise; while modern research affords conclusive evidence that Arundel's first important sojourn on the Continent did not take place before 1612¹.

In the spring of 1609, there is ample proof of the presence of Lord and Lady Arundel in England. Early in February, the latter appeared in Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queens*, celebrated at Whitehall by Queen Anne and eleven ladies of the Court. The scenery and mechanism were by Inigo Jones². On the anniversary of the King's accession, 25th March, Lord Arundel is again found in the tilting-ring. A letter from Dudley Carleton³ to Sir Thomas Edmondess, in

¹ In the *Calendar of State Papers*, Venetian Series, Vol. XI, No. 490, under date 27th April, 1609, is an account of the introduction to the Doge and Council of Venice, by the British Ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton, of the "Baruncino di Aronden"; which is there interpreted, and indexed, as meaning Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. This is undoubtedly a mistake. Not only is the "Baruncino" said to have been in Venice several months, and to be about to depart, whereas we know that Thomas, Earl of Arundel was tilting at the English Court on the previous 24th March; but the title is wholly inappropriate to him. The person who is almost certainly meant is Thomas, eldest son of the first Baron Arundell of Wardour, who was at this time about twenty-five years of age. (He subsequently became the husband of the famous Blanche, Lady Arundell, who defended Wardour Castle against the Parliamentary forces.) The various series of State Papers show other instances in which Thomas, Earl of Arundel, has been confused with the Arundells of Wardour, as well as with his uncle, Lord Thomas Howard (Lord Howard of Walden, subsequently Earl of Suffolk).

² A Treasury note of June 16th records a payment to Inigo Jones "for carreinge Lfes for his Mat's servyce into Fraunce." Cunningham's *Life of Inigo Jones*, p. 9.

³ Dudley Carleton, afterwards knighted, finally created Viscount Dorchester, who will often reappear in these pages, was one of the ablest diplomatists of his day. He was born at Brightwell, in Oxfordshire, in 1573, and educated at Westminster and Christchurch, Oxford. Having occupied the post of secretary to Henry, Earl of Northumberland, early in the year of the Gunpowder treason, he fell under suspicion of having been privy to the plot, but was able completely to clear himself. He travelled with Lord Norris in Spain and France. In 1610, he

which the combatants are enumerated by name, gives a curious account of some of the contributions offered for the delectation of the spectators.

...The Duke of Lennox (so it runs), exceeded all in feathers; the Lord Walden in followers; and Sir Richard Preston in a pageant which was an elephant with a castle on his back¹....

The death of Arundel's great-uncle, John, Lord Lumley, in April of this year, opens the door to some interesting considerations. It has already been seen that his great-grandfather, Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, left Nonsuch to Lord Lumley. After the death of his father-in-law, the latter became more and more involved in financial difficulties. In 1590, he resolved to make over the Nonsuch estate to Queen Elizabeth, in exchange for other lands, to avoid further expense in keeping it up². It seems probable that the majority of the Nonsuch pictures were, shortly before this transaction, removed to Lumley Castle, and that this was the occasion which gave rise to the inventory already mentioned³.

Undoubtedly, some portion of the heritage which devolved on Lord Lumley, would, in the natural course of events, have come to Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, the direct and sole representative of the Fitzalan blood. It is known that "the olde" Lord Arundel considerably modified his dispositions for the future on account of the reckless and extravagant youth of his grandson, Philip Howard, at this time, Earl of Surrey; but Philip's son, Thomas, was not born till five years after "the olde" Lord Arundel's death. Thus it came about that, in 1580, Lord Lumley became the owner of Nonsuch, with all its priceless collections. Jane, Lady Lumley, had died in 1577, and none of the three children of the marriage had survived

succeeded Sir Henry Wotton as ambassador at Venice, where he remained five years. In 1616, he was sent in a similar capacity to the Hague, and later on a special mission to France. During his absence on the latter embassy, he was elected M.P. for Hastings. In 1626 he was raised to the Upper House as Lord Carleton of Imbercourt; and, in 1628, made Viscount Dorchester. He was an eye-witness of the murder of the Duke of Buckingham, who was his patron and friend. He died in 1632, having for the last three years of his life filled the office of chief Secretary of State. He was twice married, but left no children. Dorchester was conspicuously interested in collecting works of art. He corresponded with the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arundel, and himself possessed fine pictures and statues.

¹ 30th March, 1609, printed by Birch, *Court and Times of James I*, Vol. I, p. 92. What was the connection between the Elephant and Castle, which became, as we know, a popular public-house sign?

² Lord Lumley continued, however, to reside at Nonsuch, nominally as Keeper, and it was at Nonsuch that he died in 1609.

³ See *ante*, p. 4, note 1.

infancy. Lord Lumley was therefore a childless widower when he came into his inheritance. Yet in the absence of any successor except the then unsatisfactory Philip, the old Lord Arundel's choice of an heir was not unnatural. Lord Lumley had been a devoted son-in-law. He had shared the home life at Nonsuch for many years. His sister, Barbara Lumley, had married Humphrey Llwyd, Lord Arundel's private physician, who took charge of the fine library gathered at Nonsuch by his patron. Lord Lumley was himself a man of recognised learning, and a collector of books and pictures. His pursuits were therefore congenial to his father-in-law; while his strong Catholic sympathies must have furnished another link in common. It was unfortunate that they drew him, under Lord Arundel's influence, into the meshes of the Ridolfi conspiracy. Except for that episode, his life was irreproachable, while his character and accomplishments were held in high esteem by his contemporaries.

At the present day, it is impossible to apportion with accuracy the share of each collector in the amalgamated list of pictures enumerated in the inventory of 1590. But it may be taken as practically certain that by far the larger portion consisted of what, for clearness sake, shall here be called the Fitzalan collection. The inventory, which records mainly portraits, reflects the old Lord Arundel's public and diplomatic career with such curious precision, as to make conclusion irresistible. Nearly all the English and foreign notabilities with whom he came into personal contact, are represented in its pages.

Some of the most noteworthy of these portraits, particularly of those ascribed to "Haunce Holbyn," reappear in the inventory of the collection of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, drawn up at Amsterdam, in 1655, after the death of his widow¹. It would be of great interest to ascertain at what period these pictures came into Lord Arundel's possession. His mother, Anne Dacre, Lady Arundel, must have been well acquainted with the Fitzalan collections, for she saw them before they left Nonsuch. In the early days of her husband's neglect and desertion, she had received the utmost consideration from the old Earl of Arundel, who invited her to Nonsuch, where she remained until his death. She herself testifies to the kindness shown by her uncle, Lord Lumley, at the time of her "heavy fortune"; but whether at this early period or after the death of her husband in the Tower, does not appear.

It would have seemed but natural, therefore, had Lord Lumley

¹ See Appendix v.

left back to his great-nephew, the only representative of the Fitzalan blood, some portion of the inheritance forfeited by the youthful follies of that nephew's father, Philip, Earl of Arundel; especially as Lord Lumley himself had no direct heir to succeed him. It is true that the nature of the property thus alienated is not specified. There is no means of judging whether lands, works of art, or other possessions, were intended. But family portraits might well be supposed fitting objects for such a legacy; to say nothing of other remarkable works closely linked with the personality and career of the same ancestor. It is disappointing, therefore, to find that not only does the will of Lord Lumley make no mention of Thomas, Earl of Arundel¹, but (more surprising still), it contains no allusion to works of art in any connection. The road by which these paintings found their way into the collection of Thomas, Lord Arundel, must therefore be sought elsewhere. It certainly was not by that of a legacy from his great-uncle.

It will be convenient slightly to anticipate our narrative, in order to bring into sequence all the facts respecting the Fitzalan inheritance. Another will, drawn up some seven years later (November, 1616), furnishes the missing information. It is that of Lord Lumley's second wife, Elizabeth Darcy, whom he had married in 1582. This lady who died early in 1617, appears to have gained a considerable ascendancy over her husband in his declining years. He had, on his marriage, settled Nonsuch upon her. When Nonsuch was handed over to the Queen, it became necessary to make other arrangements for Lady Lumley's future. In 1594, the Manor of Stansted was settled upon her. But no ordinary estate could, in splendour and prestige, replace Nonsuch. Further compensations were probably sought to restore the balance; and it may be presumed that amongst these was the transference to her of the works of art she would probably have inherited, under the former disposition, with the famous palace. Be this as it may, the collections seem to have remained at her disposal, with the power of leaving them to whom she pleased. The portion housed at Lumley, forming the bulk of the pictures, she bequeathed, on certain conditions, which were doubtless fulfilled, to Sir Richard Lumley (on whom Lord Lumley had entailed the northern properties); perhaps in consequence of some understanding arrived at with her husband during his life-time.

And then and in such case I give and bequeath to the said Sir Richard Lumley and to those that shall succeed him in the Castle of Lumley, all

¹ The name of his mother, Anne, Countess of Arundel, occurs once, in connection with some disputed property in Hayling Island, to which we shall shortly return.

my howshold stuffe with marbles and pictures as shall be in the Castle of Lumley at the tyme of my death there to remaine as Airelomes to that house so longe as they will endure¹.

But her will reveals that there were other "marbles and pictures" in Lord Lumley's London house, at Tower Hill². This residence which became her property, absolutely, on the death of Lord Lumley, she had already, during her widowhood, made over to her brother, Thomas, third Lord Darcy of Chiche. This gift she now confirms by her will; entailing it, after his death, upon his daughter, Elizabeth, Lady Savage, and her heirs. There follows a similar clause to that concerning Lumley: "And for such marbles and pictures as shalbe in my house at Towerhill at the tyme of my death . . . my wyll is that the same shall remaine as Aireloomes to that house unto the heires thereof as long as they will endure³."

It would be of great interest to ascertain of what these "marbles and pictures" at Tower Hill consisted. The marbles it is impossible now to trace. But of the pictures it may reasonably be inferred that they formed a portion, even if a numerically small one, of those included in the Lumley inventory of 1590: and that when the remainder of the collection had been sent to Lumley, these had been reserved for the adornment of the London house. They may indeed have stayed at Nonsuch till Lord Lumley's death, and only then have been removed to the house at Tower Hill.

The evidence on which this assumption rests, is to be found in a second inventory, drawn up for purposes of probate at the time of Lord Lumley's decease in 1609⁴. This inventory refers to the contents of Lumley Castle *only*: the former inventory—that of 1590—embraces his possessions in all his houses, that is, Nonsuch, Tower Hill, and perhaps Cheam, in addition to Lumley. A comparison of these two inventories shows a deficit of twenty-two or twenty-three in the number of pictures recorded in the later document, i.e. that dealing with the contents of Lumley Castle only. The obvious inference is that these missing pictures never made the journey to the north at all. The early reappearance of certain items of the larger inventory (1590) in the possession of other owners in or near London, is thus easily and naturally explained.

¹ See *Records of the Lumleys*, pp. 94–100, where the will of Elizabeth, Lady Lumley, is printed in copious extracts.

² Nichols says that Lumley House was a mansion built by Sir Thomas Wyat, *temp.* Henry VIII, on the site of the monastery of Crutched Friars near Tower Hill. He quotes Pennant's *London* as the authority for this statement (*Progresses of James I*, Vol. iv, p. 607, note 3).

³ *Records of the Lumleys*, p. 97.

⁴ Preserved with Lord Lumley's original will at the Probate Registry, Durham, where the wills formerly at the Consistory Court are now kept.

If we may accept this conclusion, it appears that amongst the pictures retained for the house at Tower Hill, were some of the gems of the collection. Holbein's portraits of the Duchess of Milan, of Sir Henry and Lady Guildford, of Sir Thomas Wyat, and of Erasmus, a water-colour drawing by Dürer of Henry, Lord Morley, to name only a few of the most important¹, all come to light again in the collection of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. The "greate booke" of Holbein drawings, too, now in the royal collection, which belonged to Lord Arundel, after passing through the hands of Charles I and Lord Pembroke, had doubtless found a previous home in the house at Tower Hill. The fact, however, that it had two other owners before it became Lord Arundel's property, shows that it did not pass direct from Lady Lumley's heirs into his possession.

The young Lord and Lady Arundel must certainly have been acquainted with the house at Tower Hill, and also with Nonsuch, in its later days. The letter written in 1604, before their marriage, by Elizabeth, Lady Lumley, to Lady Shrewsbury, may be recalled, in which she speaks of Lord Arundel as her "nere kinsman," and affirms that she "honours and loves" Lady Aletheia "with her harte²." It may be observed, however, that she adds no word of commendation of "the yong man," contenting herself, though evidently eager to say what would be pleasing to Lady Shrewsbury, with the bare statement of relationship. If at this time she had already laid her plans to leave the natural inheritance of her "near kinsman" to her own family, it was perhaps not surprising that her feelings towards him lacked something in cordiality.

When the property at Tower Hill was broken up and came into the market, is not known. Lord Darcy, created in 1626 Earl of Rivers, died in 1639. He was succeeded by his grandson; his son-in-law, Sir Thomas Savage, who meanwhile had been raised to the peerage as Viscount Savage of Rocksavage, in Cheshire, having predeceased him in 1635. But the portrait of the Duchess of Milan was seen by Sandrart in Lord Arundel's possession as early as 1627: and it seems likely that, tempted by the offers of collectors, Lord Darcy allowed the "marbles and pictures" which were to have remained in the house as "Aireloomes so long as they will endure," to drift into new homes, as opportunity offered, in the years that succeeded the death of his sister.

It was a singularly perverse fate, particularly in the case of a man already so impoverished by the misfortunes of his ancestors, that, over and over again, by no fault of his own, Thomas, Earl of Arundel,

¹ See Appendix v, where further details are given.

² See *ante*, p. 26.

had either to forego, or to recover by heavy purchase, possessions which, in happier circumstances, would have been his by right. It has been seen what happened in the case of Arundel House. History repeats itself with regard to the Fitzalan collections. A third instance occurred in 1611, when, on the death of Lord Howard of Bindon, to whom he was heir-at-law, all the property of that cousin proved to have been left away to the sons of Lord Howard of Walden.

If the facts recorded above have been rightly interpreted, it follows that there was no real dispersal of any portion of the Fitzalan collections till after the death of the second Lady Lumley in 1617. It is of course impossible, at this distance of time, to say for certain that nothing was alienated before that date. Here and there, by gift, purchase or exchange, some item of the list may have shifted its abode. But Lady Lumley's strong desire to keep the collections intact, shown by her leaving them as heirlooms, reduces to a fraction the chance of this having happened to any appreciable extent. The bulk of the collection, at Lumley, seems indeed to have remained for long unbroken. How ill, on the other hand, she succeeded with regard to the portion retained at Tower Hill, has already been shown. But at least her intention saves us the trouble of looking elsewhere for owners during her life-time. In justice it should also be said, perhaps, that there may have been at Tower Hill works of art collected by Lord Lumley, or by herself, in addition to those almost certainly derived from the Fitzalan collection.

This interlude may well be concluded by a characteristic letter from Anne, Lady Arundel, to her son, written soon after Lord Lumley's death in 1609; the contents of which throw some light on the relationship between the two families at this period.

The tenancy of the manor of Hayling, on Hayling Island, was the subject of dispute. As far as can be gathered from the involved and incomplete notices on the subject, the property belonged to Anne, Lady Arundel, but had been rented by Lord Lumley, who desired to retain possession of it for himself and his heirs. His will contains a clause imposing on Richard Lumley the payment of an annual rent of fifty pounds to Lady Arundel during her life, and to her successors after her death¹. Lady Arundel, however, was anxious to regain possession of her property, and to make good her claim. Her son appears to have made some suggestion that she should postpone for a time taking steps in this direction. Her reply exhibits the usual combination of warm affection with shrewd sense.

¹ The will was proved 22nd April, 1609. The original will is at the Probate Registry, Durham; a copy is to be found at Somerset House.

The Dowager Countess of Arundel to the Earl of Arundel.

My good Sonne

. . . Your opinion, sweete harte, for sending to my Lady Lumley, I will follow by writing very shortly. But I besech y^u consider well consarning my entry of Hayling, for I doute the deferring of it may rather bring harme than otherwise. This is my reason. My Lady Lumley knoweth very well that it was both thought by us, as hath been said to himself, that my L. hir late husband did great wronge in keeping of itt, and therefor that I think it, my right cannot seme strang to hir; besids she sayed, as I think y^u told me, that hir Lord had made some formar estate befor he made it to y^{or} Lo.; which to avoide I think it fittest to holde my owne and y^{or} true right on foote, rather than by forbering to geve advantage, if in the Lady Lumley's life, or after, that gifte shall appere. For being beholding to my L. Lumley so much as I was in time of my hevy fortune, I had cause to forbear him; yett y^u know, swett harte, he payed me still the olde rentt, and my doute is that if y^u speake to Sir Thomas Savage of it, or if it be done, happely she will desire to forbear it, which will not be good, I think, for y^u nor me. But, if it were done, y^u might say to him that y^u see y^u must be beholding to hir and me bothe for Haling; and then y^u may forbear any question aboute the farme till y^u see time.

I writt what I think; but, good Sonne, if my brother and y^u think it better to be deferred, use y^{or} discretion. But I think you will happely, if y^u talke wth Sr Thomas Savage and in general desir his furtherance for what is fitt for y^u in Sussex, to have it before an other, and if y^u find any hope, I shall rather think fitt to stay woord or entry of Hailing than to nam it except he urge itt.

You see, my owne deare Sonne, how y^{or} fonnd Mother hath used many woords to small purposs, but gladly would I doe for the best for y^u and yours; and, by my good Brother when he cometh hether, y^u shall understand my mind more at lardge, for other causes.

In the meane time, I comitt y^u and my sweet Daughter to God his most holy grace and (? keeping), ever remayning

your Lo. ever affectionate loving Mother

ANNE ARUNDELL.

1st of May, Rising.

I thank you much for my porposs pye.

*To the right honorable my assured loving Sonne the Earle of Arundel*¹.

The "good Brother" was no doubt Lord Shrewsbury; and it is interesting to observe that he was about to pay her a visit at Castle Rising, in Norfolk.

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 160.

CHAPTER VI.

PRINCE HENRY. ARUNDEL'S FIRST VISIT TO ITALY. PRINCESS ELIZABETH.

1610—1613.

NEARLY all the notices of Lord Arundel in 1610 are connected with Prince Henry, who was now coming prominently to the front. The precocious intelligence of the young prince, the maturity of his judgment, and the strong interests he developed simultaneously in many divergent directions, mark him out as a character of no common order. His attention to public affairs, his correspondences with ambassadors, his relations with royal personages abroad, especially with the Court of France, are what might be expected of a man of five-and-twenty rather than of a boy of sixteen. It has already been stated that the Nonsuch library was acquired for him in 1609. Soon the addition of valuable pictures and medals was to illustrate yet another aspect of his varied activities, and ultimately to form the nucleus of the celebrated collection of his brother, Charles I. His choice of friends, too, was remarkable in one so young. He was "known," says Lord Stafford, "to valew none but extraordinary persons¹." He ordered his household on strict lines, and none could take a liberty with him. Yet this boy, filled with martial ardour, always studying military problems, and devoted to every form of sport, had nothing of the prig about him. Excelling in all manly exercises, especially in riding, his magnificent collection of horses, of home and foreign breed, soon became famous. Supreme, perhaps, above all his striking qualities, was his love of the sea, and enthusiasm for everything concerning ships, which he displayed in frequent visits to Woolwich, to watch the progress of those under construction. In this he showed himself a true son of England.

On Twelfth Night, 1610, the Prince performed his first feat of arms, in the presence of the King and Queen, the foreign ambassadors, and a brilliant company of guests. "Prince Henry's Barriers," maintained by him and six assistants, against all comers, found no fewer than fifty-six defenders; and the old Banqueting House at Whitehall rang with the echoes of the contest from ten o'clock at night till three in the morning. Lord Arundel, who was one of the

¹ *Historical Account*, etc. (Appendix III).

Prince's six supporters, seems always to have acquitted himself creditably in these martial exercises. The prize-winners on this occasion were the Earl of Montgomery (younger brother of the Earl of Pembroke), Mr Thomas Darcy (son of Lord Darcy of Chiche, who predeceased his father and left no issue), and Sir Robert Gordon.

At the end of March, Prince Frederick Ulric, son of the Duke of Brunswick and nephew of Queen Anne, arrived on a visit to England, and was the guest of Prince Henry at St James'. A fight between lions and dogs was arranged for his entertainment at the Tower, to which Lord Arundel, the Duke of Lennox, and others, accompanied the two princes.

The great event of the year was the creation of Prince Henry as Prince of Wales. The ceremonial, which was spread over several days, was conducted with much pomp and splendour. On the 3rd June, the Prince and twenty-four other gentlemen, were made Knights of the Bath. The day following, the young prince, apparelled in purple velvet, attended by some of the great officials of the Court, and by all his fellow Knights, the latter in purple satin, presented himself in the "great white chamber" of the Palace of Westminster. Here the King, crowned and robed, awaited his son's arrival, accompanied by the members of both Houses of Parliament, the foreign ambassadors, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. Lord Arundel, in attendance on the King, bore the swords, Lord Winchester the cap of maintenance; the other great officers of state were grouped about the throne. The ceremony over, and the patent read, a grand procession was formed through Westminster Hall to the water-stairs, where a gay concourse of barges conveyed the company to Whitehall to partake of a splendid banquet, graced with the strains of choice music.

What a setting must the Thames of those days have afforded for such an occasion!—the crowd of brilliant craft marshalled on the unsullied waters; the fifty-four barges of the City Companies bearing "their proper ensigns, banners, and streamers," the gala liveries of the royal and private vessels, the whole bright company floating, in appointed order, down the broad stream of the noble river.

On the day after the principal ceremony, a masque was performed which must have been amongst the most picturesque of its kind. "Tethys' Festival, or the Queen's Wake," was Queen Anne's special contribution to the festivities in honour of her eldest son. In the first half, the little Duke of York played a leading part, being the central figure of a dance, in which twelve little girls, of about his own age, fluttered around him. The second part was performed by

the Queen herself, supported by thirteen ladies, each of whom personified a river near her home. Queen Anne took the part of Tethys, the Queen of the Ocean; the brilliant young Princess Elizabeth was the nymph of the Thames; the unfortunate Lady Arabella Stuart, whose bright star was so soon to be engulfed in black disaster, represented the Trent; Lady Arundel appeared as the Arun.

Tilting, in which Lord Arundel, as usual, took part, and a grand display of fireworks and water-pageants on the Thames, occupied the last day of the festivities.

The Prince of Wales was now given an establishment of his own; and it is interesting to find that, in January, 1611, Inigo Jones was appointed his Surveyor of the Works. Inigo had just before devised for him, at a cost of over a thousand pounds, the dresses and machinery of a masque, *Oberon, the Fairy Prince*, which Prince Henry presented before the King on the night of New Year's Day. Ben Jonson composed the words.

On Tuesday the Prince gave his masque (writes the Venetian Ambassador), which was very beautiful throughout, very decorative, but most remarkable for the grace of the Prince's every movement¹.

The services of the great architect were also employed in a more serious field. He was commissioned by the Prince to build a room at Whitehall, for the special purpose of housing his collection of pictures. It was known as the Cabinet Room, and stood on the site subsequently occupied by Melbourne House².

His Highness (writes the same Ambassador quoted above), . . . attends to the disposition of his houses, having already ordered many gardens and fountains, and some new buildings. He is paying special attention to the adorning of a most beautiful gallery of very fine pictures, ancient and modern, the larger part brought out of Venice. He is also collecting books for a library he has built³.

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, Vol. XII, 1612, No. 159. Marc' Antonio Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate. London, 14th January, 1611.

² Nichols, *Prog. of James I*, Vol. II, p. 489, note.

³ *Ibid. loc. cit.*—An interesting side-glance at the portraits of Prince Henry by Isaac Oliver, the miniature-painter, occurs in a letter from Mr Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, from London, 13th Nov., 1611. (Birch's *Life and Times of James I*, Vol. I, p. 145.) The Mr Parkhurst referred to may be the William Parkhurst who was ultimately British diplomatic agent at Turin; and who is confused in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* with Henry Parkhurst, subsequently Master of Balliol College, Oxford.

"Mr Parkhurst is retired into Kent, and Bilford he hath preferred to the Prince, with asseveration and wagers of three of his choice pictures against three of the Prince's horses, that he shall draw or portray the Prince better than *Isaac, the French painter, in the Black Friars*; but the opinion is that he must have many grains of allowance to hold weight with Isaac...."

The result of this interesting wager is unfortunately not recorded.

Looking back at the mind which gathered together so valuable a collection of pictures, and objects of art, in so short a time—since all must have been done in 'the last few years of his brief life—the question arises, what opportunity had Prince Henry enjoyed for forming such a taste? What first roused his interest in art? Where and how did he acquire the requisite knowledge? Not until four months before his death, was Abraham Van der Doort appointed Keeper of the Prince's pictures: the collection was then in being. Lord Arundel's influence may indeed have gone far in awakening the Prince's interest in such matters; for although Arundel was not at this time in a position to buy extensively himself, his love of pictures was well known, and the judgment which appears so ripe when he first becomes prominent as a collector, must have taken many years to mature. But of him, too, the same questions might be asked. And the answer is probably the same in both cases. Surely not enough weight has been attached to the presence and counsel of Inigo Jones in these crucial years. There can have been no other Englishman at this time, so familiar with the great works of the Italian Renaissance, so capable of exciting enthusiasm for them in these young and powerful minds. The man of genius who had spent long years of his life in Italy, and especially at Venice, studying the finest products of art, who went there, be it remembered, as a painter, albeit he returned an architect (emulating in this the example of the great Italian masters themselves, who practised all branches of art simultaneously), the man whose judgment upon pictures was constantly sought by Lord Arundel in later years, must have been the person of all others to help and guide the initial footsteps of his royal and also of his noble patron.

In September, 1610, Arundel had been present with the Prince of Wales at the launching of the great ship named after him, "The Prince Royal." In the following May, he is again found accompanying his young master, with Lord Shrewsbury, Lord Mar, Sir Thomas Chaloner, and others, on one of those excursions so dear to the heart of the Prince. The object was to inspect the ships lying off Chatham. At five in the morning Prince Henry took his barge at Whitehall, and began the picturesque voyage down the river. At six o'clock in the evening, the "Olde Dock" at Chatham was reached, and the illustrious guests were entertained at supper by Mr Lediard, Clerk of the Cheque. The following morning Prince Henry boarded his own ship, the "Prince" accompanied by Phineas Pett, master-builder of the Navy, and his special *protégé*. They then sailed down the line, ship by ship, the Prince taking careful notes of the informa-

tion he received respecting each one. The mid-day repast followed, for which the company went on shore; after which the inspection of the morning was resumed, the Prince boarding each ship in turn, and taking notes as before. On the next day the proceedings terminated, and the Prince of Wales and his train departed up-stream, amidst the thunders of a royal salute.

Arundel was now in constant attendance on the King or Prince. In the past six years, he had wholly regained, by the force of his personality, the position at Court which was his by right of inheritance. This fact was further emphasized when, on the 13th May, 1611, at Windsor, he was created a Knight of the Garter, in company with Charles, Duke of York, and Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester.

On May Day, 1612, the two young princes "went a-maying" to Highgate¹, where Lord and Lady Arundel now had a house and garden to which they were much attached. A banquet was provided for their royal guests which consisted, we are told, of dried and candied fruits, accompanied by what was known as biscuit-bread². In great contrast to this merry-making was a lugubrious scene at which Lord Arundel and his youthful son, Lord Maltravers shortly after assisted. On Whitsun Eve, some priests who had been repeatedly banished, but refused to submit to their sentence, were hanged at Tyburn. Although the dismal event took place between six and seven o'clock in the morning, quite a concourse of lords and ladies, in coaches, had assembled to witness it³. The custom of attending executions, at this period of common occurrence, seems to have been regarded as a kind of last courtesy to the condemned.

Arundel's health had for some time been giving him increasing trouble. He was now seriously threatened with consumption⁴; the same dire disease which had carried off his young sister in the flower of her years. It became urgently necessary to take some steps to check the malady. He accordingly asked and obtained leave of absence for purposes of travel. A letter written by John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton on the 23rd July, 1612, speaks of Lord Arundel's journey to Spa as an event immediately impending⁵.

¹ See on page 73.

² *Cal. of State Papers*, Vol. IX, 1611-18, p. 334.

³ Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, Vol. II, p. 449. Mr Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, 11 June, 1612.—John Chamberlain, who has been called "the Horace Walpole of his day," was a distinguished letter-writer, and corresponded with Sir Thomas Edmondes, Sir Dudley Carleton, Sir Ralph Winwood, and many other eminent public men. To his invaluable pen is due the preservation of innumerable interesting details of the private life of the time. He was a man of scholarly attainments and was held in much respect by his contemporaries. He was born in 1553, and died in 1627.

⁴ *Hist. Account*, etc. (Appendix III). The life of Anne, Countess of Arundel and Surrey, etc.

⁵ *Cal. State Papers*, Vol. IX, 1611-18, p. 138.

It was probably on his way there that Arundel visited the Duke of Arschot's gallery at Brussels. He was shown over it by one William Smith, an English painter, presumably at this time in the service of the Duke. Smith, writing some years later to request Lord Arundel's patronage, recalls the circumstance to his recollection; and says he "makes bould" to proffer his petition, "remembering the great love and affection w^{ch} yo^r Honor beareth to the misterie of painting," which "appeared" to him on that occasion¹.

On the 12th August (O.S.), William Trumball, a friend and pupil of Sir Thomas Edmondes, whom he had succeeded as resident at Brussels, writes to Sir John Digby, at Madrid: "The Earle of Arundel, Lo. Shandoys (Chandos), Countesse of Worcester, Sir Ed. Conway, Sir Robert Drury, and their ladyes; Sir Peregrine Berty, Sir Anthony Merry, and diverse other Englishe gentlemen of accompte, are now at Spaw, to cure their diseases by those wholesome fountaines²." Lord Arundel found himself in the midst of a numerous company of fellow-countrymen, probably too many for his liking; for Spa was at this time the favourite resort of health-seekers, especially of those who were unable to go as far as Italy. Many were the Englishmen who flocked to its celebrated springs and dry, bracing air.

Lady Arundel remained in England. Several circumstances, indeed, may have contributed to keep her, for a while, at home; though, as will be seen, she fretted under the restriction. Her mother, Lady Shrewsbury, had now been for some time in the Tower, accused of having abetted the love-affairs of her niece, Arabella Stuart³. She seems, however, not to have been placed in very close confinement. Indeed, she would probably have been set free before

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 209. William Smith (an artist), to the Earl of Arundel, requesting employment. March 12th, 1615-1616. Smith writes, "at yo^r Hon^{ors} being at Bruxells some five yeares past," which would bring the date to 1611 instead of 1612. This is quite possible. But it is difficult to decipher whether the expression is "five years" or "few years," and the journey to Spa seems a probable opportunity for such an occurrence.—The letter gives a curious picture of the life of a wandering painter at that period. See Appendix VI, where it is printed in full.

² *Hist. MSS. Com. Report* 10, Pt. I, p. 598. MSS. belonging to G. W. Digby, Esq.

³ In July, 1610, that unhappy lady had clandestinely married William Seymour, without the King's consent. As she was next in succession to the English throne, after James and his children (being descended from Margaret, elder sister of Henry VIII), her matrimonial projects had always been regarded with great jealousy. This was doubly the case when she selected for her partner in life William Seymour, son of Edward, Lord Beauchamp, and great-nephew to Lady Jane Grey. The sequel of the unhappy story is well known. The marriage was discovered, and husband and wife separately imprisoned. A project of escape was successful on Seymour's part, but resulted in failure for the ill-fated Lady Arabella. She was recaptured at sea, and conveyed to the Tower. Her unmerited sufferings preyed upon her mind, and she died in prison, bereft of reason, in 1615.

the end of the two years during which she was imprisoned, had she shown herself more amenable to the wishes of her judges. But, greatly to her credit, she refused to give any evidence concerning Lady Arabella when called before the Council and questioned. One such interview took place at about the time of her son-in-law's departure for the Continent.

But Lady Arundel's preoccupation on the score of her husband's health, outbalanced every other consideration. In the autumn she made strenuous efforts to obtain for him an extension of leave, and, for herself, permission to join him. She preserved the utmost secrecy as to her plan; communicating privately with the King, and not informing even her father, Lord Shrewsbury, of her intentions. It seemed probable that Lord Arundel's restoration to health might depend on not breaking off prematurely the course of treatment he had begun, and on avoiding the rigours of an English winter. She was therefore most anxious that her plan should not be frustrated by ill-timed disclosure. Notwithstanding her efforts, however, her project became known; for in September Lord Northampton wrote to Rochester, that Lady Arundel was made happy by a permission to join her husband, and requested a prolongation of his licence for six months¹.

After all, her hopes were not destined to fulfilment. Lord Arundel had meanwhile gone on to Padua, where the waters were much prized at this time, and the southern climate likely to benefit his weak chest. This was no doubt the object of the extension of leave, and the place where Lady Arundel had intended to join him. The journey would therefore have been a long one; and the risks were not diminished by the lateness of the season, and by the fact that she was again expecting a child. Almost at the same time as Biondi wrote to Carleton, telling him of her persistence in her plan, Lord Northampton sent a letter to Rochester, saying that he had persuaded her to give it up.

Arundel meanwhile had arrived at Padua on the 2nd September, accompanied by only two attendants². Rigorous as he showed himself on the subject of etiquette, when occasion demanded it, and irascible at any infringement of what he considered due to his dignity, there can be no doubt that his happiest moments were those when he could throw off all social restraints, and live a perfectly simple

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1611-18, pp. 149-150. Earl of Northampton to Rochester. *State Papers Foreign, Venice* (unpublished); Record Office, 11. Letter from Signor Biondi, London, 9th October, 1612.

² *State Papers, Venice* (unpublished). Record Office, 10, 1612 (213). Dudley Carleton to Mr Chamberlain, Venice, 17th Sept., 1612.

life, in the circle of his own family, or in the freedom of foreign travel. When he could get away from outward restrictions, and feel at liberty to pursue, unfettered, the call of his special interests and hobbies, he was like a boy let out of school. The golden glory of Padua in the autumn, with Venice and all its treasures within close reach, must indeed have been balm to both mind and body. Under such circumstances, the healing waters which he came to seek, had a doubly beneficial effect; and it was no wonder that Sir Dudley Carleton, now British Ambassador at Venice, was able to write, on November 20th, that "My lord of Arundel" had "sett forward towards England through France, well amended for his health¹." Another letter gives a few further details.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir John Digby, at Madrid.

... We have had here at Padova, for these two months past, my L^d of Arundell, who came hither to use some healp for a tisique infirmitie wth w^{ch} he was far gone: and, having found some ease, he is now returned towards England by the way of France, but wth purpose (as he saith) to be here againe next springe: and now he pretends his going home to be to hinder his Lady from a winter's journey, who had asked leave of the King to come hither at this time, to prevent her Lord's coming home before his cure was perfected².

(Venice, 24th November, 1612.)

He arrived safely in England; but not, it would seem, without incurring some peril on the way.

Isaac Wake to Sir Dudley Carleton.

... I was this week with my Lord of Arundell to give him y^e welcome home after his long and dangerous voiage. He lyketh Italye so well that I believe y^r L^p is like to see him once more there before y^r departure from thence; and it is evident to y^e eyes that he is much mended in his health, w^{ch} he attributes wholly to y^e Doctors of Padoa. Of y^r L^p he speaketh as much honor as is possible, and professeth himself to us, very much beholden to you for your noble usage of him whilst he was in those parts; and his Lady also, takinge to hirselve in parte all y^e fortunes of hir Lord, acknowledgeth an obligation from hirselve to y^r L^p & my Lady for him, which shee desired me earnestly to signifye to you in my first letters...³.
(London, 16th February, 1613.)

¹ *State Papers, Venice* (unpublished). 20th Nov., 1612. It is true that Mr Thomas Coke who seems to have joined him late in the year at Venice, says in a letter written thence to Lord Shrewsbury, "My Lord of Arundell is weake and leane after his much phisique," but the testimony as to the improvement in his condition is so often reiterated, that it is impossible to doubt its accuracy.

² *Ibid.* Record Office 11 (191).

³ *Ibid.* 12, 1613 (49). Isaac (subsequently Sir Isaac) Wake, at this time in England on a few months' leave, was Secretary to Sir Dudley Carleton during his embassy to Venice. He afterwards held many important posts, especially that of British envoy at the court of Savoy, where he remained for many years. He died in 1632.

Notwithstanding Carleton's rather sceptical account of the reason put forward by Arundel for his journey home in the dead of winter, the purpose alleged was, as we know, the true one. But an event had now taken place in England which, had he known it before he left Padua, must have filled his heart with sorrow, and given wings to his departing steps. On the 6th November, 1612, the brief but brilliant life of Prince Henry had been brought to an untimely end by what is now recognised as an attack of typhoid fever. He had fought the illness with great determination in its incipient stages. Alas, that he had done so! Rightly understood, and properly treated, from the beginning, he might probably have been saved. But no one grasped the state of the case; and, long inured to a rigid self-discipline, he was the last to spare himself. The young Count Palatine of the Rhine, now the accepted suitor of Princess Elizabeth, had arrived in England some three weeks before Prince Henry's death, and the latter allowed himself no relaxation in what he conceived to be due to his future brother-in-law. When at last he had to yield to the insistent malady, the doctors, who were with him day and night, applied ridiculous remedies. Only a medicine sent by Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom he had been a firm friend, appeared to have any effect; but it came too late to be of lasting use. The shock and consternation caused by his death were great, throughout the country. A rumour of poison at once got abroad, which modern opinion rejects as unfounded.

To Arundel the decease of the Prince came surely as a terrible blow. He was deeply attached to the King, to Prince Henry, and to Princess Elizabeth. The little Prince Charles, Duke of York, was too young at this time to have made any distinct impression, but in after-years, his character and personality were never as congenial to Lord Arundel as those of the older brother and sister, and while he punctiliously performed every duty towards him, the coolness seems to have been reciprocal. Prince Henry was another matter. Closely associated with some of the brightest years of Lord Arundel's life, the bond was further cemented by the high esteem in which he was held by the Prince. Lord Stafford relates that when his father went to take leave before going abroad, Prince Henry "wishing him a good recovery of his health, commanded him to returne as soone as he coulede. Soone after, the Prince lyinge on his death-bed, would divers times say that hee prayed to God to send back Arrundell with perfect health; which was a greate expression how much hee valedwed that person that, at such a time (though absent) was so much in his memory¹."

¹ *Hist. Account*, etc. (Appendix III.)

A contemporary letter gives some interesting details concerning Prince Henry's collections.

The Prince's debts are but £9000, and his moveables amount to much more, specially his horses and pictures, which are many and rare; and his medals, or ancient coins of gold, will yield above £3000. His papers showed him to have many strange and vast conceits and projects¹.

It is idle to speculate how far the future of England might have been modified had the goodly career not been cut short. But it seems certain that never had the country owned a more promising heir-apparent, or sustained a keener loss by the irrevocable hand of death.

The curtain had hardly fallen over the tragedy when it rang up for a scene of very different nature. It was well perhaps for the warm-hearted Princess Elizabeth at this sad time, that she had the distraction of her young lover at her side, whose devotion she entirely reciprocated, and the excitement of the preparations for the wedding. She had been united to Prince Henry by the tenderest affection. In the early stages of his illness, she visited him daily. Later, when this was forbidden, she more than once attempted to penetrate to his sick chamber in disguise. The Prince, on his part, enquired for her continually; and to her were given his last words, "Where is my dear sister?"²

The mourning was curtailed in order to give full rein to the festivities which preceded the wedding. On the 27th December the youthful pair—each was sixteen years of age—were formally betrothed in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, in the presence of the King and of a large concourse of lords and ladies.

Great preparations had been made to celebrate the marriage with all possible splendour and brilliancy. If later in life trouble and misfortune were to cloud the common destiny of the young Prince and Princess, no shadow of past or future sorrow was permitted to mar the brightness of its opening scenes.

It was in the year 1613.

"In February," says Wilson, "...the Prince Palatine and that lovely Princess, the Lady Elizabeth, were married on Bishop Valentine's Day, in all the Pomp and Glory that so much Grandeur could express. Her Vestments were White, the Emblem of Innocency; her Hair dishevel'd, hanging down her Back at length, an Ornament of Virginity; a Crown of pure Gold upon her Head, the Cognizance of Majesty, being all over

¹ Birch's *James I*, Vol. 1, p. 207. John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, from London, 19th November, 1612.

² *Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia*, by Mrs Everett Green. Revised edition by S. C. Lomas, p. 40.

beset with precious Gems, shining like a Constellation; her Train supported by twelve young Ladies in white Garments, so adorned with Jewels, that her Passage looked like a Milky-way. . . . And while the Archbishop of Canterbury was solemnizing the Marriage, some Coruscations and Lightnings of Joy appear'd in her Countenance, that express'd more than an ordinary Smile, being almost elated to a Laughter¹. . . .”

At the wedding ceremony, the Earl of Arundel carried the Sword, walking immediately before the King; and, in the Chapel, stood close by the King's Chair. The City of London, which sumptuously entertained the Prince Palatine and his suite, had presented the bride with a magnificent chain of oriental pearls, offered by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in full civic array.

The King and Queen, so lately bereaved of their eldest son, were loth to part with their daughter, and postponed the hour of leave-taking as much as possible. The anniversary of the King's accession saw a specially brilliant exhibition of tilting, in which Lord Arundel, as usual, participated. At length the full round of rejoicings had been run, and there seemed no further excuse for delaying the start.

On Saturday, the 10th April, the large train got under way; and the first stage, which extended only to Greenwich, was accomplished of the long journey towards Heidelberg. The Duke of Lennox², Lord and Lady Arundel, Lord Lisle³, and Lord and Lady Harrington, were the principal members of the suite appointed to escort the royal

¹ *Life and Reign of James I*, by Arthur Wilson (Kennett's *Hist. of England*, Vol. II, p. 690). Wilson was much esteemed by Robert Devereux, last Earl of Essex of that name, who encouraged him to write the *History*, and furnished him with many papers of his own, and of his father's "fast friend and fellow-sufferer," the Earl of Southampton.

² Ludowick Stuart, second Duke of Lennox, and subsequently Duke of Richmond, born 1574, was the son of Esme Stuart, Seigneur of Aubigny, and first Duke of Lennox. He was brought up in Scotland, under the eye of King James, to whom he was next heir till the birth of Prince Henry. He took up his abode in England after the accession of James to the English throne. The King treated him with every mark of distinction. He went as ambassador to Paris in 1605; was given a succession of English peerages, culminating in 1623 in the dukedom of Richmond; was Deputy Earl Marshal in 1614, Steward of the Household in 1616, and joint commissioner of the Great Seal in 1621. He supported the King's views respecting Church matters in Scotland. He married three times, but left no issue. Richmond died in 1624.

³ Robert Sidney, Viscount Lisle, subsequently Earl of Leicester, born 1563, was the second son of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland. He was the uncle of William, third Earl of Pembroke, and Philip, Earl of Montgomery, their mother, Mary, Countess of Pembroke having been Sidney's sister. Sir Philip Sidney was Robert's elder brother. After seeing service in Holland, Sir Robert Sidney returned to England. James I created him Lord Sidney of Penshurst in 1603, Lord Lisle 1605, K.G. 1616, and Earl of Leicester 1618. Ben Jonson has sung of the idyllic life at Penshurst. A daughter, Philippa, married Arundel's early friend, Sir John Hobart. Leicester died in 1626.

bride to her new home. Lady Harrington's mission was indeed rather of love than of form. Elizabeth, who had been early confided to her care, had spent most of her childhood in the home of this excellent couple; and they were deeply attached to her. Their only son, destined like his friend to an early death, had been the intimate companion of Prince Henry¹.

Lord and Lady Arundel had a secret project of their own, after completing their attendance on the Princess. They were contemplating another visit to Italy, for which Lord Arundel had obtained permission from the King before leaving England².

The King and Queen accompanied the bridal party as far as Rochester. Prince Charles remained somewhat longer with his sister. The winds being contrary, they enjoyed five happy days at Canterbury before parting. At last, on the 21st April, the Palsgrave and his bride, with their numerous retinue³, embarked at Margate. The winds, however, proved still unfavourable, and it was not till the 25th that they were able to put to sea. The royal party made the crossing in the "Prince Royal." It was the ship with which Prince Henry was so closely connected, and was commanded by Phineas Pett. The aged Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, escorted the Prince and Princess across the Channel. The remainder of the suite, distributed in various vessels, formed a semi-circle about the "Prince Royal." On the 28th April, the squadron anchored before Flushing.

The Princess met with a brilliant reception in all the cities she passed through. Frederick was regarded as the future head of the Protestant party in Germany; and this, combined with the charm and beauty of his English consort, gave added lustre to the festivities prepared for her entertainment. It is tempting to dwell on the details of the magnificent welcome accorded to her both in Holland and Germany: the salvoes fired in her honour, the palaces placed at her disposal, the military escorts sent out to meet her, the gaily decorated streets, the cheers of the population; the splendid banquets, the sports and pageants, in which each state and city sought to outvie the other. Her journey, moreover, which resembled a triumphal progress, has been often described; and such festivities, however delightful in

¹ There is a Hunting Scene at Wroxton Abbey (Lord North) in which the young prince, accompanied by John Harrington, is about to give the parting stroke to a stag. In a similar picture at Hampton Court, Robert, Earl of Essex, takes the place of John Harrington.

² *Cal. State Papers, Venice*, Vol. XII, 1610-1613, p. 524. The plan had however leaked out, as it is mentioned in several letters written some time previously.

³ Lord and Lady Arundel alone had a suite of thirty-six persons.

reality to a young and eager spirit, are apt to pall when translated into words.

The Prince of Orange, his brother, Prince Henry of Nassau, and Prince Emanuel of Portugal, who had been amongst the first to greet the royal couple at Flushing, accompanied the Princess through part of her travels, which comprised (in Holland) Rotterdam, the Hague, Leyden, Haarlem, Amsterdam, Utrecht, and other principal cities. At Arnhem, Sir Ralph Winwood, English Ambassador at The Hague, who had attended the Princess during her sojourn in the countries to which he was accredited, took his leave. On the following day she passed into the Duchy of Cleves, and subsequently by Düsseldorf to Cologne. Everywhere the same lavish hospitality awaited her. The retinue had now increased to the inconvenient number of four thousand persons, for whom it was not by any means easy to find board and lodging. Bonn was the next halting-place. Here the Princes Maurice and Henry, and Emanuel of Portugal, bade farewell; and the Princess was entertained at an open-air luncheon by the young Prince of Brandenburg, who had previously provided a splendid reception at Düsseldorf.

From this point, the journey proceeded by water, on a boat specially devised and decorated for her use by the Prince Palatine, who had caused this and two other vessels to be built expressly for Elizabeth and her attendants. Quantities of smaller craft followed, bringing the lesser folk and the luggage. One city after the other, venerable even then, reflected its image in the fair waters of the Rhine, as the long procession slowly wound its way stream-upwards. Just above Bacharach, to the great joy of the Princess, the young Prince Palatine, who had been obliged to go forward to prepare for his wife's reception, rejoined the party. That evening they first set foot in the Palatinate, landing at the village of Gaulheim. They then resumed their journey, now by boat, now by land. Mayence, Oppenheim and Worms, were reached in turn; and, on the 4th June, they came to Frankenthal, one of Elizabeth's dower-towns in the Palatinate, where they were received with extraordinary demonstrations of joy. But if the welcome here was warm, what was the enthusiasm when, on 7th June, they at last arrived at Heidelberg! A thousand horse were sent out to meet them and escort them in. The thunder of cannon rang in their ears long before they reached the city, where the cheering crowds, the brilliant decorations, the profusion of flowers, the triumphal arches, the orations, emblems and devices, the acting and tilting, surpassed all that had gone before.

The mission of Lord and Lady Arundel had ended when the



Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel

Circa 1612-1613



confines of the Palatinate were reached. But, with the King's permission, they, and others of those appointed to escort Elizabeth on her journey, accepted the invitation of the Prince and Princess to remain a few days longer, in order to make acquaintance with Heidelberg, and to enjoy some hunting. It was not, therefore, till the 14th June that they took their leave of the Prince Palatine and their beloved Princess, and departed on their several ways. The greater number of the English officials travelled homewards by Cologne. The Duke of Lennox, who proposed to return by France, set out for Strasburg, up to which point Lord and Lady Arundel were his travelling companions.

It was probably during this journey through Holland, or the tour of the preceding year, that the first portrait of Lord Arundel known to us, was executed. In favour of the earlier date, is the look it bears of exceeding illness. In favour of the later time is the fact that Sir Francis Winwood, and the painter Mierevelt, accompanied the royal wedding party to the frontier of the States; that there is a fine portrait of Winwood by Mierevelt at Boughton, whence the portrait of Lord Arundel also hails; and that the latter is surmised to have been once the property of Winwood, whose only daughter, Anne, married Edward, afterwards second Lord Montagu of Boughton. Several other pictures, now in this collection, are known to have belonged to Sir Ralph Winwood. Perhaps the most plausible solution is that it is a school replica, made for Winwood, from an original by Mierevelt of which the trace has been lost.

The second Boughton portrait, a far better picture than that just noticed, may be a few years later in date¹. The increased appearance of vigour and health seem to warrant the assumption that it was painted after Arundel's second and longer sojourn in Italy. The artist is unknown, though various suggestions have been put forward.

Note concerning Lord Arundel's house at Highgate, alluded to on page 64.

While these pages have been passing through the press, information has been obtained that the site of Arundel House at Highgate was a few yards higher up the hill than Cromwell House, and on the right as one ascends the hill. The house was originally occupied by Sir Thomas Cornwallis, Comptroller of the Household of Queen Mary, and, during his tenure, Princess Elizabeth lodged a night in it in 1554. In 1558 the Queen received the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs and Bishops in it on her accession to the throne, and, later on, paid repeated visits to the house. It was a large building, originally flanked by two wings fronting on to a courtyard, and was visited in 1604 by King James and his Queen, when a masque took place in the building. The last wing of it was taken down in 1824. (*Ed.*)

¹ Mr Scott informs me that Sir George Scharf was disposed to attribute it to Van Somer, an ascription to which Mr Cust does not however agree.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SECOND VISIT TO ITALY.

1613—1614.

“WE had here Sir Thomas Puckering¹,” writes Carleton, from Venice, to John Chamberlain, on the 9th July, 1613, “who arrived opportunely from Naples; and two gentlemen, whereof one is a Scottishman, and a pensioner, who were of the Lady Elizabeth’s train. They tell us my Lord of Arundel and his lady, whom they left with the Duke of Lennox at Strasburg, will return through France home, without passing any further. But I rather believe they were so told to get rid of their companies; and the more because I heard my lord had Inigo Jones in his train, who will be of best use to him, by reason of his language and experience in these parts....”

Carleton showed his usual acumen in this surmise; for Lord and Lady Arundel, as we already know, had long cherished the hope of visiting Italy on the termination of their duties with Princess Elizabeth. But they wished to shake off all trammels which might interfere with their liberty of action. Hangers-on meant gossip, and life in the public eye; while their desire was freedom to devote themselves to those tastes which Aletheia shared in almost equal measure with her husband. Hence the veil of secrecy thrown over their plans. That Inigo Jones was of the company showed clearly what was the intention. Nevertheless they travelled in considerable state, carrying with them a goodly number of gentlemen of their own choosing.

After parting with the Duke of Lennox at Strasburg, the Arundels made for Basle; and thence pursued their way, doubtless over the St Gothard Pass, to Milan. Are there any amongst my readers who remember crossing the Pass by the broad white carriage-road, frequented by tourists before the smoking trains thundered and crashed through the marvellous network of tunnels? If so, they may have observed, shadowing the well-made causeway by which they travelled, and the solid masonry of the Devil’s Bridge, a narrow moss-green track. In places that old road is overgrown with the luxuriant greenery of the Alps, or broken right away; in places it crosses the rushing torrent by crazy, high-pitched bridges, now pierced with dangerous-looking holes, and devoid of all semblance

¹ Second of that title. He had been a friend and companion of Prince Henry. His father, Sir John Puckering, had been Lord Keeper of the great seal under Elizabeth.

of parapet to protect the traveller from the yawning depths below. It dates from the days when pack-mules and litters, threading their way over the passes of the Alps, formed the only means of transport and communication between one side and the other. What wanderer in the mountains has not felt the weird thrill of those old-world paths which, silent and disused, still climb and descend so many of the Alpine heights? Who has not peopled them in imagination with strange figures of long-past generations, and heard the footfall of those travellers of other days, and the cry of the muleteers, as they came and went on the now deserted tracks? Dead footsteps and silent voices! Long, long ago they passed and were forgotten. But the old green roads remain, to bear pathetic witness to a life that has for ever vanished.

By mule-path over the mountains, and probably taking several days to complete their journey, Lord and Lady Arundel now wended their way from Basle to Milan. They found the plains of Italy, in July, a striking contrast, in point of temperature, to the cool atmosphere they had left north of the Alps; and, for a moment, the burning heat threatened to dislocate their plans.

The Earl of Arundel to Sir Dudley Carleton.

My Lord

I could not but, by this first opportunity of writing, advertise y^r Lo:^p that, upon Thursday last at night, wee arrived heere at Millan safely; drawn on from Basill by the freshnes of the weather w^{ch} was both beyond our expectacion, & the custome of this time of the yeare. Heere wee find it soe hott, as without danger, wee can not (they say) stirre, till some rayne fall. Some advise me to trye the waters of St Cashan; & for phisicke at Padoa, I knowe the yeare is too farre spent, till the fall. Therefore what course I shall resolve on heere, I am altogether uncertayne, and must referre myselfe till the next poste; and in the meane time, if yo^r Lo:^p receive any letters from England for me, I beseech yo^r Lo:^p they may be addressed hither. And soe wth many thanks for all yo^r favors, and my service to my Lady, I ever rest

Y^r Lo^{ps} most affectionat frende

T. ARUNDELL.

Millan 16th July, St^o N^o [1613].

Al Exc^{mo} Sig^{re} il Sig^{re} Cav^{re} Dudleie Carleton Imba^{re} della M^{ia} della Grand Bretagna appresso la Sig^{ria} di Venetia¹.

The Duke of Savoy wrote and begged Lord and Lady Arundel to come to Turin; an invitation which was accepted at a later date. The Baths of Lucca seem also to have been considered and rejected. It is amusing to see the difficulty experienced by the Venetian

¹ Record Office, *State Papers, Venice* (unpublished), 13, 1613 (61).

Resident at Milan¹ in believing that so simple a thing as a course of waters was not a mere pretext, to conceal some deep political design.

The order of Lord Arundel's travels was destined to be quickly settled by an unforeseen circumstance. The Spanish Governor of Milan, Don John de Mendoça, Marquis of Hinojosa, failed to show to the distinguished visitors the usual and expected courtesies; and in high dudgeon at this lack of respect, Lord Arundel hastily made up his mind to leave that city immediately for Parma, whence he reached Padua on the 20th July².

His friend, Sir Dudley Carleton soon came over from Venice to pay his respects. Meanwhile, Lord and Lady Arundel were establishing themselves in a villa two miles from Padua, on the way to Cattai³. Some distance beyond the villa, lie the still-prized hot springs of Abano, the *Aquae Patavinae* of the Romans: the healing waters which, long before, Arundel's great-grandfather, Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, had visited with good result, and from which he himself had derived benefit the previous year⁴.

This retreat, it may be surmised, was secluded enough to satisfy even Lord Arundel's fastidious love of retirement. Of the first few weeks of his sojourn little or nothing is heard. But at the end of that period, he steps once more into prominence. On the occasion of his first visit to Padua, in 1612, the Venetian Ambassador in London, Antonio Foscarini, had written to the Doge and Senate, at the instance of Lord Northampton, to request their good offices for Lord Arundel. After the death of Lord Salisbury, in May, 1612, Lord Northampton had been awarded an increasing share in the management of public affairs, and had gained more and more influence over the King.

Seeing his growing power (writes Foscarini), I went to call on him. . . . He then told me that at Padua was his nephew, the Earl of Arundel, who, very likely, will stay there the winter, to take the waters; and every favour your Excellencies may show him will be an obligation upon

¹ *State Papers, Venice*, Vol. XIII, 1613-1615, No. 23. Andrea Surian, Venetian Resident at Milan, to the Doge and Senate, Milan, 17th July, 1613.—The reports of Surian throw considerable light at this time on Lord Arundel's movements.

² Winwood's *Memorials*, Vol. III, p. 473. Letter from Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Ralph Winwood. From Venice, 30th July, 1613.

³ The Castle of Cattai^o was built by the Venetian family of the Obizzi; and has been owned in recent times by the Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Este.

⁴ It is possible Lord Arundel made use of the springs of Battaglia, now a considerable watering-place, not far from Cattai^o. But the greater vicinity of Abano, combined with its old name of "the waters of Padua," give to it more probability. It seems that he intended to take the cure as soon as the great heats should be passed.

Northampton himself, and will be pleasing to the King... As to the Earl of Arundel, I will not say anything to your Excellencies save that he is the premier Earl of this kingdom, in which there are no Dukes save the King's sons, the Duke of Lennox being a Scot; nor Marquises save Winchester, who does not come to Court. Arundel will be, through his wife, a daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, heir to sixty thousand crowns a year; he is nephew of Northampton, who has no children, and is very powerful in the government. Your Excellencies' prudence will know how to oblige him greatly at a small cost, and every favour shown to Arundel will be well employed¹.

Unfortunately this letter did not reach Venice until after the departure of Lord Arundel, whose return to England in 1612 had, it will be remembered, been hastened forward by several unforeseen circumstances. But the Doge and Senate were determined to make good on the second occasion the omissions of the first; and were further spurred in their laudable intentions by a desire that the brilliancy of Venetian hospitality should throw Milanese delinquencies yet further into the shade. As if to make their task easier, the Spaniards at Milan set about a rumour that the Arundels were travelling because they had fallen into disfavour with the King, a wholly unfounded assertion which Sir Dudley Carleton hastened to contradict.

Meanwhile the authorities at Venice were preparing for him a brilliant reception. A curious account of his introduction by Carleton to the Doge and Cabinet, has been preserved in the Archives of Venice:

The Ambassador of England came into the Cabinet and with him the Earl of Arundel; and the Ambassador took his usual seat while the Earl sat on the left of his Serenity, the Cabinet having decided to grant him that place and the title of Most Illustrious. The Ambassador said:

The Earl of Arundel was among the Ambassadors sent by my master to accompany his daughter. After he had performed that office he wished to re-visit privately this country and city. Last year he was in Padua for his health, and he has now come for his pleasure and recreation. As one about the Court, he will be able to bear testimony to the great affection of His Majesty for the Republic, and he has come to pay his respects and to say that he will remain here some days to see the notable things of the city with his wife, if they will allow him, and then he will return to Padua after first coming to ask permission.

The Doge replied that he was glad to hear this new reminder of His Majesty's friendship and to welcome so illustrious a nobleman, who

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Venice*, Vol. XII, 1610-1613, No. 671. Antonio Foscarini, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate, London, 26th October, 1612.

would have every facility granted to him and his wife. He added a few words in praise of the Ambassador.

The Ambassador desired the Earl to speak, but he signified that he would prefer his Excellency to use his knowledge of the Italian language to return thanks.

Many courteous speeches were made and subsequently some English gentlemen were introduced to kiss the hand of his Serenity, when, after reciprocal compliments had been paid, the company withdrew¹.

In spite of Lord Arundel's theoretic knowledge of the Italian language, he had probably not yet had sufficient practice in speaking it, to have acquired the requisite fluency for such an occasion.

Subsequently a resolution was passed by the Senate that all honour should be shown to the distinguished visitors, and 100 ducats were voted to be spent in their entertainment as the guests of the Republic. A series of splendid festivities followed; amongst them a banquet at the Arsenal, which Lord Arundel had expressed a particular desire to see. Ten days later, at another meeting of the Cabinet, Carleton returned thanks in the name of Lord and Lady Arundel, and all the gentlemen in their company, for the hospitality received.

They have been greatly impressed (he declares) by the wonders of the city, which has abundantly repaid them for all the fatigues of their long journey; and we all declare that Venice alone is truly Paradise, and a miracle of the world; while I, who have been here three years, may say that until now I had not seen Venice. They have been accompanied the whole time by the Illustrious Sig. Gregorio Barbarigo, to whose courtesy they are greatly indebted. Of this they will take back a report to England, whither he is to go as Ambassador, and on his arrival at the Court he will find himself in great honour and esteem, both as the Ambassador of the Republic, and as a fast friend of the English nation. Also the Renowned Sig. Piero Loredan, who always accompanied Sig. Barbarigo, has shown unflinching attention to the Earl; but he has previously shown his esteem for the English, having spent three years in England. If I may say so, this will prove of great advantage to the Republic, for whatever charges and honours are given to him in the future will be considered by the English as conferred on one of themselves.

The Earl will remain in this city for these two feasts more, in order to see the Great Council, with the permission of your Serenity; he will then stay some days at Padua².

Writing home a little later, Carleton records with evident content that while Lord and Lady Arundel have received at Venice all the entertainments usual to strangers of their qualities, "and some degree

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, Vol. XIII, 1613-1615, No. 71. Venetian Archives, Italian. (Translated and abridged.)

² *Ibid.* No. 86.

above ordinary," they, on their part, have given "in all respects extraordinary satisfaction." The aptness shown by Lord Arundel in his interview with the Doge, when he recalled the affection often expressed to him by the King for the Venetian State seems to have elicited much approval. Sir Dudley Carleton notes also that "the Earle of Arundel. . . is very honourably attended, and in all respects living as becomes a person of his quality¹." The contrast to the meagre attendance and informal proceedings of the previous year, appears to have gratified the Ambassador. Nevertheless, the almost regal honours bestowed on Lord and Lady Arundel by the Doge and Senate, gave him some anxiety, as hardly befitting a subject, however eminent; and he felt it incumbent on him to report the circumstance to King James.

Sir Dudley Carleton to the King (extract).

. . . Here are many discourses framed on my L^d of Arundel's being here, in regard to some disgusts he received at Milan: as likewise, on the contrary, of the care that is taken to give his L^p and his Lady all possible satisfaction in this city, w^{ch} appears in omitting no manner of entertainments w^{ch} may be allowed by the strictness of their formes, as a feast in the Arsenal, a banquet in a gallie, entertainment in divers pallaces of particular gentlemen by license of the State; and now a *festa di gentil donne* is proposed: and he is attended by the Ambassador desseigned to y^r Mat^y, S^r Gregorio Barbarigo, accompanied wth an other gentleman, the question being between him and the Caval^r Correro for this service, but Barbarigo preferred, as one that being elected Ambr represents the whole State. And in Colledge the Prince gave my L^d the stile of *V. Sig^{ria} Ill^{ma}*.

This relation I thought it my duty to make to y^r Ma^{ty} in regard it doth reflect uppon y^r Ma^{ty} so far as other Princes subjects of the same quality pass often this way, and few or none wth the like demonstration of kindnes. . . .

*From Venice, this 3^d of Septe^{br} 1613, st. vet.*²

The gay fortnight in Venice passed: Barbarigo being in almost daily attendance. Early in September Lord and Lady Arundel returned to their villa outside Padua; glad enough no doubt, so far as he was concerned, to have done for a time with ceremonies, however flattering. His mind was working now in a different direction, considering where to spend the winter, and probably, how best to

¹ Record Office, *State Papers, Venice* (unpublished), Packet 13, f. 156. Sir Dudley Carleton to King James, from Venice, 27th August, 1613.

² Record Office, *State Papers, Venice* (unpublished), Packet 13, f. 61, 1613. Sir Dudley Carleton to his Majesty, 3rd September, 1613. This is a draft letter. After the words, *V. Sig^{ria} Ill^{ma}*, Carleton has added, "w^{ch} they give to none but Princes." These words he afterwards thought it more prudent to delete.

set about the accomplishment of another plan near his heart, which it was desirable to hide from the general eye. As a preliminary, he was meditating a journey into Tuscany, ostensibly to enable him to judge between the respective merits of that country and Padua as winter-quarters.

It was Lord Arundel's delight to go off as a kind of free lance, scantily attended by one or two selected retainers. Of these Inigo Jones was certainly the favourite, because possessed of infinitely greater knowledge than any of the others. On such occasions, Arundel travelled privately, eschewed all formal receptions, and lived only for the interest and enjoyment of the pursuit of art. Not even his wife, devoted companion as she was, shared these journeys. Lord and Lady Arundel, actually seldom travelled together. It was his custom to go forward independently, leaving her to follow with bag, baggage and household, when he had settled where she should join him¹.

He started "towards" Florence about the third week in September. An entry made by Inigo Jones in his treasured copy of *Palladio*, now preserved at Worcester College, Oxford, shows that on "Mundaie the 23rd of September," they were at Vicenza². The zest with which Arundel would contemplate the works of the great Italian architect, in the company of the man to whom the buildings of Palladio had been the objects of profound veneration through years of study, can be easily imagined.

The next trace of him is at Bologna, whence he writes a line to Lady Arundel.

The Earl of Arundel to the Countess of Arundel.

My deerest Hart

I could not but let y^u heare from me at this place, where (I thanke God) wee arrived safely yesternight, and tomorowe morninge intend to goe towards Florence; from thence I will write as soone as I have opportunity; I have yet found no want at all of servantes, nor (I trust in God) shall not. I have desired my cosin Cauffield to write, to appointe howe y^u may directe y^r letters to us at Florence, w^{ch} was a thinge I forgotte at my coming away.

¹ Most of these facts are gleaned from the series of Carleton's unpublished letters.

² To ensure accuracy in these dates, the authorities of Worcester College with great kindness permitted me to have them verified from the original notes. Some doubt having arisen as to whether Inigo Jones had written "Mundaie" or "Sundaie," 23rd September, Mr Wilkinson, of that College, and Mr Percy Simpson, most kindly examined the entry themselves, and came to the conclusion that it should be "Mundaie." This exactly tallies with the date on Lord Arundel's next letter, "Tuesday, 1st October." Monday, 23rd September, harmonizes with this date; not so Sunday.

Soe wth my deerest love and earnestest prayer to God for all our happines, I ever rest

Y^r most faithful lovinge husband

T: ARUNDELL.

Bologna, this Tuesday 1^o of October, St^o N^o [1613].

All' Ecc^{ma}: Madama Contessa Arundeli, in Padua¹.

Two days later, Lord Arundel reached Florence. He now writes in somewhat perturbed fashion at having heard that the Grand Duke and Duchess of Tuscany are projecting a sojourn in Siena, which he fears may interfere with the privacy and freedom of his own proposed visit to that city.

The Same to the Same.

My Hart

I can only let y^u knowe, that upon Thursday at night wee arrived (God be thanked) safely heere. Ever since, the weather hath bin soe foule, as I cannot see this towne wth that delight I should otherwise.

The yonge duchesse upon Monday gettes on of her jorney, towards Loretto, and the Duke and ould duchesse goe wth her on her way as farre as Siena, and there they stay till her return; w^{ch} will not be (as they say) into this towne, till the twelfth of the nexte month, soe as it hath quite put me past my way, that I knowe not howe to see Siena as I desired to have done. If the desire I have to see this place keep me more dayes then I meant at my cominge from home, I will write, by the first opportunity and let y^u knowe when y^u shall see me. In the meane time, I must let y^u knowe, that I envie y^u for y^r good . . . wines of Lombardy, w^{ch} cuntrye I am not yet out of love withall.

Soe wth my earnestest prayers to Almighty God for all our happines, I ever rest

Y^r most faithfull husband,

T. ARUNDELL.

Florence, Oct. 5, st^o nov^o [1613].

All' Ecc^{ma}: Sig^{ra}, Madama la Contessa d'Arundel in Padua².

Arundel seems however to have quickly made up his mind to go on to Siena, notwithstanding the drawback of the Grand Duke's presence there. He was delighted with Tuscany. By the middle of October, he had summoned Lady Arundel to join him at Siena, where he had decided to spend the winter, or at least, the earlier part of it. A letter addressed by him at about this time to Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester, shows vividly his impression of the place, while it amusingly reveals his disgust at the time he has had to waste in ceremonial functions.

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 191.—This and the following letter, dated 5th October, are both catalogued as belonging to the year 1614, but internal evidence proves conclusively that they were written in 1613.

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 192.

*The Earl of Arundel to Viscount Rochester*¹.

My Lord

Findinge heere this ayre of Siena very wholesome for me, and besides the yeare farre spent to come home this winter, I have resolved to spende some time heere, if I finde the place soe agreeable as yet I doe. I have passed both at Florence and heere unknowne, till some 3 dayes since the Duke (whoe is nowe heere) sente a Secretary unto me, to let me knowe, that he had understandinge of my being heere unknowne; if I would see him, he should be glad, if not, I should remayne, as I desired, I gave him many thankes; but desired yet to remayne as I was, but said that before my departure I hoped to find a time, to doe that respecte unto him that was fitt. Soe as most of this winter I thinke to spende heere, and if I can to redeeme somewhat that time I have yet spent in complement.

If I may finde any occasion to doe y^r Lo^ps service heere or anywhere, noe man shall be more willinge. In the meane while y^u shall not want all wishes of happines from

Y^r Lo^{ps} most faithfull frende

T. ARUNDELL.

Siena 19 Octob: s^{to} n^o [1613].

*To the Right Honorable, the Lord Viscounte Rochester, of his Mai^{ties} most honorable Privy Counsaile*².

Siena lies high, and in winter can be very cold. The physicians at Padua were of opinion that Lord Arundel had made an ill exchange in point of health; "if they do not say so in regard of their owne profits," adds Sir Dudley Carleton shrewdly. Apparently they were right, however, for not long afterwards we hear that Arundel's

¹ Robert Carr, created successively Viscount Rochester and (November, 1613) Earl of Somerset, came from Scotland as page in the royal household when James I succeeded to the English throne. After an interval of absence, he returned to Court, where the King soon advanced him to favour, promoting him from one honour to another. Unhappily he became implicated in the scandals associated with the name of Arundel's cousin, the beautiful but worthless Lady Frances Howard, daughter of Lord Suffolk. This lady, who had been early married to Robert Devereux, last Earl of Essex of that name, having fallen in love with Rochester, sought a decree of nullity of her first marriage, to enable her to marry her lover. Sir John Overbury, the friend of Rochester, endeavoured to dissuade him from marriage with a lady of such doubtful character, thereby incurring the undying hatred of Lady Essex. On a trivial pretext she got him sent to the Tower, where, through her machinations he was poisoned in September, 1613. At the time, the murder remained unsuspected. The King, anxious to please his favourite, supported the divorce proceedings; and the lady was married to Somerset (as he had now become) the following December. Two years passed before the crime came to light. The Earl and Countess of Somerset were then brought to trial, and both were condemned to death. It remains uncertain, however, whether he actually participated in the foul deed; but of her guilt there is no question. Both were ultimately released and pardoned; but it is said that the King never saw Somerset again. He died in retirement in 1645.

² Brit. Mus. Cotton MSS. Titus B. VII, f. 460.

health was adversely affected by an unusually sharp phase in the weather.

Possibly he had his own reasons for selecting Siena as his headquarters in the declining year. He ardently desired, while in Italy, to make acquaintance with Rome, which was forbidden ground to English tourists at this time, and expressly excluded from their licenses to travel. It seems certain that he had obtained secret permission from King James to gratify this wish, for the perfect indifference displayed by that monarch when the apparent delinquency was brought to his notice, suggests previous acquiescence in the design. Nevertheless the permission so far exceeded the boundaries usually set to English travellers, that prudence demanded secrecy, so far as possible. Siena, as a starting-point for Rome, would certainly be less in the eye of the public—except, of course, when occupied by the Tuscan Court—and less likely to draw attention, than Florence or the more northern cities. Accordingly, after the move to Siena, little more is heard of the proceedings of Lord and Lady Arundel during the winter of 1613–1614. Stray notices, here and there, give a hint of the course of their travels; and, here again, the remarks inserted by Inigo Jones in his *Palladio*, point the way like a series of finger-posts.

“The 2nd of January, 1614,” he writes, “I being in Rome, compared this desines following with the Ruines themsealves. Jany 5, 1614, whilst I was in Rome”...“This tempol [of Vesta at Rome] I sawe y^e 5 of January, 1614....¹”

By March, however, the secret had leaked out, and Sir Dudley Carleton gives notice of it in an official report written evidently in much trepidation of mind. The maze of underhand negotiation with Rome in which so many English Catholics had been and still were involved, and the record of Lord Arundel's own father and grandfather, not unnaturally roused immediate anxiety when a man of his eminence paid an apparently clandestine visit to the focus of intrigue.

The common recourse of his Maties subjects to Rome (writes Carleton), notwithstanding their direct inhibitions on their licenses for travaile, to the contrarie, is continued wth th^t freedom th^t both the Earle of Arundel and his Lady have spent many days in th^t place: w^{ch} I could not beleeve uppon advertisements from thence, until I had spoken wth some who had seen them there. I heare of no English who did much resort unto

¹ Notes from the *Palladio* of Inigo Jones, Worcester College, Oxford.

them but Toby Mathew¹ and George Gage², neither of any course they took for other purpose than the satisfying of curiosity; yet the quality of their persons being so much above other travellers, I held it my duty to give this advertisement.

Intrigue, political or of any sort, was, however, far from Lord Arundel's thoughts. He detested it in all its bearings. His plans for the stay in Rome were of quite another kind. The unique attraction of the eternal city, with its monuments of the art of all ages, and, above all, its classical remains, was too strong to be resisted. Having obtained permission to excavate amongst the ruins of certain houses, he was rewarded by the discovery of a series of statues, supposed to be portraits of a Roman consular family, which he despatched to England, to form part of the noble collection at Arundel House³.

¹ Sir Tobie Mathew, or Matthew, born 1577, son of the Archbishop of York of like name, was (notwithstanding Walpole's derogatory criticism) a man of wit and parts, well known to a large circle of influential personages in France, Italy and Spain, as well as England. After a somewhat wild and extravagant youth, he came under Jesuit influence in Italy, and adopted the Roman faith, to the consternation of his parents, who were staunch Protestants. Every effort having failed, on his return to England, to re-convert him, he was first imprisoned in the Fleet, and then banished for ten years, mostly spent at various foreign capitals, especially Madrid. He was on intimate terms with Bacon, who thought highly of his critical faculty, and whose essays Mathew translated into Italian. A judge of *vertu*, he was employed, like his friend, Mr Gage (see below), to buy pictures and other works of art for the Duke of Buckingham, and probably for Lord Arundel, "Little prittie Tobie Matthew" accompanied the Prince of Wales and Buckingham to Spain in 1623, and was knighted by King James in October of the same year. Sir Tobie Mathew died in 1655. He preserved to the end his ardour for the Roman Catholic faith, but, though intimate with many factions at home and abroad, and a past-master of gossip, his loyalty seems to have remained unimpeachable.

² George Gage, the slightly younger contemporary and intimate companion of Sir Tobie Mathew, was, like him a zealous Roman Catholic, and was sent by James I in 1621 as envoy to the Pope, in connection with the proposed Spanish marriage of the Prince of Wales. At a later period he was imprisoned on the discovery that he was acting, in England, as a secret agent of the Jesuits. He was much esteemed for his judgment and knowledge in matters of art, and was employed by Lord Arundel, and probably other collectors of the time. He appears to have died before 1650, perhaps in prison.

³ Peacham, in the edition of 1634 of the *Compleat Gentleman*, added a new chapter, "Of Antiquities," p. 107, in which the following passage occurs: "And here I cannot but with much reverence mention the every way Right Honourable Thomas Howard, Lord high Marshall of England, as great for his noble Patronage of Arts and ancient learning as for his birth and place. To whose liberall charges and magnificence, this angle of the world oweth the first sight of Greeke and Romane Statues, with whose admired presence he began to honour the Gardens and Galleries of Arundel House about twentie yeeres agoe, and hath ever since continued to transplant old Greece into England." This statement would bring the beginnings of the collection of marbles exactly to the date (1614) of these excavations at Rome. Peacham is supposed to have made part of this foreign journey, at least, in Lord Arundel's suite.

J. Dallaway, *Statuary and Sculpture*, etc., p. 275 n., gives details of the statues found by Lord Arundel at Rome. Michaelis, in his admirable work, *Ancient Marbles*

Travelling as private persons, unhampered by any formalities, they must have been happy hours indeed which Lord and Lady Arundel spent in "satisfying" their "curiosity" amongst the ruined temples and palaces of Rome.

From Rome they went on to Naples, travelling with the smallest possible suite. A note by Inigo Jones runs, "Baia, 1614, 17 January," another, "This tempoll [of Castor and Pollux at Naples] I sawe on Satterday the 8 of March, 1614¹." Sir Dudley Carleton writes from Venice on the 25th April of the same year:

My L^d of Arundel is at Naples. I know not whether his Lady be followed him, or turned back to Sienna...

and again towards the middle of May,

The Earle of Arundell and his Lady say they will be here shortly, but I know not what to believe, theyre courses being so secret or unsettled. They were, when I heard last from them, at Naples; the most part of theyre great family [retinue] being divided betwixt Sienna and Luca².

The Arundels were in no hurry to come northwards. The paradise of southern Italy in the spring and early summer held them fast in its embrace; and the liberty to devote themselves wholly to the enjoyment of their surroundings, unfettered by conventional ties, was an added allurements of irresistible force. They seem to have spent some further time at Rome, or in its neighbourhood, on their journey northwards, if we may again be guided by the notes of Inigo Jones. "This tempoll I observed exactly y^e last of Maye 1614" [Pantheon, Rome]. "This tempoll I sawe the 13 June, 1614" [Vesta, Tivoli]. "1614. This tempoll I sawe Munday ye 16 June" [Temple at Trevi].

In July they still had not arrived at Padua, where they had been long expected, and were hoping to spend the summer in a house

in Great Britain, fully describes them (though differing in some respects from Dallaway), when dealing with the University Galleries at Oxford (pp. 552-553. Nos. 43, 44, 45) where he supposes them all now to be. A few, however, appear to have found other homes, on the final dispersal of the Arundel Collection. Some became the property of Mr Williams Freeman, of Fawley Court, Henley-on-Thames. Of these the following account is given in a letter, about a hundred years old, which his descendant, Miss Williams Freeman kindly allows me to make use of: "In the Hall...are antique statues of a Roman Senator, and a Vestal, part of the celebrated Arundel Collection; several others from the same Gallery are dispersed in the House and Gardens..." These marbles ceased to adorn Fawley Court when the house changed hands, and are believed to have passed to the British Museum. Miss Williams Freeman also distinctly remembers when a child, a large case filled with marble fragments, all labelled; but does not know what became of them.

¹ *Palladio*, Worcester College, Oxford.

² Public Record Office, *State Papers, Venice* (unpublished), Packets 15 and 16, 1614 ("Family" was often used at this time for "household" or "retinue").

owned by Carleton. But in the midst of their entrancing wanderings, the news came of the death of Arundel's great-uncle, Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, which took place in London in the month of June. Northampton, a man of magnificent taste, had bequeathed to Lord Arundel his reconstructed and splendidly furnished house at Greenwich, together with land valued at several thousands a year¹. It became necessary for Arundel at once to turn homewards, to take possession of his inheritance. He sent through Carleton a courteous message of thanks to the Doge of Venice for all the kindness received offering his excuses, owing to the unexpected turn of events, for leaving Italy without presenting himself in person, as he had intended.

The return to England was, however, delayed by illness, which seems to have overtaken both Lord and Lady Arundel at Genoa, and to have detained them there some time. Inigo Jones, meanwhile, made a last flight to Vicenza and Venice, as shown by several entries in his *Palladio*, covering from the 1st to the 14th of August. These are the latest entries in Italy. Whether he again joined Lord Arundel for the homeward journey, does not appear; but the margin of time was amply sufficient to enable him to have done so, at Turin, or elsewhere on the way back. The next entries in the *Palladio*, chronologically speaking, are dated London, January, 1615.

The following letter from the Dowager Lady Arundel to Sir Thomas Edmondess, now Ambassador at Paris, betrays the anxiety in which it was written:

The Countess Dowager of Arundel to Sir Thomas Edmondess.

My very good Lo:

My Sonn, my Daughter, and my selfe, having been many wayes beholding unto your selfe, and your good Ladye, emboldeneth me to address these unto you, desyryng this favour, that you wilbe pleased, to keepe these inclosed to my Sonn by you, untill such tyme as he shall come

¹ Northampton was the builder of Northumberland (then called Northampton) House in the Strand; which he left to another great-nephew, Henry Howard, son of the Earl of Suffolk. He was much attached to this branch of the House of Howard, and greatly assisted with his counsels the erection of Audley End. It was well, perhaps, for him that he died before the murder of Overbury was revealed. (See p. 96, and note, p. 82.) He was known to be much in the confidence of his niece, and to have encouraged her separation from Essex, and marriage with Somerset. His name was too closely mixed up with the circumstances brought to light at the trial to escape unscathed; though none of the evidence produced proved criminal complicity on his part. By the union of his niece with the King's favourite, he doubtless saw increased Court influence for himself. Northampton was not a man of high principle; he was a time-server. He seems certainly to have had strong family affections, and it cannot be imagined that the mutual regard between Lord Arundel and the only relation who endeavoured to make good to him that of which he had been previously defrauded, could have existed, had that relation been capable of participation in so heinous a crime.

Paris, and then at his first arrivall, to deliver them to his owne handes: or yf by sicknes (for he hath to my greife, geven advertisement of his and my good daughter's want of helthe) or any other occasion, his Lo^p shall make staye in any other part of Fraunce, then I beseech you, send my letter, unto his Lo^p by some trustye and convenient messenger, wth the first opportunitye. I receaved his Lo^{ps} letters yeasterday of the 2 of August, written at Genoa, having then notice of the death of the Earle of Northampton, from the Embassador at Venice, w^{ch} much afflycted him. His intention was (as I heare) to passe from thence by Sea to Marsellis, and to hasten his returne homewards by you, wth as much speede, as the weake estate of his bodye will permitt. It would geve me much comfort to understand that my Sonne and daughter were with you, and your good Ladye, of whose Love and good affection wee have all found so good experience, as I should thinck them as well as yf they were at home. They will themselves testify theire thanckfull myndes; I shall ever thincke my selfe beholdinge unto you, and rest readye to deserve your courtesyes, as good occasion shalbe offered.

And even so, wth very affectionate salutac^ons to your selfe and good Ladye. I will alwayes wishe helth and happyness to you and youres, and ever remayne

Your Lo: very assured frend

ANNE ARUNDELL.

Arundell Howse, 19th of August, 1614.

To the Right Ho^{ble} Sr Thomas Edmondes, Knight, Lo: Embassador in Fraunce for the Kings most Excellent Ma^{tie} of Great Brittainne etc. In Paris¹.

Not before September, however, was it possible for the Arundels to resume their journey from Genoa. The sea voyage by Marseilles seems to have been given up; and a last glimpse of the travellers, on Italian soil, is caught at Turin. Here another splendid reception awaited them. A letter written by the English Resident, Mr William Parkhurst, gives some idea of the lavish hospitality with which Lord and Lady Arundel were welcomed.

Mr William Parkhurst to [? the Secretary of State] (extract).

...The Earle of Arundel and her Lady^p his Countesse, in their healths, arrived heere fowre dayes since; comming from Genoa thorough Alessandria, Asti, and so hither, followed by some thirty horse. They came to Turino late in the night, and next day were conducted by order of the Prince Cardinal to a Pallace furnished for their reception, where they are defrayed and attended by the Dukes ministers, with all honorable ceremony and respects. Yesterday his L^p visited the Cardinal: and afterward himself with his Lady visited the Dutches of Mantua, and then the two yonger Infante. This morning his L^p intended to goe towards the

¹ Stowe mss. Brit. Mus. 175, f. 20—19th August, 1614, endorsed: Ffrom the Countesse Dowager of Arundel.

Campe and performe the like office with the Duke. Whither I have thought it my duty, thorough his desire, to accompany him...¹.

Turino, this 15 of September, 1614. St. No.

To the Rt. Hon^{ble} very good my Lord.

By the beginning of October, Lord and Lady Arundel were in Paris. But here again they were delayed, though not by the same cause as before. The King and Queen of France were just at that moment involved in specially urgent business connected with the French Chamber, and were unable to appoint an audience for them until the 21st October. Whether this was a real excuse or an intentional slight, it is difficult to say: but, without this formality, it would have been a breach of etiquette to depart. Sir Thomas Edmondes, in an official letter to England, implores assistance in the expense of so long a visit, which he avers has cost him more than a hundred pounds. But the audience at last accomplished, and the calls returned of the "great persons w^{ch} had bin to see him and my ladie," there was no further reason for postponement. In November we find Lord and Lady Arundel back in England, after an absence of one year and seven months.

¹ Record Office, *State Papers, Foreign* (unpublished), *Savoy and Sardinia*, Vol. II, f. 126.—The remainder of the letter is irrelevant.

CHAPTER VIII.

IN ENGLAND AND AT COURT.

1615—1616.

A LETTER from John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated from London, in January, 161 $\frac{3}{4}$, reveals that Lord Arundel did not altogether escape the consequences of his stolen visit to Rome.

It is whispered abroad (writes Chamberlain), that your Don Diego's master gave very malignant intelligence of the Lord of Arundel's being at Rome, and of his entertainment and conversation there; which, being related to the King by the Ar[chbishop?], that had the advertisement, he was put to his answer, and gave very good satisfaction¹.

Arundel's place in the King's esteem was indeed too secure to be easily disturbed by the malice of backbiters. A series of letters written to his wife in 1615, shows him in constant attendance at Court, where his influence was now making itself felt in ever widening circles. Those who desired to obtain promotion or other benefactions from the King, sought Arundel's good offices as a sure road to advancement. He gave his help only when he could do so honestly; and in an age when corruption penetrated every rank of society, none durst approach him with a bribe. His integrity was a rock of strength in the midst of the general flux. Perhaps this uncompromising uprightness was the secret of the King's regard, for Arundel was not a general favourite. His exalted standards were no doubt embarrassing to men whose actions would not bear the same close scrutiny as his own. Added to this, he exhibited a certain aloofness to all but the favoured few, which did not tend to popularity. His real charm was reserved for his family and chosen friends. To them, unbending over his hobbies—his pictures, his marbles, his gardens, the adornment of his houses—the winning simplicity and kindness of his nature displayed themselves without reserve.

Many passing allusions, always of the most cordial kind, show how warmly he felt towards Sir Thomas Somerset². Perhaps the intimacy was formed in the tilting-ring, where in the early years of

¹ Birch, *Court and Times of James I*, Vol. 1, p. 292.

² Sir Thomas Somerset was the third son of Edward, fourth Earl of Worcester, whose long and unblemished career under Elizabeth and James, had raised him to a position of high honour; and was the brother of Henry, fifth Earl and first Marquess of Worcester, well known for his devotion to the cause of King Charles in the Rebellion. Sir Thomas Somerset was one of the messengers sent to Scotland in

King James's reign, Somerset's name is often found side by side with that of Arundel and the other competitors in the fray.

The Earl of Arundel to the Countess of Arundel.

My deereſt Hart

I thanke God wee came hither yesterday, ſafe. The weather hath bin, and is ſtill, ſoe ſharpe, as I yet finde not my ſelfe very well, though I goe abroad. I thinke certainly eyther rayne, or ſnowe, will ſhortly fall, and then (I hope) the ayre will be more temperate for my thinne body. I hope to heare of y^r health, and my deere children, as any opportunity of ſendinge offers it ſelfe. I pray commend me to all my frendes and in particular to Sr Tho: Sommerset, to whome I now will write, and to Mr Secretary. Heere is no newes, but that his M^{tie} is in good health, w^{ch} God long continewe.

Soe wth my infinite love to y^u, and daily prayers for y^u, I ever reſt
Y^r moſt faithfull lovinge huſbande

T. ARUNDELL.

Newmarket, Tuesday night, 17 Janua: 1614 (1615)

To my Deere wife the Countesse of Arundell at Arundell Houſe in London¹.

The following letter appears alſo to have been written in the ſpring of this year :

The Same to the Same.

My deereſt Hart

By this bearer, Mr Blondell, I cannot but co^mend my deereſt love unto y^u. This day before dinner, came from my Lo: of Shrewsbury y^r father, tenne moore foules, w^{ch} the K. was exceedingly well pleaſed withall; and they came in good time, for yeſternight the Kinge was aſkinge me often whether I were [sur]e my Lo: of Shrewsbury remembered them.

I pray buy Robartes his 2 Carpettes and his blewe quilt, for that will ſerve y^r bedde of Jappan exceedinge well, and fitte it for the Collor. Inquire for the Hanginges he promiſed of Clothe of Bodkine, and doe theſe thinges quickly, for fear they be gone. Likewise ſpeak with Nicaius about the George of four ſcore poundes price w^{ch} he told me of, and finde me out ſome other good Garter to give as y^u knowe for the Gallery at Highgate; if y^u thinke it fitte, the Coronet may be added on the Mal-travers knotte.

Bidde Dyxe make haſt to provide that greate ſome of mony I ſpake to him of; and let noebody livinge knowe the uſe of it.

God in Heaven, I moſt humbly beſeech him, bleſſe us and all ours. Soe wth my deereſt love I ever remayne

Y^r moſt faithful lovinge huſbande

T. ARUNDELL.

1603, to announce to King James the death of Elizabeth and his acceſſion to the English throne. Somerset was Maſter of the Houſe to Queen Anne; Knight of the Bath in 1605; Viſcount Caſhel of Tipperary in 1626. He left no ſon, ſo the title expired at his death (ſee Bridge's *Collins's Peerage*, Vol. 1, p. 229).

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Caſtle, No. 193.

Tell Dyxe I must (for aught I knowe) have men at St George's Day, and therefore Chaynes of Gold must be thought on, as likewise feathers of my colloures, w^{ch} shall be redde and yealowe.

To my Deere wife the Countesse of Arundell at Arundell House in London¹.

A man named Dyx had already been in the service of Philip, Earl of Arundel, as agent or steward; and it seems likely that this office had descended from father to son, as the same name will often recur in these pages. It may be shrewdly guessed that the "greate some of mony" so urgently required by Lord Arundel was destined to the purchase of some work of art, which he feared to lose by delay, equally dreading to excite competition if his intentions became known.

His thoughts were now much occupied with the improvements and developments that he had set on foot in his various houses. Highgate, with its fine air, and then rural surroundings, seems at this time, to have had a special place in the affections of Lord and Lady Arundel. Then there was the splendid house at Greenwich, lately left him by his uncle, Lord Northampton. Arundel Castle, in Sussex, appears to have been less frequented as residence than the smaller places in convenient proximity to London. Thetford, in Norfolk, associated with the Howard name for many generations, was a possession prized on account of its bracing air. Ashtead, in Surrey, was another property belonging to Lord Arundel, whose name is remembered there as having introduced the large edible snail (*Helix pomatia*), probably after one of his journeys abroad. It still flourishes there and in several places near at hand. In the same county was his mother's home at Sutton, where his children frequently stayed for prolonged periods in the care of their devoted grandmother, when duty or pleasure detained Lord and Lady Arundel in London, or despatched them on foreign travel².

Early in 1615, Sir Thomas Edmondes appears to have proffered a request that Arundel should endeavour to obtain for him some promotion at home. The reply elicited gives an interesting glimpse of the state of feeling then prevailing at Court.

The Earl of Arundel to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

Good my Lord

I received this eveninge y^r letter by Mr Ingam. I could not but salute y^r Lo:^p wth these fewe lines, though (as I told Mr De Vike this other

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 194. Lord Tenton and Lord Knollys were made Knights of the Garter on this occasion.

² It is unnecessary to say that the above is not an exhaustive list of Lord Arundel's estates, but is merely intended to elucidate the references contained in his letters, and to illustrate his movements at this period.

day) I deferred yet writing to y^r Lo:^p in hope to have some better newes, then have complement to fill my letter; I can say nothinge but that y^u are wonderfull much bound to the Kinge for his good opinion uttered of y^u divers times unto me, and I am in greate hope that ere it be longe he will give y^u some effectuall demonstration that the same iudgment w^{ch} can soe well discerne well deserving servantes, can as well reward them though absent. For our course heere, I must really let you knowe (out of our mutually professed liberty) that suspicions and ielousies are nowe betweene parties growne to that heighth, to dissolve (or at least slacke) bondes of kindred, that I protest unto y^r Lo:^p, I in my particular, have noe comfort or addresse in this place, but only the Kinge my masters favor, w^{ch} (I doubt not) will ever protect his innocency whoe, without other endes, then bare love and duty, followes him.

Y^r Lo:^p may gesse, what an extraordinary happines I should hold it, to enioye the freedom of conversinge wth y^u heere, in whome I have found soe much constant and reall proceedinge, and thereupon may conclude howe much (even out of myne owne interest) I should reioyce to see y^u settled here, upon good condicions sutable to y^r likinge and desertes; wherof I shall not fayle to be a true remembrancer.

I must give y^r Lo:^p very many thanks for y^r care and paynes, both from my wife and myselfe, in the busines of the Aggate Cuppe, w^{ch} wee greewe much tooke noe effecte, but, I feared before, they would make many evasions; for a challice it cannot have bin used, because it appears to be prophane; for their valuation, they may pretend what they will, when they see it is sought; but methinkes, the Queenes consent beinge had, by Mr De Rhenes, w^{ch} they pretended had only power to dispose of it, when wee were there, they should not use those other evasions, of the Popes power, and such like;

Our wine hath bin longe expected, wth much desire, and wee doubt not, the goodnes in prooffe will aunswere y^r Lo:^{ps} care.

To conclude, my poore endeavors, howe weake soever in power, yet (God doth knowe) shall be as stronge in desire, to see y^r fortunes heer settled happily, as any mans livinge. And soe I rest ever

Y^r Lo:^{ps} most faithfull frende

T. ARUNDELL.

Arundell House 23 February [1614¹].

To my very worthy frende S^r Thomas Edmondes, Lord Ambassador for his M^{tie} in Paris¹.

Edmondes returned to England for a brief space at the end of the year, and it may be concluded that Lord Arundel's efforts had not been in vain, since his old friend was then appointed Comptroller of the King's Household, and a member of the Privy Council.

An important interview connected with the disposition of the Talbot estates seems to have taken place in April, 1615, between

¹ Stowe mss. British Museum, No. 175, f. 244.

Lord Shrewsbury and the King; the gist of which His Majesty communicated to Lord Pembroke and Lord Arundel. The object seems to have been to induce Lord Shrewsbury to make some sort of declaration, in order to seal with double security the inheritance of his daughters, Lady Pembroke, Lady Elizabeth Grey of Ruthin, and Lady Arundel. In this the King's intervention was successful. There had been some fear lest Lord Shrewsbury's brother, the childless heir to the title, should be able to claim property intended for the daughters, owing to confused or faulty legal arrangements. We know that this danger was averted: and that the two elder sisters dying without heirs, the whole property ultimately came to Lord and Lady Arundel. The letter which brings the account of the interview, has a characteristic ending. Lord Arundel refers to the house at Greenwich recently left him by Lord Northampton.

I forgatte to leave order wth Dixe (he says), aboute the wainscordinge; the bottom of the roomes at Greenwich halfe a yeard deepe, and fittinge the gilte leather unto them. I thinke it were fitte that the gilt leather for all the roomes were made up of one depth, because they may serve together any where els; and they in lesse roomes may be hanged soe much the higher. I pray lett Mr Jones sette the wainscort particion in hand for the lowe Gallery, and let the organ be removed into the lower dininge Chamber¹.

Another letter, without date, probably belongs to this year, when on Sunday, 2nd July, the King was at Oatlands. "Little Charles," to whom allusion is here made, was Lord Arundel's youngest child, born, probably, early in the year 1613². Sutton, it will be remembered was at this time the home of his mother, the Dowager Lady Arundel. It was within easy reach of Oatlands.

The Earl of Arundel to the Countess of Arundel.

My deerest Harte

I was yesterday at Sutton, where I thanke God all is very well, only little Charles his bootes are very ill fitted, soe as my Lady desires he may come to London to have them mended, I thinke they must come all to London some parte of this weeke that comes in, for I perceive my Lady intendes a little journey of her owne on Monday come a seavennight, there fore I pray resolve whether they shall come to Highgate or London. My Lady tolde me she had sent unto us, to knowe whether wee liked well of Mr Tunstall to goe over wth the children. She sayes he will be contente soe as he may have some time first, to goe downe to settle his businesse. I would give no answere till I hearde from y^u, and therefore I pray y^u

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 195.—The date of this letter, quoted in Tierney's *Arundel*, p. 457, note a, is misprinted 1625.

² He died in 1620.

write y^r full minde. For my parte, for any thinge I yet thinke of, I see nothinge but very fitte in it. Mr Spiller is very sicke, w^{ch} I am very sorry for. I thinke aboute Thursday will be a good time for the children to come to London, I feare I shall be hardly come before Tuesday night.

Soe with my deerest love and hartiest prayers, I ever rest

Y^r most faithful lovinge husbunde

T. ARUNDELL.

Oatlandes, Sunday morning.

...*the...of Arundel, at London*¹. (Partly torn off.)

From the reference to the work proceeding at Greenwich, and from subsequent letters, it is evident that Inigo Jones had continued in Lord Arundel's service since the return from abroad in the winter of 1614. The same relations persisted after the appointment of Jones as Surveyor of the Works in the autumn of this year; a position of which he had been promised the reversion some time before, probably at Arundel's request².

The Court was now at Salisbury, where Lord Arundel was in attendance on the King.

The Same to the Same.

My deerest Hart

I thanke y^u for y^r letter and remembrance by Apsley. God be thanked for y^r good health, and all our children, and longe blesse us wth it, as the greatest worldly comforte...

Upon Thursday nexte, the Kinge dineth at Wilton, by which time my Lo: of Pembroke hopes Mr Jones will be come hither. I tell him I hope he will, but I cannot promise, because I spake not with him of it, when I came out of towne. I meane (by God his Grace) to be at Arundell on Tuesday or Wednesday come seavennight, w^{ch} is the eighth or ninth of Auguste. If Mr Jones come hither, I will bringe him wth me; if not, y^u must wth y^u. If upon any occasion I alter my resolucion, I will sende worde.

I beseech y^u, see the walke, and busines at Highgate, set on, for I envie much y^r happines, and hope in God to enjoy my parte there.

The Queene is well, but not soe stronge of her feete as she could goe to Church wth the Kinge this day. All els are well, and the Kinge well disposed as I hope.

I pray comend my service to my Lo: and La: of Shrewsbury if y^u see

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 206.

² Cunningham states (*Life*, p. 17), apparently on the authority of Webb, that Inigo Jones returned from abroad in 1615 in order to take up the post of Surveyor of the Works, in succession to the defunct Simon Basil. Inigo did so succeed Basil: but he had returned to England many months before. He was in London in January, 1615, as is proved by several notes thus dated (1614, old style), in his *Palladio*. His first salary as surveyor was paid on 1st October.

them. Soe with my deerest love and prayers unto Allmighty God for all happines to us and all ours, I ever rest

Y^r most faithful lovinge husbände

T. ARUNDELL.

Salisbury, Sunday 30 of July, 1615.

I pray comend me to my James, Han, and little Mr Bill, whoe the Queene sayes is a very proper gentleman.

I make no question but Mr Jones will soone speake with Mr Oldborough, and have under his hand, some certainty of his disbursementes and employment in Rome, consideringe his m^r [master]. I am sure Mr Jones will, in his bargayne wth Cimandio include that picture of his father and uncle, w^{ch} hangs amongst the rest.

To my most deere wife the Countesse of Arundell, at Arundell House in London¹.

The year did not pass without events which must nearly have touched Lord and Lady Arundel, though there is little in the correspondence, beyond a few scattered allusions, to show how they were affected by them. In September an enquiry was opened respecting the death, two years previously, of Sir John Overbury, as to which suspicion had at length been aroused. At the end of the same month the tragic life of Lady Arabella Stuart ended in the Tower of London; an occurrence which can hardly have failed to produce a deep and sorrowful impression on the cousins who had so often been associated with her in the brilliant masques at Court, and on the aunt who had so manfully befriended her in evil days. Lady Shrewsbury was, indeed, still undergoing a probably not very onerous captivity in the Tower for the part she was believed to have played in Lady Arabella's affairs; and the petition referred to in the following letter was probably a plea for her release now that the death of the victim removed all further reason for detention. As a matter of fact, Lady Shrewsbury was shortly afterwards set at liberty; in part, it would appear, through the good offices of Sir Ralph Winwood², so it may be presumed that the document, after all, arrived in time.

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 196.—Printed by Tierney, p. 424, where, however, several words of the postscript are incorrectly transcribed.

² Sir Ralph Winwood, Secretary to James I during part of the period succeeding the death of Salisbury, when the King himself transacted the business of the realm; appointed Secretary of State in March, 1614. Winwood had been many years English Agent with the States General, and, as such joined the train of Princess Elizabeth on her wedding journey through Holland (see p. 72). Lord Arundel's letters, during his stay in Italy, were forwarded through Winwood, at the Hague, to the care of Carleton, at Venice, and were the occasion of much lively correspondence between the two diplomatists. Winwood died in 1617. Lord Arundel seems to have entertained a particularly friendly feeling towards him. It appears likely, as already stated, that one, if not both, of the early portraits of Lord Arundel at Boughton House, Northamptonshire (see reproductions), may have been the property of Winwood.

The Earl of Arundel to the Countess of Arundel.

My deerest Hart

I could not (having the occasion offered of Sr Tho: Metthames goinge to London) but comēd my deerest love to y^u. I thanke God wee are all well heere. I am sure my Lo: Cheife Justices¹ cominge hither in Terme time, hath made discourse throughout London. He arrived heere this morninge aboute 8 of the clocke; and aboute eleven my Lo: Chamb:² came hither, whose manor of cominge was observed, both because he came not into London from home untill late yesternight, and besides he came on horsebacke, w^{ch} his Lo: doth not usually doe. What becomes of the matter in question, about Overb: [ury's] death, is not yet made knowne, but it is doubted it will not proove well, because the Lo: Cheife Justice hath refused to bayle M^{tris} Turner³, notwithstanding soe greate instance hath bin made.

I wonder wee heare not yet of my Lo: and La: of Shrewsbury's petitions, w^{ch} I doubt will come too late, because M^r Secretary goes from hence on Friday.

Comēde my humble service to my Lo: and La: of Shrewsbury. And with my deerest love to y^r selfe and most humble and hartye prayers unto Allmighty God for all happines to us and all ours, I ever rest

Y^r most faithfull lovinge husbāde

T. ARUNDELL.

Royston, Wednesday 11 Octob: 1615.

To my Deere wife the Countess of Arundell, Arundell House in London⁴.

By the end of the year, Somerset was disgraced and thrown into the Tower. In the following summer came the final catastrophe. Henceforth he and his yet guiltier wife disappear from the scenes in which they had played only too conspicuous a part⁵.

Another letter, written from Newmarket, but without date, must belong to the early spring of 1616. Mr Edward Havers was the Keeper of Lord Arundel's park at Winfarthing⁶. Whether he is the individual referred to, or another member of the same family, it is impossible to say. For a few years immediately following his return from Italy, Lord Arundel resumed his place in the tilting-ring on each anniversary of the King's accession. The allusion to Griffin the tailor is not quite clear. Possibly he had been imprisoned for some trivial offence, and Arundel was anxious his release should take

¹ Sir Edward Coke.

² The Earl of Somerset.

³ One of Lady Essex's disreputable tools in this miserable affair.

⁴ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 199.

⁵ See note p. 82.

⁶ In August of this year there is a letter addressed to him as such, directing him to deliver "unto my very good friend, Captaine William Stevens, or the bearer hereof...one good fatt Buck of this season." Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 211. See also note, p. 48.

place in time to prepare the elaborate garments required for the King's day.

But the most noteworthy point of the letter is that it contains the first mention of "Mr Pettie," soon to be so closely associated with Lord Arundel in the formation of his collection of ancient marbles. Of Petty's adventurous travels in the East and elsewhere, on Arundel's behalf, much more will presently be heard.

The Earl of Arundel to the Countess of Arundel.

My deereſt Hart

I ſend y^u back y^r footman, and am glad by him to have the occaſion to commend my deereſt love unto y^u, wth whome my Hart is every minute. I am very gladde y^u have taken a Newe Gardner, and will make Highgate ſomewhat handsomer, for my Hart is very much upon it, and every fayre day I envy y^u exceedingly there, where y^u enioy more happines in garden- ing quietly then (I proteſt I think) any other fortune giveth. This day ſeavennight (by God his Grace) wee ſhall ſee y^u.

I ſhall ſhortly ſend Havers to London, to provide for my runninge at tilt. I praye God Griffin the Tailor be out, els I knowe not what I ſhall doe, but I hope it will be by my Lo: of Shrew:^s meanes to Mr Fanſhawe, w^{ch} is much fitter than my beinge ſeene in it.

I have not yet ſeene Mr Pettie, nor heard any more of the buſineſſe, then what Mr Lake wrote to me from Highgate.

Wee heare the Queene meetes the Kinge at Whitehalle. My Lo: Abergavenyes ſonnes drowndinge [*sic*] is ſtrange newes, God bleſſe uſ all. Mr Secretary wrote unto me this day, that he founde my Lo: of Shrews- bury ill ſtill, w^{ch} I am exceedinge ſorry for, and that my Lo: of Rox- boroughes childe is mended, w^{ch} I am gladde to heare. He writes unto me wee ſhall not ſee him before Thursday at Theobaldes, I am ſory he will miſſ the Cambridge Play on Tuesday, at Royston, but ſoryer for wantinge his company. I write unto him by this bearer.

I would fayne have the wainscote under the Gallery windowes at Highgate made to runne up before the windowes at Nightes, as thoſe in my uncle Williams lodginge at London doe.

I was yeſterday at Thetford, where I wiſhed y^u. I hope you will like the ayre well, though it be very barren and bleake. I could write all night unto y^u, for w^{ch} I will not chalenge ſoe much as y^u did of me once, for writinge two ſides of paper for I confeſſe I am very idle heere. God in Heaven I moſt humbly beſeech him bleſſe uſ and all ours. Soe with my deereſt love I ever reſt

Y^r moſt faithful lovinge huſbande

T. ARUNDELL.

Newmarkette, Saterday at Night. [March, 1616.]

*To my Deere wiſe the Counteſſe of Arundell at Highgate*¹.

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 204, where it is claſſified as "perhaps 1615." (Partly printed by Tierney, p. 426.) Internal evidence ſhows, however, that it was written in March, 1616, as the drowning of Lord Abergavenny's ſons

In the midst of these tranquil avocations, Arundel was startled by an accusation of treason, which might have been serious but for the good sense of those principally concerned, and especially of King James himself. The charge was one of black complicity in a plot against the royal family. The matter was made known by an English merchant, the dupe, as it turned out, of an Italian, who imparted to him the pretended secret. The whole affair promptly died the death that it deserved. But Lord Arundel was not disposed to let so heinous a calumny pass without investigation. Sir Ralph Winwood consequently despatched a letter to Paris—in all likelihood to Sir Thomas Edmondes, but the address has not been preserved—which throws such interesting side-lights on Lord Arundel's character, as seen by a contemporary, and on the King's attitude in the matter, that it will not be out of place to quote from it here.

Sir Ralph Winwood to Sir Thomas Edmondes (?)

My Lord

I shall nowe trouble you wth an idle discourse, but I wilbe short, and leave the larger relation to the report of Mr Parkehurst, the bringer of these, or to those letters w^{ch} expressly I sende to Mr Woodford, yo^r Secretary, of the selfe same subject. I will omitt all circumstances and lett you knowe that an English Marchant, trading at Marseilius, lately came over in post hast, and brought with him an informaçon, that there were certaine Spaniards, Italians and Ffrenchmen, all of greate noate and marke, assembled (as he saide) in London, to execute a desperate and damnable practise against his Ma^{tie}, upon the Queene, and Prince, of which conspiracy hee named the Earle of Arundell to be partaker.

The merchant for his author nameth one Urcino, an Italian, whoe (as he sayeth) discovered this practise unto him at Avignon, came with him to Paris wth intention, as he professeth, to pass over into England, but there he left the merchant, delivering him an open letter, written in Italian, to the Kinge; which, when you shall reade, you will find howe idle a plott this is, full of vanity, worthie rather of scorne and laughter, then regarde or respecte. Notwithstanding, dilligent search hath bin made through London, where we finde noe such man, noe such streate, or signe where they should be lodged. And though his Ma^{tie}, whoe hath perused

in a wherry on the Thames, owing to the imprudent fastening of a sail in stormy weather, is mentioned in a letter of that date from Chamberlain to Carleton. Birch, in whose collection this letter is printed, says (in the corrigenda) the date should read 1617-18. This again is placing it too late. Lord Shrewsbury, to whose illness Lord Arundel alludes immediately after his reference to the drowning catastrophe, died in May, 1616. But conclusive proof is afforded by a letter from George, Lord Carew to Sir Thomas Roe, in which, under date March 1616, he records both the drowning of "Lord Abergavenyes sonnes," and the death of "Ladye Roxboroughes sonne." (*Letters from George, Lord Carew, to Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 30. Published by the Camden Society.) Lady Roxborough was a lady-in-waiting to the Queen, so that Lady Arundel, herself the principal lady at Court, had frequent opportunities of meeting her.

the letter wherof I make mention, w^{ch} Mr Parkehurst will shew you, doth finde the matter most ridiculous, and to be contemned, yet the Earle of Arundel, jealous of his honor, hath humbly beseeched him to give him leave to search out the depth of this matter; for w^{ch} purpose, at his owne charge, he doeth sende over a gente of quality, named Mr Parkehurst, whoe hath bin his Ma^{ts} Agent wth the Duke of Savoy. He hath charge to repaire to Paris to Mr Woodford, wth whom Prydis the merchant, saith Urcino had speech aboute his busines, whose assistance he is to crave for the apprehençon and examiniçon of this partie: whereunto there is noe doubt but the mynisters of that State wilbe willinge to give ayde, because the Queene Mother and the Mareschall Dancrey are charged to have a hande, and that deeply ingaged, in this conspiracy.

I cannot but approve my Lo: of Arundell's carefull dilligence if it be possible to finde out the trueth of this calumny and slaunder, but I feare, as the English merchant hath bin guld, and, as he saith, cast away some Crownes upon the Italian Imposter, soe it wilbe a hard matter to apprehend the Italian, whoe either is retyred to Avignon, or perhaps into his owne Contrey.

My Lord hath intreated mee to recomende the cause unto yow, which I knowe you wilbe pleased wth affection to imbrace, he beinge as he is, a most worthie noble man, loyall to his Contrey and faithfull to the King's service. And this is all, which is too much, that I have to say of this matter. . . .

Y^{or} L^{ps} most assured to doe you service

RALPHE WINWOOD.

Whitehall, the 25th of March, 1616¹.

¹ Stowe MSS. Brit. Mus., No. 176 f. 1.

CHAPTER IX.

PROGRESS OF THE COLLECTIONS. CREATION OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1616—1617.

SOME interesting correspondence was now taking place with reference to Lord Arundel's rapidly growing collections. In March, 1616, Sir Dudley Carleton, who had recently been transferred to the Hague, had offered him an ancient marble Head of Jupiter. Mr Edward Sherburn was the intermediary on this occasion, and his letters to the Ambassador¹ relating to the gift, and to certain pictures and statues which Carleton desired to dispose of, cover a considerable length of time.

Lord Arundel at first hesitated to accept the Jupiter, alleging that he had already received so many courtesies from Carleton "as he knewe not howe wth honor to receive any more. . . before he had better deserved them." The head in fact formed part of a group of marbles of which Carleton hoped Lord Arundel would be the purchaser. Probably in consequence of this, the latter hesitated to accept as a present one item of the collection until he had made up his mind whether he wished to buy the remainder. Carleton had spent some time in London between giving up his post at Venice and taking up that at the Hague; and it seems that in this interval, he and Arundel had together looked at the marbles, of which the "great Anticke head" was one².

The pictures which were the subject of negotiation, had been purchased by Sir Dudley Carleton from Daniel Nys, of Venice, on behalf of the Earl of Somerset, and were now left on his hands by the sudden disgrace of the favourite. Carleton was naturally anxious to find a purchaser for them. They were twelve in number, and their

¹ The originals of these are in the Record Office. Extracts have been printed by Sainsbury (*Original Papers relating to Rubens*, etc.) and in the *Cal. of State Papers*, Vol. IX, 1611—1618. Both sources have been freely drawn upon in the particulars which follow in the text.—Sainsbury says (note, p. 269) that Sherburn was successively secretary to the Earl of Salisbury, to Lord Keeper Bacon, and to the East India Company; and that he corresponded many years with Carleton, to whom he acted as agent.

² In the list of antique figures and heads of marble purchased for the Earl of Somerset, and printed by Sainsbury (Appendix, pp. 275 and 278), there occurs the following entry: "In case 3 are: 49. The head of the great Jupiter...(Without wrapping): 49. Pedestal for the head of Jupiter. 49. Slab of Stone to place between the Pedestal and the Head of Jupiter."

price was £200. The statues, it may be added, had been bought with the same intention. Lord Arundel was tempted by the pictures (it is provoking not to know what they were), but, for some reason, less inclined to the sculptures, in spite of his well-known love of statuary. As regards the pictures, a few of the less important had been already selected by Lord Danvers¹, and it was now proposed that he and Lord Arundel should each take half of the consignment.

I have attended my L. of Arundell to Mr Fortry his house (writes Sherburn to Carleton, from London, on the 9th April, 1616), where his L. wth Mr Inego Jones have fully reviewed the pictures, w^{ch} are 12 in number. His L. referred me for his resolucon, whether he would have them or not, untill his returne from the King after the Hollydaies. His L. is nowe returned, and this day I gave my attendance on him, who I perceived is passing desirous to deale for the halfe of them, telling me that my L. Dãvers undertooke to take the other halfe....

Lord Danvers, however, subsequently backed out of his part of the bargain. He wrote to Sherburn that he had received the picture of the Creation, but thought it too grave, and wished to exchange it for "somm toyes fitt to furnish a lodge" from the best hands². Lord Arundel was, however, willing to take the whole number, and thus the difficulty was solved. Nevertheless, the Creation does not seem to have been included in his purchase.

Having settled to buy the pictures, Arundel no longer opposed the pressing desire of Carleton that he should accept the Head of Jupiter. In April, Sherburn was able to write to his patron that this desired consummation had been achieved, and that its new owner had placed it at Arundel House "in his utmost garden, so opposite to the Gallery dores, as being open, so soone as y^u enter into the first Garden yo^u have the head in yo^r eie all the way."

In May, Sherburn saw Lord Arundel at Greenwich, and received

¹ Henry Danvers, created Lord Danvers by James I, and Earl of Danby by Charles I, was born in 1573, and was the second son of Sir John Danvers of Dauntsey, in Wiltshire. An adventurous career as soldier and sailor, partly necessitated by an act of outlawry in his youth, brought his name into high repute for valour and skill. He served successively in the Low Countries, in France, at sea, and in Ireland. His gifts were versatile. He presented to the University of Oxford the ground for the Botanic Gardens of which the gateway was built by Inigo Jones. Danby died in 1644.

² *Cal. State Papers, 1611-1618*, p. 361. Lord Danvers to Edward Sherburn, 9th April, 1616.—If the Creation here mentioned was identical with the Creation of Animals, by Bassano, as appears to be the case, its rejection does not seem surprising. In 1620 Carleton, in whose hands it may be inferred that it had remained, sent it to Rubens in part payment for a reduced version of his Lion Hunt. Rubens declared it to be so spoilt, that he would sell it to anybody for 15 ducats. Carleton had paid Nys (if it be the same picture) 220 ducats for it. (See Sainsbury, *loc. cit.*)

his assurance that the pictures should be sent for at once. But Arundel's time, as will presently be seen, was just now fully occupied with family matters. Delays supervened; and it was not till July that Sherburn was in a position to write to the Hague that "this day my L. of Arundel gave direccon to Mr Inego Jones, in my presence, to pay me one day this week the £200, and to receive the pictures." Sherburn was doubly anxious to conclude the business, because Carleton's friend, Mr Chamberlain, had heard a report that the ambassador had given all these pictures to Somerset, and that a letter or two had been found which appeared to substantiate the rumour. Chamberlain therefore advised that, unless Lord Arundel sent to fetch them away immediately, Sherburn's best course, to save his patron serious loss would be to pack them up and despatch them to the Hague forthwith¹. No such drastic action became necessary, and the paintings seem to have passed peacefully into their new home at Arundel House.

Picture collecting had become the fashion, in great measure through Arundel's example. Somerset had already, in the previous year, made purchases of Daniel Nys, mediated by Carleton. But this was Arundel's first business transaction with Nys, whose name, at a later period, gained fame in relation to the Arundel collection.

Meanwhile the question of purchasing the statues was unexpectedly settled in a way which caused obvious chagrin to Carleton's correspondents, Sherburn and Chamberlain. The former writes on the 13th July,

I omitted in my last to let yo^r L. knowe that my L. Rosse hath spoiled the sale of yo^r Statuas, because after all his paines and chardges bestowed in collecting and gathering togeather such antiquities of this kind as he could get in his travailes, he hath now in an humo^r (and I may say an ill one) given them all to my L. of Arundell, w^{ch} hath exceedingly beautified his Lordship's Gallerie.

Chamberlain, equally annoyed on Carleton's behalf, is like Sherburn ready to impute an unworthy, though different, motive for Lord Roos's generosity. It must be mentioned that Lord Roos had just been entrusted with a special mission to Spain, of considerable importance.

The Lord Roos is gon for Spaine very gallant, (he writes to Carleton a little later in the year) having sixe foot men, whose apparelling stoode him in £50 a man; eight pages at £80 a piece; twelve Gentlemen, to each of whom he gave £100 to provide themselves; some twenty ordinarie

¹ The rejected statues were actually so treated, having been sent to the Hague by Sherburn in October of this year (Sainsbury, p. 272).



Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel

Circa 1615-1618

servants who were likewise very well appointed; and twelve sumpter-clothes, that stode him in better than £1500... He went in a very goode and fayre ship of the Kinges called the Dreadnought... It seemes he is very desirous to buy friends, for he gave the Earle of Arundell all the Statues he brought out of Italie in one clap and reposesh such confidence in him that he hath left in his hands all the entailes of his land and other writing of greatest moment¹.

A more magnanimous motive may probably have inspired Lord Roos's relations with Lord Arundel. It will be remembered that when Arundel was called to account for supposed misdemeanours at Rome, the accuser was described by Chamberlain, in a letter to Carleton, as "Don Diego's master²." As Lord Roos had in his service a Spanish gentleman of that name, and as Roos had been much in Italy, and was well known to Carleton, it has not unreasonably been supposed that Roos himself was the person alluded to. If this interpretation be correct, it can easily be conceived that Lord Roos, being satisfied that he had unintentionally maligned Lord Arundel, would be anxious to do everything in his power to make reparation. It seems, however, by no means certain that Roos was the scandalmonger in question; and very likely that the two men were drawn together by a common interest in art³. Mr Cansfield, who was Lord Arundel's cousin, and had been with him in Italy, was numbered amongst Lord Roos's retinue, and had been deputed by Arundel to secure for him, while in Spain, any suitable objects of art that he might be able to obtain.

Meanwhile, a domestic event had occurred of the first importance in Lord Arundel's career. On the 8th May, his father-in-law, Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, departed this life; and the great Talbot inheritance devolved upon Aletheia, Countess of Arundel, and her two elder sisters, Mary, Countess of Pembroke, and Elizabeth, Lady Grey of Ruthyn. Small wonder that Lord Arundel was unable to

¹ Birch, *Court and Times of James I*, Vol. 1, p. 428.

² See p. 89.

³ William Cecil, Lord Roos, was the only son of the second Earl of Exeter (who survived him); and inherited his title from his mother, daughter and heiress of Edward Manners, third Earl of Rutland. He had travelled extensively in Italy, and while there had privately embraced the Roman faith. He was yet more at home in Spain. Lionello, the Venetian Secretary in England, informed the Doge and Senate that Lord Roos was "both by education and habit, entirely Spanish," so that his embassy might be expected to be "perfectly to the taste of the Spaniards," who, however, knew him to be "very light-brained." (*Cal. State Papers, Venice*, Vol. xiv, No. 477.) In the year now under consideration (1616), when he was at the zenith of his prosperity, he married the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Lake. The union turned out most unhappily, and produced quarrels of so venomous and scandalous a nature, that in 1617, some months after his return from Spain, he secretly left England, and went to Italy, where he declared his change of religion. He died near Naples, in 1618.

give immediate attention to Sir Dudley Carleton's pictures, eager though he was to secure them. Lady Arundel seems to have gone off at once to Sheffield Lodge to console her widowed mother. Lord Shrewsbury had died at his London house in Broad Street. Great preparations were made for the funeral, which was to take place in the north. More than two months elapsed before the arrangements were completed for the removal of the body. Meanwhile, Lady Arundel's visit to Lady Shrewsbury had terminated.

George Savile to the Countess of Shrewsbury.

Maddam

Thankes be God, maddam Arondell came salfly from yo^r La. to Highgate. And my selfe, carefull of my charge, came hether to Brodstreet, wher I found all well. And, to my great comfort, I presently hard good news that yo^r La. most noble sonne, the Earle of Arondell, was sworne upon Wensday last, one of his Ma^{tie} most honorable Privy Councill¹. . .

The Corps [corpse] is now (accordinge to yo^r La. pleasure) well furnished wth 12 lightes of waxe. When wee come downe wee purposo to bestow the corps, if poss., in the best Rowme of the Innes, because many will desier to see it. And supposinge that great store of the Poore will repayre and loke for Allmes at every Inne, wee desier to know yo^r La. pleasure therin; for that, and supply for our commynge downe, for all w^{ch} God willinge yo^r La. shall have trew Accompte. . .

Wth humble duty I take leave and rest

Yo^r La. ever bownd to comand

GEORGE SAVILE.

Yo^r La. howse at Brodstreet, 20th of July, 1616.

To the right honorable, my especiall good Lady, the Countisse of Shrewsbury, At Sheffield Lodge, give theis etc. etc.²

Lord Arundel's admission to the Privy Council emphasizes the advance in the King's favour which had of late been so marked. It also set the seal on Arundel's public position. If hitherto his success had depended on his powerful personality, it now received the stamp of official recognition. Henceforth his signature is frequently found appended to the documents of the Council, in conjunction with those of the Duke of Lennox, Lord Knollys³, Sir Ffulke Greville⁴, Sir Ralph Winwood, Sir Julius Caesar, and other conspicuous contemporaries. Thus, when just entering upon his thirty-second year, he found the path of prosperity opening wide before him. The

¹ The Wednesday in question was July 16th, which was the date on which Camden records that "Thomas Earl of Arundel" was "called into the Privy Council at Westminster." (Camden's *Annals of James I*, in Kennet's *Hist. England*, Vol. II, p. 646.)

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 210.

³ Subsequently Viscount Wallingford and Earl of Banbury.

⁴ Later created first Lord Brooke.

inherited difficulties which had beset his youth had gradually vanished, though not without stern effort on his part. He stood high in the good opinion of his Sovereign; he was justly honoured; and, in the first instalment of the Talbot inheritance, he at last possessed the means of gratifying those tastes which were to make his name famous.

Early in September, 1616, a Committee composed of the Lord Treasurer (Earl of Suffolk), the Lord Chamberlain (Earl of Pembroke), the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Arundel, was appointed for creating Prince Charles, now sixteen years of age, Prince of Wales; and for nominating the Knights of the Bath who were to be admitted to the Order on the same occasion. Later in the month, a Commission was appointed, of the above-mentioned personages, with the addition of the Earls of Worcester and Nottingham, to jointly exercise the office of Earl Marshal. For the auspicious occasion of the Prince's creation, however, the King desired Lord Arundel to fulfil the function of Earl Marshal alone; and thus for the first time the hereditary dignity of his fathers was restored to him.

All eyes and thoughts were now concentrated on the preparations for the great event. No less than twenty-six Knights of the Bath were to be invested. Amongst these were Lord Arundel's two elder sons, James, Lord Maltravers, and his brother, Henry Frederick, aged respectively nine and eight years! They must have surely been the youngest of the proposed new Knights, most of whom had at least attained manhood. The following letter seems to imply that it was first intended to create only Lord Maltravers. It is evident, also, that before being appointed to act as Earl Marshal for the occasion, Lord Arundel had contemplated taking his usual place in the tilting-ring. The higher function carried with it rather the position of an umpire than of a competitor in the contests. Doubtless, for this reason he changed his intention, as his name does not appear in the list of tilters.

The Earl of Arundel to the Countess of Arundel.

My deere, deere Hart

I forgotte when I was at London, to give order to my rider, that my horses might be used nowe every day unto runninge at the ringe, and likewise what horse little James shall ride on, when he is Knight of the Bath, must be made very gentle. Wee must borrow a footcloth for him, for myne is broken. I pray bidde, that my imbrodered Saddles be ayred, and made handsome. For my suite [suit] wth silver lace, I am not yet certainly resolved whether it shall be layde on white or some other collar, and therefore Griffin may stay the sowinge it on yet.

God in Heaven I most humbly and hartily beseech him blesse us and
all ours. Soe wth my deerest love I ever rest

Y^r most faithfull loving husbände

T. ARUNDELL.

Royston, Tuesday 15 Octob: 1616.

I pray let the children come this weeke to London, and practise hard
good curtesies and good maneres. I beseech yⁿ finish the lanppry garden
and the ponde at Highgate.

*To my Deere wife the Countesse of Arundell at London*¹.

On the last day of October Prince Charles came to Whitehall,
by water, to be ready for the great function of Sunday, 3rd Nov-
ember. He was met and escorted from Chelsea downwards by the
Mayor and Aldermen, in their gay and brilliant barges. To how
many must it have recalled the similar rejoicings for Prince Henry,
but a few years earlier! On Saturday, the 2nd November, the
twenty-six prospective Knights of the Bath repaired to the Parliament
House at Westminster, attended prayers in Henry VII's Chapel, and
returned to partake of an elaborate supper, in which each individual's
escutcheon hung over his place at table. There followed the sym-
bolical ceremony of the Order, the Bath taken by each postulant in
"Bathing tubbes" lined with white linen and covered in red silk.

The next morning, Sunday, the 3rd November, all were invested
in hermits' habits, "a gowne of gray cloth, girded close, and a hoode
of the same, and a linnen coife underneath, and an hankercher
hanging at the girdle, cloth stockings soaled with leather, but no
shoes." Thus arrayed, they betook themselves in procession led by
music, to the Chapel, where, after Service, the oath was solemnly
administered to them by the "Earle of Arundel, Lord Marshall, and
the Earle of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlaine." The oath seems in
fact to have been a kind of exhortation which was addressed in turn
to each Knight, according to his rank. It was first read by Lord
Arundel to his young son, Lord Maltravers, whose precedence
placed him at the head of those present; and then, either by the Earl
Marshal or the Lord Chamberlain to the remainder of the group,
one by one. Each Knight stood out before his own stall and made
obeisance to the altar. After this they were escorted by the Heralds,
two at a time, to where the Commissioners sat. The ceremony ended,
they were given some refreshment, and returned to their rooms to
shed their "hermites weedes," and don the gay robes in which they
were to appear before the King. Garbed in crimson taffeta, lined
with white sarcenet, white hats on their heads, white boots on their

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 212.

feet, white gloves dangling from their mantles, they mounted their splendidly caparisoned steeds and rode "faire and softly" towards the Court; "each Knight between his two Esquires well apparelled, his footmen attending, and his Page riding before him, carrying his Sword with the hilt upward, in a white leather belt without buckles or studdes, and his spurs hanging thereon."

In such order they arrived at the King's Hall, dismounted, and were led, one by one, into the presence of the sovereign, who proceeded, with elaborate ceremony, to bestow upon each the expected honour. Lord Maltravers was the first knighted, the others following according to precedence. Returning to the Parliament House dinner was served to the new Knights in the same order as supper on the evening before. At five in the afternoon they again rode to Court, and were present at a solemn Service in the King's Chapel.

On the following day, Monday, 4th November, arrayed in "long robes of purple satin, with hoods of the same, all lined and edged about with white taffeta," they attended the Prince at his creation. The ceremonies over, which were conducted with great pomp and splendour, the King retired upstairs to dinner; afterwards watching from an upper chamber, the proceedings in the Hall below, where the newly-made Prince of Wales was dining in state, attended by the great officers of the Court, and the twenty-six Knights of the Bath.

The strain of the prolonged ceremonies must have been severe on two children of such tender age as Lord Arundel's young sons. The festivities were suspended on the 5th, the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, but continued and concluded on the succeeding days¹.

The year 1616 was a fortunate one for Lord Arundel's collections. Just before the creation of Prince Charles, and as it seems in honour of that event, the King presented Arundel with the whole of the valuable pictures that had belonged to the Earl of Somerset. The gift was estimated at fully £1000. It is difficult to say what exactly it comprised, or whether the list of Pictures printed by Sainsbury, bought by Carleton on behalf of the Earl of Somerset², had already passed into the collection of the latter—in which case they would form part of the King's present—or were the paintings, ordered for

¹ Nichols, *Prog. of James I*, Vol. III, pp. 207-223.

² *Original Papers*, etc., pp. 273-275. There is a receipt at the foot of the list, for delivering pictures to the Earl of Somerset, Whitehall, but as the works thus delivered came by a ship called the "Marygold," while the contents of the "two cases" previously enumerated were shipped on the "Charity," the matter is left uncertain.

the favourite, but arriving after his disgrace, which Lord Arundel purchased for £200; as related in the last chapter. In either case, these pictures must have found a home at Arundel House, and some of them, or works of like name, reappear in the Arundel inventory of 1655.

Mindful of his commission, Mr Cansfield took an early opportunity to write from Lisbon, and send home such things as he had there provided for "y^r Honor and my Ladie." Particulars are unfortunately not forthcoming. In the next letter, however, he requests instructions as to "y^e Imbrothered Altar hanginges," so the guess may perhaps be hazarded that the objects in question were specimens of Portuguese needle-craft, and other rich decorative stuffs¹.

Early in the new year, Lord Roos addressed to Lord Arundel a letter from Madrid, containing a vivid account of his reception at the Spanish Court. The narrative is enclosed in a covering letter, which runs as follows:

Lord Roos to the Earl of Arundel.

My very good Lord

The 5th of this present I received your Lo: letter dated the 23rd of November, which is all the letters that I have received from your Lo: since my comming into this countrye. Here I understand from the Duke of Lennox that Sir Jhon Digbye² was to come into Spaine to treat of the marriage. God send him good successe in his employment, but for my owne part I do stille houlde my oulde opinion; yet there is nothing impossible. But of that matter I will discourse more at large when I shall see you, for I purpose if it be possible to departe from hence within this six dayes, and do meane my selfe with some few of my companye to come by lande through France; and at Paris if I may receive a letter from your Lo: it will be a great contentment unto me. Here inclosed I send you another letter from my selfe, which conteineth the manner of my reception

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 213. Mr Robert Cansfield to the Earl of Arundel.

² John Digby, born 1580, knighted 1607, Vice Chamberlain and Privy Councillor 1617, created Lord Digby 1619, and Earl of Bristol 1622, owes his fame to the negotiations with Spain, first in connection with the projected marriage of Prince Henry with the elder Infanta, and secondly with the far more prolonged and serious proposals for a matrimonial alliance between Prince Charles and the younger daughter of the King of Spain. In all these matters, he was the principal ambassador employed by King James. When Charles and Buckingham visited Spain in 1623, Bristol's antagonism to Buckingham, and other causes, brought him into disfavour. Two years later, he was recalled to England and confined to his own house at Sherborne. In the following reign, he endeavoured with wise statesmanship to mediate between King and Parliament. When it became apparent that matters had gone too far for compromise, he took his position definitely on the side of the King. Finally, Parliament banished him from England, and he died at Paris in 1653.

here; as also I send you the cōpye of my letter to the King, by the which you may see in what state the affaires of the Duke of Savoye stand. Within few dayes I hope to have a resolute answer, and then I will give your Lo: account thereof.

I have no newes worth the writing to your lordship. I send my La: your wife some gloves and pockets, and meant to have sent your Lo: some skins to make you jerkins, as also gloves, but that Mr Cansfielde assures me that your Lo: loves them not; but howsoever, I will bring some with me, and if your Lo: likes them, they are at your service, as my selfe shall ever be.

Your Lo: most faithful servant

WILL: ROOS.

Madride 22nd Jan: 1616. (1617.)

I beseeche your Lo: let no body living know what I have sent your Lo:, the cōpye of my letter to the King¹.

(Enclosure):

Lord Roos to the Earl of Arundel.

My very good Lord

The 20th of December I departed from Lisborne and arrived at Elvas, the last towne of Portingall, upon Christmas Eve, *stilo novo*, where I rested Christmas day. All the way through Portingall I was defrayed by order of the Vice-king, and mett half a mile before I came to each cittie by the cheifest Magistrates; and indeed there was greate respecte and honor done to me and all my Company. Upon St Stephen's Day I came to Badaios, the first town of Castile, two leagues distant from Elvas. Half a league before I entred into the towne there mett me the cheife Magistrates of the Cittie, accompanied wth a great number of Concileirs, who bidde me welcome into Castile, offering unto me all the respecte and curtesie that could be afforded me in that place. They accompanied me to my lodging w^{ch} was a faire house very nobly furnished, and there came unto me two Aposentadores and two Alguasiles sent down by the Kinge to take order for my lodging & all things else w^{ch} I should need upon the way until I came to Madrill; but all upon my owne charge, w^{ch} hath beene a huge matter. Thorough all the townes that I passed untill my arrivall here I was mett by the Magistrates of each cittie, as I told yo^r Lo: before. At Toledo Mr Cottington² mett me, and there I received his Ma^{ty}. l^{tes}.

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 215. The copy of Lord Roos's letter to the King is missing.

² Francis Cottington, born about 1578, knighted and made a baronet 1623, created Lord Cottington of Hanworth 1631, was intimately connected with Spain throughout his career. He was employed in the negotiations respecting the Spanish marriage, being alternately favoured and disgraced as the project flourished or decayed. After Buckingham's death, Cottington's prosperity increased. He was made a Privy Councillor and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and held other important offices; remaining a prominent personage throughout the reign of Charles I. He quarrelled with Laud, who complained that he was tricky and untrustworthy. In matters of religion, he vacillated continually; but ended his days as a Catholic, in retirement at Valladolid, in 1652.

dated the 26 of November. When I came w^{thin}. halfe a league of Madrill the Conde de Salinas¹ mett me wth three coaches being accompanied wth diverse other p̄sones of qualitie, and brought me thorough the towne of Madrill to my house, w^{ch} is very richly furnished, & I am wholly defraied by the Kinge. The same night w^{ch} I arrived, w^{ch} was the eight of this present, the ffrench Ambassador sent to visitt mee, and alsoe the same night the Duke of Lerma² sent to visitt me. The next day the ffrench Ambassador, the Venetian Ambassador and the Fflorentine Ambassador did visitt mee. The same night in the evening came Juan de Cervia the cheife Secretarie of State to visitt mee; the next day in the morning came to visitt me Don Pedro de Suniga w^{ch} was Ambassador in England. In the afternoone came the Duke of Lerma, the Duke of Infantado³, the Duke of Osceda⁴, & diverse other great p̄sones. The same night came the kings Secretarie de Camara to visit me. The next day was my day of audience betweene eleven and twelve a clocke. Before dynner came the Marquise of Mirabell, one of the Kings Major Domos, accompanied wth diverse other p̄sones of good qualitie to fetch mee to the palace, and after I had alighted w^{thin}. the palace gate I went directly upp the staires, and after I had passed the Tarras and some three or fowre other rommes I came into the chamber where the kinge was. I made by reverences unto him, and the kinge did put of his hat, and when I came neare him he instantly bad me putt on myne, and then I saluted him in the king my master's name, and gave him the Parabeen of the alliance made between him and the ffrench kinge, to w^{ch} he gave me very good answeres, according to the grave and formall manner of the kinge of Spaine, w^{ch} is shorte and after our manner. After that I delivered him his Ma^{ts}. lře, w^{ch} he tooke in a grave fashion, but did not open it in my p^{rsence}. for soe it is the custome of this kinge. After that I saluted his Ma^{tie}. in the Queene's name to w^{ch} he answered mee in the same manner, as he did when I spake of the king, then I did deliv^r. her ma^{ts}. lře. unto him, w^{ch} he tooke in the same manner, as he did the kings. After that I saluted him in the name of the Prince, w^{ch} he tooke mervilous well. After that he asked me of the kings ma^{ties} health, the Queenes and the Prince's to w^{ch}. I gave him such answeres as were both true, and fitting. Then I tooke my leave, and told the kinge that for the present I would not trouble him any further, although I had other matters of greater consequence to speake to him of, w^{ch} were given me in charge by the king my m^r. [master], and therefore I besought him that he would appointe me some other tyme, when I might have a free audience to deliv^r. that unto him w^{ch} my Sovereigne had comānded me, to w^{ch} he answered me that he would very willingly and wth much contentment appoint me a tyme of heareing, and that I should see that he esteemed the kinge of England his brother more than all Princes else. After this I [did] present those gentleman who did accom-

¹ Of the house of Silva.

² The most prominent personage at the Court of Philip III. He died in 1625.

³ Seventh Duke of Infantado, descended through the female line from Don Inigo Lopez, fifth Duke.

⁴ The Duke of Uzedo was the son of the Duke of Lerma.

panie me in this his Mat^{ies.} service, and these did to the number of thirtie kisse his handes.

The roome where was his Mat^{ie.} was not very greate; it was hunge wth Arras. There stood a black velvett bedd in the roome in signe that he was a widdower; himself stood wth his backe to a square table, being wth his cloake and sword on, being clothed all in blacke w^{thout} any jewell, but like a morner. The Duke of Lerma stood on the right hand of him, as alsoe the Duke of Infantado, the Duke of Osceda and diverse other Grandes and p̄sones of qualitie.

Then I did instantly goe to another quarter of the house to visitt the Prince, who I saluted in the name of y^e Kinge my master the Queene and the Prince, to w^{ch} he answered mee in a grave sorte and curteous manner, just as the kinge his father did, w^{thout} changing his countenance or moveing his body noe more than if he had beene a statue. He stood wth his backe against a table just as his father did. He was apparelled in greene, wth a blacke cloake, wth a velvett capp and a hearnes topp feather; he had his sword on, and an indifferent good chaine and hate band of diamonds, but not very rich. The Duke of Lerma and the Duke of Osceda was wth him; the chamber was almost as bigg as that w^{ch} the kinge was in, hunge wth indifferent good Arras.

Then I went into another quarter of the house to visit the daughter of ffrance the Prince's wife¹, who I did salute in his ma^{ts.} name, the Queens and the Princes, w^{ch} she did seeme to take very kindly, and answered me very curteously, and asked me diverse questions concerneing their healthes and suchlike ordinarie questions, to w^{ch} I answered as became me. Afterwards I made all the gentlemen that were wth me to kisse her hande; after that I tooke my leave. The Duke of Lerma was there present as alsoe the Duke of Osceda and the ffrench Ambassador; there were alsoe diverse ladies in the rome w^{ch} stood against the wall. Don Inigo de Cardones, w^{ch} was Lidger² Ambassador in ffrance, brought me downe the staires, and then I was brought home by the Marquesse of Mirabell in the same fashion as I went to the palace. Soe God keepe yo^r Lo^p.

Your lo: servant

WILL: ROOS.

Madriil. Januarie 22, 1616 (1617)³.

¹ Elizabeth, daughter of Henri IV.

² *I.e.* resident.

³ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 214. This narrative was printed in Lodge's *Illustrations*, but without the covering letter.

Lodge also prints a set of elegiac verses which are to be found on the back of a letter (No. 218 of the Arundel collection) written in July, 1617, by Mr Robert Cansfield to his nephew, Anne, Lady Arundel, being their supposed author, these verses obtained some celebrity; it being asserted that the hand-writing was hers. I have not been able to trace any resemblance between the writing of Anne, Lady Arundel, as seen in her holograph letters, and the writing of these verses, which appears to be that of a clerk. It seems very unlikely she would ever have seen a letter from Mr Cansfield to his nephew. In Gatty's edition of Hunter's *Hallamshire*, it is conclusively shown that the verses were a popular poem of the time, of which other variants are known. It has not, therefore, been thought worth while to include them here.

CHAPTER X.

LORD ARUNDEL JOINS THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. THE SCOTTISH PROGRESS.

1616—1617.

JUST at this period, Lord Arundel was contemplating a step which caused a considerable sensation at the time, and has often been misinterpreted since. On Christmas Day, 1616, he received Holy Communion in the King's Chapel: thus publicly repudiating his connection with the Roman faith, and declaring himself a member of the Established Church. His critics, contemporary and of later date—nearly all of them belonging to the ranks of his former co-religionists—have not been slow to attribute this proceeding to motives of self-interest. They have pointed out that certain offices of State could not be held by Catholics; that his creed stood in the way of his advancement; and that, as he was indifferent to religion, he sacrificed it to worldly ambition.

Even his devoted mother supposed that considerations of expediency had prompted her son to take a step so incomprehensible to her stalwart Catholicism. But in admitting such a motive, she did less than justice to his proud and upright character. He asked no favours: nor did he ever scheme for them. The letter she addressed to him, in which, with tender solicitude, she laments his change of religion, was indeed penned many years later; when approaching death urged her to make a last effort to recall the wandering sheep to the fold. But it shall be given here, because there is no reason to believe that at any earlier period her sentiments would have been different. It will be remembered that, even in his boyhood, she had been troubled with doubts as to his steadfastness in the faith. At that time he had already shown symptoms of defection, though they were long held back, maybe by his love for his mother. There could hardly be a better reply to the accusation of self-interest in mature age, than is afforded by the evidence of his frame of mind in early youth.

Resembling each other in the many great qualities of heart and character which linked them so closely together, Anne, Lady Arundel, differed from her son in the intellectual independence which, with him, was so marked a characteristic. Profoundly attached to the

memory of her husband, and of his sufferings in the cause of his convictions, steeped, moreover, in the influence of the Jesuit fathers with whom she surrounded herself, and which is transparently visible in the letter in question, for her there could be no variability where matters of faith were concerned. Yet it is to the credit of both sides that divergence in religion left no root of bitterness, made no rift in the harmonious relationship between mother and son. Her distress was indeed great, but mutual affection continued to the end, untarnished by any breath of discord.

The Countess Dowager of Arundel to the Earl of Arundel.

My dear Son

You cannot but know, and I hope the world may witness, how carefull I have been all my life time to procure in every kind your well-doing: but that which hath ever gon nearest to my heart, and for which I have ever offer'd my dayly prayers to Almighty God, is the eternal good of your Soul, which now with this my last farewell to you and yours, I do with the tenderest affection a Mother can expresse unto her childe, commend unto you. And, with all earnestnesse pray you for God and your own Soul's sake, to think seriously upon your present state, and consider how little you have gain'd either in honor, wealth, reputation or true contentment of mind, by the course which now many years you have followed, contrary to the breeding and education I gave you, and to the worthy example your blessed Father left you, and the true judgment of all that wish best unto you. If, my good childe, you do this carefully, I shall not need to use any other reasons, but hope Almighty God will so assist you with his holy grace, as that you will speedily return to y^t safe harbor of God, his holy Catholick Church, out of which you can see nothing but confusion, nor any that is not wholly ignorant can prudently expect salvation. And this I have the more plainly and expressly mentioned, for the discharge of mine own conscience, and for the declaration of my love to you, which maketh me hope you will make such use of this my warning, that it be not brought as a testimony against you at the latter day, when we must all meet together to give account of our lives and actions.

I beseech God to blesse you and all yours, and make you all his faithfull servants, that in the company of my dear Lord, y^r Father, I may enjoy you all in perpetual happines: and so I take my last leave of you in this life, ever remaying

Your affectionate loveing Mother,

ANNE ARUNDELL¹.

¹ *Life of Anne, Countesse of Arundell and Surrey, etc.*, p. 228. The letter bears evidence of having been composed with assistance, probably that of her Chaplain, as in parts it differs considerably from her usual style. He states however, that it was written with her own hand, and that she left it sealed up, to be delivered to Lord Arundel after her death. Obviously, however, he must have been privy to its contents before it was closed, as so private a document would not have come into his hands subsequently.

No writer of Arundel's own day, has done so much to misrepresent him in the eyes of posterity, as Lord Clarendon; in religion as well as in other matters. At a period long subsequent to that now under consideration, Clarendon was his bitter enemy. No pen could be more malignant than that of the historian of the Rebellion, when dipped in the venom of personal spite; and it must always remain a subject of regret that, in his anxiety to depreciate a disliked personality, considerations of fairness or justice were powerless to check his flow of acrid words. His strictures contain just that substratum of truth, distorted by malice, which makes the picture more false than if the falsehood were complete. It is Clarendon who relates, when speaking of Lord Arundel's religious views, that he "was rather thought not to be much concerned for religion than to incline to this or that party of any"; and adds that he died "under the same doubtful character of religion in which he lived¹." Such words would be appropriate if written of an agnostic, or at least of one who was wholly indifferent to the religious aspect of life. But Lord Arundel was neither one nor the other. His genuine personal piety stands beyond question to all who have studied his history. The cause of his change of religion must be sought elsewhere.

Of modern historians, Tierney is by far the most important². His general accuracy of statement, and conspicuous fairness, make his attitude on this point the more to be deplored. He adopts unquestioningly the theory that Arundel's change of creed was inspired by interested motives; and proceeds to dilate at some length, and with much complacency, on the attractive theme. He even goes so far as to shift the perfectly authenticated date of the event from 1616 to 1615; alleging that as he was admitted in July, 1616, to the Privy Council, from which Catholics were excluded, he must have joined the Church of England prior to that date. Tierney in fact states explicitly that all the honours bestowed on Arundel in 1616, were the "rewards" of his "conversion"; whereas the truth is that his "conversion" did not take place till after he had received them. There is no question of Tierney's *bona fides*: the instance merely shows how far a man, striving to be impartial, may be led astray by over-anxiety to prove a point that is dear to him. In reality, the whole assumption rests on a false basis. The King, who

¹ Clarendon's *Hist. of the Rebellion*, edition 1816, Vol. I, p. 95. The calumnies have been refuted by Arundel's descendant, the tenth Duke of Norfolk (*Historical Anecdotes of the Howard Family*), but the matter is too important to be omitted here.

² Tierney was Chaplain to the then Duke of Norfolk in the early half of the nineteenth century, and had access to the Arundel MSS. The passage alluded to above, will be found on pp. 427-429 of his *Hist. of Arundel*.

had called Arundel to take his seat in the House of Lords before the prescribed age, would and did hesitate equally little to make him a Privy Councillor, when that course appeared desirable, whether or not in accordance with regulations.

Testimony abounds to show that he was still nominally a Roman Catholic when admitted to the Council. Lionello, the Venetian Secretary in London, in a letter to the Doge and Senate dated 1st July, 1616, less than three weeks before Lord Arundel was made a Privy Councillor, writes of "the earl of Arundel, *head of the Catholics*, the earl of Pembroke, head of the Puritans, and the earl of Southampton, head of the malcontents¹." Since Lord Arundel's long sojourn in the territories of the Republic, he had seen much of the diplomatic representatives of Venice in England. On occasion, he even acted as Italian interpreter between them and the King (having now, it may be assumed, acquired considerable fluency in the language); by whom he was consulted on matters of policy in which Venice was involved. Lionello's statement is therefore authoritative. Moreover, it harmonizes exactly with other contemporary testimony².

It is refreshing to turn from the tedious if necessary task of refuting baseless theories, to the more interesting study of what we believe to be the real motives which actuated Lord Arundel's action, and his choice of time in giving it effect. Camden's brief contemporary announcement is as illuminating as it is concise:

On Christmas day (he writes, under date 1616), Tho. Earl of Arundell, who was educated from his Youth in the Popish Religion and had lately travell'd all over Italy, *detesting the abuses of the Papists*, embraced the Protestant religion, and received the Sacrament in the King's Chapel at Whitehall³.

George, Lord Carew, writes:

This Christmas Day [1616] the Erle of Arundell received the Communion in Whitehall and there is no doubt but he is as firmlye settled in our Religion as may be wished etc.⁴

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Venice*, Vol. XIV, 1615-1617, 1st July, 1616, No. 340, p. 245.

² John Chamberlain, in a letter in which he informs Sir Dudley Carleton of Arundel's admission to the Privy Council, exclaims, "Quod bene vertat!" which Nichols interprets to mean that as "the Earl was a Papist," he was "therefore a doubtful Counsellor for a Protestant King" (*Prog. of James I*, Vol. III, p. 182, text, and note 5). These are, however, but one or two instances, culled almost at random, from the mass of evidence which conclusively proves that Lord Arundel's "conversion" did not take place till nearly *six months after* the bestowal of the honour which he was supposed to have reaped from it.

³ Camden's *Annals of James I* (in Kennet's *Hist. of England*), 25th Dec., 1616. (The italics are the present writer's, throughout these quotations.)

⁴ *Letters of George, Lord Carew, to Sir Thomas Roe* (Camden Society), p. 70, where the passage is quoted from the original in the Record Office.

Early in January, 1617, Sir Horace Vere¹ wrote to Carleton,

My Lord of Arundell hath received the Sacrament with the Kinge this Christmas and, as I hear, in his discourses with his Majestie, is *sharp agaynst the Papists* which is a good argument of his synceritie².

In a letter from Sherburn to Carleton of the 14th January, 1617, the following passage occurs,

He [the Earl of Arundel] received ye Cōmunion on Christmas Day last w^{ch} he much protested he did *in detestation of pope and al poperie*³.

There can be no doubt that it was his hatred of intrigue and of other abuses of which he may have sounded hitherto unsuspected depths when in Italy that determined Arundel at this juncture to forsake the Catholic Communion and join the Established Church. He had seen enough of the results of a dual allegiance amongst the English Catholics. To do justice to the claims of the Pope in an age of secret scheming, to restore England and the English Throne to the obedience of the Holy See had too often meant to become involved in treason to the Crown. His own grandfather had been drawn into the vortex, and perished on the scaffold: that grandfather whose touching letter to his children seems to have found an echo in Arundel's inmost soul. His father had died, under suspicion of the same crime. Of late he himself, whose loyalty was unimpeachable, had twice been the victim of accusations of treason towards the King to whom he owed everything, and to whom he was devotedly attached. However little substance there may have been in those machinations, and from whatever quarter they emanated, they must have reminded him unpleasantly of the past. His earliest recollections, when his family was pursued by the unrelenting rancour of Elizabeth, were of proscribed priests coming and going in danger to and from his mother's house; priests for whom nothing but pity could have been felt had they been the simple emissaries of a persecuted religion, but whose errands—though in this his mother had no part—were too often stained with hues of a darker dye. Lord

¹ Sir Horace Vere, son of Geoffrey Vere, and nephew of Edward Vere, sixteenth Earl of Oxford, was born in 1565. He was the younger brother of Sir Francis Vere who commanded the English troops in Holland, and himself acquired high military reputation in that country. He was successively Governor of the Brill and of Utrecht. He added further lustre to his name by his fine defence of Mannheim. A series of splendid military achievements in the Netherlands set the crown to his fame as a soldier and leader. Created Lord Vere of Tilbury 1625 he died 1635. Vere married Mary, daughter of Sir William Tracy, and sister of Anthony Tracy, Lord Arundel's correspondent at Florence. The Veres were related to the Howard family by several inter-marriages.

² *Letters of George, Lord Carew, etc.*, p. 70, note a.

³ Sainsbury, *Orig. Papers relating to Rubens*, p. 279, note 10.

Arundel's whole being revolted against this mixture of the spiritual and the material. Political intrigue disguised under the cloak of religion was abhorrent to his sincere soul. To him the pure religion and undefiled, by which simple men may live and die, had nothing in common with the worldly aims of the Papacy. It will be readily understood how such a trend of thought would bring him very near to the reasoning of the Reformers, and to the principles of the Church of England.

Yet, had his perception of the material aspects of the Roman Church, and his disgust at the lives of some of the Italian clergy, not been quickened by his sojourn in that country, it is possible that Lord Arundel might never have openly changed his faith. Against Roman Catholicism in its purely religious aspect, he had no quarrel. Grounds of conduct rather than of doctrine brought about his secession from the Church of Rome. Those around him who abstained from intrigue, and led Christian lives, he was well content to leave in whatever form of religion brought rest unto their souls. Theological controversy was foreign to his bent of mind. Given the great truths on which all the religions profess to be founded, minor divergencies of doctrine appear to have left him cold. Notwithstanding his mother's careful training, they probably seemed to him unimportant, or at least unessential. It has been seen how, as a boy at Cambridge, he attended in Chapel the services of the English Church, and expressed the opinion that not principles but passions separated the "Catholick and Reformed Churches," and that, as far as opinions went, they "might be compounded¹." This much truth, then, there was in Clarendon's assertion that Arundel did not "incline to this or that party of any" religion. He saw various, and equally ardently held, types of belief, exemplified amongst those he loved and respected most. His own wife, and mother, were Roman Catholics, and never forsook that communion. Of his children, the two elder sons, who had been baptized into the Church of England in the Royal Chapel, when, as we know, the King and Queen respectively stood sponsor, were brought up as members of the Established Church, and given Protestant tutors. His third surviving son, William, was placed with an Anglican bishop for education, but afterwards reverted to the Roman faith.

Of the royal family, to whom Arundel was so deeply attached, the King was, as this period, a High Churchman; the Queen secretly a Roman Catholic. Prince Henry had been, and Princess Elizabeth was, a Protestant of more pronounced type. It would be endless to

¹ See *ante*, p. 16. The words in inverted commas are Lloyd's, not Arundel's.

extend the classification amongst Lord Arundel's numerous friends and more distant relations. But whether in the inner circle of his own family, or in the wider world outside, differences of creed were to him no barrier to a happy understanding. Probably he thought that whatever religion was capable of producing the fruits of Christianity was worthy of respect. It will be gathered that, in width of mind, and in the combination of earnestness with tolerance, he was far beyond the common average of the age in which he lived.

No doubt his whole experience and temperament had gradually been swaying him more and more in the direction of the Church of England. Perhaps one factor in this process has hitherto been overlooked. This was the influence of King James himself. Arundel was deeply and sincerely devoted to the King. There was probably no one outside his immediate family for whom he felt such true and warm affection. To the steady support of his Sovereign, given slowly and cautiously at first, as was the way with the canny Scot, later with ever increasing warmth, he owed, in great measure, the recovery of his position, and much of his subsequent success. He had come to Court young, poor, and almost friendless. He saw himself defrauded even by his own relations. It was the King's hand which had gradually drawn him forward; the King's kindness through which he had come into his own again; the King who had remained true to him when the Court was torn by factions, and open or hidden enmities seemed to divide nearly all its members. This constituted a debt of gratitude which Arundel could never forget.

It was towards the High Church element in the English Church that Arundel appears to have personally inclined. It was in this direction that the King's influence, if exercised, would have told; and it also offered the nearest accord with the tenets in which he had been brought up. The only clerical friendship which he is known to have nurtured, supports such a contention. As early as 1608, Arundel had been appointed, jointly with Nottingham and Dorset, Lord Lieutenant of the county of Sussex and of the city of Chichester. It was probably through business connected with that city, that he first came in contact with Samuel Harsnett¹, who was promoted to

¹ Samuel Harsnett was born at Colchester in 1561. He was a Fellow, and later Master, of Pembroke College, Cambridge; chaplain to Bancroft when Bishop of London; Vicar of Chigwell, in Essex; a Prebendary of St Paul's Cathedral; Arch-deacon of Essex; etc. He wrote a *Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures*, etc., with which both Shakespeare and Milton must have been acquainted, as is shown by internal evidence in *King Lear* and *L'Allegro* respectively (see Art. "Harsnett" in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*). In 1606 he was made Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, and in 1609, Bishop of Chichester. In this preferment and in the Mastership

the bishopric of Chichester in 1609. Some letters have been preserved which Harsnett addressed to Lord Arundel in 1617. Their tone is that of acquaintance already ripe rather than of a newly-formed relationship. Neither is there anything to indicate that the Bishop influenced the bent of Arundel's religious views: rather it seems that, having as usual shaped his course independently, Lord Arundel found in the prelate a mind of congenial type. He appears to have held the Bishop in high esteem. It was through Arundel's good offices that Harsnett became in succession Bishop of Norwich and Archbishop of York; and was made a Privy Councillor. During his tenure of the see of Norwich, Lord Arundel confided the education of his son William to the Bishop's care.

The ill-fate which had so often beset Arundel's path, was once more to play him a bad turn in the opening days of 1617. On the 3rd January, the magnificent residence at Greenwich, bequeathed to him by his uncle, Lord Northampton, was burnt to the ground. Mr Chamberlain narrates the unlucky circumstance in a letter to Carleton.

Yesterday (he writes) there fell a great mischance to the Earl of Arundell by the burning of his house built and left him by the Earl of Northampton at Greenwich, where he likewise lost a great deal of household stuff and rich furniture; the fury of the fire being such that nothing could be saved. No doubt the Papists will ascribe and publish it as a punishment for dissembling or falling from them¹...

It was fortunate that his precious collections were safe in the London house, whose ample proportions afforded accommodation for all. Its capacities were, indeed, even greater than required for this purpose, since, just at this time, it is recorded that the French ambassador to the Court of St James's, the Baron de la Tour, newly arrived in England after a "hard and dangerous passage," was lodged "in part" of Arundel House². The ambassador probably occupied a

of Pembroke, he followed Lancelot Andrewes. In 1619 he was transferred to the see of Norwich, and in 1628 elected Archbishop of York. He was made a Privy Councillor in 1629. He died in 1631 and was buried by his own desire near his wife, in Chigwell Church. Harsnett gave great offence to the puritans by his High Church practices, and insistence on the ceremonies, and discipline of the Church. He was reputed high-handed and autocratic, but was undoubtedly a man of strong character, courage and learning.—The two letters preserved amongst the Arundel Autographs have been printed by Tierney (pp. 431 and 433). One is a disclaimer of desire for promotion, the other concerned with local quarrels at Chichester. As they throw no special light on Lord Arundel's character or career, they are not reproduced here.

¹ Nichols, *Prog. of James I*, Vol. III, p. 232. Chamberlain to Carleton, 4th January, 1617.

² *Ibid.* p. 244.—The Duc de Sully had also resided at Arundel House, in 1603, when sent as ambassador to London on the accession of James. He describes the

suite of rooms placed at his disposal whether the owners were in town or otherwise. Lady Arundel was much at Highgate during her husband's frequent absences at Court. Arundel meanwhile had just been selected by the King as one of the chosen band that were to accompany him on the great progress to Scotland which was now in contemplation.

The Chapel at Greenwich seems to have escaped the destruction of the flames; for, on the 24th February, it was consecrated with much ceremony by the Bishop of Rochester¹. No doubt Arundel desired to emphasize his recent step by making the Church of England specially conspicuous on this occasion, the Bishops of Ely² and of London³ being present in addition to the Bishop of the diocese⁴.

The King left London for Theobalds on the 15th March, whence he moved gradually northwards. Some of his suite seem to have joined him after the start; since on Accession Day (24th March), Lord Arundel, and others of those destined for Scotland, went to Paul's Cross to hear Dr Donne's sermon⁵. The Archbishop of Canterbury (George Abbot)⁶, the Lord Keeper (Bacon)⁷, the Lord

"palais d'Arondel" as "l'un des plus beaux et des plus commodes de Londres, par le grand nombre de ses appartements de plein pied." The house had been specially prepared to receive him (*Mémoires de Sully*, Année 1603, Liv. xiv).

¹ John Buckeridge, a High Churchman, and tutor of Laud at Oxford, was born about 1562. He became Bishop of Rochester, 1611, and of Ely, 1628; was an intimate friend of Bishop Andrews; in high favour at Court; died in 1631.

² Lancelot Andrewes. See p. 122, note 3.

³ John King, appointed to the See of London, 1611. He had previously been for some years a royal chaplain, and was called by King James "the king of preachers." The Bishop died in 1621.

⁴ Camden's *Annals of James I*, in Kennet, 24th Feb., 1617.

⁵ Birch, *Court and Times of James I*, Vol. II, p. 4.—John Donne, the poet, Dean of St Paul's, was born in 1573, but only entered Holy Orders in 1615, conscientious scruples having previously hindered his taking the step urged upon him by his friends. Long before that period, his great poetic and intellectual gifts, his learning and his piety, had made him famous. He was one of the finest preachers of his time. He died in 1631.

⁶ George Abbot, born at Guildford in 1562, had a distinguished career at Oxford, where he was Master of University College, and repeatedly Vice-Chancellor of the University. He became successively Dean of Winchester, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and Bishop of London; and finally, in 1611, Archbishop of Canterbury. As a theologian, his strongly Protestant tendencies brought him into frequent collision with Laud; while at Court, his unbending attitude in the face of any opposition to his stoutly held opinions, often threw him into disfavour. His antagonism to Buckingham, whom he had originally introduced to the King, did not help matters. Abbot had the misfortune, while hunting with Lord Zouch, to kill a keeper; an accident which caused him the deepest distress, and which his enemies never ceased to use as a weapon against him. He died in 1633.

⁷ Francis Bacon, the great Lord Chancellor, was born in 1561, went to Trinity College, Cambridge, at twelve years of age, and was admitted to Gray's Inn at fifteen. In early life, Lord Essex showed him great kindness, and later he was on intimate terms with Buckingham. Bacon entered Parliament in 1586, became Solicitor General in 1607, Attorney General, 1613, Privy Councillor, 1616, Lord Keeper, 1617,

Privy Seal (the Earl of Worcester)¹, the Earl of Southampton², Lord Hay³, the Comptroller (Sir Thomas Edmondson)⁴, Secretary Winwood⁵, the Master of the Rolls (Sir Julius Caesar)⁶, and other notabilities, were present on the same occasion.

Probably the country houses at which King James was entertained during the early portion of his journey, were not all large enough to hold so numerous a company as afterwards took part in the progress. Yet the retinue, amounting in all to some five hundred persons, was accounted small, according to the notions then prevailing. In the immediate entourage were the Duke of Lennox⁷, and other Scottish noblemen, the Earls of Arundel, Pembroke⁸, Montgomery⁹,

Lord Chancellor and Baron Verulam, 1618, and Viscount St Albans, 1621. While Solicitor General, Bacon appeared for the Crown when Lady Shrewsbury was accused of assisting Arabella Stuart. Subsequently he was chief prosecutor in the trial of Somerset for the murder of Overbury. In the spring of 1621, he was charged with receiving money in connection with legal cases, though it seems clear that such gifts did not influence his judgments. He was brought to trial, deprived of the Great Seal, and heavily sentenced. Bacon died in 1626, at Lord Arundel's house at Highgate, as will be in due course narrated in the text. The first edition of the *Essays* were published in 1597, the *Advancement of Learning* in 1605, and the *Novum Organum* in 1620.

¹ The father of Arundel's friend, Sir Thomas Somerset. See note 2, p. 89.

² Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton, the friend and patron of Shakespeare, was the son of the lady mentioned in Arundel's letter to Lord Shrewsbury of November, 1607 (see p. 40). He was born at Cowdray House, in 1573, and graduated M.A. at Cambridge in 1589. He accompanied his friend Essex to Ireland, and narrowly escaped sharing his fate after the rebellion on his return. Southampton was released on the accession of James and honours were showered upon him. At a later period, he opposed the Spanish marriage, and quarrelled violently with Buckingham. Southampton took a leading part in the organisation of the new colonies. His end came in 1624, when he and his eldest son, James, both died of fever in the Low Countries, serving with the English volunteers against the forces of the Emperor. Southampton's love of literature remained with him throughout his life. He was the protector of all men of letters and is thought to have been the hero of Shakespeare's sonnets.

³ James Hay, successively created Lord Hay, Viscount Doncaster, and Earl of Carlisle, was one of the King's Scottish knights.

⁴ See note 4, p. 26.

⁵ See note 2, p. 95.

⁶ Sir Julius Caesar, born in 1558, of Italian descent, and educated at Oxford and Paris, had a distinguished legal career, culminating in the Mastership of the Rolls. He was also a member of Parliament, a Privy Councillor and had been Chancellor of the Exchequer. Perhaps in nothing was he better known than in his unbounded charities to all in need, whether great or small. He was not accounted a great lawyer, but was a man of unimpeachable integrity. Caesar died in 1636. His portable library is in the British Museum intact.

⁷ See note 2, p. 70.

⁸ See note 4, p. 24.

⁹ Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery, younger brother of Arundel's brother-in-law, William, third Earl of Pembroke, was born in 1584. The favour shown him at Court seems to have been mainly due to his good looks, and skill in the tilting-ring, which early aroused the King's notice. In other walks of life, his coarseness of language and conduct, and lack of education, were conspicuous. Nevertheless, art attracted him. He collected splendid paintings, amongst which it is only necessary here to recall the great family picture by Van Dyck. He employed Inigo Jones to design alterations at Wilton, after succeeding to that estate, and

Buckingham¹, Southampton, and Rutland²; the Bishops of Ely (Lancelot Andrewes)³, Winchester (James Montagu)⁴, and Lincoln (Richard Neile)⁵; Viscount Fenton⁶, Baron Mordaunt⁷, and Secretary Lake⁸.

to the title of Earl of Pembroke, on the death of his elder brother in 1630. He also took much interest in the young colonies of America. He joined the Parliamentary party on the outbreak of the Civil War. He was twice married. By his first wife, Lady Susan Vere, daughter of Edward, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, he left a numerous family. Philip, Earl of Pembroke, died in 1650.

¹ George Villiers, second son of Sir George Villiers of Brookesby, was born in 1592. He was created Viscount Villiers in 1616, and Earl of Buckingham just before the Scottish Progress of 1617, when he was in his twenty-fifth year. He was made a marquis, 1618, and duke, 1623. He obtained almost boundless influence over King James, and accompanied the Prince of Wales on his hazardous expedition to Spain, partly brought about by his persuasion. When Charles succeeded to the throne, the favour shown to Buckingham was intensified rather than diminished. Outside the Court, however, he became more and more unpopular. He was murdered at Portsmouth in 1628. Buckingham married Lady Katherine Manners, daughter of the Earl of Rutland, by whom he left three sons and one daughter. He had a magnificent gallery of pictures, having purchased many by Rubens.

² Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland, born 1578, had a distinguished career at Court throughout the reign of James I who frequently stayed with him at Belvoir. Rutland was made a K.G. in 1616, and a Privy Councillor in the spring of 1617. He died in 1632. He was Buckingham's father-in-law.

³ Lancelot Andrewes, one of the greatest of Anglican bishops, famous alike for learning, piety, and charm, was born in 1555, in the parish of All Hallows, Barking. He was a Fellow, and subsequently Master, of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. Dean of Westminster at the accession of James, he was promoted in quick succession to the bishoprics of Chichester and Ely; and in 1619 to that of Winchester. As a theologian he was a typical High Churchman; opposed to Rome, while upholding ritual. His tolerance towards opinions which differed from his own was part of his modest and kindly nature; his charities were unbounded. He was acquainted with literature in fifteen languages. As a preacher he was called "an angel in the pulpit." He was one of the translators of the "authorized version" of the Bible, and the composer of many well known and beautiful prayers. Andrewes died in 1626.

⁴ James Montagu, fifth son of Edward Montagu, of Boughton, Northamptonshire, was a fellow commoner of Christ's College, Cambridge; became first Master of Sidney Sussex College; Dean of Lichfield in 1603; Dean of Worcester the following year; Dean of the Chapel to James I; Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1608; Bishop of Winchester, 1616. Unlike other divines who accompanied the Scottish progress, Montagu was a staunch Calvinist in religion, but was nevertheless highly esteemed by the King. He showed great liberality in the repairs of buildings, and other improvements, in the various preferments which he held. Montagu died at Greenwich in 1618.

⁵ Richard Neile, successively Bishop of Rochester, Lichfield, Lincoln, Durham and Winchester, and Archbishop of York, was born in 1562. He was a good administrator, an active worker, and was highly esteemed for his excellent sense. He belonged to the High Church party, and, on the journey to Scotland in 1617, was accompanied by Laud (the future Archbishop, then Dean of Gloucester) as his Chaplain. Neile died in 1640.

⁶ Thomas Erskine, first Viscount Fenton, was born in 1566. He was a Scottish favourite of King James; was made K.G. in 1615; and died in 1639.

⁷ John, fifth Baron Mordaunt, subsequently created Earl of Peterborough. He married Elizabeth, grand-daughter of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, and daughter of William, Lord Effingham.

⁸ Sir Thomas Lake was born at Southampton in 1567. He was a good Latinist,

Buckingham had just been created an Earl, and was soaring full-fledged towards the pinnacle he was destined to occupy for so many years. The interval between the fall of Somerset and the rise of the new favourite, represents a happy epoch of Arundel's career at Court. His high-bred reserve shrank from the presumptuous self-confidence of those whom he could hardly fail to regard as beggars on horseback; while the undignified light in which they placed the Sovereign must have keenly offended his fine and sensitive loyalty. Was a yet more personal note sounded in his disapproval? Arundel would have been more than human if, after years of honourable service, such as he had given, he had been able to contemplate with indifference the success of a series of *parvenus* in obtaining, one after another, the first place in the King's affections. He was of course but one of many conspicuous personalities at Court, whose position and duties necessitated a more or less constant attendance on the King. He yielded to none in his desire to see his master play a worthy part, and in his hatred of sycophancy. Yet had George Villiers, who was raised by rapid steps to the peerage, and finally made Duke of Buckingham, been content with the position of first favourite at Court, without meddling in public, and especially in foreign affairs, Arundel might perhaps have shrugged his shoulders and passed on, as in previous cases. Year by year he had to witness the spectacle of ill-advice blindly followed, and carrying with it increasingly disastrous results to the State. It is small wonder if his sober judgment recoiled from the conditions which made this possible; or was sometimes swept away in irritation against the spoiled child of fortune, in whom those conditions centred.

In early days, however, all shone fair. Buckingham possessed just the qualities in which Arundel was lacking. Gay, light in hand, athletic, an excellent dancer, vivid and buoyant in disposition, with no deep roots to lend steadiness to his actions, but with every superficial charm, he seemed to have no purpose in life but to enjoy himself and to amuse the King: in both of which aims he was conspicuously successful. His good looks, coupled at this time with an easy good-nature, made him many friends, who were the more eager to improve his acquaintance because it soon became clear that all

and his talents in this direction were utilized both by Elizabeth and James. He was knighted in 1603, and appointed Secretary of State, 1616, an office he shared with Winwood till the death of the latter in the following year. Later he became involved in the quarrels and libels originating with his eldest daughter, Lady Roos (see *ante*, p. 103, note 3). In consequence of the sentence pronounced against him and his family, in 1619, Lake had to resign the Secretaryship; and, after short imprisonment, retired into private life. Some years later, however, he sat in Parliament. He died in 1630.

patronage was likely to pass into his hands. That he became more and more, as years rolled on, a thorn in Arundel's side, is an indisputable fact. Differences alternated with reconciliations, probably brought about by the King's mediation, which Arundel's generous though hasty temper, endeavoured loyally to accept. A lasting understanding between two men of such divergent character was hardly to be hoped for.

With his brother-in-law, Lord Pembroke, Arundel seems always to have been on happy terms. The amiable rivalry in collecting works of art of which there exist some slight traces, hardly comes into account.

The remainder of the laymen who accompanied the progress were old acquaintances at Court. It seems probable that Inigo Jones was of the party, at least as far as Edinburgh, to judge by an expression in a letter from Carleton's ever faithful correspondent; though it may refer to measures taken before the departure from home.

We hear (writes Mr Chamberlain) they make great preparation there to be in their best equipage; and from hence many things are sent, but specially a pair of organs that cost above £400, besides all manner of furniture for a chapel, which Inigo Jones tells me he hath charge of, with pictures of the Apostles, Faith, Hope and Charity, and such other religious representations, which how welcome they will be thither, God knows¹.

The sequel showed, in the displeasure of the Scots, how correct had been Mr Chamberlain's surmise. The adornments in question were, however, part of the general plan.

The King's chief reason for taking the journey (writes Lionello to the Doge and Senate on the 30th March) is to introduce the Anglican religion there, as the Scots almost universally follow the Puritan type and his Majesty's intention is to establish bishops there, with other ceremonies (*sic*) which, practised by the Catholic Church, were never banished from England, for which cause this Church differs from the other reformed Churches, of Germany².

On the 27th March, the King arrived at Lincoln. Thence, by way of Newark, he passed to Worksop, where he remained one night the guest of Lord Arundel. Worksop Manor was part of Lady Arundel's

¹ Birch, *Court and Times of James I*, Vol. I, p. 446. Mr Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, 7th December, 1616.

² *Cal. State Papers, Venice*, Vol. XIV, 1615-1617, p. 476. Lionello to Doge and Senate of Venice, 30th March, 1617, (La principale è di introdur in esso la Religion Anglicana, vivendo li Scocezzi quasi generalmente alla Puritana, et dissegna Sua Maestà di ponervi li Vescovi con le altre Ceremonie, che usate dalla Chiesa Cattolica non furono però mai levate dall' Inghilterra, e per le quali è questa Chiesa differente dalle altre riformate di Germania).

inheritance from her father, and was the principal house kept up for occupation. The King had already enjoyed its hospitality, with Lord Shrewsbury for host, in 1603, when coming southwards from Scotland on his accession to the English throne. Now, on his first visit to the land of his birth since that memorable occasion, he again made it a halting-place.

On the 11th April, the royal party entered York; where the usual ceremonious reception by Mayor and Aldermen, in full civic attire, was enacted with great pomp. The following day "his Majesty rode in his coach through the City, with all his train, to Bishopsthorpe, where he dined with Toby Matthew, Archbishop." This was the father of Toby Mathew the younger, whose acquaintance has already been made. The Archbishop, a strong Protestant, was in despair, because his son had become a Roman Catholic, and, declining to take the oath of allegiance, had been banished from England. He was profoundly anxious to enlist all possible influence to gain the King's permission for his son's return. Lord Arundel was amongst those whose good offices were invoked for the purpose.

By Ripon, Durham, Newcastle, and many intermediate stages, covering approximately twelve to sixteen miles a day, the regal company at last arrived at Edinburgh. On the 16th May, his Majesty was met "at the West Poirt" of the city by the Provost, Baillies and Town Council; who with enormous verbosity of speech, and—what was probably more welcome to the august personage they were assembled to welcome—a suitable offering of golden angels, received their Monarch into their ancient town.

The King took up his residence at Holyrood Palace. In the course of the following weeks he made a hunting expedition, visiting amongst other centres, Linlithgow, Falkland and Dundee. He returned to Edinburgh early in June, where, on the 29th of the same month, Lord Arundel, Lord Pembroke, Lord Zouche and Sir Thomas Lake, were sworn of the Privy Council of Scotland¹. On the next day James left Edinburgh to make a short tour in the western districts, including Stirling and Glasgow. The services of some of the Englishmen seem to have been dispensed with for this final instalment of the Scotch progress, Scottish officials taking their place. Buckingham, Pembroke and Lake remained with the King; others were appointed to meet his Majesty again on English soil, and accompany him on his way south.

Lord Arundel took advantage of this interval to make a short

¹ Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, Vol. III, p. 348.—*Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, Vol. IX, p. 474, Lake to Winwood.

excursion to Ireland. Keenly interested in places and people unknown to him, and ever on the watch for fresh developments, he was anxious, should his impression of the sister-isle prove satisfactory, to buy property there for his second son. Ireland was exciting a good deal of attention at this time. The establishment of "plantations" was going forward with almost feverish activity, and optimistic hopes were entertained for the future of the country. It will perhaps not be amiss to quote the opinion of so cool a head as that of Lord Keeper Bacon, to show the height to which expectation ran. Just at this time, Sir William Jones¹ had been appointed Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, and a long exhortation was addressed to him upon this event by the Lord Keeper. An extract must here suffice to show what was doubtless the general view then taken.

Ireland (says Bacon) is the last *ex filiis Europoe*, of the daughters of Europe, which hath come in and been reclaimed from desolation and a desert (in many parts) to population and plantation, and from savage and barbarous custom to humanity and civility. This is the King's work in chief. It is his *Garland of Heroicall* virtue and felicity, denied to his progenitors, and referred to his times. The work is not yet conducted unto perfection, but it is in fair advance, and this he will say confidently, that if God bless that kingdom with peace and justice, no usurer is so sure in the year's space to double his principal with interest, and interest upon interest, as that kingdom is within the same time to double the rest and principal thereof yea, and perhaps to treble it; so as that kingdom which once, within the twenty years, wise men were wont to doubt whether they should wish it to be in a pool, is like now to become a garden, and a younger sister to Great Britain²...

Well acquainted with the great Lord Keeper as Lord Arundel was, he may easily have heard such words fall from his own lips. At any rate, he was not disappointed in his expectations of the country. He was received with great honour there, feasted and banquetted. His private business he brought to a satisfactory conclusion; acquiring land from Lord Dingwall either by purchase or exchange³.

Early in August he rejoined the King at Carlisle. The first portion of the return progress led the long train through Westmoreland, Lancashire, Cheshire and Staffordshire. Here, in the midst of

¹ Later to prove a bitter enemy to Lord Arundel.

² *Cal. State Papers, Ireland, James I*, Vol. v, 1615-1625, p. 166. Lord Keeper's Address to Sir William Jones on his being appointed Lord Chief Justice of Ireland (about 19th June, 1617).

³ Birch, *Court and Times of James I*, Vol. II, p. 24. Mr Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, London, 9th August, 1617. The statement that Arundel was at this time made a member of the Irish Privy Council appears to be inaccurate. It is at any rate certain that he was so appointed many years later, when Wentworth was Lord Deputy.

the arid chronicle of names and dates, a curiously vivid little scene is for a moment projected into the light. It seems that on arriving before Stafford, the rain was so heavy and the mud so thick, that James postponed his entry into the city; remaining in his coach beneath the North Gate in the hope that the weather would mend. To pass the time, Lord Arundel

looking upon the Gate, and behouldinge the walls of the Towne, toulde His Majestie that he was of opinion that the Towne was a very auncient Towne. To whom the King presently replied, "That could not be, for," saith the Kinge, "it is but three years sithence we made them a Maior Towne for before that tyme they could not sende Burgesses to the Parliament, but were onely governed by Bayliffs."

But herein was an error (continues the chronicler), for although the Kinge noe doubt had eyther enquired, or out of his reading had taken some notice of the Towne, yet his Majestie's recordes will perpetuallie shewe that eversithens the Towne was incorporated, yt hath usually sente forthe Burgesses to the Parliament.

A trivial anecdote if you will: yet one which crystallizes the point of view of each participant in the little drama with a clearness that is almost laughable. To Lord Arundel, the venerable walls that had weathered the storms of so many winters, made the instinctive appeal which would be shared by every lover of the picturesque. But to the narrow and pedantic intelligence of the King, this aspect was a sealed book. To him a town was only a town, if it rejoiced in a mayor, and returned burgesses to Parliament, no matter how long its walls had stood; and when his sacred Majesty himself had conferred on it these privileges but three years before, it was obviously rank heresy to imagine that the town could have existed much before that glorious epoch. To all which is added the third point of view, that of the narrator. He, good man, sees as little as his Sovereign liege the purport of Lord Arundel's simple observation; and, greatly put about for the honour of his city, is merely concerned to prove that its dignities are not of that mushroom growth that the King has been pleased to assume.

The rain cleared. King James mounted his "horse of state," the procession formed, and "soe the Nobillitye, Bishoppes, Officers and Trumpetters, everye one ranked themselves in their places, marched alonge, and made the streets glorious by the happie aspect of his Majestie." Lord Essex, who was High Steward of the town, but had been living in retirement on his estate near Stafford since the divorce, rode in front, bearing the Sword. The King had, with marked graciousness, invited him to mount one of the royal horses, in full

caparison. On the Market Place, where every window space was thronged, and "manie a faire face putt oute," the royal procession was met by the mayor and corporation, in festal array. The usual ceremonies and speeches then took place, the principal speaker rapidly changing the tenour of his prepared discourse, to emphasize, in loyal and discreet language, the antiquity of the town; the King's previously expressed opinion having quickly percolated to the horrified ears of the excellent citizens. Presumably the statement now put forth by their spokesman, that they had first been incorporated by King John, while King James had raised and reconstituted their corporation three years before, fell as balm on the fluttered hearts of the worthy burgesses of Stafford. A silver-gilt cup was next presented to his Majesty; after which, the weather showing signs of returning storm, the royal visitor exchanged his horse for his coach at the East Gate, where, having bidden adieu to the mayor, the proceedings terminated¹.

Coventry, Kenilworth, Warwick, Compton Winyate, Woodstock, Bisham, were amongst the places visited on the homeward way. There followed a brief sojourn at Windsor; after which, on the 15th September, the King entered London, amidst the loud applause of the populace assembled to greet his return. He had been absent from the capital just six months.

¹ *Blithfield Papers* (Lord Bagot), quoted by Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, from which work most of the details respecting the King's journey to Scotland in 1617 are derived.

CHAPTER XI.

FURTHER PROGRESS OF THE COLLECTIONS. LORD ARUNDEL'S RELATIONS WITH LEARNED MEN.

1617—1618.

LADY ARUNDEL meanwhile, to enliven her solitude, was playing her part in various social gatherings which took place in the absence of the Court. In May, Secretary Winwood gave a small farewell banquet to the Comptroller, Sir Thomas Edmondson, who was about to resume his ambassadorial duties in France. The principal guest was invited to name all the other partakers of Winwood's hospitality. Mr Chamberlain writes enthusiastically of the success of the entertainment.

I have not seen (he says) a finer supper for so little a company, there being no more but the Lady of Arundel, the Lady Grey of Ruthen¹, the Lady Windsor, the Lady Wood, his little daughter, Sir Horace Vere, Sir Thomas Tracy, and myself. The next day we went to Highgate, and yesternight we parted from him².

In the next function which is recorded, Lady Arundel was herself the hostess. In Whitsun week, she made a feast at Highgate to many notabilities, amongst which legal luminaries shine with conspicuous brilliance. Lord Keeper Bacon was there, both the Lords Justices (Sir Henry Montagu³ and Sir Henry Hobart⁴), and Sir Julius Caesar, Master of the Rolls. The banquet was arranged after the Italian fashion, in which four tablecloths were superimposed one above the

¹ Elizabeth, Lady Grey de Ruthyn, Lady Arundel's sister, was a somewhat remarkable woman. She wrote books on medicine and cookery which had a considerable vogue in their day; and was highly esteemed for her sterling character. Her husband succeeded his father as Earl of Kent in 1623. After his death, in 1639, Lady Kent is doubtfully said to have married John Selden, who was for many years attached to Lord and Lady Kent in a business capacity, and was the intimate and valued friend of both. Lady Kent left to Selden her London property, the Friary House, Whitefriars, where he had long resided, and had housed his books, marbles and curiosities. Lady Kent died 1651.

² Birch, Vol. II, p. 11. Mr Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, London, 10th May, 1617.

³ Sir Henry Montagu, first Earl of Manchester (1563?—1642) was Chief Justice of King's Bench in 1617; having been appointed in 1616, when Sir Edward Coke was deprived of that office.

⁴ Sir Henry Hobart (died 1625) was appointed Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in November, 1613. He was the father of Arundel's friend, Sir John Hobart (see p. 25).

other; one cloth being removed after each of the four courses served. Great mirth was caused by the Master of the Rolls saying grace when the first tablecloth was taken away, under the impression that the entertainment was at an end¹.

Other pursuits were not neglected while these reciprocal festivities were taking place. A letter from Signor Trasie (Anthony Tracy) a correspondent in Florence, shows that Lord and Lady Arundel had been making enquiries about some work they wished executed in *pietra dura*. On 19th August, Mr Thomas Coke forwards a copy of this letter to Lord Arundel, still absent in the north, enclosed with an amusing note of his own. From what point of the compass he was "seaven dayes" in reaching London is not revealed. Possibly he had attended Lord Arundel in the earlier stages of the progress, and had been sent forward from Ireland, or elsewhere, with some purchases or presents acquired during the journey.

Mr Thomas Coke to the Earl of Arundel.

Right Ho^{ble}

I beseech you give me leave to wryte howe that I was seaven dayes in my jorny hither, by reason of the doggs who weare weary every day, and tyred; but we all came well, men, horses, hawke and doggs. I beseech God send yo^r Lo: a good and happy jorny. So I rest

yo^r Lo: most humble servant

TH: COKE.

Arundell House, 19 Aug. 1617.

Signor Trasie to the Countess of Arundel (enclosure).

Madame

Since I wrote to my Lo: and to y^r La^p the last week, I have spoken wth a skillful workman about yo^r Ho^{rs} Armes, w^{ch} my Lo: desireth to have made here of rich stoanes inlayed, and he telleth me that to have them well done it will com to a charge of 200 Crownes, or thereabouts, for one only; so that I have forborne to sett them to making untill I know yo^r Ho^{rs} resolution therein, as also to have som instructions of what bignes you would have them, w^{ch} my Lord did not sett downe in his letter, And I am lykewise tould that the *paesi* w^{ch} my Lord would have made of rich stoanes will be a charge very neere awnswerable to the other, if it please yo^r La: to send me yo^r awnswere herein, I shall be more liable to effect thouse services to my lo: satisfaction, and will imploy my best indevours to that end, no man being more desirous to obey yo^r Ho^s comandm^{ts} then my selfe. So etc.

ANT^o TRASIE.

(From Florence².)

¹ Nichols, *Prog. of James I*, Vol. III, p. 344. Chamberlain to Carleton 21st June, 1617.

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 219. Copy of Signor Trasie's letter to the Countess of Arundel.

Nor were the interests of the Gallery forgotten. Before leaving to accompany the King to Scotland, a fresh consignment of pictures from Daniel Nys had been arranged for with Sir Dudley Carleton, which Lord Arundel and Lord Pembroke were to divide between them. Arundel left instructions with Mr Sherburn to deliver them to Inigo Jones as soon as the ship arrived. The pictures tarried; presumably because Carleton had not yet paid Nys for the marbles left on his hands the previous year. More than once Sherburn had to write about them to the ambassador, in August in urgent terms, stating that Inigo Jones was pressing him for the pictures which should long ago have been received from Nys. Lord Arundel and Lord Pembroke were now, he said, on their return journey to London. From what Mr Jones told him, he feared they were not pleased to be kept waiting so long for their goods, for which they had apparently paid in advance. At last the long delayed consignment arrived. Early in November, Sherburn was able to inform Carleton that the Lord Chamberlain (Pembroke) and Lord Arundel approved of its contents, and had divided them to their satisfaction¹.

Information is lacking as to the details of the paintings. It is only by a process of inference, derived from the circumstances of the case, and the quarter whence they were mainly received, that some idea can be formed of the composition of Lord Arundel's collection at this stage of development. Carleton's long embassy in Venice, Lord Arundel's repeated sojourns there, and hard by at Padua, the constitution of Somerset's consignment, of which alone, at this date, we possess a fragmentary list, the employment of Daniel Nys as purveyor, all point in one direction. It was the great Venetian school of painting which formed the nucleus of the Arundel collection, and, in these early days, gave it a stamp which it was never after to lose. The most cursory glance at the inventory of 1655² will substantiate this statement. In this, as in other branches, Arundel was a pioneer to English collectors, whose early predilection for the school of Venice is as undisputed as is the magnificence of the examples by which it is attested.

At a later period, the Arundel gallery had of course features which were even more marked. The work of Holbein appealed to Lord Arundel with peculiar force; and ultimately formed one of the chief glories of his collection. It was his special hobby; he spoke of it himself, as early as 1619, as his "foolish curiosity in enquiring for

¹ Sainsbury, *Original Papers relating to Rubens*, etc., p. 279.

² See Appendix v.

the peeces of Holbien¹." Nor did he neglect the other northern painters. Of contemporaries, such as Rubens and Van Dyck, enough will be heard ere long. But the earlier masters attracted his enthusiastic notice. It was perhaps chiefly due to the scarcity of examples by Dürer's hand, and the difficulty of obtaining them, that his gallery was not as lavishly furnished in this direction as with the productions of Holbein.

A glimmer of light falls on the rise of the collection of marbles. Dallaway, as we know, relates that Lord Arundel, when at Rome, obtained permission to make certain excavations, in the course of which a series of Roman portrait-statues came to light, which he brought home and set up at Arundel House. Carleton's gift of the Jupiter's Head was soon after added to their number; Lord Roos's followed, and, probably, some further statuary from other sources. These growing collections of pictures and marbles may be seen in the pair of portraits of Lord and Lady Arundel, presently to be described, painted, probably by Mytens, in 1618. So that by this time the nucleus of the collection was already in being, and beginning to attract attention.

Soon after the return from Scotland, a fleeting view of Lord Arundel's life at Court is afforded by one of Lionello's vivacious reports to the Doge and Senate of Venice. The termination of the Friulian war by a treaty between Spain and Venice, was just now occupying the attention of the peace-loving King of England. The articles had already been signed at Madrid. James was therefore deeply angered to hear from Lionello, who early in October attended at Theobalds to congratulate the Sovereign on his safe return from Scotland, that the two Spanish Vicerôys in Italy, Toledo at Milan and Osuña at Naples, appeared determined, in defiance of the negotiations, to carry on the war. Osuña, especially, was filled with hatred towards Venice. Indeed, he was already planning the famous but abortive Spanish conspiracy for the overthrow of the Republic. James, who in his futile, hesitating way, wished to stand well with all parties, and, when this appeared impossible, took refuge in rage and bluster; was incensed at Lionello's account of the Spaniards' action. It was of course the object of the astute Venetian to draw the King to the side of his own State, by infuriating him against her enemies.

I praised his generous ideas (writes Lionello) and said various things to inform and kindle him, and after that I left. I waited awhile at the other end of the King's gallery, and then went to see the Earl of Arundel. He told me that his Majesty had entered his chamber in great wrath, and in

¹ See *post*, p. 161, Lord Arundel's letter to Carleton, 17th September, 1619.

the presence of various gentlemen there he had dilated upon the proceedings of the Spaniards, and especially upon what Don Pedro [de Toledo] had said, that it was one thing to agree upon a thing in Spain and another to execute it in Italy, because circumstances alter cases. The Earl added that his Majesty's disposition is good in the present affairs of Italy. Biondi, the agent of Savoy also had audience of the King and expressed the same ideas. . .¹.

A letter addressed at about this time by Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Horace Vere, between whom an intimacy had sprung up in the Netherlands, shows the value attached to Lord Arundel's opinion and patronage. The Arminian doctrines² were at this period exciting much attention, both at home and abroad. Carleton had, apparently, written something with the purpose of refuting the teaching they inculcated.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Horace Vere.

My very goode L^d

I think by this time I may give y^r L^p and your Lady the wellcome back to London, where I shall be glad to heare you are well arrived and settled, that I may have the contentment of resuming our wonted correspondence.

Our differences in religion, since they are stept out of the Church into the State, and from pennes to arms, have made a great noise in the world; w^{ch} awakened me to say somewhat more in that subject then everyone is well pleased wth all. And I am as little pleased my self to be thus printed and translated as you will see by the inclosed; but nothing in this theme can escape the presse.

If you will adventure to deliver the French copie to my L^d of Arundel, I will desire you to intreat his L^{ps} protection thereof: w^{ch} it will have neede of yf these Arminians have so strong patrons in our court as they would perswade the world. . . .

Thus I rest as ever

Y^r L^{ps} most affectionat^{ly} to serve you

DUDLEY CARLTON³.

Hagh, this $\frac{14}{24}$ of 8^{ber}, 1617.

To the Right Hon^{ble} my very goode L^d S^r Horace Vere, knight etc.

¹ *Cal. of State Papers, Venice*, Vol. xv, 1617-1619, p. 16. Lionello, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate, 5th Oct., 1617.

² Arminius, whose real name was Hermanus, was a Dutch theologian, born at Oudewater in 1560. He studied at Leyden, at Geneva under Beza, and at Padua. He was ordained at Amsterdam in 1588, and occupied the theological chair at the University of Leyden from 1602 till his death in 1609. The teaching of Arminius was strongly anti-Calvinistic. He founded the party which became the Remonstrant Church in Holland. His doctrines had, for a time, considerable vogue in England.

³ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 222.

The death of Sir Ralph Winwood, which took place late in the autumn of this year, must have caused more than ordinary regret to Lord Arundel, who entertained for the Secretary of State feelings of warm regard. The illness was so sudden that few people were prepared for its rapid fatal termination. Winwood himself had not completed his last dispositions; and Lord Arundel, who hurried to the bedside of his dying friend, was urged to do what was possible to ascertain his wishes. In this he appears to have succeeded, for the information thus obtained, combined with certain passages already committed to writing, proved sufficient to carry Winwood's intentions into effect. Although often criticized on account of a curt and unconciliatory manner, Sir Ralph Winwood made warm friends. From the King and Queen downwards, his loss was deeply deplored by a wide circle of acquaintances¹.

Hardly was the funeral over, when the usual competition sprang up amongst rival candidates for the vacant Secretaryship; each man setting in motion such influence as he could command. It was the custom of the day, practised alike by the worthy and the unworthy; undignified as it appears to modern ideas. Sir Dudley Carleton eagerly entered the lists, and received the requested promise of Lord Arundel's support². It could indeed be given without hesitation, for Carleton was one of the ablest of the public men of his time, and well fitted for the post by natural gifts and diplomatic experience. To his credit, also, it should be added, that he refused to enter the lists in competition with Sir Thomas Edmondes. The event proved, however, that Edmondes was not desirous of offering himself as a candidate. Nevertheless, Sir Dudley's hopes, like those of many others, were doomed to disappointment. Three months later, Sir Robert Naunton³ became Secretary of State.

In November a banquet took place which excited much curiosity. Lady Hatton was the giver, and the King was the principal guest.

¹ Birch, Vol. II, p. 44. Chamberlain to Carleton, London, 31st Oct., 1617.

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 224, Carleton to Arundel, 3rd Nov., 1617; Birch, Vol. II, p. 52. Carleton to Chamberlain, Hague, 8th Nov., 1617.

³ Robert Naunton, born in 1563, knighted 1614, was born in Suffolk, and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he was subsequently a Fellow. He also represented the University in Parliament. After a varied life, partly spent in foreign travel, he attracted the notice of Buckingham, through whose influence he was appointed Secretary of State. He resigned that position in 1623, and was made Master of the Court of Wards. Naunton was a strong Protestant, and threw his weight against the Spanish marriage. He was a member of the Commission which condemned Raleigh to death. He was the author of the well-known account of the Court of Queen Elizabeth, which has been often printed. Sir Robert married Penelope Perrot, a cousin of Robert, first Earl of Essex of that name, to whom he owed many early favours. His daughter, also a Penelope, married, as her second husband, Philip, Earl of Pembroke. Naunton died in 1635.

In his most affable mood, James showered favours on his hostess and on her friends. Behind the royal effulgence, however, there hung a tale. Those present were not slow to remark that the lady's husband, Sir Edward Coke¹, who until recently had been Lord Chief Justice, was conspicuous by his absence; while neither Lord Arundel nor Lord Pembroke, who were in waiting on the King and Prince Charles, had been invited. They were constrained, therefore, to depart and sup at home, returning afterwards to resume their attendance on His Majesty. The quarrel, which thus divided the Court into two factions, was a strange one. Sir Edward Coke, perhaps as a stepping-stone to lost favour, had promised his younger daughter in marriage to the elder brother of Buckingham. Her mother, Lady Hatton, whose consent had not previously been obtained, chose to take umbrage at the engagement, and carrying the girl off to the country, refused to give her up. Sir Edward Coke, in high dudgeon, forced the house, and regained possession of his daughter. The marriage duly came off: but seems to have left a permanent breach between the stout old judge and his imperious wife. The King, however, affecting his usual part of peacemaker, received the latter back into grace, and brought about a reconciliation between mother and daughter. The banquet was celebrated to mark this event.

On the 1st January, 1618, Buckingham was made a marquis. Not long after, a report got about that he and Arundel were both to be raised to the rank of dukes, while Lennox was to receive an English dukedom in addition to the Scottish title. It would have been a fitting tribute to rare merit had Arundel been restored to the dignity which had so long been hereditary in his house. He must indeed have expected this step. His constant hope and aim had been to remove the effects of the double attainder which had fallen so heavily on his father and grandfather, and to regain in full measure the position enjoyed by his ancestors. Yet only in two out of the three cases forecast by rumour was the prognostication fulfilled. Arundel alone was left out. The reason is perhaps not far to seek. The ancient precedence of the Earls of Arundel had long ago been

¹ Sir Edward Coke, of Norfolk descent, was born in 1552, and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. He attained a pre-eminent position in the annals of English law. Coke was successively Solicitor General, Speaker of the House of Commons, Attorney General, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Chief Justice of the King's Bench; and held other distinguished posts. He defended the authority of the law against the encroachments of the royal prerogative, and of the ecclesiastical claim to independent jurisdiction in matters of religion. These views brought him into disfavour, and in November, 1616, he was removed from the Bench. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Cecil, second Lord Burleigh and first Earl of Exeter, and widow of Sir William Hatton. The quarrel alluded to in the text focussed upon it all the gossip of the moment. Coke died in 1634.

restored to him; and he would naturally have accepted the dukedom of Norfolk, only on similar terms. But the cession of this point would have given him the advantage over Buckingham, and to this the King was averse. So in due course the spoiled favourite became Duke of Buckingham, and Lennox was made Duke of Richmond, both in the peerage of England. Arundel stood quietly aloof: preferring to remain as he was, rather than to accept an honour shorn of half its grace and of all its ancient lustre.

In February he visited a Spanish prisoner at Bridewell, in company with the Ambassador of Spain. This latter personage, Don Diego Sarmiento d'Acuña, Count of Gondomar, was a man of some renown as an able and cunning diplomat. Just now he was in favour at the English Court, where the proposals for the marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta Maria, second daughter of the King of Spain, were in animated discussion. Arundel, partly influenced by King James perhaps, and partly because he really preferred an alliance with Spain to the alternative of a match with France, for which country he never evinced any predilection, was favourably inclined to the Spanish marriage.

Fresh disaster was now threatening Lord Arundel's relations at Audley End. In July the blow fell. Suffolk, who for some years had held the appointment of Lord Treasurer, was accused of peculation and deprived of his office. On all sides it was felt that the grasping and unscrupulous Lady Suffolk was more to blame than her husband and had been the means of conducting his fortunes to this ignominious overthrow. Nevertheless it was needful to visit with condign punishment, offences of so grave a nature. Sentence was not passed till the following year, when a fine of £30,000 was imposed, and both Lord and Lady Suffolk were committed to the Tower. It is true that they were released after a very short imprisonment: the fine being subsequently reduced to £7000, and Lord Suffolk received back into favour. Even these acts of grace could not diminish the humiliation of the position into which he had weakly allowed himself to be drawn. Years before, the same pernicious influence had tempted him to filch from his young nephew part of the Arundel inheritance. A far more serious and public misdeed had now been committed. To an old sailor, whose gallantry had achieved high reputation in the sea-fights with Spain, the downfall of his honour must have been grievous indeed.

Of Lord Arundel's relations with this uncle there are no means of judging: unless, as seems likely, a telling phrase in his letter of the 23rd February, 1615, refers to Lord Suffolk. It will be remem-

bered that he there speaks of the factions at Court being so strained as "to dissolve or at least slacke bondes of kindred." It is difficult to imagine any close tie of sympathy between men of such different stamp. Pride of race was deeply rooted in Lord Arundel's nature. In his will, he desired that a history might be written of his "noble auncesters, whereby their good memory may be preserved, and those that shall succede may bee invited to bee virtuous, or at least ashamed to bee vitious¹." Clarendon, whose personal animosity towards Arundel, gives an ugly turn to every trait he records, says satirically that "he thought no other part of history so considerable as what related to his own family²." The jibe, as usual, contains the germ of a truth. Family pride ever takes a noble form when it resolves itself into a desire that present and future generations should prove themselves worthy heirs of a great past. Corresponding then in degree must have been his indignation at the disgrace brought more than once, at this period, on the Howard name, by certain members of the Suffolk branch of the family. Whether by chance or purpose, they are never mentioned in Lord Arundel's letters. Yet he must have been constantly in their society at Court. It may be remembered, too, that the great-uncle, Lord Northampton, to whom he was so warmly attached, had been on the most intimate terms with the family at Audley End. Northampton's own reputation, indeed, had suffered, after his death, from the shadow cast over this group of relations through the murder of Overbury. Arundel's unswerving attachment to the memory of his great-uncle, is perhaps the best evidence now existing in favour of Northampton's innocence of participation in the plot.

It is pleasant to turn to Lord Arundel's relations with another uncle, Lord William Howard of Naworth³; which may in all likelihood have been closer than has been recorded. Lord William had married Lady Elizabeth Dacre, the sister of Anne, Lady Arundel, which constituted a double tie of kinship. In addition to this,

¹ Brit. Museum, mss. Harleian, 6272, f. 168. See Appendix II.

² Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, Vol. I, p. 95. Edition 1816.

³ Lord William Howard, born at Audley End in 1563, was the third son of the fourth Duke of Norfolk by his second wife, Margaret Audley. His marriage with Lady Elizabeth Dacre fixed his career chiefly in the north, amongst the estates which she inherited; a division of the properties having taken place between her and her sister, Anne, Countess of Arundel. About the time of the accession of James I to the English throne, Lord William settled at Naworth Castle, Cumberland, which he restored, and filled with the books and antiquities that he had collected. He devoted himself to the welfare of his poorer neighbours, promoting law and order, and good methods of agriculture; while Naworth itself became a centre of hospitality and learning. Lord William Howard died at Greystoke in 1640.—His great-grandson, Charles Howard, was made Earl of Carlisle in 1661, when the Hay peerage of that title had died out.

many resemblances of taste and disposition can be traced between uncle and nephew. Admirable rectitude of character was in each united to keen interest in every intellectual movement of the time. Lord William was a scholar and man of learning. In antiquarian matters, especially, they must have found much common ground. Both delighted in the society of learned men. Cotton¹, Camden², Spelman³, were counted among their friends.

Sir Robert Cotton was perhaps the most intimate of Lord Arundel's literary friends. He was nearly associated with each of the more intellectual members of the house of Howard; Henry, Lord Northampton, Lord William Howard of Naworth, and Lord Arundel. But his relationship with the latter grew closer as years advanced, and his name will more than once reappear in these pages. Arundel relied much upon his judgment, and consulted him in the purchase

¹ Sir Robert Cotton was born in 1571. He came of an old and wealthy family in Huntingdonshire, and was educated at Westminster School and at Jesus College, Cambridge. Perhaps it was Camden's influence, then on the staff of the School, which first awoke his antiquarian instincts. In early life, he settled in a house at Westminster, thereafter called Cotton House, which became the focus of his collections: books, manuscripts, coins and other antiquities. In Cotton's library the most enlightened men of the kingdom gathered together during the remainder of the reign of Elizabeth, and throughout that of James I. Cotton kept up his relations with Camden, with whom, as with Speed, he collaborated in literary work. King James knighted him in 1603, and was his warm patron. Royal favour unfortunately brought him into contact with Somerset; which re-acted to his disadvantage when disgrace overtook the favourite. In the reign of Charles I troubles thickened about Cotton's career. He was among those who opposed the tyranny of Buckingham, and pleaded for the rights of Parliament, of which he was several times a member. Disfavour consequently fell upon him with a heavy hand. In 1629 he was deprived of his beloved library; a pamphlet having been found in it to which the Court party objected. He died brokenhearted in 1631.

It is noteworthy that the last boroughs Sir Robert Cotton represented in Parliament, Thetford and Castle Rising, were immediately under Lord Arundel's influence.—His son and successor, Sir Thomas Cotton, married a daughter of Lord William Howard.

² William Camden, author of the famous antiquarian account of England entitled *Britannia*, of the *Annals* of the reigns of Elizabeth and of James I, and many other learned works, was born in London in 1551. He was educated at Christ's Hospital and at Oxford; was appointed Assistant master at Westminster School, 1575, and Headmaster, 1593. The post of Clarenceux king-of-arms, conferred upon him in 1597, enabled him to devote himself wholly to his antiquarian studies. Camden was of simple and gentle disposition, caring little for worldly objects, or for any pursuit but that of knowledge. He had a large number of eminent friends and correspondents in England and abroad. He died in 1623.

³ Sir Henry Spelman, another of the distinguished group of scholars who flourished at this period, was born about 1564 in Norfolk. He was a devoted member of the Church of England, and his works on English Church history, and ecclesiastic law, broke new ground for the time in which they were written. He also wrote many learned treatises on various other branches of antiquarian study. He was M.P. for Castle Rising in 1597, and High Sheriff for Norfolk in 1604. He married Eleanor, daughter of John le Strange of Hunstanton. Sir Henry Spelman died in 1641.

of books and curiosities. In political matters, also, considerable sympathy existed between them, and their opinions appear often to have coincided.

It would be interesting could it be shown that Arundel's acquaintance with Camden dated from Westminster school-days. There is, however, no evidence to prove such an assumption, which must therefore be regarded as purely hypothetical. In itself, such a supposition seems likely enough. Camden was a full generation older than Lord Arundel. He was Head Master of Westminster during the supposed period of Arundel's attendance at the School. In that capacity, he must at least have seen the thin, dark, little boy, and may have been attracted by his precocious intelligence. But whether this led to a closer acquaintance at the time, remains uncertain. That in later years, Arundel was Camden's patron and friend, is well known.

The Norfolk origin of Sir Henry Spelman was, in itself, a passport to Lord Arundel's favour. Spelman's antiquarian zeal doubtless rivetted the bond, which was further strengthened by the common friendship with Camden, Cotton, and other men of similar bent.

Of these perhaps none, with the exception of Cotton, was linked to him by such close ties of friendship as the celebrated lawyer, John Selden. The extraordinary learning of this wonderful man, the variety of his intellectual achievements, and his sterling qualities of character, place him in the foremost rank amongst his distinguished contemporaries. With Lord Arundel he had many opportunities of becoming intimate. Apart from the community of tastes in classical and antiquarian art—it need only be recalled that Selden was, at a later date, the author of the famous *Marmora Arundelliana*—this great legal luminary had for many years acted as steward and adviser to Lord Grey de Ruthyn, afterwards Earl of Kent, whose wife, it will be remembered, was Lady Arundel's sister. In the peaceful seclusion of their home, Wrest Park, Bedfordshire, Selden found the leisure necessary for the composition of his monumental works. But the terms on which he dwelt there were rather those of friendship than of business; and of their intimate circle, he was an honoured member¹.

¹ John Selden was born in Sussex in 1584. He was educated at Chichester and Oxford, and called to the bar in 1612. He was the author of a vast number of learned works, of which the most famous were, perhaps, the *History of Tythes* (dedicated to Sir Robert Cotton), and the *Marmora Arundelliana*; and the best-known, his *Table-talk*. He entered Parliament, and took a leading part in the debates which culminated in the Petition of Right. After the disturbances in the House of Commons which preceded the dissolution of 1629, Selden was imprisoned, by the King's order, till 1631, when, partly at the instance of Lord

Arundel's warm interest in past history, especially in the tangible shape of antiquities of many sorts, bound him closely to this famous group of learned men, whose labours shed lustre on the early seventeenth century. It is seen again in the celebrated library he bought at a later date; in the inscribed Greek marbles which, at immense labour and expense, he was the means of bringing to these shores. Added, moreover, to his love of the ancient, was that living passion for the beautiful, which found expression in his world-famed collection of paintings and statues.

It was indeed no new idea which he here put into practice. The splendid works, chiefly portraits, which his great-grandfather, Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, had brought together, and which later passed, as has been shown, to John, Lord Lumley, would alone refute such a claim; to say nothing of minor collections, which reveal the spirit that was abroad. For it was Arundel's great merit to bring to these subjects not only the enthusiasm of the collector, but the judgment of the connoisseur. In this he probably surpassed all his contemporaries, except, in later days, King Charles. The latter must indeed be reckoned amongst the foremost judges of his time. Charles was yet a boy, however, when Lord Arundel's collection was already in being. It was probably the inheritance of Prince Henry's pictures—who, had he lived, might have shared with Arundel the honour of breaking new ground as a connoisseur—and, in after years, Lord Arundel's example, that first inspired the younger prince with that love of art for which he became celebrated.

It is difficult, in looking back, to realize in how much Lord Arundel was a pioneer. Such a short space of time separates him from other collectors, that, in retrospection, they may seem to fall into one group. In reality he stood alone in the personal taste, variety and magnitude of his collections.

In August (1618) the Court was once more at Salisbury, where a considerable ceremony took place in the great hall of the Bishop's

Arundel, he was released. Nevertheless, in 1640, he opposed the Marshal's Court. Till 1649 Selden continued to take a prominent part in public life. He had no part in the trial or death of the King; and after that event, retired into private life. His chief solicitude was always for learning, and no public affairs were allowed to interrupt his studies. As stated above, he managed the affairs of the Earl and Countess of Kent. Report said, perhaps somewhat apocryphally, that he was married to Lady Kent after her husband's death, which occurred in 1639. It is certain that she left him her London house, where he set up his Greek marbles, nine of which he left to the University of Oxford. Many points united him to Lord Arundel: the political attitude which, while firmly upholding the rights of the subject, did not ignore those of the sovereign; the love of antiquity; and the additional bond found in the fact that Lady Kent and Lady Arundel were sisters. Selden died in 1654.

Palace, for the creation of Robert, Viscount Lisle as Earl of Leicester, and William, Lord Compton, as Earl of Northampton. All the great officers of the Court took part in the procession, Lord Arundel bearing the Sword of State.

At the end of the same month, the Queen gave a banquet at Oatlands to Pietro Contarini, then Venetian ambassador in England. Orazio Busino, chaplain to the embassy, describes the occasion in one of the usual graphic reports despatched to Venice.

The last audience (he says) was appointed for Thursday the 30th at Oatlands, a place about eighteen miles from London... When all was in readiness, his Excellency was led by the Lord Chamberlain into the presence chamber and was graciously received by her Majesty, who gave him her hand. After he had kissed it respectfully her Majesty gave him her arm, a singular favour. They remained some time standing during the first ceremonies, which were most stately and grave. Then the Queen seated herself on the dais, making his Excellency sit likewise and cover himself. A circle was formed round them at some distance, of ladies and cavaliers, all standing respectfully... The dinner was prepared in a large and comely place, for about 20 persons, as a mark of honour to his Excellency, who was to sit alone on a high elbow-chair of crimson velvet, whereas all the other cavaliers (*sic*) and ladies were on stools without any support, though covered with silk.

... Opposite his Excellency sat the Earl of Worcester, Lord Privy Seal, and at his side the Countess of Arundel, the chief lady of the court and kingdom, no other taking precedence of her either for descent, or in the Queen's favour. This lady is extremely partial to the city and aristocracy of Venice where she received much favour and courtesy a few years ago, of which she retains grateful recollection. The others followed according to rank, a matter in which they never make a mistake. All present were persons of title. The table was distributed beautifully and profusely and everything was well served. There were meats and venison of every sort, game, some uncommon such as we had never seen before, and exquisite fish; and indeed it would compare as a whole with the most famous banquets in Italy or elsewhere. At the close they put on the table a singular variety of sweetmeats, in a surprising quantity. A number of toasts were drunk, the King, Queen and Prince, and the Countess and Count Palatine; as usual standing, and at least three at a time, the ladies having to do the like, as it goes the round of the table; and I imagine this must vastly inconvenience them.

On the conclusion of the banquet his Excellency was accompanied to his apartments by all those gentlemen, that he might take a little rest...¹

It must have been at this time that Lady Arundel received the following letter from her husband:

¹ *Cal. of State Papers, Venice*, Vol. xv, pp. 314-15. Horatio Busini to the Signori Giorgio, Francesco and Zaccharia Contarini. London, the 14th September, 1618.

The Earl of Arundel to the Countess of Arundel.

My deerest Hart

I thanke y^u for y^r footman, but am sorry the other is come too, because I feare y^u may want him, ere he can be wth y^u; howsoever, I have bidde him make what haste he can. I pray comēde my service to my lady Compton and tell her I thinke she came away from London on purpose that I shoulde not finde her, to take my leave.

I pray take order that the mattes, and all the stuffe, be taken out of the roomes towards the water, at Arundell House; for on Monday I have given order they goe in hande, to deale wth the windowes; and I pray bidde Willson make very greate haste, for nowe is the only spare time, and I desire exceedingly to see thinges done.

Soe wth my deerest love and hartiest prayers for all happinesse to us and all ours, I ever remayne

Y^r most faithfull loving husbande

T. ARUNDELL.

Bagshotte, Thursday at night, 1618.

*To my Deere wife the Countess of Arundell at Oatlandes*¹.

Some interesting correspondence was now taking place concerning a pair of full-length portraits of Lord and Lady Arundel, painted in this year, probably by Mytens; though, on Vertue's authority they have long been ascribed to Van Somer. These pictures acquire additional interest from the fact that each personage is represented seated in the Gallery at Arundel House. A long architectural vista gives a good idea of the spacious proportions for which it was renowned; while in Lord Arundel's portrait, a noble array of sculpture, to which he points with the Earl Marshal's staff, indicates the direction of his tastes.

It seems strange that Sir Dudley Carleton should have wished to acquire these portraits, so obviously intended to adorn Lord Arundel's private collection. Yet if these were not the objects of his quest to what "great pictures" does Mytens allude in the letter printed below?²

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 236.

² It must be recollected that Carleton himself, in addition to negotiating for his friends, was no mean collector. In May, 1616, he wrote from the Hague to John Chamberlain, "...Michael of Delph (Mierevelt) hath been with me, and remembers you well by a picture of yours I have of Tintoretto's hand. My old pictures both he and others do much approve." (Birch, *James I*, Vol. I, p. 403.)

A few years previously, in a letter addressed from Venice to the same correspondent, Carleton had said, "I shall have more of yo^r Company than you think, having violently robd Tintoret of a picture of y^{rs} he retained, w^{ch} is (I assure you) a master piece." (Record Office, *State Papers, Venice* (unpublished), Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, from Venice, 30th July, 1613.) The painter referred to is, of course, Domenico Robusti, son of the great Jacopo, who died in 1594.—The word "picture" is constantly used throughout this period to denote "portrait."



Arundel Club Photo, by kind permission

Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, seated in the Sculpture Gallery
at Arundel House. Probably by Mytens, 1618



Arundel Club Photo, by kind permission

Aletheia, Countess of Arundel, seated in the Picture Gallery
at Arundel House. Probably by Mytens, 1618

Of great interest is the question, what has become of the two heads on one small canvass sent as a present to the Ambassador? The eulogy passed by him on the likeness of Lord Arundel inspires a keen desire to trace this little work.

Daniel Mytens to Sir Dudley Carleton.

Right Honorable my very good Lord

My deutie first beeing remembered, wishing y^r Lordship much health and happiness, these fewe lines are to advise you that I send you by this bearer that picture or portrait of the L^d of Arundel and his lady, together in a small forme, it is rowled up in a smal case. I have doune my endeavuer to perswaide his Lordship to send your honour those great picteures, butt he is not willinge to parte from them, by reason they doe leyke his hon^r so well that he will keep them, and he willed me to make these in a smaller forme, w^{ch} I trust your Lor^p will accept and esteem as a smal presente donne for my L^y of Arundel, and for the paines and care I have done therein, to the most of my power. I leave the judgment to your Lordship's good discretion.

I have binne at Shareckney¹ to see wether I could fynde occasion to drawe the Princes Highnes picture; but the Prince beeing a hunting and suddainly to departe further in progres, I am returned for London, so that I must waiyte for a better opportunity at his Retorne back. And this is for the present the effect of my writting to your honour, the w^{ch} it may please you to accept as from your pore and onworthe servent, who will ever be reddie in my bounden dewtie when your honour shall have occasion to make tryall. In the mean while I pray unto the Lord to preserve and keepe your Hon^r in healthe and prosperitie to the end of everlasting glorie,

And your Honour to command,

DANIEL MYTENS.

London this 18 of August 1618 selondit².

Extract from the draught of a letter in the handwriting of Sir Dudley Carleton addressed to My Lo. of Arundell, dated the Hagh, 28 September, 1618, referring to the two portraits mentioned in the preceding letter.

The picture your Ldp. desired at Amsterdam I have formerly dealt for but wth intention to make it y^r Ldps, and if I can recover it (wherein I still use my best endeavo^{rs}) yo^r Ldp. shall not fayle of it. Those I have lately received from yo^r Ldps painter in one table, I humbly thanke yo^r Ldp. for, and I wish he had been so happie in hitting my Lady as he hath perfectly done your Ldp, but I observe it generally in woemens pictures, they have as much disadvantage in y^e art as they have advantage in nature³.

It would appear from this letter that Mytens was at this time

¹ Probably Chertsey, which was included in a short progress the Prince was making just at this time.

² W. H. Carpenter's *Pictorial Notices*, etc., p. 176.

³ *Ibid.* Both letters are in the Public Record Office.

definitely engaged in Lord Arundel's service, since he is spoken of as "your Lordship's painter."

Another letter received by Arundel just at this time, affords further evidence of his keen pursuit of his favourite occupations, his garden and his collections.

Mr William Trumbull to the Earl of Arundel.

Right honorable my singuler good lord

At length I returne yo^r L: Benedetto the Gardiner, who promiseth by his dilligence to redeeme his former error, and longe staye on th'other syde the Seas; conditionally that all may be pardoned and forgotten, w^{ch} I have undertaken in yo^r L. name; otherwise I should hardly have procured him to returne into England. Hee bringeth wth him a boye to worcke under him in yo^r L: Garden, and as many plante of flowers, and seede of herbe, as coste £10 and odd money sterlinge. The £10 I have disbursed for yo^r Ho^{rs} service, and¹ w^{ch} is to stand for the charges of his journey: the reste was furnished by himself.

I dare now boldly assure yo^r Ho^r that the piece of painting made by Raphael d'Urbino is in such hands as will not parte wth it upon any reasonable or indifferent termes; namely the Generall of the Postes here, a man of great welth and wthal is a great lover of pictures, who is said to have entayled it to his heyres, as a pearll of great price, for he esteemeth it at above £200 sterling. Nobeliers the painter of this Towne bought it for him of Lermans, at Antwerp, and paid for it in ready money (as his Sonne doth confidently assure me) £130 sterling. Nobeliers is of my olde acquaintance. He hath sundry faire peece of the hand of Bart: Spranger (but they are all of naked women); and of sundry other famous masters, wherof Benedetto bringeth a note to yo^r L.; and I will desyre^r permission to refere yo^r L. therunto, and to his relation, because he hath much more skill than my selfe in matters of paintinge. He hath also seen all the peeces w^{ch} Mons^r Vanderbrand hath, by my procurement, among w^{ch} there are divers peeces by Titiano and olde Brughell. But he will not sell any of them. If yo^r Ho^r would procure him the Ma. Madalene which was the late Princes, he is contented to exchange for it one of the Emp^r Charles the 5 on horsbacke, in armour, drawen (to lyfe) he saith, by the same master.

And so beseeching yo^r L. favorably to treat this bearer, and to pardon my boldnes, I do in all humblenes take my leave. From Bruxelles the 22 of September, 1618, st^o ve^o.

Yo^r L. most humble and ready to be comāunded

W. TRUMBULL.

To the Right Honorable my singular good lord, the Earle of Arundell, etc.²

¹ Blank in original.

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 232. William Trumbull served in diplomacy under Sir Thomas Edmondes, whom he succeeded in 1609 as English representative at Brussels. Here he remained till 1625, filling this important post with considerable distinction. He died in 1635.

A little later we find Lord Arundel going over from Theobalds, accompanied by Inigo Jones, to visit the famous gardens of Ware Park, in Hertfordshire, which were within easy reach of the royal residence. The report they brought back of the grapes and peaches was so inviting that the King thereafter sent over twice a week, to beg a contribution in that kind¹. The maker of Ware garden, Sir Henry Fanshawe, Remembrancer of the Exchequer, equally noted for his integrity and for his enlightened tastes, had died two years previously, and had been succeeded by his young son, Thomas². It was, however, to Sir Henry that was due the fame of the garden, reputed "unsurpassed in England for its flowers, physic-herbs and fruits." Though considerably older than Lord Arundel, a friendly relationship had probably sprung up between him and the former owner of Ware, cemented by many tastes in common. The house at Ware Park was replete with pictures, drawings, medals, books and other objects of interest; while Sir Henry himself was an accomplished Italian scholar and a fine horseman. That he had enjoyed the favour of the lamented Prince Henry, could but enhance Lord Arundel's regard.

Sterner demands than these were, as we shall see, to be made quite soon on Lord Arundel's attention.

¹ A letter from Mr Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, 14th October, 1618.

² This son, Thomas, is probably the "Mr Fanshawe" alluded to in Lord Arundel's letter of March, 1616 (see *ante*, p. 97). Subsequently he was created Viscount Fanshawe, and became a noted royalist in the civil wars. Lady Fanshawe, wife of a younger son, Sir Richard, left an interesting memoir of her husband, which has been printed. Ware was sold in 1668.

A note with reference to the allusion to Van Somer on page 142.

In the library at Arundel Castle, there is a book entitled *A Collection of Portraits and Monuments relating to the Howard Family* (62 C). It consists of about 40 drawings and engravings and a genealogical tree of the Howard family. The drawings and tree are the work of George Vertue. Amongst them are several drawings of original portraits in the possession of the Earl of Carlisle. Under the drawing representing the portrait of the Earl of Arundel Vertue has written "Paulus Van Somer pinxit, 1618," and under the companion one representing Lady Arundel, he has written "Alatheia, Countess of Arundel, etc. etc., Paulus Van Somer pinxit, 1618." These statements by Vertue appears to be the only authority for the dates of the pictures and for the information that both paintings were by Van Somer. There is no trace to be found on the pictures (as they are now hung) of any such signature, and it appears to be probable that Vertue has gone astray in this particular statement. Van Somer appears to have painted a portrait of Henry Howard, third Earl of Northampton which Vertue copied, and it is possible that the confusion has arisen in this way and all later writers have followed Vertue in his mistake. On stylistic grounds the portraits do not resemble the mark of Van Somer.

ED.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ENGLISH COLONIES. EXECUTION OF RALEGH. DEATH OF THE QUEEN.

1609—1619.

THE great navigators of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had pushed far back the horizons of the old world. They had brought to their contemporaries the exciting consciousness of new regions to be explored, fresh paths to be developed, far beyond the narrow limits known to their forefathers. Similarly the lands of promise stretched out their sunlit shores to the hardy mariners. Smilingly they enticed the adventurers, often to their utter undoing and destruction, with the lure of gold, and of freedom, and of whatever is coveted by man. Yet, in spite of occasional overwhelming disaster, ever again the enterprise was renewed; till the portals were flung wide, and the future assured, to the great civilisations of the western world.

If for Englishmen the romance of exploration was linked pre-eminently with the age of Elizabeth, the romance of colonisation belonged to the epoch of her successor. The new ambitions added just that touch of colour to the rather insipid reign of James in which it was otherwise lacking. Imagination was stimulated by the rich descriptions of the new countries, and all classes eagerly joined hands to promote the settlement of English "Plantations" across the seas. In 1609, when the second or amended charter of Virginia was granted, the incorporation, we are told, "consisted of 56 city companies, and 659 private persons. Of these 21 were peers; 96 knights; 11 doctors, ministers, etc.; 53 captains, 28 esquires; 58 gentlemen; 110 merchants; and 282 citizens, and others not classified... At least 100 of the incorporators were members of the House of Commons at some time, and about 50 were members at the time of the granting of the charter¹."

Although dreams of gold and of rapid acquisition of wealth had doubtless contributed largely to attract the originators, yet many

¹ H. E. Egerton, *Origin and Growth of English Colonies*, p. 68. Some of the objects set forth by the promoters, quoted by the same writer, sound very modern. One is stated to be the recovery and possessing to themselves a fruitful land "whence they may furnish and provide the kingdom with all such necessities and defects under which we labour, and are now enforced to buy and receive at the courtesy of other princes under the burden of great customs and high impositions."

were moved to participate by more ideal considerations. Those of wider vision saw in the "Plantations" a prospect of added power and scope to England, in a form that peculiarly appealed to the temperament of the seventeenth century. Many indeed were the blunders, many the failures and losses, which hindered the path of progress in colonisation, both then and subsequently. Little could the men of that day divine the splendour of the results that would ultimately accrue from their tentative efforts. Experience to guide them, they had none. Everything had to be painfully learned, inch by inch, as blind men grope their way in the dark. Yet, all things considered, their grasp of the subject, and the measure of success achieved in comparatively early days, cannot but excite surprise and admiration.

It is easy to understand the fascination possessed by this class of enterprise for one of Arundel's disposition; in whom breadth of intellect was combined with a far-reaching imagination. Throughout his career there runs a curious double thread. On the one side was the "perfect courtier," serving his King with unvarying devotion, which necessitated living in the constant glare of publicity; versed, moreover, beyond any other of his day, in the laws of etiquette and official procedure. On the other is found the lover of distant lands and secluded haunts, of islands sea-girt and solitary, where a man might hide from the world, and live a life of freedom, far from the conventional demands and distractions of society. Both aspects are true: but who can doubt which best corresponded to the deeper instincts of his nature? Indeed, if there was a third subject which could compete at all with the interests of collecting, and of gardening, this of colonisation must be awarded that place.

Arundel's uncle, Lord Northampton, was amongst those who early encouraged settlements. In 1610, the patent for the Plantation of Newfoundland contains his name, and that of Sir Francis Bacon¹, (as he then was). Some years after Lord Northampton's death, Lord Arundel was, with others, appointed by the King to consider and report upon a petition received from the colonists of Newfoundland in regard to certain disorders there.

In 1618, Arundel himself was one of the promoters of a great scheme to start a Plantation upon the River Amazon, near Guiana. Captain Roger North, brother of Lord North, was to be the first Governor. The project fell upon an evil hour. The Spanish marriage, for Prince Charles, was under discussion. The King's

¹ Bacon's essay *Of Plantations* gives a good idea of contemporary thought on the subject with its mixture of perspicacity and childlike simplicity. Probably Bacon was not without influence on Lord Arundel, who, as has been seen, was a personal friend.

mind was set upon its accomplishment, and to this end everything was to be avoided which could give umbrage to Spain. That country had claims on the region in question, which made her look askance at any plan of colonisation by another power. Consequently King James's sanction was, at least temporarily, withheld. At this delicate juncture, North had the indiscretion to start with his ships, clandestinely. The King discovered what had happened and was very angry. North was instantly recalled in the most peremptory terms; and, for the time, the whole undertaking collapsed¹.

It was not long before Arundel was again associated with colonial enterprise, on this occasion of a more durable description. That narrative belongs to a later chapter. Other events now claim our more immediate attention.

In view of what has been said above, none will be surprised to find that Lord Arundel's connections with seamen and explorers, of high and low degree, were abundant and familiar. This was especially the case as regards Sir Walter Raleigh. "Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his half-brother Raleigh," says Mr Egerton², "may be held to be the true founders of the English Empire, though neither lived to see the full results of his work." Few details have come down of Lord Arundel's relations with Sir Walter Raleigh, through the long vicissitudes of that gallant knight's troubled existence. Enough remains to show that they breathed a most friendly kindness and sympathy. The attraction of Raleigh's personality, and his fine achievements in the domain of science and literature, made their appeal side by side with his fame as a navigator and explorer.

It will be recollected that Raleigh, after a brilliant though chequered career on sea and land in the reign of Elizabeth, was brought to trial after the accession of James, on a charge of participation in a plot against the King's life. Enemies had done their best to blacken him in the eyes of the new sovereign; and his known friendship with Lord Cobham, amongst other factors, was allowed to weigh against him. On evidence which in the present day would be deemed no evidence at all, he was found guilty and condemned to death. At the last moment he was however reprieved, together with Cobham and Grey. This took place towards the close of 1603. Arundel, who was present but a short time before at the execution of Cobham's brother, George Brooke, must, even at this early stage, have been well acquainted with the accused men.

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1660*, p. 21. Thos. Locke to Sir Dudley Carleton, 30th April, 1618. *Ibid.* Proclamation, 15th May, 1619, p. 23.

² *Loc. cit.* p. 61.

Raleigh's long imprisonment in the Tower now began. A weary life it must have been, as the years crept by, to the great naval commander, whose indefatigable brain was overflowing with active schemes. To one of these he presently looked to procure his release. Many years before, he had brought back from his adventurous voyage to the River Orinoco, a specimen of gold quartz which had excited much attention. He now proposed to make a second expedition to the same region, on condition that should he succeed in obtaining half a ton of similar ore, he should be pardoned and restored to liberty. Sir Ralph Winwood warmly supported this proposition.

In earlier days, Prince Henry had been Raleigh's constant friend; and to the Prince's honour be it recorded that when the explorer's Sherborne estate was confiscated and given to the favourite, Somerset, the Prince acquired the property from the King in order to restore it to its rightful owner. Death prevented the execution of this laudable design; but, again, it was Raleigh who sent him a potion which it was supposed might have been efficacious had the illness not already progressed too far to be arrested.

Meanwhile the great project for revisiting the Orinoco matured but slowly. When, in 1616, the plans at last came to a head, the Spanish ambassador loudly protested. The expedition was however allowed to sail; but Raleigh was ordered to abstain from all acts of war against the Spaniards, on peril of his life. He, who in Elizabethan times had culled many a brilliant laurel in encounters with the Spanish galleons, was to go softly, and forbear all cause of offence. Other days, other ways! Raleigh was by now a desperate man. A bird set free that for years had beaten its wings against the bars of its cage, he searched around for some means of evading a renewal of captivity, or worse, should the plans fail. He believed that if he could bring home sufficient treasure, however obtained, the King would pardon him; and he thought of waylaying the Mexican plate fleet. He also entered into secret relations with the French, through their ambassador in London, proposing to retire to France, instead of returning to England, should the latter course appear too dangerous. His friends deprecated this design; doubtless considering that his honour obliged him, in any case, to return to his own sovereign, having only conditionally obtained release from prison. The day before he sailed, Lord Arundel secured his promise to come back to his own country.

The expedition started in the summer of 1617. It ended in disaster. Raleigh's second in command attacked and burned a Spanish town. His own son was killed; his men refused further

adventure; he himself arrived home a solitary fugitive in June, 1618. On the old sentence of 1603, which most people felt to have been unjust, he was brought to the scaffold on the 29th October of the same year. The execution took place in the Palace Yard of Westminster. Great was the concourse that gathered together to see the tragic end of one of England's most distinguished sons. Many of those present were his personal friends, assembled there by Raleigh's own request; Lord Arundel was one of this number.

The Queen had earnestly interceded for his life. Herself ailing in health, she pleaded with the King that Raleigh's prescriptions—amongst his many talents he had gained some fame in physic—had been of great service to her. James was obdurate. His feeble nature had never overcome the distrust of Raleigh which years before had been implanted in his mind. At this moment, too, his one thought was to please and conciliate the Spaniards, who hated the man at whose hands they had more than once suffered humiliation. They called loudly for condign punishment. Thus it came about that the great misdeed was carried to the bitter end. The noble victim bore himself with such lightness and freedom that it seemed "as if he had come thither rather to be a spectator than a sufferer." All present marvelled at his perfect self-possession, and at the calm dignity with which he encountered death.

On the fatal morning, the Lords of Arundel, Northampton and Doncaster¹, with some other lords and knights, were sitting at a window at some distance from the scaffold. Raleigh, perceiving that they could not well hear him, said, "I will strain my voice, for I would willingly have your honours hear me." "But my Lord of Arundel said, 'Nay—we will rather come down to the scaffold,' which he and some others did. When, being come, he saluted them severally, and then began again to speak to the spectators. And then, turning to the Earl of Arundel, he said, 'My Lord, being in the gallery of my ship, at my departure, I remember your honour took me by the hand, and said you would request one thing of me, which was, that whether I made a good voyage or a bad, I should not fail, but to return again into England, which I then promised you, and gave you my faith I would; and so I have.' To which my lord

¹ James Hay, created Lord Hay, 1606, Viscount Doncaster, July, 1618, and Earl of Carlisle, 1622, was the first of the series of King James's favourites at the English Court. Hay was a Scotchman, as his name indicates. He married, as his second wife, the famous beauty, Lady Lucy Percy, daughter of the Earl of Northumberland. Hay was noted for his extravagance, but was amiable and not without shrewd common sense. The King employed him on a good many important diplomatic missions. Carlisle died in 1636. The title became extinct in the Hay family on the death of his only son, in 1660. See much later on for his remark upon Lord Arundel.

answered and said, 'It is true, I do very well remember it, they were the very last words I spake unto you¹.'"

Melancholy reminiscences at such a moment! Yet doubtless there lay in them some solace to both speakers: to Arundel, in feeling he had helped his friend in the path of honour, even at the cost of his life; to Raleigh, in receiving public vindication of his good faith, at this supreme hour.

The following letter, though dated, it would seem, erroneously, must surely belong to this period.

Mr Thomas Coke to the Earl of Arundel.

Right Hon^{ble}

I visited my La: Raleigh yesterday from y^r Lo: and my La: w^{ch} shee tooke very kyndly; and undertaketh that all such papers shall be reserved for yo^r Lo: but profeseth to know of none. Shee sayth that if any bo[dy] Samuel King his servant only knoweth of them, he is yet closse prisoner in the Towre, and what will become of him, and the rest his fellowes theare, cloasse prisoners also, she knoweth not but he (it seems) is the man who is to be prepared in this kynde, wth such expedition as the condition of his fortune may comport. And so I humbly crave pardon

And remayne

yo^r Lo^{ps} most humbly to serve yo^r

THO: COKE.

At Highgate, 31 Oct. 1612 (? 1618).

To the Right Ho^{ble} the Earle of Arundell, of his Matys most Ho^{ble} Privy Councell^r.

It is pleasant to turn from this sorrowful subject to more ordinary matters. A project was set on foot for the embellishment of the capital, a point keenly advocated by Lord Arundel. He was anxious to see the wooden houses of which London was then principally composed, replaced as far as possible by stone. The old buildings were not only insanitary in themselves, but a source of public danger in case of fire. Added to these considerations, Arundel's acquaintance with the Italian architecture of the Renaissance, must have made the mean appearance of London doubly striking on his return from foreign travel. In November, 1618, a Commission was appointed,

¹ *Somers Collect. of Tracts* (Scott's ed. 1809), Vol. II, p. 441. Proceedings against Sir Walter Raleigh, etc.

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 185. Lord Arundel was not made a Privy Councillor till July, 1616. Either, therefore, Coke addressed it incorrectly, which seems strange from one employed in Lord Arundel's service, or some mistake has occurred in the date. The latter is more probable as the address shows no signs of its having been sent abroad, as must have been the case if written in 1612, when Lord Arundel was travelling on the Continent. The sense, also, appears to fit peculiarly well, immediately after Raleigh's execution.

consisting of Lords Arundel and Pembroke, Inigo Jones, and others, to survey Lincoln's Inn Fields for building purposes. Inigo Jones was to furnish the design, and did, in fact, produce it. Only the western side now standing, called Arch Row, seems, however, to have been erected under his supervision¹.

Hardly had the year turned, when the destruction by fire of the Banqueting House at Whitehall, which took place on the 12th January, 1619, awakened widespread consternation. The usual Masque had taken place within its walls on Twelfth Night, and had so pleased the King that a second performance had been ordered for Shrove Tuesday. Meanwhile the highly inflammable materials used for the scenery, "all of oiled paper and dry fir," remained in the Banqueting House. A careless workman going about his business in these combustible surroundings, started the mischief. The flames increased so rapidly that, alarmed at what he had done, he is said to have hurriedly left the building, locking the door behind him, in order to escape detection. Happily the Lord Chancellor (Bacon), the Duke of Lennox and Lord Arundel, were quickly on the spot, to give directions and to preserve order. Their united efforts succeeded in preventing the spread of the fire to the adjacent buildings of the Palace, which fate reserved for a later and yet more disastrous conflagration. In two hours, the Banqueting House, with its contents, was utterly consumed. All the documents belonging to the Signet, Privy Seal and Council Chamber, the offices of which lay beneath the Hall, perished in the flames. Yet, serious as was the catastrophe, it had compensations. For it furnished the opportunity which gave to London her fairest piece of secular architecture. From the ashes of the ruined edifice, rose the Banqueting House of Inigo Jones.

Lord Arundel's correspondence increased considerably as years went on. New names appear beneath the letters addressed to him. Mr Philip Mainwaring², at this time a young man seeking patronage, wrote to him several times from court. Behind the matters of current gossip, with which the letters are mainly concerned, is revealed a substantial interest in the affairs of Ireland, which was probably the common ground of their acquaintanceship.

Another correspondent with whom Lord Arundel seems to have been on terms of intimacy was William, Lord Compton, recently

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, Art. "Inigo Jones."

² Philip Mainwaring, born in 1589, knighted in 1634 on becoming Secretary to the Earl of Strafford, Lord Deputy of Ireland, was one of the Mainwarings of Peover, in Cheshire. He figures in the well-known portrait by Van Dyck, of "Strafford and his Secretary," of which one version is there preserved. Sir Philip Mainwaring died in 1661.

created Earl of Northampton¹. The following letter shows how friendly was the tone that subsisted between them. The allusions to Lord Northampton's son, possibly indicate that, in the custom of the day, the youth was at this period being "educated" in Lord Arundel's house.

The Earl of Northampton to the Earl of Arundel.

My most noble Lo:

Pardon mee yf I doe rather conceyve then expresse at large howe welcome youre lopps. letters are unto mee. I am sorry that the Picture w^{ch} I will not, no, w^{ch} I shall not forgett, is nott worthy to be presented unto you, which the very feare thereof mad mee I durst never see it since it pleased you to comānd it. Butt y^r comānds shall be obeyed.

I perceyve that the fier of the Banqueting house will make a smoke in the Starre Chamber w^h is almost as strange as the Blasing Starre. God keepe Phaeton oute of the Charriotte. Butt nether fier nor water can make me forgett y^r loppe, and therefor I have sente unto S^r Rychard aboute the writings.

I am bond unto y^r lo^{pp}e for my son, hoping he will alle so doe you or y^{rs} som service. I must confesse my harte is with you, but howe to comasse my personall apparance I knowe no more then I doe the meaning of y^r Pill... Butt I thanke God I have my health well, and will take no more Physicke awhile.

I have written unto my Sonne according unto y^r lopps advise, who shall follow that Corse; and in his absence, I wille.

y^r lopps fayfull kinsman and servant

W: NORTHAMPTON.

...Castell,

the 27 of Jn. 1618 [1619]².

On the 2nd March, the Queen, whose health had long been failing, died of dropsy at Hampton Court. As so often happens after protracted illness, the end at last came suddenly; and the King, who was himself unwell, was away at Newmarket. Prince Charles hastened to his mother's bedside on the day preceding her demise, when the alarm became general.

Meanwhile, great anxiety was felt about the King; which was increased by a violent return of his illness (stone) in the latter

¹ See *ante*, p. 141, for his creation at Salisbury. As was then customary, Lord Compton was given a title recently become extinct in another family (by the death of Arundel's great-uncle, Henry, Lord Northampton). His grandfather, Peter Compton, had married a Talbot, while his half-brother, Sir Henry Compton, was the husband of Arundel's first cousin, Cecily, daughter of Lady Margaret Sackville (see *ante*, p. 12). Hence Lord Northampton's claim of kinship.

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 237. "Loppe" is, of course, an abbreviation for "Lordship." The name of the Castle is illegible. The "Blasing Starre" was a comet, which had excited much attention towards the end of 1618.

part of March. The lords of the Council, who had been attending the service at Paul's Cross for Accession Day, hurried to join him. So grave was his case considered that Prince Charles was sent for. He met the King, weak and ill, on the way from Newmarket to Royston. How serious the state of things still was, is shown by a letter Lord Arundel wrote to his wife, from the last-named place. Its troubled accents reveal the deep affection he entertained towards his royal master.

The Earl of Arundel to the Countess of Arundel.

My deereſt Harte

I thanke y^u for y^r twoe letters. I wrote unto y^u on Wednesday night, that wee hoped his M^{tie} was paſte all danger. That night, after he had not ſoe good reſt as wee hoped for, and yeſterday, he was prettely well. This night, in the beginninge he tooke good ſleepes and was very comfortable after his wakeinge. But this morning he is ſomewhat trobled wth the vapors, w^{ch} fly into his heade more than wee coulde wiſh. . . His pulſe is good, though he is inwardly ſomewhat hotte, as he cannot chooſe, beinge ſoe empty and eatinge ſoe little. I come [but] nowe from wachinge above this night; I hope in Jeſus this day and night to come, will confirme his amendment wth gaininge continuall ſtrength, w^{ch} wth my very harte, I hope and pray for, wherein I am ſure wee have the concurrence of y^u and all good people.

I have forgotten many thinges I ſhould have donne at London, but this deſire to ſee the kinge well, putts all out of my heade.

Soe wth my deareſt love and heartieſt prayers for all happineſſe to us all, I ever remayne

y^r moſt faithfull lovinge huſbande

T. ARUNDELL.

Royston, Good Friday morninge [March 26th] at 6 of the clocke, 1619¹.

The King felt ſo ſtrongly the uncertainty of his condition that he addreſſed Prince Charles before the aſſembled lords; commending to him eſpecially the Duke of Lennox, Lord Pembroke, Lord Arundel, and one or two others; but above all Buckingham and Hamilton. He further gave the Prince charge concerning religion, and urged upon him reſpect for the Biſhops.

Happily the danger paſſed and the King recovered. Before the beginning of April, a public Thankſgiving Service was held at Paul's Cross before a crowded congregation. The Lord Mayor and City Companies attended in ſtate, as well as the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, many other Biſhops, and nearly all the members of the Privy Council. The King himſelf was not ſufficiently recovered to be preſent. Ten days later, however, he was ſtrong enough to be

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Caſtle, No. 238.

carried from Royston to Ware, resting there two nights on his way to Theobalds.

On the 1st May, a special Ambassador, the Marquis de Tremouilles, arrived in England with great pomp and numerous retinue, from the King of France. The following day, Lord Arundel was deputed to call upon him, on behalf of King James.

The Earl of Arundel to the Countess of Arundel.

My dearest Harte

The King commandes me resolutely, that I must goe tomorrowe to visite the French Ambassador from him, and therefore I pray y^u that I may have y^r black coach wth foure horses meete me at the feilde nexte to the turninge out of the High way, that I may goe in it to see him expressly from thence, and come home afterwarde. I pray let Francesco, Rooke-wood, and Windham¹ meete me there to goe alonge, and bee in blacke clothes, as likewise all the footmen. If Sr Thomas Somerset would meete me there I shoulde be gladd, for I would have none but him to goe wth me. I will be there betwixte one and twoe of the clocke.

Tomorrowe night my Lo: of Buckingham comes to London.

So wth my deerest love and hartiest prayers I ever rest

y^r most faithfull lovinge husbände

T. ARUNDELL.

Theobaldes, Saterday night, 1 May, 1619².

The much deferred funeral of the late Queen at last took place. On the 13th May, her remains were conveyed to Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster. The procession was of immense length, nearly all the ladies and gentlemen of the Court taking part in it. In addition to the Queen's Household, no fewer than 27 barons, 8 bishops, 3 viscounts, 11 earls, the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other great dignitaries, preceded the coffin, immediately before which walked the Prince of Wales. Lord Arundel was one of six "Assistants to the Body," as they were strangely called, whose place was on either side of the hearse. Twelve knights or baronets bore the Canopy, a similar number held the Bannerolles of Denmark and other northern states, ten others, all of noble degree, carried the body.

The central figure of the great ceremony was Lady Arundel, who occupied the position of Chief Mourner for the Queen whose constant friend and companion she had been in life. She was supported, right and left, by the Duke of Lennox and Lord Worcester (Lord Privy Seal); while her train was borne by Lady Derby and

¹ Gentlemen who were in his service. It will be remembered that the Court was in deep mourning for the Queen.

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 239.

Lady Sussex, assisted by Lord Carew, Queen Anne's Vice-Chamberlain. Numerous groups of other ladies, each ranged according to rank, completed the long procession.

On arriving at the Chapel, the proceedings opened by a ceremonious presentation of alms. "The Chiefe Mourner offered first for the defunct, supported by the Lord Privy Seale and the Duke of Lennox, and the Ladye's Assistants followed; her trayne borne; her Officers, the Steward, Chamberlayne, Treasurer, Countroller, Gentlemen-huishers, attending; going round about the hearse, Garter preceding; and so returned to hir place." The Prince was the next to offer, having done which, he received the various banners, and was escorted by Garter back to his "pue." The Principal Mourner now offered again, this time going up alone. It would seem, curiously, that in her first offering she was acting on behalf of, or as the representative of, the deceased Queen; hence taking precedence even of the Prince. The remainder of the mourners were now brought up, each in turn, by the Heralds, after which the funeral rite was completed. These formal offerings appear to have constituted the main part of the ceremonial observed. At any rate, the old account from which the foregoing details are taken¹ makes no mention of any religious service except the Blessing pronounced at the end by the Dean of Westminster.

The unfortunate ladies had walked in the procession all the way from Somerset House (then called Denmark House) to the Abbey, staggering beneath the weight of their clothes; "every Lady having twelve yards of broad cloth about her, and the Countesses sixteen!"²

The differences between the factions at Court appear to have been particularly acute at this period; since we are told that in June the King ordered all the Privy Councillors to receive the Sacrament together at Greenwich, in order to promote amity between them.

Startling events were now taking place at the Venetian embassy in London. Since his repeated visits to the territories of the Republic, Lord Arundel had entertained close relations with the representatives of Venice in England. Barbarigo, who had been appointed by the Doge to act as his guide at Venice, had unfortunately died during his subsequent mission to this country. He was succeeded by Contarini; at the expiration of whose term of office Antonio Donato was appointed. Donato's coming was delayed by important work in

¹ Nichols, *Prog. James I*, Vol. III, pp. 538-543. Another account speaks of a sermon to be preached by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Whether it came off does not appear.

² Mr Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, quoted by Nichols, *loc. cit.* p. 546.

Savoy, where he was ambassador at the Ducal Court. Savoy was, like England, closely allied at this time with Venice. Finally he arrived in London early in November, 1618. The King, in conversation with Lord Arundel and Sir John Digby, at first spoke disparagingly of his extreme youth for such a post. The envoy counted indeed but twenty-three or twenty-four years. Donato was, however, a man of brilliant parts. The King's hesitating opinion was quickly converted into warm liking, which was shared by the whole Court, and by none more than by Lord Arundel. What, therefore, was the consternation when, dropping like a bomb into the ever-widening circle of Donato's friends, despatches arrived from Venice announcing his complete disgrace!

Early in the year, the Duke of Savoy had accused the Ambassador, to the Doge and Senate, of having embezzled large sums of public money while at the court of Turin. The Venetian Government had complete trust in the integrity of their representative. They immediately ordered an enquiry, and informed Donato of what had occurred. He at once asked leave to return and clear himself. This was granted in the most friendly terms (April, 1619). He proceeded to Venice, where he ably defended himself. In the course of the enquiry, he heard that fresh evidence was about to be brought against him. Not daring to await its production, he hurried back to England, where he arrived almost simultaneously with the despatches containing his sentence. Of the nature of that sentence, the reader shall judge for himself.

That Antonio Donato, son of Nicolo, be deprived of the office of Ambassador in England, of his nobility, and that his name be deleted from the books of the Avogaria di Comun, and that he be banished from Venice and her dominions for ever, and if he is taken he shall be hanged between the columns of St Mark, with a reward of 3000 ducats to whoever takes him in Venetian territory, and 4000 ducats outside. He may never be released from this banishment or receive any pardon or remission of his sentence even at the instance of princes except from a unanimous vote of the Councillors and chiefs of our Collegio. His release may not be mentioned for twenty years. All his goods of whatever kind and wherever they may be shall be applied to our treasury as trust property during his life and for ten years after his death. The above sentence shall be published at the first meeting of the Great Council and at St Marks and the Rialto, also on every first Sunday in Lent during his life¹.

The family of Donato was of high standing in Venice; in recent times it had given a Doge to the Republic. The culprit was young, accomplished and generally popular. Yet the edict could hardly

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, Vol. xv, 1617-1619, p. 562. Venetian Archives, 20th June, 1619.

have been more severe. The Venetian State was stung to the quick by the disgrace of their representative. From the climax of prosperity Donato was flung to the lowest depths of degradation.

Early in July, the news reached the English Court, where the cause of Donato's leave of absence had not previously been known. The Venetian Government peremptorily demanded that the King of England should at once seize the house occupied by the unfortunate man, with all its contents. They feared his having time to convert the property into money and get away. Marioni, the Venetian Secretary in London, acting upon orders from Venice, rushed down to Greenwich immediately on receiving the fatal despatch, to beg an audience of the King. Donato, starting for the same goal, changed his intention, and going straight to Arundel House, learned from Lord Arundel's Italian secretary, Francesco Vercellini, that Buckingham, Pembroke and Arundel were at that moment assembled there¹. Laying his story before them, he implored their assistance. They at once set off to Greenwich, arriving there shortly before Marioni. James was out hunting; but on his return the Venetian Secretary obtained his audience, through the mediation of Lord Arundel. The King was deeply distressed at the intelligence conveyed to him. He spoke of Donato in terms of warm affection; and declared himself unable to take any step in so serious a matter without consulting the Council. In vain Marioni pleaded urgency. James intimated that his reply had been given: the Council must be consulted. He then got up and left his seat. Buckingham and Arundel stood by during the conversation, the latter acting as interpreter. Marioni returned to London.

After midnight, when he was in bed, a messenger came from Arundel House to say the King had desired Lord Arundel to write to Secretary Naunton to have an inventory made next morning of all the goods in Donato's house, where everything was to be carefully sealed up. Arundel was further instructed to invite Marioni to be present when this was done. Marioni, thinking his point was gained, hurried off to Naunton early next morning. Naunton was then, in his turn, in bed! The orders had, however, been sent out some hours previously; and Marioni, on reaching Donato's house, found the work nearly finished.

Meanwhile the Council was called, and James acquainted them with the step taken to appease the Republic, and with a memorial received from Donato. In it the condemned man set forth the

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, Vol. XVI, 1619-1621, p. 81. Girolamo Lando, Venetian Ambassador in England to the Doge and Senate, 20th December, 1619.

Most of the details given in this narrative are derived from this series of State Papers.

terrible position in which he would be placed if everything were taken from him. He earnestly pleaded for mercy, and for the release of his goods. Political wisdom no doubt dictated some regard for the request of the Venetian Republic. Moreover, the personal sympathies of the Council were all on the side of a man they liked and admired, and whose treatment by his Government, even though he were guilty, they regarded as greatly exceeding the demands of justice. They decided to take no further steps before having seen Marioni; and invited him to attend their meeting on the following day.

The Venetian Secretary found the Archbishop of Canterbury (George Abbot) and eleven others seated round a table. The Archbishop was spokesman. They quite saw, he said, the wishes of the Republic, but Donato was to be pitied also: he had lost all his possessions in the Venetian dominions and, unless he could sell his goods in England, was powerless even to send his servants back to Italy, which was but right. If there was anything in Donato's house which belonged to the Republic, it should be confiscated at once; but the laws of England provided that private property must go free. Marioni was greatly disturbed by the decision. He argued the point at some length, declaring the refusal would give great offence to the Doge. Lord Arundel remarked in Italian, that His Serenity would have no cause for offence, as he would understand their reasons, since laws admit of no question; whenever they could do a service to His Serenity they would never fail, but in this matter they regretted they could not do otherwise. With this all rose; and Marioni felt himself dismissed. Before the end of the month Donato's property was liberated.

Thus he was able to effect the desired sale. Lord Arundel became the purchaser of the chapel furniture, which comprised, amongst other items, four candlesticks, a silver cross, a chalice and a holy water stoup. He also bought a small quantity of wine; his whole expenditure amounting to about £200¹.

The King, and other friends, continued to treat Donato with marked kindness. He took a small house of his own, kept liveried servants, dressed himself fashionably, wore a sword, and carried off his unfortunate position with bravado. Indeed, Naunton had to advise him to live more quietly. The Republic, however, continued to press for more drastic measures; and his guilt being now proved beyond dispute, it was impossible for the King wholly to resist their demands. Donato was therefore forbidden to approach within five miles of London. He went to live at Putney. Here he incurred

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, Vol. XVI, 1619-1621, pp. 82 and 91. It will be remembered that Lord Arundel's wife and mother were both Roman Catholics.

reprimands and penalties for breaking regulations; and, feeling his position in England was becoming untenable, he applied for a licence to leave the country. He betook himself to France, where our concern with him ends.

It is curious to note that, both in England and in Italy, every appraisal of his guilt was measured, not by the fact of embezzlement, but by the amount embezzled. The Ambassador of Savoy, in the original communication to the Doge and Senate, remarked that "if it had been merely a question of 10,000 or 20,000 ducats, the Duke would have said nothing; but a matter of 101,000 ducats required notice." Donato himself owned to no more than 17,000 ducats, which King James considered a trifle, declaring that if he were to punish every misappropriation of money in the manner of the Doge of Venice, he would have no subjects left! A cynical reflection on the laxity of the age. Happily there were still some who kept the shield of honour untarnished.

One more episode of this eventful year deserves notice. It has a certain bearing upon the events we chronicle in the next chapter concerning the education of Lord Arundel's sons. It is the presence of Lord Arundel, on September 13th, on the occasion of the foundation of Dulwich College. The distinguished witnesses of this important action were the Lord Chancellor Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam; Lord Arundel; the Lord Lieutenant of Surrey, Sir Edward Cecil¹, afterwards Viscount Wimbledon; the High Sheriff of the County, Sir John Howland; and four of the chief magistrates of the County. With them were Inigo Jones, then Surveyor-General, and several other notable persons, and in the presence of this distinguished gathering Edward Alleyn read and signed the deed which created this famous educational trust, sealed it with his signet ring, which may still be seen in the Picture Gallery of the College, and then desired these great personages to affix their names and seals as witnesses to the inauguration.

It is said that Alleyn entertained them all to dinner thereafter and that a further meeting of the same witnesses took place on 24th April, 1620, when the lands and buildings were actually conveyed to the College, but of these there is no certainty. To Arundel, however, a religious man and one deeply interested in education, this foundation of the College of God's gift must have been an event of first importance little though he could foresee the far-reaching consequences of the action he had witnessed or the enormously valuable advantages to future generations that were to flow from the simple action of Edward Alleyn the King's Player.

¹ See note on page 162.

CHAPTER XIII.

LORD ARUNDEL'S TWO ELDER SONS SENT TO PADUA UNIVERSITY. EVENTS AT HOME.

1619—1620.

THE King was now starting on a progress, the ultimate point of which was a visit to Rufford Abbey. A number of other houses, in various counties, formed stepping-stones on the way there and back. Lord Arundel, as usual, accompanied the royal journey. There was a project on foot, amongst the Privy Councillors in attendance, to make a flight into Scotland with the Duke of Lennox and Lord Hamilton¹, during the King's sojourn with Sir George Savile. The plan came almost to nothing. So far as Arundel was concerned, his thoughts must have turned southwards to his home, rather than to any excursion further north. He was arranging to send his two elder sons, James, Lord Maltravers, and Henry Frederick, under the care of Mr Thomas Coke, and of their tutor, Mr Tunstall; to study at the University of Padua. They were now of an age, according to the ideas of the time, to profit by such a proceeding; being respectively twelve and eleven years old. The two boys, with their escort, must have started in the first half of September, soon after Lord Arundel's return from the north. In October they were at Venice, about to move on to Padua, where a house had been taken and some of their servants established. A request had been proffered by the Doge and Senate of Venice to the Rector of the University of Padua, to show every attention to Lord Arundel's sons².

Amidst these varied preoccupations, Lord Arundel was not unmindful of the interests of his collection, as the following letters show.

The Earl of Arundel to Sir Dudley Carleton.

My Lord:

I have received from y^r L^p a very fine Bason of Stone wth an Ewer alla Anticha, for w^{ch} I must give y^u very many thanks and am sorry y^u

¹ James, second Marquess of Hamilton, was born in 1589, and was a great favourite with King James. He was a Privy Councillor of Scotland and of England, and in 1624 was made Lord Steward of the Household. He was a member of the Council for the Colony of New England. Associated with the Court almost from the time of the accession of King James to the English throne, he was accounted "the flower" of the Scottish nation. In 1623 he became a Knight of the Garter. He died in 1625.

² *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, Vol. xvi, pp. 34 and 37. 25th and 30th October, 1619.

remember me soe much to y^r chardge; I heare likewise, by many wayes, howe carefull yo^r Lo^p is to satisfy my foolish curiosity in coquing for the peeces of Holbica. For the other little thinges, w^{ch} I entreated S^r Edward Cecill¹ to informe him selfe of, I thought it unmanerly to distracte y^r Serious affayres w^{ch} them, and besides y^r Lo^p soe apprehends all occasions to forerunne my desires as I shoulde rather wish to be able to deserve some of y^r olde favors then leade yⁿ w^{ch} newe trobles.

Soe w^{ch} my service to y^r selfe and y^r worthy Lady and my best wishes I ever reste

Y^or Lo^p^s

most affectionate friend to comãde,

T. ARUNDELL.

Arundell House, September 17, 1619².

The Earl of Arundel to the Countess of Arundel.

My dearest Harte

Bryan goinge to London I could not but comende my dearest love unto yⁿ, and let yⁿ knowe (God be thanked) wee are all well heere.

I have not seene Sig^r Gatti. If he goe before I come, I pray let him have some 50 or 60 crownes; he will be serviceable to y^r children in all theyre occurrentes, at Venice.

Daniell the harper begged somewhat of me, I pray bidde Griffin the Taylor give him some cloth for a cloake, and if neede be give him some little mony.

I desire the workes shoulde goe on at Arundell House apace, for the terme drawes on apace. On Thursday night the Kinge lyes at London and goes to Hampton Court on Friday.

Soe w^{ch} my hartiest prayers and dearest love, I remayne ever,

y^r most faithfull lovinge husbunde

T. ARUNDELL.

Theobaldes, Monday [September 20th, 1619³.]

To my Deere wife the Countesse of Arundell at Arundell House in London.

The Same to the Same.

My Dearest Harte

I forgatte to write unto yⁿ this day by Mr Bryan, that the Grey-houndes the children left at Arundell House, might be kept w^{ch} care, for me to use at Hampton Courte. I shall have my Lady of Derbyes

¹ Sir Edward Cecil, later Viscount Wimbledon, was the third son of the first Earl of Exeter. He was born in 1572. As a general he was one of the most noted leaders of his day. At sea he was less successful, as was proved by the failure of the Spanish expedition of 1625. At an earlier date, his valour in the Netherlands earned him widespread reputation. He died in 1638. See also p. 160.

² Sainsbury, *Original Papers relating to Rubens*, p. 279 (original in Public Record Office).

³ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 205. It is there classified "About 1615," and placed under that year. Internal evidence proves however, that it was written on Monday, 20th Sept., 1619.

lodginge, and coulde wish some body sawe it, to have the clerke of the workes mende what is amisse.

I desire yⁿ woulde presently, by some meanes knowe what Sr Tho. Roe¹ hath brought, of Antiquities, Goddes, vases, inscriptions, Medalles, or such like. I thinke Sr Robert Cotton, or Mr Dikes, were fitte to gette them. I wish it were done before Friday, for I feare my lord Chamberlayne, and nowe I thinke they might easily be had.

For flowers, I sent yⁿ worde M^{rs} Smith, whose Garden wee sawe at Moore Feildes, knowes whoe hath the best.

Soe wth my hartiest prayers unto Almighty God for all happinesse to us, and o^r sweete little knaves, and my deerest love to yⁿ, I rest ever

y^r most faithfull lovinge husbande

T. ARUNDELL.

Theobaldes, Monday [September 20th, 1619.]

To my Deere wife the Countesse of Arundell at Arundell House in London².

It will be observed that the two last letters were written on the same day. The Signor Gatti mentioned in the earlier of the two, was a priest. He had been chaplain to the Venetian embassy during Donato's tenure of office. On the disgrace of his chief, he was peremptorily summoned to return to Venice. No sort of blame attached itself to his career. Apparently the recall merely expressed the desire of the Venetian government that no one connected with Donato should remain at the embassy in London; a desire probably emphasized by the chaplain's known attachment to the fallen ambassador. His departure, to which Lord Arundel refers, had been delayed from day to day by various circumstances; and it was finally October before he left England. He arrived at Venice in December.

Alessandro Gatti was a man of some literary pretensions, and

¹ Sir Thomas Roe, born about 1581 at Low Leyton, Essex, was the grandson of a Lord Mayor of London. He was knighted by King James, and was a special favourite with Henry, Prince of Wales, and his sister Elizabeth, who addressed him in her letters as "Honest Thom." Prince Henry sent him on a voyage of discovery to the Amazon and Orinoco; and, in 1614, he was appointed by the King, Ambassador Extraordinary at the Court of the Great Mogul. He returned from this mission September, 1619. Two years later he was sent as resident Ambassador to the Porte, where he remained till 1628. During his stay at Constantinople, both Lord Arundel and the Duke of Buckingham employed him to collect antiquities on their behalf, or obtain permits for their agents to do so. Voluminous correspondence has been preserved, some extracts from which will presently be given. Roe again returned to England in 1630. Further public appointments and some honours, though little money, fell to his share. He died in 1644. Roe was one of the most capable and distinguished ambassadors of his time.

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 241. Michaelis (*Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, etc., pp. 19-20, and note 27, p. 20) is mistaken in attributing this letter to the year 1629. The evidence which proves conclusively that it belongs to 1619 is given above, in the text, and in the letter (No. 205) immediately preceding it. Tierney (*Hist. of Arundel*, p. 435) and the compiler of the series of Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, thus place it rightly.

had just completed a book which, in September, he presented to the King. The subject was a curious one for a priest: *La Caccia, poema heroico, nel qual si tratta pienamente della natura e degli affetti d'ogni sorte di fiera, col modo di cacciarli e prenderli*¹. The King's well-known predilection for hunting doubtless inspired the choice. The author received for his pains, if contemporary gossip may be trusted, "50 Jacobus, equivalent to 184 crowns," from the King. "In addition," continues our informant, the new Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Lando, "I hear that he took with him to Venice many gifts made to him at his departure by ladies and cavaliers, and in particular by the wife of the Earl of Arundel, who gave him 20 Jacobus (about 74 crowns)." So Lord Arundel's suggestion did not pass unheeded.

Since his return from the progress, King James had been hovering between the various royal residences within easy range of the capital. On Sunday, the 19th September, he was at Theobalds; on Thursday, the 23rd, he slept one night at Whitehall on his way to Hampton Court, where he arrived the next day. Here Sir Thomas Roe had been summoned to his first audience since his embassy to the Great Mogul: and this was the meeting at which Lord Arundel dreaded the competition of the Lord Chamberlain. Whether Roe's curiosities proved suitable, on investigation, does not transpire. Some account of the presents brought from the Mogul to the King is preserved by the indefatigable pen of Mr Chamberlain.

The King, he says, was here yesterday at Whitehall, but is now gone to Theobalds. He came from Hampton Court, where Sir Thomas Roe presented him with two antilopes, a strange and beautiful kind of red deer; a rich tent, rare carpets, certain umbrellas and such like trinkets, from the Great Mogul².

Another letter written ten days later shows Lord Arundel about to acquire a portrait of Charles V, probably procured for him in Spain.

The Earl of Arundel to the Countess of Arundel.

My dearest Hart

I am exceeding sorry I forgatte to write this weeke to the children, I pray let some body doe it, if it be not too late.

My lady of Buckingham³ will be at my lo: of Montgomeries tomorowe night, and stay there till Monday; and therefore y^u may have that time at Highgate if y^u please.

¹ "The Chase: an heroic poem in which is fully treated the nature and disposition of all kinds of wild beasts, with the manner of hunting and taking them."

² Mr Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, 2nd Oct., 1619. Quoted by Nichols, *Prog. of James I*, Vol. III, p. 568.

³ Buckingham's mother; created a Countess for life in 1618.

I pray sende to one that is Mr Cottingtons Agente that he sende the picture of Charles the Fifte¹, w^{ch} he tolde me this day he had, to Arundell House, and let it be hanged up in the Gallery ende chamber before I come on Monday. The Gentlemans name I thinke is Stafforde², and dwelles as I remember in Holborne. They know at S^r Clemente Edmondes³ the Clerke of the Counsailes house, where he is to be founde.

I pray farther o^r workes at Arundell House as much as y^u may. I gave Rookewood at Hampton Courte tenne peeces to pay for Horsemeate, w^{ch} was the last penny I had, and therefore I pray sende me some little monye.

Sig^r Burlomachi wth some others come *ore tenus* to be censured at y^e Starre chamber on Wednesday come sevensnight, and therefore I pray bespeake y^r place there early.

Soe wth my hartiest prayers and deerest love I ever rest

y^r most faithfull lovinge husband

T. ARUNDELL.

Theob^s Friday 1^o 8^{ber} 1619.

I pray sende my letter to my lo: Digby as soone as y^u shall herewithall receive it, to his Agente in Pater Noster Rowe, at the Amen⁴.

The Burrlamachi mentioned in this letter and elsewhere, was an Italian merchant and money-lender in London. This man acted as financial agent to most of the distinguished English travellers of his time. He advanced funds, placed his clients in communication with his correspondents abroad, and procured for them what was needed for the further prosecution of their journeys. He transmitted to the Princess Palatine the allowance made to her by King James, and was much employed in similar transactions by persons of mark in England. Burrlamachi and other foreign merchants were now accused of having secretly combined to export large consignments of gold from England to the Continent. They were said to have added to this offence that of endeavouring by bribery to induce certain witnesses to retract evidence given against them. The latter point was the special subject of the investigation held in the Star Chamber, to which Lord Arundel alludes.

The enquiry resulted in the imposition of heavy fines on the chief delinquents. Burrlamachi came off more lightly than some of his fellows. His fault was said to have arisen from indiscretion; and many persons present to whom he had been of service in the past spoke good words for him. Amongst these Lord Arundel is specially mentioned. The case dragged on, however, some time. Fresh

¹ See Appendix v (Portraits: Painters unnamed).

² Cottington was related to the Stafford family.

³ Sir Clement Edmondes was a native of Shropshire. It is doubtful whether he was connected with his contemporary, Sir Thomas Edmondes.

⁴ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 240.

accusations were brought forward, and at the end of some months Burrlamachi was glad to compound the affair by a payment of £10,000 in cash. It does not seem clear, however, that this sum was ever enforced in full. Later he received a general pardon, and after a short term of banishment from England resumed his usual avocations¹. His descendants still reside in Florence and one of them became a Marquis.

Early in 1620 an incident occurred which might well have had serious results. On the 12th March, Count Gondemar, newly arrived from Spain, was about to be introduced by Lord Arundel to the King's presence at Whitehall, when the throng on a ruinous wooden terrace connecting two parts of the building proved too great for its stability, and it suddenly collapsed. Lord Arundel, Lord Grey and Lord Gerard were precipitated amongst the wreckage, but fortunately were not seriously hurt. The ambassador himself, stayed in his fall by some of his servants, was quite uninjured, and with ready self-possession, entered the King's presence with a jest on the adventure². It was afterwards said that His Majesty disliked the mishap to be spoken of: regarding it as an ill omen for the marriage on which he had set his heart. Indeed, for those who believed in omens, it proved to be one.

Meanwhile the Commission, appointed for the improvement of buildings in London, was not idle. Two important points were now occupying the attention of Lord Arundel and his colleagues; the progress of the new Banqueting House at Whitehall, and the repair of St Paul's Cathedral. To further the latter aim, the King went in state to a service held at the Cathedral on the 26th March, at which the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and all the Court functionaries assisted. At the conclusion of the service, the King was solemnly conducted to a place prepared for him by Paul's Cross, which stood in the north-east corner of the Churchyard. Here the Bishop of London (Dr King) preached the sermon on a text selected for him by His Majesty as appropriate to the purpose in hand³!

Shortly afterwards, the scope of the Commission was enlarged and its number increased to sixty-six members. Their first pro-

¹ Allusions to Burrlamachi will be found in the State Papers, in Chamberlain's letters to Carleton, in Mrs Everett-Green's *Life of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia*, and in many other places. Burrlamachi was again in trouble at a later date, for irregularities in connection with the Queen of Bohemia's allowance, for which, however, he does not seem to have been wholly to blame.

² *Finetti Philoxenis*, p. 63.

³ Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, Vol. IV, p. 602. "Thou shalt arise and have mercy upon Zion: for the time to favour hir, yea, the set time, is come. For thy servants take pleasure in hir stones, and favour the dust thereof" (Ps. cii, 13-14).

ceeding was to order the demolition of all the houses round the fabric of St Paul's. As this was an operation which, however desirable in itself, would deprive some two thousand persons of their homes, it was naturally not popular, and the work proceeded but slowly.

Arundel's time was becoming more and more engrossed by public business. The establishment of the Colony of New England in the course of this year was an event of first-rate importance, in which he took his full share. The patent was issued early in the month of November. The Council then appointed for the plantation and government of the new Colony, included the names of the Duke of Lennox, the Marquesses of Buckingham and Hamilton, and the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, Southampton and Salisbury¹.

Nor must it be forgotten that in this year, 1620, the Pilgrim Fathers set sail in the "Mayflower"; and that it was in the territory assigned to the Colony of New England that they ultimately landed and founded New Plymouth. Originally intending to settle in Virginia, they had obtained a charter from that Company. Changing their course in a northerly direction, and arriving in November at Cape Cod, they had to seek a fresh charter from the Council of the newly-formed plantation. Thus curiously does Lord Arundel become associated with the fortunes of that memorable ship's company.

His keen and practical interest in the colonisation of this part of America is vividly suggested by a letter addressed to him some years later by Mr David Thomson, who was officially employed by the Council for New England to make certain enquiries on the spot. This letter gives a lively picture of the dangers and difficulties which beset the path of the early settlers, and of the lawlessness by which they were surrounded. It will be found printed *in extenso* in the Appendix²; where it deserves a place both for its intrinsic interest, and as an illustration of a very conspicuous branch of Lord Arundel's activities.

In addition to these manifold occupations, Arundel's devotion to the King, since the severe illness of the latter, had absorbed more and more of his time. He was now almost constantly in attendance; and it must have been difficult to yield all that was required of him at Court, and to satisfy the claims of the home that was so dear to him³. For Lady Arundel, this period was probably one of some

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*, Vol. 1, 1574-1660, pp. 24-25.

² See Appendix VII, Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 275. Letter of David Thomson to the Earl of Arundel, from Plymesland in New England, 1st July, 1625.

³ In January of this year (1620) when Lando had wished to see him about the Donato affair, Arundel excused the delay in making an appointment by saying "that he was always with the King, whom he could not leave without great difficulty" (*State Papers, Venice*, Vol. xvi, p. 120).

loneliness. The death of the Queen had deprived her of her occupation at Court. Her two elder sons were absent in Italy; the third, William, was about to be placed under the care of Bishop Harsnet at Norwich; the youngest child, Charles, a boy of tender years, who had been given wholly into the charge of his grandmother, the elder Lady Arundel, died in February, 1620¹. The time seemed propitious for a journey abroad. Lord Arundel's most earnest wish had been to accompany his wife to those lands of delight they had once trodden together², and especially to visit his much-loved sons at Padua. But his duties with the King now rendered impossible even the brief absence he had contemplated; and, doubtless with a heavy heart, he arranged for Lady Arundel to undertake the journey without him. It was decided that she should start in June. The baths of Spa were to be her first point; after which she was to bend her steps southwards to accomplish the most cherished part of the design, a sojourn near the young students in Italy.

Before accompanying her flight across the Channel, a few letters and events remain to be recorded.

Inigo Jones to the Earl of Arundel.

Right Ho^{ble}

In my Jorney to London, I went to Ha[mpton] Courte, where I hearde that the Spanish Imbassador cam to Kingston, and sente his Stewarde to Ha: Courte, who looked on the loginges intended for the Imbassador, which were in Mr Hugines his roomes. But the Stewarde utterly dislyked thos roomes, sainge that the Imbassador wold not lye but in the howse; besides ther was no furnitur in thos roomes, of bedding or otherwyse, nether for the Imbassador or his followers. So the stewarde retorning to his lorde, he resolved only to hunt in the parke, and so retourne. But the Keeper answered, he might not suffer that, he having received no order for it. So the Imbassador went bake discontented, having had sum smaull sporte in the warine. But since, my lo: of Notinghã, hering of this, sent to the Imbassador to excuse the matter, w^{ch} the Imbassador took verely well; and promised to cõ and lie at Ha: Courte before his Ma^s: Retturne. But, in my Opinion, the fault was chifly in the Imbassador, in not sending a day or two before, to see how he was provided for, and give notice what wold please him.

Wee have satt on the coñsiõ (Commission) for buildinges on Monday last, to put in mynde thos w^h ar bond by recognisance, or otherwyse, to conforme.

¹ The authority on which this statement rests (*Vincent's Discoveries*) gives the date as 1619, which has been repeated by subsequent writers. But Vincent probably used the old style, in which case 1620 is the correct date by modern reckoning.

² *State Papers, Venice*, Vol. xvi, p. 120. Lando to the Doge and Senate, 12th January, 1619 (1620).

The plan of all the incroachments about Paules is fully finished. I heare that the measons do begin to mak up that part of the East end w^{ch} they have demolished, not well, but with uneven courses of stone. I am now going to the m^r (master) of the wardes to tell him of it.

Mr William¹ was verry merry at his departure, and the bushop and he ar the greatest frends that may be.

After my departure frō London, many of the masons went away wthout leave, but since some of thē ar returned; and for the rest, if your lo^p do shewe some exemplary punishment, causing them to be sent up as malefactors, it will detter the rest frō ever doing the lyke.

The Banqueting-house goith on now well, though the going of the masons away have byne a great hinderance to it.

Thus with my humbell dutye I rest

Your Honors ever to be Commanded

INIGO JONES.

y^e 17 of August, 1620.

To the Right Ho^ble the Earle of Arundell and Surre, of His Ma^s most Ho^ble Privi Councell².

Unfortunately a fragment only of the instructions given by Lord Arundel to his son, when placing him in the care of the Bishop of Norwich, has been preserved. Fiddes, through whom the wording has been preserved³, states that the original document was written on parchment in Lord Arundel's own hand; and that, in his day, it was in the possession of the Earl of Stafford, grandson of the youth to whom the instructions were addressed. Presumably, therefore, it was once at Costessy; but research amongst the Costessy papers has failed to throw any light on the subject. Brief as the fragment is, it is worth reproduction.

Instructions for you, my son William, how to behave yourself at Norwich.

. . . You shall in all things reverence, honour and obey my Lord Bishop of Norwich, as you would do any of your parents, esteeming whatsoever He shall tell or Command you, as if your Grandmother of Arundell, your Mother, or my self, should say it; and in all things esteem your self as

¹ Lord Arundel's son, whom the Bishop of Norwich apparently came to fetch away. Inigo was, it would seem, lodged at Arundel House.

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 245.

³ Fiddes, *Life of Wolsey*, London, 1724.—*Collections*, Book I, p. 23. Occasional remarks on the ancient Method of Educating young Noblemen in the Families of Bishops.—In speaking of the Instructions, Fiddes observes that "though they seem to be the product of his (Lord Arundel's) first thoughts, yet such an excellent vein of piety and good sense does spread through them, as may be sufficient to remove those prejudices which some persons have possibly entertained to the disadvantage of that great Peer, on Occasion of the Character given him by the Earl of Clarendon; wherein this noble Historian does not appear to have spoken with that Impartiality, or to have taken the requisite Care to inform himself, which he has discover'd in other parts of his History."

my Lord's Page; a breeding, which youths of my house far superior to you were accustomed unto, as my Grandfather of Norfolk, and his brother, my good Uncle of Northampton, who were both bred as Pages with Bishoppes. . . etc.

It was during his sojourn at Norwich under the care of Bishop Harsnet, that William Howard was first brought into contact with Henry Peacham¹, who, in 1622, published and dedicated to his pupil, his treatise of the *Compleat Gentleman*. Peacham himself describes his introduction to young Howard as follows: "...since it was my good hap to enjoy your acquaintance, and to spend some hours with you at your Booke in Norwich; where at this present you have your education under the Reverent, Religious, and my Honorable good Lord, the now Lord Bishop of Norwich². . . ." It has been inferred from this that William Howard received all his instruction from the Bishop himself; and that his connection with Peacham was more or less accidental. The facts do not seem to bear out this view. Boys who were placed for "education"—which implied "bringing up" rather than instruction only—in the houses of great churchmen or noblemen, did not necessarily receive tuition direct from those exalted personages. They occupied the position of pages of honour in the household³, the heads of which were responsible for their receiving suitable instruction, but by no means for imparting it themselves. It seems therefore that we should rather interpret Peacham's words in the sense that he acted as tutor to William Howard while he was being "educated" in the episcopal palace at Norwich; at any rate in certain subjects.

This explanation would account for a good deal of confusion which has gathered round Peacham's career. He is said to have been tutor to the "three elder sons" of Lord Arundel while on their

¹ Henry Peacham was born at North Mimms, near St Albans, in 1576. He spent five years at Cambridge, where he was a scholar of Trinity College, and took the B.A. and M.A. degrees; being subsequently appointed schoolmaster at Wymondham, Norfolk. Drawing was his passion; and his first published book, *Graphice*, dealt with the "most auncient, and excellent Art of Drawing with the Pen and Limning in Water-Colours." He was a man of wide general culture; in music, especially, he was proficient. He wrote an elegy on the death of Prince Henry, and poems for the marriage of Princess Elizabeth with the Prince Palatine. In 1613-14 he travelled abroad; 1615 he settled in London; was in Norwich, as we know, in 1620; and 1622 published his best-known work, the *Compleat Gentleman*. It went through many editions: to that of 1634, he added a chapter "Of Antiquities," which contains the notice already quoted (see note 1, p. 109) on Arundel House. Peacham was a prolific writer, and was the author of many other works which cannot be enumerated here. He died in 1641.

² The *Compleat Gentleman*, edition of 1622 (at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, not at the British Museum), Epistle Dedicatory. In later editions, Peacham preserves the Dedication, but transposes it into the past tense.

³ See Lord Arundel's *Instructions*, just quoted.

travels abroad; and the date of this journey is referred to 1613-14. At this period Lord and Lady Arundel accompanied Princess Elizabeth on her wedding journey to Heidelberg; afterwards prolonging their travels privately in Italy. The circumstances of both phases of their foreign tour were such as to preclude the presence of a nursery of young children. The ages of the three boys were at this time six, four and one year. The probability is that they remained at home in the care of their grandmother, Anne, Lady Arundel, with whom, even when their parents were in England, they always spent a large part of their time.

It is however, quite possible that Peacham may have made part of the journey of 1613-14 in Lord Arundel's train. He is known to have been abroad at that time, and also, at some period, to have visited Heidelberg. His taste for art and archaeology, and his love of drawing, were exactly such as to commend him to Lord Arundel's notice. His friendship with Inigo Jones would be another link. So far as the sons are concerned, however, we must accept his own statement that he first made the acquaintance of William Howard at Norwich, in 1620. The elder boys, James and Henry Frederick, were then abroad, studying at Padua: and the two sets of facts appear to have become confused.

Exactly how long William Howard remained at Norwich with Bishop Harsnet, is not known. But in 1623, when Lady Arundel returned home, bereaved of her eldest son, it seems likely that he was restored to the family circle, and to the companionship of his only remaining brother.

An extract from one more letter may here find a place. Mr Robert Spiller was the old and trusted steward of Anne, Lady Arundel. Both he and his wife, who had been almost forty years in the Dowager's service, enjoyed a well-earned reputation for uprightness, and devotion to deeds of charity. In addition, Mr Spiller's business capacity had freed Lady Arundel from debt, and enabled her to foster those benevolent works on which her heart was set. It was probably his son who was now employed by Lord Arundel on the Buildings Commission¹.

Mr Henry Spiller to the Earl of Arundel (extract).

...Yo^r Lo^{pps} extraordinary Memory hath well supplied my mislayinge the Papers....

¹ The writer of *The Life of the Countess of Arundell and Surrey*, gives the details mentioned above concerning Mr Robert Spiller; but the allusion to Anne, Lady Arundel, in Mr Henry Spiller's letter, makes it clear that, if not the steward himself, he too was in that lady's service. Lady Arundel called Mrs Spiller "the Mother of Mercy."

... I was this morninge att Langley to doe my duty to my Honorable Lady yo^r Lo^{pps} noble Mother, who (God be thanked) is well and in health; and returned to London againe to meete Mr Chancellor¹ att Bath House this night, as by l^{ifes} he had pleased to wish me. His House hold are come, but himselfe is inforced by his continued payne of the stone to make small and easye jorneyes....

Yo^r Hono^{rs} humble Servant

HENRY SPILLER.

26 August, 1620.

Please yo^r Lo^p

On Tuesday and Thursday next, wee mete upon the Buildinges. Many bound to new build, complayne they want stone and workmen. A Markett house in Southwarke, being underpropped to be repayred, wee have staide. The Cittye hath the profitt of itt, but yf now built, the hono^r must be yo^r Lo^{pps}.

*To...the Earl of Arundel...att Court*².

¹ Bacon.

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 246.

CHAPTER XIV.

PORTRAIT OF LADY ARUNDEL BY RUBENS. SHE JOINS HER SONS AT PADUA.

1620.

LADY ARUNDEL set forth on her travels soon after the middle of June, 1620¹. She took with her a considerable suite, as was customary with persons of importance at the date in which this narrative falls. Even the dwarf and the jester, and the favourite dog, were not forgotten, and this is shown by their appearance in the great portrait by Rubens that will now have to be considered. Signor Francesco Vercellini, Lord Arundel's trusted Italian *gentiluomo*, accompanied her as secretary and factotum; ordering all the arrangements for her convenience, and doubtless reporting upon them frequently to Lord Arundel. The first mention of Vercellini, the "Signor Francesco" of many later allusions, is found in Lord Arundel's letter of the 1st May, 1619, desiring that "Francesco" and two other gentlemen in his service, should accompany him to meet the French ambassador. Vercellini had been *maestro di casa* to Barbarigo, who, it will be remembered, was deputed by the Doge, in 1613, to escort Lord and Lady Arundel during their stay in Venice. Probably their acquaintance with "Francesco" dated from this time. Barbarigo proceeded almost immediately afterwards to England, to take up the post of Venetian Ambassador in London, to which he had already been appointed. Vercellini accompanied him; and it was no doubt on the death of Barbarigo during his term of office in this country, that Vercellini entered Lord Arundel's service, in which he remained many years. The letters alone in which he is mentioned, cover a space of seventeen years. Arundel trusted his judgment in matters of art as much as he valued him on personal grounds. In later years, he was employed abroad to assist in adding to the collections. There had been some thought of sending the Italian with Lord Arundel's sons to Padua, but at that time Arundel had not yet abandoned the hope of going himself to Italy. As has been seen, his duties at home

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. Mss. 38, 597.—Letter-book of official and private letters of Thomas Read, Latin Secretary to James I (1619–1623), Draft of Safe Conduct to Alethea, Countess of Arundel, 15th June, 1620. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1619–1623, p. 154, 19th June, 1620, Licence for the Countess of Arundel to go beyond sea (Docket). *Ibid.* Safe Conduct for the Same (Docket).

made even a short absence impossible. Thus it came about that when Lady Arundel made the journey without her husband, Vercellini was deputed to accompany her.

Mr Trumbull had been in correspondence with Lord Arundel respecting apartments for Lady Arundel at Spa¹. On the 3rd July he wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton at the Hague, that he was expecting her at Brussels within five days, on her way to the fashionable watering-place². As a matter of fact, she did not arrive there till about the 19th July. Probably owing to the coldness of the season, which was not propitious for the cure, Lady Arundel deferred her arrival at the baths. The last few days before proceeding to Brussels, she spent at Antwerp; a sojourn rendered memorable by her sitting to Rubens for the great portrait which now adorns the Old Pinacothek at Munich.

Lord Arundel had sent a letter to the famous painter, evidently embodying a request to this effect, by the hand of an intermediary who can hardly have been other than Francesco Vercellini. The circumstantial evidence is strong that the interesting Italian narrative, describing the whole proceedings, is due to his pen. The letter, which is amongst those preserved at Arundel, is without signature. Presumably, therefore, it is either draft or copy of a vanished original. At a loss for the name of the writer, the compiler of the Arundel papers, and Tierney in his *History*, ascribed it to the hand of "an Agent." The whole tenour of the document refutes such an assumption. The references to subjects quite outside the sphere of an agent, such as the message to "Sr Server"³ respecting the Church of the Jesuits, and especially the tidings received from Venice of the two boys at Padua, clearly show the writer to have been an inmate of Lord Arundel's household.

The contents of this letter are of such importance that they have become widely known in Tierney's English translation. The original Italian has never before been printed, so far as I am aware; but the interest of the subject is so great that a *verbatim* reproduction will doubtless be welcome.

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 243. W. Trumbull from Brussels, to the Earl of Arundel "at London." 17th June, 1620.

² Public Record Office, *State Papers, Flanders* (unpublished). Mr W. Trumbull to "My Lord" (without doubt Carleton), 3rd July, 1620.

³ "Signor Server" is the name by which Inigo Jones was known to the foreigners in Lord Arundel's service. It appears to have been a phonetic corruption of the English appellation "Mr Surveyor." See Sandrart's allusions to him,—"Inigo Jones *Server*, the King's famous architect," etc. Not only foreigners indulged in phonetic spelling. Nicholas Stone, for instance, wrote: "Agreed with Mr Jones *Serveer* of his M^{ts} workes...." and, in the margin: "Mr *Server*" (*Walpole Society*, Vol. VII, 1918-1919, p. 86, Account-book of Nicholas Stone).

Signor Francesco Vercellini (?) to the Earl of Arundel.

Ills^{mo} et ecc^{mo} S^r S^r et Prone (Padrone) Col^{mo} (Colendissimo)

Ho al mio arrivo in questa citta, subito presentata la lett^o di v^{ra} ecc^{tia} al s^r Ribins Pitore, la qualle e stata da lui con alegra fronte ricevuta, ma con piu piacere doppo l'haverla letta si e dimostrato, et mi rese questa risposta: con tutto che io abbia rifiutato a molti Principi et sg^{ri} (particular^{te} qui nel statto d'sua altezza¹) de far li sua (*sic*) ritratti; al s^r Conte non posso rifiutar l'honore che mi fa di comandarmi, tenendolo per uno delli quatro evangelisti e soportator del n^{ro} arte; seguitando con molte parolle cortesie.

Messi ordene che sua ecc^{tia} di Madama venisse il giorno seguente per sedere, come fece, et egli, pieno d'cortesia, ha compito il suo ritratto, Robin nano, il Pazzo, et Canne (*sic*), manchando altra picciol cossolina che fornira dimani, e sua ecc^{tia} partira posdimani per dormir a Bruselles. Perche d^o [detto] s^r Ribins non veniva tella di quadro grande abastanza, ha ritratto le teste come devono essere; la postura et abitti in Carta disegnati; il Canne ritratto tutto intiero; sara in questo mentre metere una tella all'ordine, et lui di propria mano copiera quel che ha fatto. Sara il quadro perfeto, et il quadro con li primi ritratti insieme li inviera a v^{ra} ecc^{tia}. Ha d^o s^r Ribins promesso a Madama de non voler ritragier qual si voglia persona, sollo quelli che da v^{ra} ecc^{tia} li sara comandato.

Van Deick sta tutavia con il s^r Ribins, e' viene le sue opere stimate pocho meno di quelle del suo maestro; e giovane di vintun anno, con padre e madre in questa Citta, molto richi, di maniera che e difficille che lui si parta d'queste parti, tanto piu che vede la fortuna nella qualle e' Ribins.

Piaccia v^{ra} ecc^{tia} far saper al s^r Server che Madama ha vedutta la Chiesa delli Gesuitti, et la trova cosa maravigliosa. Ho parlato con S^r Van Rall pli disegni et stampi, il qualle mi ha detto che non vi e cosa nesuna, sollo alcune cof[se] del Tempesta, ma non meritano la spesa.

Ho ricevuto lett^e da Venetia in q^{ta} Citta, la ultima delle tre di questo mese, intendendo che il s^r Barone, et s^r Cav^r sono in buon stato di salute a Padova², che Madama ne sente grand' piacere.

Diegho ha rifiutato dalla Contessa di Buchoi³ il letto et il portiere, mille e' duacento libre sterlini. Madama l'ha veduto, e' dovera scriver a' v^{ra} ecc^{tia} la sua intentione.

Con pregar a v^{ra} ecc^{tia} ogni felicità li bacio con ogni riverenza le mani.

Di Anversa al 17 luglio 1620, stillo novo.

La staggione e molto freda, et continue piogge contraria al pigliar l'acqua, dimodo che quelli che si atrovano al Spa perdono il tempo.

L'alloggiamento di Madama al Spa sono nella Piazza, alle Corna d'

¹ The Archduchess Isabella, Governess of the Spanish Netherlands.

² The two sons of Lord Arundel, Lord Maltravers and Henry Frederick, Knight of the Bath.

³ Count Buchoi was the commander of the Imperial forces before Prague.

Cervo p. Insegna: giusto al incontro vi a l'alloggiamento del s^r Viconte Purbeck¹.

All' Ills^{mo} et ecc^{mo} s^r, s^r et Patrone Col^{mo}, il s^r Conte d'Arundell, Londra².

The picture thus inaugurated must now be examined more closely. Lady Arundel is seated in an open portico supported by twisted pilasters, richly carved. She is attired in a black satin gown, cut low at the throat, a jewelled head-dress and aigrette in her hair, lace ruff and wristlets. One hand rests on the head of a large hound. To the left, the jester, in green and yellow, is in the act of pulling back a heavy curtain, on which are emblazoned the family arms encircled

¹ Buckingham's elder brother, who, as we know, had married the daughter of Sir Edward Coke. Lady Purbeck afterward eloped with Sir Edward Howard, a son of the Earl of Suffolk.

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 244.—Tierney's translation, which has been often reprinted, is loose and inaccurate. The following is a new literal version of the original:

Most illustrious and Most Excellent Lord and Most Worshipful Patron

On my arrival in this city, I at once presented the letter of your Excellency to Signor Ribins (Rubens) the painter, which he received with a joyful countenance. But after having read it, he displayed yet more pleasure, and made me this reply: Although I have refused to paint the portraits of many princes and gentlemen (particularly here, in the State of her Highness), yet I cannot refuse the Earl the honour he does me in commanding me, holding him for one of the four evangelists, and a supporter of our art. This was followed by many courteous words.

It was arranged that her Excellency, my Lady, should come the following day to sit, which she did; and he, full of courtesy, completed her portrait, with Robin the dwarf, the fool, and the dog. A few small details that are yet lacking he will furnish to-morrow, and her Excellency will leave the day after to-morrow to sleep at Brussels. As the said Signor Ribins had not at hand a sufficiently large canvas he painted the heads as they are to be; drew on paper the postures and dress; and took the whole portrait of the dog. So it will remain while he is arranging the canvas, when, with his own hand, he will copy what he has done. The picture will be perfect, and he will send it to your Excellency together with the first portraits. Signor Ribins has promised my Lady not to take the portrait of any person whatever, except such as are ordered by your Excellency. Van Deick is still with Signor Ribins, and his works are hardly less esteemed than those of his master. He is a young man of twenty-one years, his father and mother, very rich, living in this town; so that it will be difficult to get him to leave these parts; all the more, that he sees the good fortune that attends Rubens.

Would your Excellency please to inform Signor Server that my Lady has seen the Church of the Jesuits, and finds it marvellous. I have spoken to Signor Van Rall about the drawings and engravings; but he told me there was nothing at all, except a few things by Tempesta, which were not worth the expenditure.

I have received in this city letters from Venice, the last dated on the 3rd of this month, informing me that the Baron and the Knight are in good health at Padua, which has given my Lady great pleasure.

Diegho has refused £1200 sterling from the Countess of Buchoi for the bed and the *portière*. My Lady has seen them, and will write your Excellency her decision.

Praying for every happiness to your Excellency, I kiss your hands with all respect....

The season is very cold, and the continual rain is unfavourable for taking the waters, so that visitors at Spa are losing their time.

My Lady's apartments at Spa are in the square, at the sign of the Stag's Horns; just opposite are the apartments of Viscount Purbeck.



Photo Bruckmann-Medici

Aletheia, Countess of Arundel. By Rubens, 1620

by the Garter. To the extreme left, the landscape melts into the sky. In the foreground, on the right, Robin, the dwarf, clad in scarlet and gold, holds a falcon on his wrist. Further back on that side, a door leads into the house. Thus Rubens designed the picture. It was a fine pyramidal composition, of which the dignified figure of Lady Arundel formed the central point of interest.

In later days, another figure was added; not without detriment to the symmetry of the whole. A man is seen standing behind Lady Arundel; his right hand grasps the back of her chair, his left rests on the hilt of his sword. The name of Lord Arundel has long been associated with this portrait, but it is clear that, if intended for him, it was inserted many years later by some one who had never seen him. Comparison with the authentic portraits of Arundel by Rubens, is sufficient proof of this. For one thing, the person here represented is about twenty years older than Lord Arundel was when his wife sat to Rubens. For another, the awkwardly placed figure, of which one ill-drawn leg is displayed, is not suggestive of the skill of any great master. Whatever hand placed it upon the canvas, the dullness of the painting of the head, and the absence of light and shade, are in striking contrast to the brilliant touch, the certainty and transparency, visible elsewhere in this great work. Moreover, no whole-length portrait of Lord Arundel is known to me in which he wears white, or whitish-grey, stockings, or fails to exhibit the left leg encircled by the Garter. Neither is the pendant George to be seen on the breast of this personage. When sitters were the happy possessors of that noble Order, painters made a practically invariable custom of showing it. The whole figure has something plebeian in its aspect. If unlike Arundel in feature and deportment, it is yet farther removed from the supreme personal distinction which is the key-note of his genuine portraits.

It is necessary somewhat to forestall our narrative in order to make clear the later history of this picture.

The Arundel inventory of 1655, drawn up at Amsterdam nine years after the death of Lord Arundel, and one year after that of his widow, who ended her days in that city, contains the following entry:

Rubens. Ritratto di Madonna la Contessa d'Arondell¹.

Thirty-five years, therefore, after it was painted, there is still no mention of Lord Arundel in the description. When next we hear of the picture, it is in the possession of the Count Palatine, Johann

¹ See Appendix v, Pt. I, Alphabetical List of Artists, No. 314.

Wilhelm, where it passed for a Van Dyck. This Prince died in 1716¹. In this interval, nearly a century, the name of Lord Arundel had been introduced into the description, and, doubtless, the figure into the picture. The entirely continental record of the painting from the time it is met with in the Amsterdam inventory, seems to show that it was one of those works hastily sold by Lord Stafford after his mother's death to avoid the claims brought forward by his nephew, Henry Howard.

Thomas, Earl of Arundel, in the latter part of his life, had acquired a European reputation as a collector. No doubt his portrait would add much to the value of the picture from a dealer's point of view. Rubens was dead; Van Dyck was dead. As is well known however, Rubens employed many journeymen on the innumerable commissions entrusted to him, who acquired sufficient facility in the master's manner for their work to pass as his own with all but the most capable judges. One original drawing of Lord Arundel by Rubens remotely suggests some resemblance to the apocryphal figure of the Munich canvas: a resemblance which in the picture is shorn of all the nobility of character which lends to the drawing life and splendour. It is the sketch now in the possession of Count Duchastel-Dandelot at Brussels, which must have been executed by Rubens towards the end of his life, and probably served as the basis of the impressive Castle Howard portrait, now at the National Gallery. What more likely than that some former assistant in the studio of the great master, who had access to the drawing, added this figure to the picture, as a speculation, after Lord Stafford had parted with it? In some such way the student seeks to account for this strange anomaly in the fine work of Rubens.

Descamps, whose history was published at Paris in 1754, attributes the painting, as usual at that time, to Van Dyck², and describes it as the portrait of a Royal Princess, with Lord Arundel standing behind her chair³. The true tradition of the picture had, in fact, been lost.

On the death of the Count Palatine, Johann Wilhelm, it was removed to the Electoral Gallery at Düsseldorf. Mechel's illustrated catalogue of the Düsseldorf collection, published more than sixty years after the demise of Johann Wilhelm, describes the picture as

Portraits de milord Arundel et de son épouse.

¹ This information was kindly communicated by Dr W. Martin, Director of the Royal Picture Gallery at the Hague.

² Many critics discern the hand of Van Dyck in various parts of this picture, such as the dog, etc. But the male figure is as unworthy of his brush as it is of that of his master.

³ Descamps, *La Vie des Peintres Flamands*, etc., Tome II, p. 27 (Paris, 1754).

The dwarf is here termed "un petit garçon," and the fool, "un nain d'une figure laide, habillé en bouffon¹." The partial inaccuracy of the last part of the inscription, does not suggest that any portion was derived from unimpeachable authority.

Sir Joshua Reynolds, who saw the picture at Düsseldorf in 1781, falls into almost equal error in the opposite direction. But what he says is worth transcribing, since it is fair to infer that his opinion was largely influenced by the absence of resemblance between the male figure here represented, and the authentic portraits of Lord Arundel with which he must have been familiar in England. Reynolds describes the work as follows:

Over the door is a portrait of a lady, whole-length, with her hand on a dog's head; a gentleman behind; a boy (her son) by her side, with a hawk, and a dwarf behind the dog. This is called Lord and Lady Arundel, but certainly does not contain their portraits. The arms on the curtain have a lion and unicorn for supporters, and the Garter as a label under².

So, by the time of Sir Joshua's visit, the authorities at Düsseldorf had improved the "petit garçon" into Lady Arundel's "son"!

The picture passed, with the rest of the Düsseldorf collection, into the Munich Gallery, where the appellation has been reproduced in successive editions of the official catalogue. The compilers have profited, indeed, by the publication by Tierney, in 1834, of the letter relating to Lady Arundel's sittings, in so far as the minor personages are concerned. But the problem suggested by the added figure has remained unsolved and apparently unsuspected, to the present day. The following is taken from the edition of the catalogue of 1908³:

784. Bildnis des Grafen Thomas Howard Arundel und seiner Gemahlin Alatheia Talbot, Gräfin v. Shrewsburg (*sic*). Die Gräfin, gerade aus dem Bilde blickend, sitzt im Lehnstuhl und legt die rechte Hand auf den Kopf eines weissen Hundes. Hinter ihr zur Rechten steht ihr Gemahl und vor diesem sein Zwerg Robin mit dem Falken auf der Faust. Vor einer Säulenstellung zur Linken, die den Ausblick ins Freie gestattet, schlägt der Narr einen mit dem Familienwappen geschmückten Vorhang zurück⁴.

¹ Mechel (Christian von), *Catalogue raisonné de la Galerie électorale de Düsseldorf*, Basle, 1778, No. 243, Planche XVIII.

² Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Journey to Flanders and Holland*, 1781 (Bohn's ed., Vol. II, p. 223). The mistake regarding Lady Arundel was excusable, because portraits of her were less numerous and less well known than those of her husband.—The supporters of the arms are a lion and a horse, the latter being the Fitzalan cognizance.

³ This is the latest edition I have at hand. I have no reason to suppose that subsequent editions show any alteration on the point in question.

⁴ *Katalog der Gemälde-Sammlung der Kgl. Älteren Pinakothek in München*, Amtliche Ausgabe, x, Auflage.—The official English edition of 1890, gives the

The principal biographers of Rubens have all followed on the same lines. M. Emile Michel, after accounting for the "somewhat timid" execution of the portrait of Lady Arundel, by the (correct) supposition that "the painter did not have his model before him when he completed the work," continues: "The figure of the Count, also somewhat shadowy, was added afterwards, doubtless during the visit paid by Rubens later to London. There are, in fact, a study in black and red chalk (in the Count Duchastel-Dandelot's collection) and two other half-length portraits (Castle Howard and Warwick Castle) of the Earl of Arundel, painted at that time by the master¹."

The visit of Rubens to England fell between May, 1629, and February, 1630. To this period, M. Michel refers the male figure of the Munich canvas. Had he been able to compare it, as he wrote, with the magnificent portrait of Lord Arundel, by Rubens, painted in that year², he could hardly have formed such a conclusion. Count Duchastel-Dandelot's drawing, and the portrait, formerly at Castle Howard³, belong to a much later date.

M. Max Rooses, indeed, acknowledges frankly being unacquainted with the portraits of Lord Arundel privately owned in England. This being the case—and it probably holds good with other modern writers on the subject—he had naturally no standard of comparison to inspire doubts as to the authenticity of the accepted identification. While admitting that this personage was a later addition, not included in the original plan of the picture, he believes all the figures to have been painted by Rubens himself; and assumes a brief visit by Lord Arundel to the Netherlands before June, 1621, as affording a probable opportunity of sitting to the painter⁴. No such visit took place. We have seen that Arundel had recently had to renounce all hope of going abroad, at this time, owing to the demands of his duties at

following translation of the above: 784. Portraits of Count Thomas Arundel and his wife. The Countess, sitting in an armchair, and looking directly out of the picture, lays her right hand upon the head of a white dog. Behind her, on the right, stands her husband, and before him his dwarf Robin, with a falcon upon his hand. In front of the columns at the left, between which is an open view, a jester draws back a curtain decorated with the coat-of-arms of the family.

¹ *Rubens, His Life, his Work and his Time*, by Emile Michel. Translated by Elizabeth Lee, Vol. I, p. 259.

² Formerly at Warwick Castle. Now the property of Mrs Gardner, Fenway Court, Boston, Mass., U.S.A. See frontispiece.

³ Presented to the National Gallery by Rosalind, Countess of Carlisle.

⁴ Rubens, *Sa Vie et ses Œuvres*, par Max Rooses. (Paris, Antwerp, 1903.) M. Rooses bases this assumption on a letter of that date from Sir Dudley Carleton to Lord Arundel, in which mention is made of a picture by Holbein belonging to the King and Queen of Bohemia, at Amsterdam, which Lord Arundel was anxious to possess. From this M. Rooses infers that Lord Arundel must lately have visited them, and have seen it there. As stated above, the inference has no foundation in fact.

home, particularly those of the royal service. The alternative theory, which M. Rooses shares with M. Michel—i.e. that Rubens added it to the picture during his visit to England in 1629-30—has already been shown to be untenable. Apart from considerations of style and of resemblance, the age alone of this personage precludes any possibility that it was intended to represent Lord Arundel at either of the periods suggested by the biographers of Rubens.

M. Rooses himself was puzzled, like other critics, by the subordinate position, and dull and superficial execution of this figure. "Le mari occupe une place bien secondaire sur cette grande toile," he says; and again, "le comte paraît simplement esquissé dans une tonalité grise et mate¹." It is indeed difficult to believe that the great painter would not have bestowed more care on the portrait of a patron he esteemed so highly, and whom he regarded as an "evangelist of the arts"!

Lady Arundel adhered to her plan of moving on to Brussels as soon as the sittings to Rubens were accomplished. On the 22nd July, Mr Trumbull wrote thence to Sir Dudley Carleton at the Hague, begging leave to defer to a time of better leisure the answering of Carleton's two last communications, "haveing (he says) that noble personage my La: of Arundell nowe in my house, and upon her departure towards Spa." The letter terminates with many affectionate messages from Lady Arundel to the Ambassador at the Hague². The latter had apparently enquired of Mr Trumbull concerning the further plans of his guest. It is evident from the reply that she had not yet confided her Italian project to the English resident at Brussels. Six weeks later, however, he wrote again to Carleton, that it was now certain Lady Arundel would not return this year by Holland, as she was intending to visit her sons in Italy³. The same information had already been conveyed early in August to the Doge and Senate of Venice by the industrious Lando⁴.

Leaving Lady Arundel to pursue her way leisurely southwards, while the great heats in Italy were abating, we will precede her to Padua, whence her sons had just been making an excursion to Vicenza, under the faithful guardianship of Mr Coke.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 307, 310.

² Record Office, *State Papers, Holland*, 96. Mr W. Trumbull, at Brussels, to Sir Dudley Carleton, at the Hague, 22nd July, 1620.

³ The Same to the Same, 5th September, 1620.

⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, Vol. xvi, p. 350. Girolamo Lando, Venetian ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate, 6th August, 1620.

Mr Thomas Coke to the Earl of Arundel.

Right Ho^{ble}

We found not in Vicenza any thing answerable to the expectation w^{ch} we had by relation of so^m of o^r acquaintance heere; yet we weare wth Maganza, the ould painter, who hath done many things theare, in theyre churches; but could not be directed to any that had made any collection of any thing worth seeing. In the end we wear wth an ould lawyer, who had 3 or 4 good peeces of lanscips, and som 100 other peeces of dozenworke; and so^m stamps of Dureros, not ill, but divers others of smale valewe. We saw Valmaranaes gardine, the palaces of the Marq: of Scandiano and 2 others of the Tiane, of the same lynage, and divers others of Palladius his worke. Also the palazzo della Sig^{na} and above all the excellent palla of an altar, don by Bassan, and a statue in an other church w^{ch}, if it had not beene intituled S^{ta} Iphigenia, I should have mistaken for ancient. This we sawe the same night we arrived, but fynding it dry lying in that towne in ill bedds, came away the next day; sawe the Rotonda, w^{ch} is now in possession of a Canon of Pad: of the howse of Capra, it is in excellent good repayre, and run now over wth this white marble plaster, w^{ch} makes it show very fynely. Thence we went to Covelo (?), and entered those caves at least halfe a myle, and saw the ventidotti at Signor Trentoes, and the other, and thense by Montegalda to Padua: hartly and healthfull, I humbly thank God. And o^r next progresse that we shall make, if o^r meanes serve us, we intend to Bassan[o], where they say are rare things of that mans hand.

This day is the second tyme that we have heard of som new gunpoulder treason in England; and though it co^m but from Joseph, o^r little Jewe, and heard by him only from a fryer [friar] in a bookebinders shop, and that we assure o^r selves if any such thing had beene, wee should have had so^m notice from yo^r Lo: yet we heere cannot abyde newes of that nature, though never so sleight. And I assure yo^r Lo: he will make full eyes that tells us of any ill of England or Bohemia.

I beseech God to send yo^r Lo: all happynes and Remyne ever
yo^r Lo:

most humble servant

THO: COKE.

Padua, 15 Sept. 1620.

(Addressed in Italian to the Earl of Arundel, "*nella Corte di Inghilterra*¹.")

A fortnight later, Mr Coke acknowledges the receipt of two letters from Lord Arundel, and expresses relief at hearing that the rumours of treason were unfounded.

The last weeke (he continues) we heard nothing from the Spa, but do hope that my La: is well theare...

We are settled againe in o^r wonted howse for six monthes; for although we might have had fayvour, yet, being directed to the Arena, and having

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 247.

offered 300 ducats for it, but could not have it, and the others though much better howses yet not so convenient for orchards as yo^r Lo: directed, we have chosen to remayne heere, and taken it but for six monthes, boathe to save the present disbursement of 100 duc^s, and to be free for the somer, if yo^r Lo: shall dispose otherwise. Your Lo: children, I humbly thank God, are very well, w^h is our best newes. . . .

Mr Hamond wrytes to me concerning the bracelett w^{ch} my Lady sent to S^r Henry w^{ch}, as Sig^r Francesco writte to me, my La: tooke into hir care. I have no other answeare to him but that S^r Henry Wootton¹ is not yet comen². . . .

The Same to the Same.

Right Ho^{ble}

The last weeke we have had no lt^{rs} from England, neither from the Spa, neither directions from thense to change the course of wonted sending thither, w^{ch} setts us at a stay. We hope in God you are all in health, and so we pray you may be. I thank Almighty God we are all so heere. Mr Tunstall in a good long course of physicke for his heade, and for the stoane, remaynes with good hope of amendment. My little Lord and S^r Henry, are very well, and expect earnestly to morrow to heare from y^r Lo:

Since o^r last of that matter heere, is comen hither a Romane, a yong man meanely apparelled, but of good language, and understanding in the mathematiques; but because we know no reason of his leaveing his keeping a schoole theare (as he saith), nor of his condition, we forbear to meddle wth him. He only complained much of the ill estate of that Towne [Rome], where poore Doni, of whom your Lo: received yo^r moneyes, and som two or three of the greatest banquiers are broaken. And it [is] a strange and an unnaturall thing that in that place, contrary to all others, the long lyfe of the Prince is sayd to be the ruyne of the people; whose wealth consists in speedy revolutions, and oft new preparations of new hopes in those that aspire to rise by new fam^{es} [families] who, wth the ould, remayne choaked wth a stand, and loath to blast their future adresses by spending to court those that are dispaired of.

In the Valtellina this state hath their forces som 4000 or 5000, under the com^{and} of Proveditor Paruta. S^r Henry Peyton³ wth part of his English

¹ Sir Henry Wotton, three times ambassador at Venice, his last term of office terminating in 1624, was born in Kent in 1568. Although of good extraction, and a man of brilliant parts, poet, courtier, diplomatist, a dabbler in science, a voluminous correspondent, the friend of Kepler, of Donne, Bacon, Isaac Walton, Milton, and other distinguished contemporaries, a spice of the adventurer and self-seeker makes itself unpleasantly felt through all his varied achievements. He ended his days as Provost of Eton, where he died in 1639.

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 248. Mr Thomas Coke to the Earl of Arundel "at the Court in England." From Padua, 30th September, 1620.

³ Sir Henry Peyton, born at Bury St Edmunds, was knighted in 1606, and for a time was attached to the household of Henry Prince of Wales. He was interested in colonisation, and subscribed to the plantation of Virginia. He served in the Netherlands, and in 1618 was placed in joint command of the ships in the employment of Venice. The year of his death is unknown.

are theare at Piazza, a days jorny from Bergamo, uppon the frontiers. For want of matter, I send yo^r Lo: a mappe of these Contryes sett out by directions of this state¹...

The anxiety occasioned to the little group at Padua by Lady Arundel's silence, was soon to be relieved. On the 7th October, Giacomo Vendramin, Venetian Secretary at Milan, wrote to inform the Doge and Senate that "the Countess or Princess of Arundel, an Englishwoman," had passed through Milan on her way to Padua "to visit one or two of her sons staying there." As she wished to remain incognita and did not wish his Excellency to know that she was there, she arranged with a merchant, who placed her for a night in the house of one Sig. Ercole Visconti, which happened to be empty, the owner being away at his villa. When his Excellency heard this he was wroth, because he desired, "so they think," to do her honour. He threw the merchant into a dark prison, with fear of worse, upon the pretext that he had not informed the magistrates of a foreigner staying in the city².

What became of the unfortunate merchant is not revealed. The annoyance caused to Lord and Lady Arundel, on their former visit to Milan, by the discourtesy of the Spanish Governor, will be remembered; and it is not surprising that Lady Arundel was not disposed to run the gauntlet of similar treatment a second time. On this occasion, she appears to have successfully eluded any risk of the kind; and to have left the city before the Governor discovered her presence. We may safely leave her, reunited to her sons at Padua.

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 249. Mr Thomas Coke to the Earl of Arundel, 8th October, 1620.

² *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, Vol. xvi, 1619-1621, p. 428. Giacomo Vendramin, Venetian Secretary at Milan, to the Doge and Senate, 7th Oct., 1620.

CHAPTER XV.

VAN DYCK'S FIRST VISIT TO ENGLAND. LORD ARUNDEL APPOINTED EARL MARSHAL.

1620—1621.

LORD ARUNDEL now resided for a time wholly at Court. Notwithstanding the pre-eminence of Buckingham, the King appears to have been less and less able to dispense with the society and services of his older and graver councillor. Occupations and pre-occupations engrossed Arundel's attention in many diverse directions. In addition to attendance on King James, the reception of ambassadors, the business of Parliament, the duties of the Buildings Commission, in which we may be sure he took a special interest, in turn claimed his thoughts. Nor were his private interests forgotten. It was his custom to exchange a weekly letter with the little party at Padua; and it is greatly to be regretted that so few of these documents have been preserved.

In December, 1620, an Ambassador Extraordinary, the Marquis de Cadenet, was sent to England by the King of France. Cadenet brought with him a train of some three hundred and fifty individuals. Of these at least fifty were of noble rank. Some delay occurred in London in deciding on a suitable reception for so magnificent a personage. Sir John Finett, Master of the Ceremonies, who himself narrates the story, reached Dover barely in time for the purpose. Some days of repose followed before the Ambassador proceeded on his way towards London. At Gravesend he was to halt again for a night, and to be met by the more important deputation sent by the King to receive him. At the head of this company was Lord Arundel, prepared to fulfil the mission confided to him with the punctilious ceremony usual on such occasions. In twenty barges, he and his party arrived at Gravesend, betaking themselves at once to the Ambassador's lodging, to greet him in the King's name. But the Frenchman allowed the distinguished delegation to ascend the stairs to his apartment, without coming down to meet them, as etiquette required; and, on their departure, escorted them again only to the stair-head. Arundel whose pride was nettled by any lack of the respect he deemed due to his position, took this breach of decorum in very ill part; the more so as he was acting on this occasion as the repre-

sentative of his Sovereign. On the following day he sent Sir John Finett with a message to Cadenet, that "in regard his (the Ambassador's) trayne was great and his lodging little, he would not be troublesome to him there, but would meet him in the street, and thence accompany him to his imbarking." This accordingly took place; and the flotilla proceeded on its way. Denmark House had been appointed as the Ambassador's abode during his stay in England. At the garden stair on the Thames, the long procession of barges came to a halt, and the distinguished guest, with his gallant escort, disembarked. Arundel, mindful of the discourtesy of the preceding day, accompanied the Frenchman no further than to the foot of the first flight of stairs, leading to the apartment prepared above. Here he took his leave; and, briefly announcing that gentlemen were there "that should show him his lodging," he forthwith departed.

The affair made a sensation, and soon came to the ears of the King. His Majesty was in no mood to suffer his representative to be slighted. He raved and stormed over the conduct of the foreigner, and presently sent the Comptroller of the Household, Sir Thomas Edmondes, to interview the delinquent. History is silent as to the means employed by Edmondes to ease the situation. The tact of the veteran diplomatist doubtless served him well. Cadenet, it is said, excused himself to Lord Arundel on the plea of indisposition after his journey. (He had recuperated at Dover four or five days before moving on to Gravesend!) The storm in a tea-cup was thus allayed, and the matter resolved itself into tranquillity.

It is a pity that while such comparatively trivial matters have been handed down in full detail, not one word survives to tell of Lord Arundel's relations with a much more interesting guest, and of a visit which to him, as to posterity, must have been of far greater moment. Notwithstanding the doubts expressed by Vercellini as to Van Dyck's willingness to leave Antwerp, Lord Arundel's efforts to induce the great painter to visit England, had proved successful. The exact date on which he first set foot on these shores is uncertain, but on the 25th November, 1620, Toby Matthew, who was negotiating with Rubens on behalf of Sir Dudley Carleton, wrote to that Ambassador from Antwerp:

Your L^p will have heard how Van Dike, his [Rubens'] famous Allievo, is gone into England, and y^t the Kinge hath given him a Pension of £100 p^r ann.¹

On the 16th February, 1621, a grant of £100 is recorded to "Anthony Vandike. . . by way of reward for speciall service by him

¹ Sainsbury, *Original Papers relating to Rubens*, p. 54.



Photo Donald Macbeth

Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel

Circa 1621 (?)

performed for his Ma^{tie}. . .¹” On the 28th of the same month, the following entry occurs in the register of the Privy Council:

A passe for Anthonie van Dyck gent his Ma^{ties} Servaunt to travaile for 8 months he havinge obtayned his Ma^{ties} leave in that behalf As was signified by the E. of Arundell¹.

It would appear from these notices that Van Dyck was definitely engaged in the service of King James, no doubt through the mediation of Lord Arundel. Equally it may be inferred from the shortness of his stay, that he was ill-content with the work on which he was employed during his first visit to England: a circumstance that can excite little surprise if, as has been conjectured, he was chiefly occupied in making copies of royal portraits²! One picture at least remains, if we may venture to assign it to this period, in which he found a subject worthy of his powers. There is inherent probability in the belief that the noble portrait of Lord Arundel, formerly in the possession of the Duke of Sutherland, and now, after a journey to America and back, said to have been purchased by a collector at Berlin, Herr Ganz, was executed at this time. Having succeeded in bringing the painter to England, it seems almost a foregone conclusion that Arundel should have sat to him while there. Further circumstances tend to confirm this reasoning. An interesting tradition has woven itself about this picture, the substantial truth of which seems borne out by its subsequent history. It is said that after one of the periodical quarrels and reconciliations between Arundel and Buckingham, the Duke sent, as a peace-offering to the former, a valuable picture. Lord Arundel responded by offering in return the choice of his gallery. Buckingham requested a portrait of Lord Arundel. Thus this beautiful work, without rival among the portraits then existing of the sitter, passed into the possession of the Duke. After his death, it was sent abroad, with the rest of the Buckingham collection to be sold. In due course it passed into the Orleans gallery and through other hands; returning to England, with a well-established pedigree, at the opening of the nineteenth century, when it was bought by the Duke of Sutherland³.

The point of this story, if true, in fixing the date of the picture, is that it must have been painted before 1628, as in that year Buckingham was assassinated. Now Van Dyck's long residence in England did not begin till 1632, which is too late for the Buckingham episode;

¹ Carpenter's *Pictorial Notices*, pp. 9 and 10.

² See *Anthony Van Dyck*, by Lionel Cust, F.S.A., London, George Bell, 1900.

³ *Memorials of the Howard Family*, by Mr Henry Howard of Corby, p. 31, London, 1834.

while, prior to that period, his only authenticated visit to this country was that of the winter of 1620-21. On every ground, therefore, it appears reasonable to ascribe this portrait to that date. It must, however, be mentioned that there is a hazy tradition that the painter was again in England, for a passing stay, in 1626. The best authorities do not appear to regard this as impossible, though there is no definite record of such a visit, nor can any works with certainty be attributed to it.

In this fine half-length, Lord Arundel is seen seated on an open balcony. He is dressed in black, and holds in his left hand the jewel of the Garter, dependant from the ribbon round his neck. A curtain is draped to the left, behind the head. To the right, the landscape shows a bushy middle distance with what appears to be the line of the sea beyond, and a cliff or headland jutting into it. The thick hair of the sitter, worn in his early fashion, seems to accord well with the period of Van Dyck's first visit to England. Lord Arundel was at this time in his thirty-sixth year¹.

On the 30th January, 1621, Parliament met for the first time after an interval of almost seven years; and the King opened it in state. For this important function Lord Arundel drew up the order of the procession, which was long and brilliant. He himself, as Earl Marshal², rode bare-headed immediately before the sovereign; having on his right, also uncovered, Henry Vere, Earl of Oxford, Lord Great Chamberlain of England.

A few days before this event, the Lord Chancellor, Bacon, apparently at the zenith of prosperity, had been created Viscount St Albans, "with all the ceremonies of Robes and Coronets" proper to the occasion. Alas for human greatness! The storm that was to wreck his career and reputation was already gathering, and in the month of March it burst. He was charged with bribery in the exercise of his judicial functions; an accusation substantiated in so far as his acceptance of presents was concerned, though they appear never to have influenced his decisions. Three Committees were formed to investigate the matter: on one of them Arundel sat, with the Bishop of Durham, Lord Hunsdon and Lord Sheffield. In April, when the Lords were ready to receive the reports of the Committees, the Prince of Wales rose and said the Chancellor had sent him his submission. Both Charles and Buckingham evidently wished

¹ See illustration, taken from Sharp's engraving. The circumstances of present ownership made it impossible to obtain a photograph from the original.

² The office of Earl Marshal had for several years been in commission, but on more than one occasion Arundel acted as its chief representative, even before the appointment was vested in him alone, which was now to take place shortly.

the submission might be accepted, "sparing a formal sentence." But the House was not satisfied, and the question arose whether Bacon should be summoned in person to answer for himself, or whether he might be saved that humiliation, and permitted to reply in writing. The Prince of Wales, Buckingham, Arundel, Pembroke, Southampton, Lennox, the Bishop of Durham, were all in favour of the latter, more lenient, course. Others urged that Bacon should be brought to the Bar. Suffolk, who had not forgotten his own prosecution, conducted by Bacon, was specially bitter against him. The milder opinion prevailed. The charge was sent to the accused, who was given till April 30th to frame his answer. On that day a complete confession and submission was addressed by the Lord Chancellor to the Lord Chief Justice, to be read to the Lords.

On the 1st May, the Lord Treasurer (Viscount Mandeville), Lord Steward (Duke of Lennox), Lord Chamberlain (Earl of Pembroke), and the Earl of Arundel, were sent to fetch away the Great Seal. When they delivered it to the King at Whitehall, he was overheard by some near him to say, "Now, by my soul, I am pained at the heart where to bestow this; for as to my lawyers, I think they be all knaves¹!"

Two days later, the Lord Chancellor was called to appear before the Houses of Parliament, to receive sentence. He was, however, too ill to attend, and the proceedings were continued in his absence. A verdict of guilty was unanimously pronounced by the peers, as was indeed inevitable. The punishment to be awarded was next discussed. It is pleasant to find Arundel's voice always raised in favour of mercy, although his austere uprightness fully appreciated the gravity of the crime committed.

"His offences foul, his confession pitiful," is the tenour of one of Arundel's replies; but, he adds, "life not to be touched." Lord Saye proposed that the delinquent should be "degraded during life, for unfit to sit here again amongst us." "Not degraded," was Arundel's prompt response. Finally the Lord Chancellor was condemned to a fine and ransom of £40,000; to imprisonment in the Tower during the King's pleasure; to be incapable of any office, place or employment, in the State or Commonwealth; never to sit in Parliament, nor to come within the precincts of the Court. There was but one dissentient voice, that of Buckingham; between whom and the fallen Chancellor the links had been peculiarly close and

¹ *Autobiography of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, Vol. I, pp. 187-188. Stebbing (*Life of Bacon*) gives Suffolk and Egerton as two of those who went to receive the Great Seal. But the State Papers prove that the names given by D'Ewes are correct.

intimate, and who had hoped to conclude the whole matter simply on the confession of guilt. The bulk of the Lords, while anxious to avoid undue harshness, evidently felt that, in the interests of justice, some sterner measure was necessary. The Prince, the Duke of Richmond, Lord Pembroke, Lord Arundel, were amongst those who exerted their influence to mitigate, so far as might be possible, the severity of the sentence.

“The King’s pleasure,” through Buckingham’s good offices, reduced the imprisonment in the Tower to a sojourn of a few days; and, as time went on, various other relaxations were permitted¹.

If the tragic fate of the great Chancellor evoked widespread sympathy, another culprit found short shrift at the hands of his judges. Sir Francis Michell, an elderly Justice, recently knighted, was charged with unwarrantable exactions upon keepers of inns and sellers of ale. Whether the prospect of paying more for their beer exasperated the public sense of fairness, does not appear; but, says a contemporary, it was considered the crime he had committed “argued a base spirit²,” and therefore deserved condign punishment. The accused was sent to the Tower to await his trial. On the 5th May, he was brought before the Commissioners for the office of Earl Marshal (Worcester, Lennox, Buckingham and Arundel), to receive the sentence passed upon him by Parliament. The unhappy man was condemned to be degraded from Knighthood, to hold no office, to be fined £1000, and to be confined in Finsbury Prison during His Majesty’s pleasure. The sentence was executed with every attendant circumstance of disgrace. Michell’s spurs were broken in pieces and thrown away; his sword removed from his side and snapped over his head; he was dubbed “an arrant Knave instead of a Knight.” Unimportant to posterity as was the individual who met with such dire disaster, the trial and sentence made a considerable stir at the time.

It must have been not a little startling to Arundel, who had sat as a judge on these several occasions, suddenly to find himself a prisoner in the Tower. Yet so it befell. Sir Henry Yelverton, late Attorney-General, had been deprived of that office and committed to the Tower in the winter of 1620–21, on the accusation of having exceeded the powers of his office in certain directions connected with the patent laws, which gave great offence to the Court. In April, 1621, he was brought before the House of Lords to answer the

¹ The greater part of the above narrative of Bacon’s fall, is derived from Stebbing’s *Life and Times of Francis Bacon* (1878).

² Wilson’s *Life and Reign of James I* (in Kennet’s *Hist. of England*), Vol. II. p. 656.

charges made against him. Yelverton awkwardly appeared to impugn the King in the arguments he put forward for his defence. James indignantly called upon the peers to protect him. When, therefore, it was proposed to give the culprit another hearing, Arundel rose and expressed a strong opinion that, after what had occurred, Yelverton should not be permitted to speak again. Robert, Lord Spencer, was, however, otherwise minded, and remarked that, two of Lord Arundel's ancestors having been condemned in Parliament, he had the less cause to oppose the motion for allowing Yelverton to defend himself¹.

Arundel, always set on fire by any hint of disrespect towards the King, and nettled beyond bearing by the personal allusion, lost his control. "My Lord," he exclaimed, with unwarrantable heat, "while my ancestors suffered for services to King and country, yours were keeping sheep." "And while my ancestors were keeping sheep," was the instant retort, "yours were plotting treason."

The House intervened, and both peers were placed under arrest. On the 17th May, Arundel was brought to the Bar of the House, and called upon to apologise. But while willing to do so to the House, he declined an apology to Lord Spencer. Consequently, the next step in the affair found him lodged in the Tower.

Although the insulting language used to one of their number, was an offence the Lords could not wholly overlook, it can well be understood that Arundel lost nothing in the eyes of the King, in defending whom the quarrel arose. James went himself to the House of Lords, to intercede for the principal delinquent. Arundel, however, remained obdurate in his refusal to apologise to Lord Spencer: while the Lords were equally firm in declining to re-admit him to their counsels until he had done so. Things appeared to have reached a dead-lock. Finally, the King proposed the release of Lord Arundel, conditionally on his making submission to the House; while the Prince was to act as arbitrator between him and Lord Spencer. This was accepted: and, on the 2nd June, Lord Arundel was set at liberty. Curiously enough, he came forth from the Tower on the same day as Bacon, on whose case he had sat such a short time previously².

¹ One version quotes Lord Spencer's words as "having been *unjustly* condemned." But it is difficult to see why Arundel should have taken offence if this were correct; unless the innuendo intended was that by restraining Yelverton from speaking, Lord Arundel *wished* him to be unjustly condemned—an aspersion which would have been doubly offensive to a man of Arundel's known uprightness and impartiality.

² *Calendar of State Papers, James I*, 1619–1623, pp. 254, 257, 258, 262, Tierney, p. 443, Walker, p. 212, and many other places.

This unexpected interruption to the even tenour of his career, left Arundel's general position unaffected. Contemporaries seem to have regarded the matter merely as a huff between two private persons. Buckingham visited him frequently in the Tower; they were at one on this occasion, the favourite being keenly opposed to Yelverton. Those who had been Arundel's friends before, held him in unabated high esteem, but the number of his enemies was increasing; or, at least, they were becoming bolder in openly exhibiting their hostility.

The King's favour, on the other hand, grew warmer day by day; and he now took an early opportunity to bestow on Arundel a public mark of his esteem. On the 15th July, at Theobalds, James handed to Lord Arundel the staff of Earl Marshal of England¹. The office held by his ancestors, hitherto filled by him only in commission with several others, was now his alone. The ancient honour was restored in its pristine fulness. A few weeks later, the patent was drawn up which conferred on Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, the dignity of Earl Marshal of England, with the right to carry the golden stick engraved with the King's arms and his own, and a fee of £20 per annum, as thereunto appertaining².

The King had desired to confer, with the appointment, an annuity of £2000. This Arundel declined; preferring to accept only the ordinary pension of £20. His probable reason for refusing the larger sum was that James had recently bestowed upon him the newly-established impost on currants, valued by one writer at £4000 to £5000 a year³. A few days later, we hear that the grant of the currants "goes not forward." In its place, Lord Arundel was, after all, to receive the refused pension of £2000. Soon this also was called into question. It became plain that the hand of an enemy was at work. At every turn a spoke was thrust into Arundel's wheel of fortune. It was not long before the quarter was revealed from which the opposing influence proceeded.

John Williams, a Welshman, was an ecclesiastic of some distinc-

¹ On the 21st July, Mr Chamberlain wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton, "On Sunday the Earl of Arundel had the baton delivered him and was made Earl Marshal at Theobalds." The 21st July being a Saturday, the previous Sunday was the 15th. —The King was at Theobalds on this occasion from the 13th to the 16th July, after which he started on a Summer Progress. On the 21st he was at Amptill (Nichols, *Progresses*, etc., Vol. iv, pp. 669-671).

² *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, James I*, 1619-1623, p. 285, 29th August, 1621. Patent, etc.

³ Birch, Vol. II, p. 272, Mr Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, from London, 4th August, 1621. Although delayed by opposition, the impost on currants was ultimately confirmed to Lord Arundel. But Mr Chamberlain is mistaken as to its value, which was probably about £3000 per annum.

tion. Essentially a climber, acute in perception, cautious in action, both eyes fixed unwaveringly on his own advancement, his was a type of character peculiarly distasteful to Arundel. Schemers such as Williams shivered beneath the irony of his glance, and the cold contempt of his manner. Not unnaturally, they resented his attitude, and became his bitter enemies.

With the King, however, Williams was a *persona grata*. His glib tongue and ready intelligence made him an agreeable companion. Moreover, he was reputed straight in financial matters. He held a number of benefices, was made a Court chaplain, and accompanied the King to Scotland in 1618. No doubt he made the most of his opportunities. He quickly perceived that, in order to realize his ambitions, it would be necessary to secure the good will of Buckingham. Accordingly, he proceeded to ingratiate himself in that quarter, by assisting the Duke's marriage with Lady Katharine Manners. He was rewarded by promotion, through Buckingham's influence, to the Deanery of Westminster, a position he occupied at the time of the fall and trial of Bacon and was permitted to retain when shortly afterwards advanced to the bishopric of Lincoln. For a brief period, the Great Seal was held in commission. Then the King transferred it to Williams, who became the new Lord Keeper.

It was in this capacity that he was able to hinder and hamper, ostensibly on public grounds, the confirmation of Arundel's new appointment. The Earl Marshal, with scornful dignity, took no step to hurry it. For him, it sufficed that his sovereign had been pleased to confer upon him that time-honoured post.

The Lord Keeper stays the Earl of Arundel's patent from passing the Great Seal (writes Locke to Carleton on the 22nd September). But the Earl executes his office nevertheless, by virtue of the staff given him by the King, and makes no suit about the patent¹.

It was well known that Arundel's financial position was not brilliant, and that the promised relief would be welcome. Williams hummed and hawed and did everything possible to impede progress. He made Buckingham his confidant. A curious letter exists in which he emphasizes his objections to the annuity of £2000, and the wide powers which it is proposed to vest in the office of Earl Marshal. The venom of its tone will be apparent from the following extracts.

I may (he says) offend that great Lord in this small stay, but your Lordship cannot but know how little I lose, when I lose but him, whom (without the least cause in the World) I have irreconcilably lost already...

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, James I, 1619-1623, p. 291.*

...this is a very unseasonable time to receive such large pensions from so bountiful a King; and the Parliament so soon approaching is very like to take notice thereof, . . .¹.

Williams dwells on the distinction between the offices of Earl Marshal and Marshal of the King's house; obviously desiring, if possible, to reduce the great hereditary dignity to that relatively unimportant position. In this, however, he failed. But on the financial ground, his cunningly planted shafts took effect. The hint that such munificence on the part of the sovereign, at a moment when every nerve was being strained to obtain further subsidies, might make a bad impression, and endanger the success of those efforts, doubtless went home. In the end, Arundel received with the Earl Marshalship only the ordinary small annual fee of £20. In this form, on the 29th September, the patent at last passed the Great Seal. Although apparently bowing before the oppositions, the King, it was soon seen, was not to be easily thwarted. In the end Lord Arundel received both the annuity of £2000 and the impost on currants².

Williams was still unsatisfied. His object was now to curtail the jurisdiction of the Earl Marshal, by pointing out that the powers to be wielded by the Earl of Arundel had formerly been divided between the Earl Marshal and the Constable; and that it was doubtful whether the Earl Marshal could legally exercise them alone. Although James had somewhat timidly given way on the monetary point, he was not disposed to yield to mere chicanery. He caused the question to be carefully investigated. On the 1st August, 1622, after the lapse of a whole year, he wrote to "Earl Marshal Arundel" to invest him with the authority of both offices; so that "he shall proceed in all cases as judicially and definitely as any previous Constable or Earl Marshal³."

In the month of April following (1623), the King issued a further order, to deliver to the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Earl Marshal, the Staff of Constable of England, and certain ancient seals of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, formerly Constable⁴.

To return to the summer of 1621. The Tower of London has already played a considerable part in the annals of this year. It now

¹ *Cabala* (3rd edition, London, 1691), p. 261. Lord Keeper Williams to the Duke [of Buckingham], 1st September, 1621.

² See *post*, p. 192 for the annuity of £2000, and p. 261 note 1 for a full account of the "business of the currants."

³ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, James I, 1619-1623*, p. 436. The King to Earl Marshal Arundel, Westminster, 1st August, 1622.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 559. The King to Sir Robert Pye, Auditor of the Exchequer, and others. 16th April, 1623.

comes into a happier prominence than was often its destiny, by disgorging a number of eminent political prisoners, set free by the King's clemency. Amongst those restored to liberty were the Earls of Northumberland and Southampton, Sir Henry Yelverton, and Captain North, whilst some who had been restrained in private houses, and now received his Majesty's pardon, comprised the Earl of Oxford, Sir Edwin Sandys, and Mr Selden. The rejoicing was naturally great. In some cases, the cause of captivity was hardly known outside the prison walls: in every case, the act of grace by which the King this year celebrated his birthday, was enthusiastically welcomed.

The release of the Earl of Northumberland, especially, evoked widespread interest and sympathy. For nearly sixteen years, he had been confined in the Tower, for suspected complicity in the Gunpowder Plot. Of versatile intellect, and keen literary and scientific tastes, he had whiled away the irksome years of restraint in the extensive library set up in his cell. Learned men were engaged by him to share his studies; he was on friendly terms with Raleigh, like himself a prisoner in the Tower. His younger daughter, Lucy, whose lovely portrait by Van Dyck may be seen at Petworth¹, was married to James Hay, now Viscount Doncaster; and it was mainly through the efforts of his son-in-law that Northumberland regained his liberty. When at last it was granted, Doncaster came in state, with a coach drawn by six horses, to fetch him away from the Tower, and convey him to Sion House. All the notabilities of Court and town crowded about the freed captive to offer their congratulations. Lord Arundel supped with him on the night of his release, and dined with him next day: actions which go far to prove that he, at least, placed no credence in the accusations on which Northumberland had been imprisoned².

Through all the outward stir of public events, the collection continued quietly to increase. Sir Dudley Carleton now sent Lord Arundel a present of a picture by Gerard Honthorst, of which he was quick to recognise the merit. Honthorst was at this time a young and little-known painter; and the ready appreciation of his talent, both by Carleton and Arundel, gives some measure of their critical faculty³. There is more. The artist was, at a later time,

¹ Petworth also contains a magnificent portrait by Van Dyck of Northumberland himself.

² Birch, Vol. II, p. 270. Chamberlain to Carleton, London, 21st July, 1621.—Northumberland's liberty was not, however, unconditional. It was limited to an area of thirty miles round Petworth, whither he shortly betook himself, and where he ultimately ended his days.

³ As has already been pointed out by Sainsbury, *Orig. Papers relating to Rubens*, p. 269.

invited by Charles I to visit England; most probably at Arundel's suggestion. Honthorst brought with him, as will presently be related, his young pupil, Joachim Sandrart, to whom we are indebted for some precious side-lights on the collection at Arundel House¹. The arrival of the first picture by the master's hand, seen in this country, is therefore a circumstance of some interest.

The English Ambassador at the Hague, was at this time anxious to leave diplomacy and obtain some employment at home. The second part of the following letter evidently alludes to a request previously made to Lord Arundel to use his influence in furtherance of this wish.

The Earl of Arundel to Sir Dudley Carleton.

My good lord

I have received wth y^r kinde letter, a fayre picture of Æneas flyinge out of Troy, in w^{ch} I assure y^r lo^p I thinke the painter hath expressed y^e story wth much arte, and both for the postures and y^e colouringe I have seene fewe duch men arrive unto it; for it hath more of y^e Itallian then the Flemish and much of y^e manor of Caravagioes² colouringe, w^{ch} is nowe soe much esteẽmed in Rome. Soe it hath no fault but only that it is too good a present for me; but since y^r lo^p thinkes it not soe, I doe receive it wth many thankes, and will esteeme it amongst y^e many argumentes of y^r love and kindnes w^{ch} I have formerly received from y^r Lo^p.

For y^e places heere in Courte, it is true, as y^r lo^p writes, that y^e reporte is some change is probable to be in that of y^e Comptrollershippe. For my selfe, in truth I understand least (I thinke) of those kind of thinges of most in this House; and the Kinge is both of him selfe soe mindfull of y^r lo^{ps} meritte, and my noble Lord Admirall³ soe good an intercessor for y^u, as little else shall neede. Yet, in this case, my weake endeavours shall not be wantinge to be a remembrancer, w^{ch} though it have noe efficacy, yet howsoever I shall satisfy both my publike duty and my private obligacion in speakinge truth of the advancemente w^{ch} I knowe y^e King's service should receive by y^r ability and worth, whereof I have been a neere wittnesse.

I am sory to heare y^r lo^p feeles still sometimes of y^r indisposition, but I hope that a good condicon heere at home would as well doe y^u some good in y^r health as in y^r fortune, w^{ch} I hartily pray may be in both.

Soe wth my service both to y^r good lady and y^r selfe, I rest ever

Y^r Lo^{ps} most assured frend to coñmand

T. ARUNDELL.

Whithall, 20 July, 1621.

To my Honorable frende S^r Dudley Carleton, Knight, Lord Ambassador for His M^{tie} at the Hage⁴.

¹ See *post*, pp. 257-258.

² Lord Arundel uses the old genitive *es*, instead of the apostrophe, which in modern writing has taken the place of the *e*.

³ Buckingham, who in 1619 had succeeded Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, in that office.

⁴ Record Office, *State Papers, Domestic, James I* (unpublished), Vol. cxxii, p. 30. (A portion of this letter was printed by Sainsbury.)

In August Lord Arundel was sitting again on the Subsidy Commission. The King meanwhile was engaged on a progress, in the course of which he was magnificently received by the Marquess of Buckingham at his newly-acquired estate of Burley-on-the-Hill, and by his oft-times host, the Earl of Rutland, at Belvoir Castle. Buckingham had caused to be written for the visit to Burley, the Masque of the *Metamorphosed Gipsies* which was one of Ben Jonson's most successful efforts. So great was the satisfaction it gave that the King caused it to be repeated at Belvoir. When he returned to Windsor, early in September, a third performance was arranged. All the lords of the Council had assembled at the royal castle to greet their sovereign's return; and it was settled that the "Gipsies," instead of busying themselves with the fortunes of the Court ladies, as on former occasions, should now address themselves to the lords. Each of the Court magnates received his due meed of recognition under this amusing scheme. Lord Arundel's recent appointment as Earl Marshal afforded the poet an easy opening. Ben Jonson had been for many years acquainted with the new dignitary; and the character assigned by him to the Earl Marshal, will be read with interest.

The Earl Marshal's Fortune, by the

THIRD GIPSY. Next the great Master, who is the donor¹,
 I read you here the preserver of honour,
 And spy it in all your singular parts,
 What a father you are, and a nurse of the Arts,
 By cherishing which, a way you have found,
 How they, free to all, to one may be bound.
 And they again love their bonds; for to be
 Obligated to you, is the way to be free.
 But this is their fortune;—hark to your own.
 Yours shall be to make true gentry known
 From the fictitious, not to prize blood
 So much by the greatness as by the good;
 To show and to open clear virtue the way,
 Both whither she should and how far she may;
 And whilst you do judge 'twixt valour and noise,
 To extinguish the race of the roaring-boys².

¹ Of course, the King.

² Nichols, *Prog. of James I*, Vol. iv, p. 718. The "roaring-boys" was "the cant name for the bullying bucks of Ben Jonson's time;—the mohocks of Addison's day." (Quoted by Nichols from Nares's *Glossary*, note p. 719.)

CHAPTER XVI.

LADY ARUNDEL IN VENETIA. THE FOSCARINI AFFAIR.

1621—1622.

LADY ARUNDEL, meanwhile, was pursuing the tenour of her way in Venetia: an even tenour, so far, but not destined long so to remain.

The first tidings of her there, are contained in a friendly letter to Sir Dudley Carleton. It will be remembered that, on the occasion of her former sojourn at Venice with Lord Arundel in 1613, Carleton had occupied the post of English ambassador to the Republic. He had, in 1616, as we know, been transferred to the Hague. Doubtless, Lady Arundel missed the presence of so old and helpful a friend as he had often proved himself to be.

The Countess of Arundel at Venice to Sir Dudley Carleton at the Hague.

My lord

I received y^r letter in my journey to Venice whear I am now amongst y^r ancient acquanetance and servants; wheare, though y^r fame live, yet I want the assistance of so discreete and wise a frend, whose directions I might rely uppon; and, weare not my respect to his ma^{ty}: busynes w^{ch} y^u governe there, I should oft wish y^u the trouble of being in Venice. I hope y^u will continue to favour me wth letting me heare from y^u some-tymes, since it will be a great contentment to me boath to understand any good newes concerning y^r selfe, and also what y^u shall please to adde of the disposition of the tymes. This I shall not be hable to deserve at y^r hands, since y^u knowe the silence and secrecy of this state, but y^u shall thereby adde to the obligacion w^{ch} I already have to remayne ever

Y^r lo^p faythfull frend and servant

A. ARUNDELL.

My lo: I beseech y^u remember my service to my la: whose favours to me at all tymes calle me to a thankfull acknowledgement, and especially those w^{ch} I received from y^u boath in this place. I should be glad if in parte of requitall I might serve either of y^u in any occasion of yours heere. *To the Right Ho^{bly} Si Dudley Carleton knight, Amb^r for his Ma^{ty} at the Haghe¹.*

¹ Record Office, *State Papers, Domestic, James I* (unpublished), Vol. cxix, p. 1. Undated but docketed by Carleton: *re^d y^e 9th of Jan^{ry}*, 1620 (1621).

A letter from Mr Coke, written in June, throws further light on her movements. Lady Arundel had now been absent from England for a year, and was anxious to turn her face homewards. It was considered at that time unsafe to travel in the great heat of an Italian summer, especially for foreigners not inured to the climate. A good deal of anxiety was therefore caused by Lady Arundel's persistent desire to arrange her homeward journey at this particular season.

Sir Henry Wotton had returned in March of this year, for his third spell of office as English ambassador at Venice.

Mr Thomas Coke to the Earl of Arundel.

Right Ho^{ble}

I can now wryte nothing more then what I writte the last weeke, w^{ch} is that my La: and yo^r Lo: children are well heere at Padova, wheare their greatest want is fresh ayre. But because my Lo: Amb^r¹ hath occasion to send this gentleman, or because his owne occasion drawes him, and his Lo: giveth notice of it, it would become me ill (who seeke all the occasions that I can to lett you know howe we all are) not to give yo^r Lo: this account.

I wayted yesterday uppon my Lo: Amb^r, by my La: comandment, who out of that familiarity wherewth he is pleased to ho^r me, tould me that at his being wth my La: shee had intrapped him; for he, telling hir of this occasion of sending this gentleman, shee was anxious to informe hir selfe how the Jorney might be made in these heates, w^{ch} he made easy by travailing by night. But in the end (as he sayde) he, discovering that she had a particular end of hir owne, namely to informe hir selfe of the nature and meanes of a Jorney w^{ch} she purposed to make hir selfe, he cryed downe all reasons that could be alledged for hir selfe. And in truth he seemeth to me to think it a Jorney (besides the unseasonableness of the tyme) rather prejudiciall then available every way.

His Lo: showed me his *Lavoratorio*, wheare in truth he hath accomodated his stills for *balneo* and *arena*, his presses for oyles, and other things, in such sort as made my mouth run on water to have the lyke, as I would have if I had the lyke purse.

My La: continues still to make Sig^r Francesco to putt all in order for hir Jorney, and I to pray against it. I beseech Almighty God send us this weeke some newes that may putt us out of this disputacion.

And so beseeching God lykewise to send yo^r Lo: all Happines, I remayne ever

Y^r Lo: most humble servant

THO: COKE.

At Padova, 27 June 1621 St^o n^o

(Endorsed by Lord Arundel: . . . Good Mr Coke to me².)

¹ Sir Henry Wotton.

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 251.

The reasons urged for the postponement of Lady Arundel's journey appear to have prevailed, as she remained in Venetia a further winter. Probably another factor had its weight in delaying her return even when the cooler season had set in. Lord Arundel was again hoping to join her in Italy. In September he told Lando, the Venetian ambassador in London, of his "desire and intention" to visit Venice shortly, in order to see his wife and children¹. The plan was so far advanced that Lando commended him to the good offices of the Doge and Senate; an almost superfluous proceeding, seeing that these dignitaries had constantly impressed on the Ambassador to exercise special civility towards Lord Arundel, whose friendship the Republic was most anxious to retain. Again the duties at home made it impossible for him, to execute the project. Some months later, when writing to the Doge, we shall find Lord Arundel regretting his inability to visit Venice personally, owing to the demands made upon him by the King's service. In March (1622), despairing of getting away himself, he sent Mr (afterwards Sir John) Borough² to escort Lady Arundel to England.

That lady had taken the Palazzo Mocenigo on the Grand Canal, and had there established herself on a considerable scale. She had also hired a villa at Dolo, on the Brenta, about ten miles distant, between Venice and Padua. At the last-named city, too, she often sojourned, to enjoy the company of her sons.

It may be inferred with some certainty that, while at Venice, Lady Arundel's warm interest in painters and painting, furnished her with many congenial hours³. In 1622, Tizianello, son of the great painter's cousin and assistant, Marco Vecellio, dedicated to her his *Life of Titian*, the most contemporary record of Titian's early life⁴. She even arranged with Tizianello to accompany her to

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Venice*, Vol. xvii, 1621-1623, p. 123. Girolamo Lando to the Doge and Senate of Venice, 3rd September, 1621.

² Sir John Borough (knighted in 1624) was secretary to Bacon when Lord Chancellor. He then held a similar position with Lord Arundel. A lawyer by training, he had marked antiquarian gifts; wrote several letters from Venice to Cotton, to whom he seems to have been related; was appointed Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London; and, by Arundel's favour, was made successively Mowbray, Norroy, and Garter King of Arms. He was an ardent loyalist, and a somewhat voluminous writer; was several times a member of Parliament; was given the degree of D.C.L. by the University of Oxford in 1643; and died in October of the same year.

³ Soprani speaks of her as "Dama molto amante di Pittura" (*Vite de' Pittori....Genevesi*. Seconda Edizione, riveduta...da C. G. Ratti, Genova, 1768, Vol. I, p. 446).

⁴ *Breve Compendio della Vita del famoso Titiano Vecellio di Cadore....4to*, Venice, 1622. (This fact was kindly imparted by Dr Lionel Cust.)

England and there paint some pictures for her, giving him a sum of money in advance¹.

A greater man than Tizianello moreover probably formed one of her circle, if not actually attached to her train, in Venice; and accompanied her on part, at least, of her subsequent travels. It has been seen how, in consequence of her visit to Antwerp and sitting to Rubens, Van Dyck had been induced to go to England in the autumn of 1620; how he had entered the service of King James, and, after some months had requested and received leave of absence². The young painter had been contemplating a journey to Italy when Lord Arundel's invitation to England deflected him from his course. He now returned to Antwerp, and, after an interval variously given by different writers, started for the south. Although his movements when in Italy are shrouded in much uncertainty it seems clear that in 1622 he was for a considerable time in Venice, studying the works of the great colourists; and, as will hereafter be seen, that he was with Lady Arundel subsequently at Turin, Mantua, and probably also at Genoa, which she afterwards visited.

With her keen interest in matters of art, and the brightest star in the rising constellation of painters attached, or semi-attached, to her little court, Lady Arundel's stay in Venetia must have been rich in agreeable aspects. Into the midst of these peaceful avocations, there now fell a bombshell which, but for her courage and presence of mind, might have had disastrous results.

Antonio Foscari, who had some years previously been Venetian ambassador in England, and was now residing at Venice, was accused of having privately met and conferred with certain foreigners, especially the Papal Nuncio, and the Ambassador of the Emperor, to whom, so it was averred, he had betrayed State secrets. The sequel is well known. The unfortunate Foscari, who was afterwards proved to be entirely innocent, was seized by order of the Council of Ten, secretly tried, and strangled in prison. Great excitement arose when the news of his death became known, and every kind of sensational rumour was spread from mouth to mouth.

¹ The plan did not, however, take effect, as the painter, while retaining the remuneration, drew back from his share of the bargain. He gave as his excuse that he "feared she would take him to Spain, whither she was going from Genoa"; a reason which was spoken of as a "slander" by Sir Isaac Wake when, at a later date, conveying Lord and Lady Arundel's angry complaints to the Doge and Senate (*Cal. State Papers, Venice*, Vol. xviii, 1623-1625, p. 607, 11th March, 1625). But we shall presently see that Tizianello's idea was not devoid of foundation, though it of course furnished no pretext for financial dishonesty. The Doge and Senate ordered the painter to be arrested. What more came of the matter, I have not been able to discover.

² See *ante*, p. 186.

On the 21st April, the day on which Foscarini's body was seen suspended from a gibbet on the Piazza of San Marco, Lady Arundel was proceeding in her coach from Dolo towards Venice¹. Near Fusina, on the lagoon, whence the journey proceeded by water, she was overtaken by a horseman bringing her an urgent letter and message from Sir Henry Wotton. The bearer, Mr John Dyneley, the Ambassador's secretary, would have executed his commission privately; but this Lady Arundel declined. The message was thereupon delivered in the presence of her attendants. She was informed that rumours were current to the effect that some of the meetings for which Foscarini was condemned, had taken place in her house on the Canal Grande; and that the Senate was intending to expel her from the territory of the Republic within three days. Furthermore, the life of her servant, Francesco Vercellini, was considered to be in danger, seeing he was a Venetian subject. Wotton therefore urged her strongly not to come to Venice, but to return to her villa and leave the country before the intimation of banishment could be delivered to her.

Little did the ambassador who offered counsel so pusillanimous, understand the spirit and pride of the granddaughter of Bess of Hardwick. With scorn she repudiated the damaging accusation; begged to thank Wotton for his advice, which however she would not accept; got into her barge, and went straight to Venice to the Ambassador's house. Here she informed Wotton that she wished to hear from his own lips the confirmation of the secretary's message. The Ambassador replied that the intention of banishment was true: as they "knew" her house had been frequented by the Papal Nuncio, the Secretary of the Emperor, and the Cavalier Foscarini. With deep indignation, Lady Arundel swore to the untruth of the reports; and then added, to the dismay of the Ambassador, that "as this concerned the English name as well as her own reputation, she would go to the Cabinet on the following morning to clear it up; if he would assist her, she would be glad; if not, she would go alone."

Wotton, whose own part in the intrigue is by no means clear, said all he could think of to dissuade her from this enterprise, which

¹ The following are the principal sources for the incidents related in this chapter, which made widespread sensation. All have been consulted, and where necessary, the Italian originals and English translations compared and verified; Romanin, *Storia Documentata di Venezia*, Tomo VII (editions of 1858 and 1914); Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, *Report of the Documents in the Archives and Public Libraries of Venice*, 1866; *Calendar of State Papers, Venice, 1621-1623*; Logan Pearsall Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Logan Wotton*, 2 vols, 1917; works by Horatio Brown; *State Papers* (unpublished) in the Public Record Office; MSS. (various) in the British Museum; etc. Only references of special importance will hereafter be given in the footnotes relating to this subject.

was evidently most distasteful to him. Finding argument vain, he was constrained, very unwillingly, to consent. The audience was asked for and granted; and the next morning, he accompanied her to the Collegio.

Lady Arundel was placed on the right of the Doge¹. She then explained her errand in English, Wotton translating her statement into Italian. Although she did not trust herself to speak on so important a subject in a foreign language, she well understood Italian, as the Doge hastened to remark when replying to her in that tongue.

His Serenity declared that the matter was entirely new to them; that there had never been a syllable or a shadow of a question on the topic which the Ambassador had propounded; that if the latter could give him any clue to those who had spread such lies, they would be punished in an exemplary manner; and much more to the same effect. Lady Arundel departed triumphant, and with effusive thanks to the Doge.

Her anger was then kindled against Wotton. He had not only led her to "believe as certain what the Republic never thought," and given her "the bad advice to flee, and so create an indelible impression of guilt," but she was "not without reasonable suspicion that he had something to do with the origin of this false report, because he objected to her staying in this city, fancying that she watched his proceedings, and was a weight on his arms, preventing him from acting with such freedom in public affairs as he desired²."

It is certainly true that, with all his distinguished talents and friendships, the Ambassador was profoundly mistrusted by many of his contemporaries. The whole-hearted appreciation bestowed on a sterling man, to whom shifts and tricks are unknown, such as, for instance, Carleton and Roe always enjoyed, is often withheld from Wotton. As far as Lady Arundel was concerned, apart from the formal amenities due to their relative positions at the time, they could scarcely have had much in common. Wotton was a strong Protestant, and had worked for years to introduce the reformed religion into Venice, as well as to encourage coolness between the Republic and the Papacy. Lady Arundel was, and never ceased to be, a convinced Roman Catholic. Behind the scenes, there may have been other causes of friction. Wotton had attached himself ardently

¹ Antonio Priuli (1618-1623). His descendants still live in Venice. The wife of one of them, the Contessa Priuli-Bon, is a well-known writer on art.

² Report of Lionello (Venetian notary to the Council of Ten), of a conversation with Francesco Vercellini. The original is given by Romanin, Vol. VII, Appendix III, Documenti veneziani. I have here followed the slightly condensed account of the *Cal. of State Papers*, Vol. XVII, 1621-23, p. 297, 26th April, which gives the sense of the original very exactly.

to the service of Arundel's rival, Buckingham, through whom he had received many favours, and hoped for more to come. Buckingham employed Wotton at Venice to buy pictures for his collection¹. Lady Arundel was at all times eager in the same quest, with which Lord Arundel seems to have inspired his whole family, and we may more than suspect that Francesco Vercellini had received instructions from his patron (as we know to have been the case at a later period) to aid in this enterprise. Here again the English Ambassador may have felt the presence and pursuits of the great English lady, to whom all doors opened so easily, to be a thorn in his side. Possibly, too, some light is thrown on Wotton's desire to get Vercellini away from Venice, evinced in the suggestion made to Lady Arundel that his life was in danger. It is likely, however, that the intrigue had deeper roots than these. It must be remembered that, before entering Lord Arundel's service, Francesco Vercellini had been *maestro di casa* to Barbarigo (the Venetian ambassador who died in England): a circumstance which had placed him on an intimate footing with a large circle of Venetian officials². This may have been inconvenient to Wotton. Lionello, who had previously been secretary to the Venetian embassy in London, says in the report just quoted, that he had known Vercellini ten years.

Other circumstances combine to give Sir Henry Wotton's action in the matter a suspicious appearance, though none actually convict him of treachery. In the first account that he gave to the Doge and Senate, he failed to state that he himself had been the person to inform Lady Arundel of the scandalous reports. That the omission had been intentional, is made clear from the fact that he substituted a falsehood for the truth of how they had reached her ears. Lady Arundel perceived the inaccuracy; and insisted upon its subsequent rectification. Moreover, Sir Henry told her himself he had known of the reports fifteen days before he communicated them to her, as he "did not wish to disturb her by telling her." King James said, when the affair came to his knowledge, that "if Wotton knew of it fifteen days before, as he professed, he should have warned the Countess earlier."

¹ A letter in the *Cabala* (p. 365) from Wotton to Buckingham, written in the winter of 1622, describes a Titian and a Palma (probably Palma Giovine) which the Ambassador was sending to his patron.

² "The Earl of Arundel...has in his house Sig. Francesco Vercellini, a Venetian, who associates with many of our gentlemen and others. He is a prudent man who seems well disposed to the Republic, but he certainly knows a great deal about our affairs, and those of other ambassadors, and doubtless tells his patron" (*Cal. State Papers, Venice*, Vol. xvii, 1621-1623, p. 100, Lando to the Inquisitors of State, 6th Aug., 1621).

Meanwhile, the ball once set going, gathered impetus as it rolled. Disquieting rumours of what was taking place, began to reach England. Lady Arundel had foreseen this result. She had instantly despatched a detailed narrative to her husband, and now sent Vercellini in person to England, to furnish all further particulars.

The Venetian Senate, finding the scandals did not die down, and in view perhaps of Lady Arundel's request for a public vindication, called a special meeting to consider the next step. They thereupon issued a decree confirming all that the Doge had said in her complete exoneration: and ordered a hundred ducats to be expended in "confections and wax," to be sent to her in the name of the State. Lionello was next despatched to invite her and the Ambassador to attend at the Collegio next morning, to hear the decree read. The Senate also forwarded an account of their proceedings to the Venetian ambassador in London, which is so important that it shall here be given in full¹.

To the Ambassador in England.

The lady Countess of Arundel having come into the College with the Ambassador Wotton, represented to us a certain injurious accusation circulated against her, as you will perceive by the enclosed copy of her statement: Although in answering this his Serenity made ample amends, nevertheless, we, with the Senate have also chosen to make an express and special demonstration towards her according to the accompanying decree.

In accordance with this, we charge you to confer with the husband of the lady, and to speak to him in such strong and earnest language that he retains no doubt of the invalidity of the report, remaining perfectly convinced of the esteem and cordial affection entertained towards him by the Republic, augmented as such are by the dignified and open mode of life led here by the Countess, and in which she hastens the education of her sons in the sciences to render them, as they will become, faithful imitators of their meritorious father and ancestors. Should he evince any wish to this effect, you will not fail reading him our aforesaid decree, as communicated to the Countess, allowing him, moreover, to make extracts of the principal clauses, for the omission of nothing which can avail entirely to tranquillize his mind about a matter in which it becomes us to give just satisfaction.

Should the other noblemen of the Court discuss the topic with you, you will repeat these assurances, which by admitting the news to be false, and announcing their regret for their cause, as also the wish to confirm this regret, will, on true and just grounds, save the private character of the Countess, and also that of the entire English nation.

Should the Earl Marshal make you any request to this effect, you will

¹ Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, *Report on Venetian Archives*, etc. Appendix F, p. 78.—The original Italian in Romanin, *loc. cit.*

also give similar earnest and loving assurances to the King, so that our wish to render the Earl utterly satisfied may be manifest, letting him perceive that at his request we were induced to represent the whole to his Majesty. Should you ascertain that any report at variance with the truth be in circulation, and have reached the King, we leave you at liberty to make precisely the same statement to his Majesty as that which the aforesaid Countess received at our hands.

In proof of our good will, and of the ample manner in which such was expressed verbally, we have moreover determined on giving public testimony thereof by presenting the said Lady with various sorts of confections and other refreshments. And as certain particulars have been communicated to us concerning this affair which render it more important, opening our eyes and displaying the origin of their motives, and the ends of those who, perhaps, aim at avoiding an immediate and manifest discovery of their own proceedings here, we send you, besides, the minutes of this audience, so that merely using them as a guide, by keeping on the watch, you may be able to sift the matter, and ascertain the impression which it produces in England, so as to give us distinct account thereof.

The letter, which was drafted on the 28th April, concludes with a copy of the order for the present of "confections and wax" to be made to Lady Arundel.

When Lionello reported the result of his commission to invite the lady and the Ambassador to attend the Collegio, he said that she received the message with evident pleasure, and that the Ambassador did likewise, until he heard that she was invited also. He then changed colour, demurred, but consented.

The following morning (April 29th) Lady Arundel and Wotton accordingly presented themselves once more at the Collegio. They were seated as on the former occasion. At a sign from the Ambassador, Lady Arundel would have presented two papers which she held in her hand. But the Doge interposed, saying that the decree of the Senate must first be read, to hear which they had been invited to attend. After, he would gladly listen to anything they might wish to say. The following declaration of the Senate was then read aloud:

The purity and candour of your ladyship's manner of life cannot be disparaged in the slightest degree by slanderous reports. Through the communication made to us by you and the Ambassador, we recognise even more fully your noble qualities, and you might thus remain reasonably satisfied in your mind. But although you might be reasonably convinced of this by what was said by the Doge, yet we choose that you may further be assured by decree of the Senate, that the news of so false an imposture proved the greatest surprise to us, not the slightest shadow thereof having ever been entertained by any member of the Government. Besides our surprise at these injurious accusations, we regret to see that certain persons have iniquitously raised them on the basis of their own ill-will, and we

could have wished by some means to come at the truth, in order to take measures which on every account should be severe.

Our Ambassador Lando will have orders to give account in conformity to the Earl Marshal, your husband, and to notify the whole, wherever necessary, with the fullest expression of our esteem for your noble qualities, and we hope that you will long enjoy your sojourn in our city, where you will always receive the most cordial marks of our good-will.

We hope that your Excellency the Ambassador will report to the Countess¹ and the Court what is aforesaid, and in so doing fully display those abilities which are peculiar to you².

This proceeding terminated, to which both Lady Arundel and the Ambassador had listened most attentively ("though," says the Venetian report, "it produced very different effects upon them"), Lady Arundel expressed her warm thanks for the great honour accorded to her. Wotton translated as before. She then presented to the Doge the two documents she had brought with her. The first was a short paper of her own: its contents given below, will speak for themselves. The second was a narrative of all that had occurred, which she had caused to be drawn up by Sir Henry Wotton, to send to the King. The Ambassador wished to prevent this narrative from being read in the Collegio. He suggested that the first paper would suffice, the second was rather long. Vercellini afterwards told Lando, in England, that Wotton had made some difficulty about signing it, fearing it might prejudice him. The fact was that it contained the avowal that he himself had been the first person to acquaint Lady Arundel with the reports in circulation. In this it differed from the statement he has made at the previous audience, and he well knew the Venetian Senators would be quick to mark the divergency. Perhaps for this very reason, Lady Arundel felt it desirable that it should be heard. It was accordingly read, on the conclusion of her own statement, which ran as follows:

Most Serene Prince

The devotion with which I have ever revered the most serene Republic of Venice, could be manifested in no better form than by my coming with my sons to reside for so long a period as I have done, with the consent of his Majesty my Sovereign, in your most serene dominions. But the favour and kindness with which your Serenity has been pleased to honour me and my children your respectful servants, are beyond my

¹ The original Italian has: *alla Signora Contessa*. But seeing Lady Arundel was present, and that the English Court is mentioned in the same phrase, it seems that this must be a clerical error for *Signor Conte* (the Earl).

² *Cal. State Papers, Venice*, Vol. xvii, 1621-1623, p. 299. This slightly abbreviated version is given in full by Duffus Hardy, *loc. cit.*, p. 79. Original Italian, Romanin, Vol. vii, Documenti, iii, 4.

power to portray in living words. Only in the recesses of my own heart, they will ever remain indelibly engraved, and above all, this last boon, conferred on me on the 22nd April, concerning as it did my honour and reputation.

But as this report falsely circulated against me seems to revive daily, with fresh particulars, I have therefore deemed it necessary to obtain from the most excellent the lord Ambassador of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, a narrative, which I here respectfully present to your Serenity, being anxious for it to be seen by my Sovereign's invincible Majesty, and in other quarters, as proof at one and the same time of the graciousness of your Serenity and of my own innocence.

I deem it, however, my duty in the first place to show it to your Serenity, beseeching you to acquaint his Majesty with my innocence, and, with your most sage Council, to provide in such wise that so false a report circulated against me, and which yet prevails, may be entirely extinguished.

In the mean while, I pray his divine Majesty to grant all possible increase of grandeur to your Serenity.

Your Serenity's

Most humble servant,

ALETHEA ARUNDELL AND SURREY¹.

It will not be necessary to reproduce here Sir Henry Wotton's narrative, seeing that it contains merely a repetition of facts with which the reader is already acquainted. The Ambassador was evidently much disturbed. He frequently interrupted the audience, and at one time broke in with the exclamation that he also had to justify himself in the matter, because he had been deceived. He reiterated the rumours he had heard. The Doge and Councillors again declared that there was not a word of truth in them. Neither the Countess nor any English person had been mentioned at Foscarini's trial. Finally, turning from Wotton to Lady Arundel, the Doge expressed the hope she would rest satisfied, as they would always try to render her so. As a special mark of good feeling, they had ordered a galley to be placed at her disposal for the coming festival on Ascension Day of the Marriage of Venice with the Sea, which they hoped she would accept. She would be escorted by two of the Savii.

A better means of proclaiming Lady Arundel's innocence could hardly have been devised. To send her in a State galley, accompanied by two members of the Government, to participate in the great national festival, was to set the seal, in the most public manner, on the declarations made to her in private. On that day all Venice would be upon the water, the lagoons crowded, thousands of eyes eager to mark what took place. In addition, Lady Arundel was

¹ Duffus Hardy, *loc. cit.*, p. 80 (with slight verbal alterations). Original Italian, Romanin, Tomo VII, Documenti, III, 7.

entertained at public banquets given in her honour, at Murano and on the Lido. Venice outdid itself in order to prove how wanton were the accusations which had been brought against her, and the anxiety of the Government to be dissociated from all part or parcel in them.

How quick the Senate was to perceive the disparity between Wotton's two accounts of what had occurred, is shown by the further note despatched to the Venetian ambassador in London after Lady Arundel's second appearance at the Collegio.

To the Ambassador in England.

Yesterday we prescribed all that was to be done in the matter of the Countess of Arundel, enclosing the necessary papers. This morning the Countess and the Ambassador have presented a narrative of the circumstances. We send you a copy of their exposition and this narrative by the ordinary of this evening. You will find something added and something changed since the Ambassador's exposition at the first audience and in the Doge's reply, as you will clearly perceive on reading the papers. These discrepancies should unite (? excite) you to stand on your guard, and to regulate the offices committed to you by your own understanding.

(April 29th—*Read to the Council of Ten and the Savii*¹.)

Wotton's position had certainly become precarious. On leaving the audience, Lady Arundel, in the Hall of the Pregadi, introduced Colonel (Sir Henry) Peyton and three or four other Englishmen who had been helping her with their advice and support, to the Italian official who accompanied her; asking him to read again the decree of the Senate. This was done: and called forth many congratulations. Vercellini, and another of her gentlemen, came shortly afterwards to request a copy of the decree, which they were allowed to take by order of the Savii; and, with this in his pocket, Francesco Vercellini was subsequently despatched to England.

When, on the same day, Lionello returned from conveying to Lady Arundel the gift of the Senate—it consisted of fifteen basins of "candles and confections" which were gazed at admiringly by the whole neighbourhood of the Palazzo Mocenigo—he reported her as full of gratitude for the favours received, and entirely satisfied. But as Lionello descended the stairs, accompanied by Vercellini, the latter, who confirmed his impression about the Countess, added that her contentment appeared as great as the confusion of the Ambassador who feared that he had utterly ruined his fortunes and his prospects at the Court by this business. It is probable, indeed, that Wotton

¹ Report on Venetian Archives, *Cal. of State Papers, 1621-1623*. Duffus Hardy, p. 83—Romanin, *loc. cit.*, Tomo VII, Doc. III, 6.

was only saved by the fact that he was owed certain monies, which, at the moment, it was not convenient to pay him.

The scene shifts from Venice to London. Vercellini had arrived, and had made his report to Lord Arundel. The latter—believing Lady Arundel might shortly be passing through France on her way home, and anxious, probably, that Lord Doncaster, now Ambassador Extraordinary at Paris, should be in a position to contradict any false reports that might reach him—sent to him a long letter, enclosing an account of the whole circumstances. Doubtless for the same reason, Lord Arundel wrote similarly to Sir Dudley Carleton¹. These two letters are of such importance that, at the risk of some amount of repetition, they must here be inserted.

The Earl of Arundel to Viscount Doncaster.

My Noble Lord

I doe gladly apprehende any occasion of comendinge my love and service unto y^u, and shoulde be gladd for y^e publicke good to heare more probability of a Peace in France, w^{ch} if it shoulde not be likely to be soe soone as is wished, yet I hope wee shall have this benefitte by it, that wee shall enjoy y^r good company y^e sooner, w^{ch} is much desired.

Y^r noble care of my wife made her commande her servante w^{ch} she hath sent expressly hither, if he came any thinge neere y^u in France, to have attended y^r Lo^p, and have given y^u a particular accounte of an accidente w^{ch} hath lately befallen her at Venice: w^{ch}, since he could not doe, I will take y^e boldnes to supply it, though not soe particularlye.

Y^r deere frende, Sir Henry Wotton, sent unto her (beinge gone for a fewe dayes to take y^e ayre some tenne miles from Venice) his Secretary, wth a letter of credence, and a message besides by worde of mouth, to this effecte, that he hearde by sure intelligence that the Senate had resolved to intimate unto her, her departure out of y^e Citty of Venice wthin a fewe dayes, and out of y^e State wthin a fewe dayes after; in respecte that it was discovered that Foscarini (who was executed) had often mette wth forrayne Ministers, w^{ch} after he named to be y^e Pope's Nuntio, and Emperor's Agente, at her House; and therfore he advised her to stay abroad to avoyde y^e disgrace, till she hearde further from him. This the Secretary delivered unto her on her way neere unto Venice, first privately, and after she made him deliver y^e same before some others there presente; whereupon she helde on her way to Venice, and wente immediately to my Lo: Amb^{ts}, tellinge him she came to heare from his owne mouth what she had done from his Servantes, w^{ch} he delivered in effecte as before, divers of her company beinge bye. She asked him howe long he had hearde of this? He sayde of y^e reporte some 15 dayes or more, but of the State's resolucion not till that morninge. She asked him why he did never let her understand

¹ Letters unfavourable to Lady Arundel had been addressed to the Ambassadors of France and of the States in London. Hence Lord Arundel's desire that the English representatives in those countries should be in possession of the truth.

of it all that time? He sayde, because she spake not to him of it. She sayde it was hard for her to speake to him of that whereof she never hearde y^e leaste rumor till that day; and protested earnestly she never sawe Foscarini since he was in Englande (he havinge only sayd he would visitte her)¹, nor never heard directly or indirectly from any of those publike ministers named; whereupon he sayde he beleevved there was then noe such matter. She desired him to produce his authors from whome he had it, w^{ch} he would by noe meanes, but wished her to be quiette, and that he woulde enquire further of it. She tolde him it must not rest soe; but she woulde appeale to the Duke for justification of her honor, w^{ch} was deere unto her: w^{ch} y^e nexte morning she did, though much contrary to his persuasion and desire: where she had that good successe w^{ch} y^r lo^p may discerne by y^e papers w^{ch} herewith I send y^u; and after received soe many publike demonstrations of honor and favor from that State as are not usuall.

For S^r Henry Wotton's parte, I will only say this, that if she had eyther bin amazed wth y^e sodaynes [suddenness] and confidence of his first advertisemente, and soe have retired her selfe as he wished, or afterwarde have let it reste as he advised, her honor had bin destroyed. But I thanke Almighty God she was guided by a better spiritte, w^{ch} protectes innocencye, and turnes y^e wickedest intentions to quite contrary effectes.

Y^r lo^p sees howe boldely y^e confidence of y^r favor makes me trouble y^u. I must nowe earnestly intreate an other favor from y^r Lo^p w^{ch} is that y^u will be pleased to procure an effectuall cofmandmente from y^e French Kinge, in writinge, that my wife be used wth all humanity in his Kingdome; have leave to carry weapons and peeces, to diffende herselfe in these broken times, as allsoe her carriadges not to be searched and ransaked, and that if occasion shall be in any parte, she be assisted wth convoyes for her safetye. Whether she will come through France or not, or whether before or after y^e heates, I proteste I knowe not, only I desire she may have all meanes for her safety. If this accidente had not happened, and likewise an indisposition of o^r yonger boy, wth her (of whose perfecte recovery I have not yet hearde), she had bin ere this come out of Italy. Nowe I knowe not whether she can safely stirre before y^e heates be passed.

I heare (God be thanked) my lo: Percy² is very well in health, and I conceive y^u will shortly see him in France. All o^r newes heere y^r lo^p will heare from better handes; as y^e blowes given on both handes. Y^e Kinge o^r m^r [master] hoapes for good effectes of Mr Chancelor's employmente, though yet ther hath not bin time for much more then kinde intertainmente, and lardge professions of much kindnes and good meaninge of y^e Infantaes parte. But an advertisemente that y^e Duke of Baviere meanes

¹ Foscarini wrote to Lady Arundel to this effect on her first arrival at Venice, but afterwards sent to cancel the proposal, so that she never saw him in Italy. This she told Sir Henry Wotton.

² Eldest son of the released Earl of Northumberland. Lord Percy was at this time at Venice, and had shortly before been introduced to the Doge by Sir Henry Wotton. Lord Percy was brother-in-law to Viscount Doncaster.

to quitte y^e pretence to y^e Electorate gives best grounde of hope to accomodate¹.

God send all for the beste both in these affayres and y^r troublesome negociation². And, howsoever, that y^r lo^p may have much health and happines; w^{ch} is wished more by noe man then

Y^r Lo^{ps} faithfull frende and servante

T. ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Arundel House, 13 May, 1622³.

The Earl of Arundel to Sir Dudley Carleton.

My good Lord

I am at any time gladde to have occasion to salute y^r Lo^p and y^r worthy Ladye, but nowe y^r greate love and many kindnesses expressed both to my wife and my selfe, exacte from me to give y^u this particular accounte of that accidente w^{ch} lately happened to my wife at Venice: w^{ch} was that, upon the questioning of Sig^r Antonio Foscarini, a vile scandal was invented of her, that he shoulde have mette wth y^e Pope's Nuntio and other forrayne Ministers secretly at her House; of w^{ch} she never hearde soe much as the least whisperinge untill S^r Henry Wotton sente her worde of it, though (it seemes by his owne reporte) he had hearde the bruite of it some 15 days before.

But after her complaynte unto the State, she did not only receive ample satisfaction, but soe abondante honors and favors as neither she nor I can deserve; soe as God, whoe protectes innocency, turned y^e malicious intente of y^e inventors into honor to her. The particulars I send y^r lo^p heerewith, and therfore I will not trouble y^u wth them any more. Only I observe that y^r lo^p studied to doe us all the honor and favor possible⁴, yet y^u coulde never procure that my wife should sitte by y^e Doge in Collegio; w^{ch} though it be an extraordinary grace, yet I wish neyther she nor any frendes of ours may have it upon y^e like occasion.

My wife had ere this parted from Venice; but by reason of this accidente, as likewise that o^r seconde boy wth her hath bin somewhat distempered wth a fever, of whose recovery I doe not yet heare (and then she verily hoped to have kissed y^e noble Queen of Bohemia's handes, w^{ch} she infinitely desired, and have visited y^r lo^p and y^r worthy Ladye); nowe I

¹ In 1619, Frederick, Prince Palatine, had accepted the crown of Bohemia. In 1620, the Imperial forces defeated his army, and he and Elizabeth were forced to fly from Prague. During the subsequent hostilities, the Duke of Bavaria seized the Upper Palatinate. In the spring of 1622, Sir Richard Weston, Chancellor of the Exchequer (subsequently first Earl of Portland), was sent on his second diplomatic mission to the Infanta Isabella, Regent of the Netherlands, who had previously been asked to mediate. At about the same time, a cordial exchange of letters had taken place between the Infanta and the Queen of Bohemia.

² Doncaster had been sent to France on the thankless mission of endeavouring to induce Louis XIII to patch up his quarrels with the Huguenots. On his return to England in the autumn of 1622, he was made Earl of Carlisle.

³ Brit. Mus. *Egerton MSS.*, 2595, f. 94.—This letter has also been printed by Birch, *Court and Times of James I*, in modernised orthography.

⁴ When Ambassador at Venice.

feare she can hardly come over y^e mountaynes till y^e heates be passed though I thinke she will hasten all she can.

Soe wth my service and best wishes to y^r Lo^p,

I reeste ever,

Y^r Lo^{ps} most affectionate true frende to comande

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Whithall, 16 May, 1622.

The Ambassador Lando carries on the tale in his reports from London to the Doge and Senate. An extract, at least, must here be given from his voluminous despatch of May 27th.

Girolamo Lando, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate. (Extract.)

... Vercellini, a gentleman of Lady Arundel, arrived here four days before your Serenity's letters of the 28th and 29th ult., having been sent in haste by the Countess to her husband the Earl Marshal, with an account of all that passed at Venice, and copies of the narrative presented by her and the Senate's reply. He immediately went about publishing the matter, and told me also. Previously there was a report in Court against the lady, based more particularly on letters from Venice to the Ambassadors of France and the States. With the Earl Marshal, who had already expressed to me, and declared everywhere, his great indebtedness to the most serene Republic, I delivered my commission very fully. He thanked me in the most cordial manner imaginable, saying that he and all his house would be eternally devoted to your name, and would ever look for opportunities to serve you, even with their blood. He told me that the Ambassador Wotton, had written him a letter full of praise of his wife, but, if she had shown less spirit, she would have incurred the slur, and an indelible affront, with other consequences. He did not believe in any malice, but the advice given her was not good or friendly, and so forth; in fact, he complained bitterly, suggesting that it might not advantage him [Wotton], as it was not good for his Majesty to have such ministers. He added that the King had been much moved...

The Secretary Calvert came to this house this morning, to thank me in the King's name for the honour shown to the lady. He said that it would be reciprocated cordially upon occasion... I answered in a suitable manner, assuring him of the esteem of your Excellencies, the innocence of the lady, and the worthy education of her sons...

From what the Secretary [Calvert] distinctly said to me and others also, I gather that much attention and blame attach themselves to Wotton, and for other reasons also, as I have already suggested; and he may easily be removed from Venice...

The populace, however, who do not love the Earl of Arundel and who look askance at the stay of the Countess, not under the mantle of your Serenity, but in Italy, for various important reasons, have made up their minds that there is something more behind, and after hearing my explanations they stick to this opinion, many saying that the Republic is prudent,

and knows how to dissimulate. But all value and appreciate the honour shown to their nation, to the great advantage of your Excellencies.

I have devoted my energies to relating the truth, absolving one party without blaming the other, thinking that the public service required this¹: and interpreting thus the prudent hint regarding the variety of the conceptions proffered and written; with respect to which I was told by Vercellini himself without any encouragement on my part, that not every particular had been inserted, and that several things had been altered for the justification of the Ambassador, who made difficulties about signing the paper, fearing it might prejudice him. Thus, when he first came, he (Vercellini) narrated to me many particulars in conformity with the communication sent me by your Excellencies, and pointed out the same ends you signified to me, which he (Wotton) might have had.

A fortnight later, Lando had an audience of the King at Theobalds, at which, after discussing various public matters, James turned the conversation on the Venetian affair.

... He then began to speak about Lady Arundel (writes Lando from London on the 10th June), thanking your Serenity with every show of affection and regard... He considered himself obliged not only by the reply of your Serenity, and the decree of the Senate, but by the open demonstration to all the world, the slander having been iniquitous...

The Prince, whom I saw some days before in this city, thanked me warmly in similar terms... He told me clearly that the Ambassador Wotton had committed a great fault in this...

The Marquis of Buckingham also passed a very cordial office with me for the honours shown to the Countess, offering himself to your Excellencies for every occasion, with much graciousness.

I can add no more to this, except that I am assured the Ambassador Wotton has not written a word to the King or to the ministers on this subject. Moreover, some say that he will be removed from Venice for this, not immediately, owing to the difficulties I indicated, but within a little; and that Sir Isaac Wake, at present agent at Turin, will be sent in his stead...²

The King quickly went further than speech to the Ambassador. He wrote himself to the Doge to thank him for his good offices in respect of his dear cousin, the Countess of Arundel and Surrey. This document was conveyed to Venice by Francesco Vercellini on his return to Lady Arundel. On the 4th July, Wotton, accompanied by Arun-

¹ Up to this point I have followed the version given in the *Cal. of State Papers, Venice, 1621-1623*, p. 328. From the words, "and interpreting thus," etc., I have translated direct from the original Italian despatch printed by Romanin, Tomo VII, Documenti III, 8; as it seemed important to have the full and exact sense.

² *Cal. State Papers, 1621-1623*, p. 340. Gir. Lando, to the Doge and Senate.—As a matter of fact, Wotton himself, having been absent from England three years, applied for, and received, leave to return home. Thus ended his diplomatic career. The "difficulties" alluded to above, were the arrears of pay owed to Wotton.

del's two sons, came to the Collegio to present the King's letter. Lord Arundel wrote at the same time, to say how much he had desired to hasten to Venice to thank his Serenity, and to see again the city which he admired so greatly; but, being unable to do this, he sent his two sons, and begged the Doge to accept their devotion.

The Doge's courteous reply contains a remark on the two boys, of whom so little is recorded at this period that it is worth preserving. After suitable recognition of the King's letter, he proceeds:

We also thank the Earl, and embrace his sons. They have so well acquired the manners and tongue of this country, that we consider them very Venetians¹.

Further light is thrown on the movements of the party at Venice and on this interesting little ceremony, by the following letters.

Mr John Borough to the Earl of Arundel.

May it please yo^r Lo^p

This day is wth us a day of extraordinary busines: for my La: having time only till the 24th of June last, in the house of Mucenigo, where she hath hitherto resided, upon his retourne from Udine, where he had a charge, is enforced to change and remove her stuffe for that little time we are to stay, into an other house, being that of Justinian, upon the Canall Grande, near the Pescaria of St Marks; being a large, convenient house, though we hope not to stay long in it, my La: determining, so soone as she can settle her affaires, to sett onwards towards home, by easye journeys and to good townes, in the coole of the day; fearing more the inconvenience of Hosterias by the way then the heates, w^{ch} heitherto have not been insufferable.

My Lo: Ambassador, both to my Lo. Maltravers first, and then afterwards to my La., promised to write unto his Ma^{tie} a relation of the Prince's² answeare in College, when he delivered his Ma^{ties} l^{tes} unto him; and likewise to give yo^r Lo^p an account of that dayes worke by an especiall l^{te}, w^{ch} he desired my La. to convey unto yo^r Lo^p in her pacquet. But heitherto his Lo^p hath neither sent nor mentioned those l^{tes}, although his Lo^p and his Secretarye have been here once or twice since. So that of that particular I know not how to give yo^r Lo^p full information; but only that we heare by others (my selfe not being able, though present, to understand the least word, the Prince speaking in so low a voyce) that it was no other then complement.

Concerning the Pontificale Romano, w^{ch} yo^r Lo^p gave me in charge to buy heer in Venice, wth the pictures cut by Villamena, I have used all diligence to procure it; but they assure me heer are none to be had, at any rate; being sent all to Rome, where they are sold at a much dearer price then heer. But I purpose to write to Mr Norgate³ to provide yo^r Lo^p of one there, and to send it heither wth all speed.

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Venice, 1621-1623, p. 362.*

² *I.e.* the Doge's answer.

³ This is the first mention that occurs in the Arundel correspondence of Edward

Signor Francesco hath promised me to send y^r Lo^p the relation of such newes as are lately arrived heer from Constantinople, for that the Italian copy came to his hands, w^{ch} is all the subject of our talke in this place: all other advices being the same they were the last weeke. Only from Ligorne, it is written heer to Daniell Nice, a Marchant of good account, that the Hollanders, coming wth corne to these parts, and convoyed wth tenne men of warre, have taken sixe men of warre of the Spaniard, upon the Spanish coast, w^{ch} newes yet holds good.

This day about noone, the sun shining in his full brightnesse, was seene a starre some three degrees to the northward of the sun, heer in Venice, glittering in as full glorie as if it had been night. It is supposed by some to be Venus.

I beseech God to graunt y^r Lo^p all happines, and so I humbly take my leave.

Yo^r Lo^{ps} ever faithfull servaunt

JOHN BOROUGH.

Venice 5/15 Julii, 1622¹.

After some delay, Sir Henry Wotton did, however, write to Lord Arundel, and, apparently, to the King: though he excused himself for not reporting earlier to His Majesty by referring to the statement

Norgate. He was the only son of Robert Norgate, Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Vice-Chancellor of the University, and Canon of Ely. Through his mother, Elizabeth Baker, Edward was related to Archbishop Parker. After his father's death, in 1587, she married Nicholas Felton, Bishop of Ely, who brought him up. He early displayed talent for illumination, and became celebrated as an heraldic painter. Dallaway says (Walpole, *Anecd. of Painting*, Wornum's ed. 1888, Vol. I, p. 231, note) that his exquisite designs for the adornment of royal patents on vellum, are hardly inferior to the work of Giulio Clovio. He was also musical, and in 1611 was given part charge of the King's virginals, organs, and other instruments. But his main work was in connection with heraldry, and allied branches of painting and penmanship. At what period he entered Lord Arundel's service, is uncertain; but as his family came from Norfolk, always dear to Arundel's heart, the connection was probably early. Norgate's fine judgment and knowledge of pictures, improved by much travel abroad, led Lord Arundel to employ him in the purchase of works of art, as indicated in the letter printed above. (The further statement in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* that Norgate also went to the Levant to buy marbles "for an uncle" of Sir William Petty, seems to rest on a confused phrase in Dallaway's note, *loc. cit.*, of which the real meaning appears to be that Norgate was sent by Lord Arundel to buy pictures on the Continent, just as Mr Petty was sent by him to procure marbles in the Levant.) A story is told of his arriving on one occasion penniless at Marseilles, when returning to England, and being enabled by the kindness of a merchant, to obtain sufficient funds to get home on foot.

Norgate gave lessons in heraldry and penmanship to Lord Arundel's sons, Henry Frederick and William. He was appointed successively Blue-Mantle Pursuivant, Clerk of the Signet, and Windsor Herald. It has been satisfactorily proved that he was the author of the mss. in the Bodleian Library, entitled "Miniatūra, or the Art of Limning," an expansion of his earlier mss. in the Brit. Museum (Harl. 6000) and elsewhere. (See Walpole Society *Annual*, Vol. I, Nicholas Hilliard's Treatise, etc., with Introduction and Notes by Philip Norman, LL.D. Also the excellent print of the Bodleian ms. recently issued by the Oxford Univ. Press, edited by Mr Martin Hardie.) Norgate died at the College of Arms in 1650, and was buried at St Benet's, Paul's Wharf.

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 256.

he had drawn up for Lady Arundel. During the remainder of her sojourn at Venice, he seems to have done what was possible to make amends for the unlucky events of the past.

Sir Henry Wotton to the Earl of Arundel and Surrey.

Right Honourable and my very good Lord,

Besides an accompt due unto his Majesty, how tenderly his letters of thanks in behalf of my most honoured Lady your wife were here received, I owe likewise therein a private relation unto your Lordship, which hath been suspended some few days, in hope of discharging it by an express messenger, of whom I have some occasion to make a little stay, and therefore can pardon your Lordship this trouble, nor myself this duty, no longer.

I had the honour, with my Lady's good liking, to present my Lord Matravers and Sir Henry Haward to the Duke¹ before I sat down myself, whom he received according to our Venetian phrase *a braccia spalancate*, and placed them among the *Savii di terra ferma*. In mine own speech, after I had told him how kindly his Majesty had taken the right and the honours that were done upon an unworthy occasion to so principal a Lady of his kingdom, which herself had signified home, and with all her own full contentment, even by a particular gentleman, I then fell to tell him, that your Lordship, upon whom these contentments did so nearly reflect, would fain have flown in person hither to thank him and the Senate; and that even without this occasion you had a longing to see this famous government again, whereof myself could witness that you were never weary of speaking well. But these busy times not permitting your absence from the King, nor the dignity of your place, your Lordship had therefore commanded me to present unto him the nearest images of yourself. So I said, and so indeed I might say. For in truth, my Lord, I never can behold my Lord Matravers without remembering Pliny's conceit of one so resembling his father, *tanquam patrem exscripsisset*. The Duke's answer was very tender, taking new occasion to express how much this city had been honoured by the noble residence of your Lady here, and how much they hold themselves obliged unto your Lord and to her Ladyship for such an argument of your affection as the breeding of your hopeful children sometime in this dominion; towards whom withal he turned a cheerful look, and told me they had kindly visited him the day before in private, and that he found them well profited in this language. The rest of his speech was spent in modest extenuation of those poor demonstrations (as he called them) so due in all justice and humanity to the honour of a Lady, who had carried herself so worthily and so nobly among them, and had been so wronged by malicious voices, void of all imaginable ground; in whose behalf they could not expect any such gracious acknowledgement as I had presented from his Majesty, having but done that which in all respects was due. In these, and the like terms, he passed this morning.

I will end this duty with begging one favour, and another right from

¹ The Doge.

your Lordship. The first, that I may lose nothing by my weaknesses, in your gracious estimation of my plain and humble zeal to serve you and your noble name. The other, that your Lordship will be pleased to allow me your just defence with Mr Secretary Calvert, who in his last expreseth some wonder that I had not given his Majesty any accompt of that which here had passed touching your Lady, by whose command, and in love of truth, I had set down all the circumstances; whereof I might well suppose a copy to have been sent home, for the King's information, if it should need. Although false bruits of the highest personages are so familiar here, that I am often studying in my poor philosophy whether the contempt or the resentment be the better cure, yet I speak not this of my Lady's case, which surely did require both a brave complaint and a noble reparation.

God cover your Lordship and all yours wheresoever they are with his dear blessings and love. And so I remain,

Your good Lordship's poor servant

HENRY WOTTON¹.

In the autumn of 1622, Lady Arundel's long-deferred departure from Venice at last took place. She had bidden farewell to the Doge in a final audience on the 23rd September. Letters patent of Antonio Priuli, Doge of Venice, bearing date 6th October, direct all the ministers of the Republic to grant every favour and convenience to the Countess of Arundel and her company, who is on her way to England, giving her an escort, and allowing her people to carry arms even though prohibited².

She went off, accompanied by her sons, with a large train, in two coaches drawn by six horses, and thirty to thirty-four horses in all. Seventy bales of goods were packed, sealed with her seal, and despatched to England. By an order from the Doge, they were specially exempted from customs dues, on the ground that all were goods that had been used³.

Thus terminated Lady Arundel's eventful sojourn in the territories of the Venetian Republic. Even now, her steps were not immediately bent towards England. What again happened to postpone her return, belongs to a future chapter.

The ordeal through which she passed at Venice, and from which she emerged so triumphantly, remained a curious, only partially explained episode of history. Sir Henry Wotton's biographer, in the very interesting *Life and Letters* published a few years ago, thinks that in warning Lady Arundel of the current reports, and advising

¹ L. Pearsall Smith, *Life and Letters of Sir H. Wotton*, Vol. II, p. 240. (Transcribed from the *State Papers, Venice*, Public Record Office.) The letter is without date, but must have been written in July, 1622.

² *Cal. State Papers, Venice*, Vol. XVII, 1621-1623, p. 468, text and note.

³ *Ibid.* p. 505 (20th Nov.).

her to stay away from Venice, the Ambassador was actuated only by kind intentions¹. It is obvious that neither the Venetian Government, nor the English Court, held this lenient view. Nor is it easy to share Mr Pearsall Smith's belief, that probably the alleged meetings with foreign envoys had actually taken place at Lady Arundel's house². Apart from her own most solemn denial of the charge, it is impossible to imagine on what grounds the Venetian Government, if they had really believed her guilty, and decided on an edict of banishment, should have been ready to eat their words two days later, with every appearance of indignation at what they described as a gross falsehood. When, in addition to these considerations, they discovered a few months later that all the accusations brought against Foscarini were false, publicly proclaimed his innocence, and brought to justice the miscreants who, too successfully, had plotted against his life, it surely became impossible for anyone to harbour further suspicion against Lady Arundel. With the declaration of Foscarini's innocence, the whole fabric fell to the ground. Yet even before that consummation, few who had sifted the evidence can have doubted that she came out of the ordeal unscathed; or have failed to admire the courage and judgment with which she vindicated her good faith.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 189.

² *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PROPOSED SPANISH MARRIAGE. DEATH OF JAMES, LORD MALTRIVERS. GROWTH OF BUCKINGHAM'S POWER.

1622—1624.

HARDLY had the agitations connected with Lady Arundel's affair at Venice been brought to a happy termination, when Lord Arundel met with an accident which might easily have proved fatal. Driving in his coach on one of the last days of July, the horse became restive and ran away. Arundel jumped from the vehicle, and sustained severe injuries to the head. He probably had concussion, for the report went abroad that he was dead. Ten or twelve days passed before he was out of danger, and Mr Chamberlain could write to Sir Dudley Carleton that the Earl of Arundel was now on a fair way to recovery; though his brain was still so affected by the fall that it seemed doubtful if he would be quite himself again.

But (adds the writer) as every man wishes him well or otherwise, so they make his danger more or less. He and the Countess his mother, dined with us at Ditton not above a week before this accident¹.

The rumours respecting his mind were probably much exaggerated, as his recovery, although not rapid, was complete. It seems from the letter quoted above, that Anne, Lady Arundel, was staying with him at this time. Her tender and skilful nursing doubtless contributed to this happy result.

Of Arundel's intimate history there is little to relate in the winter of 1622-23. One curious incident survives; which illustrates at once the extraordinary timidity of the King, and the ready apprehension of treachery which still pervaded the Court. On Twelfth Night, some young lawyers of Gray's Inn, having borrowed from the Tower a number of small cannon, fired them all off in the dead of the night, "to make an end of Christmas." The King, disturbed by the noise, and not understanding its cause, leaped out of bed, crying aloud, "Treason! Treason!" and declaring that the town was in a tumult. To such good purpose did he shout, that the whole Court was roused;

¹ Birch, *Court and Times of James I.*, Vol. II, pp. 326-328. See also *Cal. of State Papers, Venice*, Vol. XVI, 1621-1623, p. 393. Alvisé Valaresso, Venetian ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate, 19th August, 1622.

and Lord Arundel, with drawn sword rushed into the King's apartment to protect His Majesty from danger!

If few such personal details have been preserved, the larger issues of public affairs could not leave him unmoved. The fortunes of the King's son-in-law, Frederick, King of Bohemia, were now at their lowest ebb. In 1622, he was driven out of the Palatinate, and all his allies were defeated. There remained to him in the land of his inheritance only three strong places, Heidelberg, Mannheim, and Frankenthal: all these fell in the autumn of that year. The royal pair had been living in exile at the Hague since 1621, invited thither by the kindness of the Prince of Orange; Elizabeth making it her home, while Frederick joined her whenever the exigencies of the campaign permitted. The help of the King of England had been frequently invoked by his daughter and her husband, and as often had failed them. The feebleness and vacillation of James's diplomacy, was now generally recognised; and his attempts to attain by means of verbosity what only the clash of arms could have achieved, brought those who looked to him for succour almost to despair.

The King himself was too absorbed at the moment, in the plans for the marriage of Prince Charles to the Infanta of Spain, to give any active help to a cause which might jeopardise the success of his favourite scheme. He thought he could manage everything by diplomatic bargaining.

The negotiations for the marriage were now in full swing; and Arundel's whole sympathies were bound up in a project so dear to the heart of his King and master. His personal proclivities doubtless pointed in the same direction. The grandeur and gravity of the Spaniards, who had so long set the tone to Europe, synchronised with the punctilious dignity of his own temperament. It is true that he dearly loved Venice and the Venetians, who were at enmity with Spain; and that he was a devoted friend to Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, whose cause, indissolubly united with that of the Protestants of Germany, was at the opposite pole to that represented by Spain. But to say this, is merely to state that Lord Arundel was the child of his age. The rock on which most of the diplomacy of the time split, was the blind desire to reconcile the irreconcilable. James wished to make it a condition of Prince Charles's marriage that the King of Spain should induce the Emperor to reinstate the King of Bohemia in the Palatinate. In vain he strove to persuade the Spanish King to champion Frederick's cause. Philip's whole soul was riveted to the idea of restoring the Roman faith in England. First he hoped for the conversion of Charles himself. Then he laid down stringent

conditions for the revocation of the penal laws affecting Papists in England. Thus behind the marriage treaty, each party was ardently pursuing a subtle policy of his own, utterly at variance with the practical possibilities of the case. The project was thus foredoomed to failure. Both sides were, however, so eager for the match to which they looked for the furtherance of their private aims, that the negotiations had come to an advanced stage; and their successful completion was generally regarded as certain.

Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador in England, who was on friendly terms with Lord Arundel, was keenly in favour of the marriage. In 1620 he came to England on a second term of office, and exercised a driving power which soon showed him to be master of the situation. He left again in May, 1622; and it was on this occasion that he suggested to Prince Charles the idea of going in person to Spain, to pay his court to the Infanta. The seed thus sown bore fruit. Early in February, 1623, James was startled by a visit from Charles and Buckingham, announcing their desire to start immediately, *incognito*, for Madrid. The weak and frightened old King was almost forced by his son and the overbearing favourite, to consent to their mad design. On the 17th February they set off; wearing false beards, and scantily attended; more like two obscure adventurers than the heir of a great kingdom, and one of its foremost noblemen. On their way to the coast, they narrowly escaped being stopped, and were only saved by Buckingham's revelation of his identity. They got through, however, and crossed the sea, without further mishap; and in due course reached Paris. Here they spent a couple of nights, after which, pursuing their fantastic journey, they reached Madrid on the 7th March.

Arundel, meanwhile, was kept occupied, as usual, by the routine of home business, serving on almost every important Commission and Committee then in being. In February, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the redress of grievances: in conjunction with the Lord Admiral (Buckingham, whose absence had naturally not been foreseen), the Lord Chamberlain (Pembroke), the Bishops of Winchester (Andrewes) and St David's (Laud)¹. A little later we

¹ William Laud, the famous Archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Reading in 1573, and educated there and at Oxford. He was successively Fellow and President of St John's College in that University; held various livings; was made Dean of Gloucester, 1616, and Bishop of St David's, 1621. The following year he assisted, by the wish of King James, at a conference held to dissuade the Countess of Buckingham (mother of the favourite) from Romanism; which brought him into intimate relations with her son. Under Charles I he was translated to Bath and Wells (1626) and ultimately to Canterbury (1633); he was also a Privy Councillor, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and held other distinguished offices.

find Secretary Calvert¹ begging for his return from Newmarket, together with that of the Lord Steward (Duke of Lennox) and Marquess of Hamilton, "if the treaty" (doubtless that with Spain) "is to begin on Monday." They were also needed to consider the money of the Earl of Bristol (Digby), Ambassador at Madrid².

In April rumours again were heard of the probable creation of three dukes: Buckingham, Lennox (in the peerage of England) and Arundel. In May two out of the three materialised. The patent of the Duke of Lennox, as Duke of Richmond, was dated one day earlier than that of Buckingham, by the desire, it was said, of the latter, who declined to "take place of his father," as he termed Lennox. Arundel, for his part, proudly insinuated that restitution, not creation, was the object of his desire. He had doubtless hoped that the lifetime of unswerving devotion he had given to his King and country, would have won back for him the whole of the position forfeited by his ancestors. To accept the half-boon of a new creation, would have deprived him and his posterity of all future chance of recovering the old standing. This he would not do. On the other hand, to grant his desire obviously meant to give him precedence of the other two dukes, and from this the King shrank. The royal hand was too feeble for any move, whether of grace or justice, which would relegate the favourite to the inferior place. The matter was therefore not proceeded with.

The relations between the Earl Marshal and the King appear, nevertheless, to have remained quite undisturbed³. Lord Arundel Laud's position as leader of the High Church party in England is too well known to need comment here. He was the declared advocate of ecclesiastical authority, and foe of the Puritans, to whom he was an object of bitter hatred. Proceedings were taken against him in Parliament, and in 1645, at the age of seventy-one, he was beheaded on Tower Hill.

¹ George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, Secretary of State, was a Yorkshireman, born about 1580. After leaving Oxford, he travelled abroad; and must have gained some proficiency in foreign languages, since he subsequently had charge of the State correspondence in Spanish and Italian. He was secretary to Sir Robert Cecil, and on the death of the latter, succeeded to his office. He was knighted, 1617, and created Lord Baltimore, 1625. Calvert upheld the Spanish marriage and, on its failure, opposed war with Spain. Perhaps his chief title to fame is the part he played in the colonisation of America. After many ventures in Newfoundland and elsewhere, the charter of Maryland was approaching completion when he died, in 1632. His eldest son, Cecil, who succeeded him as second Lord Baltimore, carried on the work and founded the Colony, to which the second son, Leonard, went out as Governor.

It will be seen that he had many points in common with Lord and Lady Arundel, with whom he stood on terms of considerable friendship. He was reckoned a sterling man, of good parts and courteous manners.

² *Cal. of State Papers, Domestic*, 1619-1623, p. 504. Sec. Calvert to Sec. Conway, 28th February, 1623.

³ It will presently be seen that the question of the dukedom was not the only one which might have given rise to some estrangement.

was in this year appointed Lord Lieutenant of Norfolk¹. He was also spoken of as the possible commander of the fleet which was to go to Spain to fetch Prince Charles, and, as was universally believed his bride. The Earl of Rutland was ultimately appointed to that post; and Arundel was employed on another, and doubtless to him a more congenial, occupation. Early in June, he was sent to Southampton with other Commissioners, to prepare for a great reception of the Prince and the Infanta on their arrival in England. Inigo Jones was of the party, and "Allen, the old Player²." Gay decorations were to be erected, pageants and shows to be organised, besides the more practical considerations of roadways to be mended, and accommodation provided for the royal party and the large suite that was expected with them. So all went forward with a cheerful swing, until the inevitable check occurred.

Meanwhile, what was happening to Lady Arundel, whom we last saw departing from Venice, in the late autumn of 1622? The season was now too advanced to cross the Alps before the winter snows. She therefore betook herself with her sons and her servants to Turin, where she was warmly welcomed by the Grand Duke and his family. Probably the delay in her return to England was not so unpremeditated as she allowed her friends in Venice to suppose. It was secretly planned that, in the spring of 1623, she should cross from Genoa to

¹ Archives at Norfolk House.

² Edward Alleyn, one of the most famous actors of his day, especially in tragedy, was born in 1566. He was attached successively to various companies of "players," amongst them those of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, and Henry Prince of Wales. He was also master of the King's sports of bull and bear baiting. Alleyn amassed a large fortune. He was the founder of Dulwich College and of many beneficent institutions. He had numerous distinguished friends, amongst whom Lord Arundel was prominent. The first direct indication of their acquaintance, that has been preserved, is found in a letter written to him by Lord Arundel in 1616, requesting the benefits of his charity for "a poore fatherless boy" (Young's *Hist. of Dulwich College*, Vol. 1, p. 35). On 17th April, 1618, Alleyn records in his diary, "I was att arundell Howse, wher my Lord showld me all his statues and picktures that came from Italy" (*Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 81). In the following year, 1619, Arundel was one of those present at the inaugural ceremony of Dulwich College. The "instrument of creacion" was "read, signed and subscribed" by the founder in the presence of Lord Chancellor Bacon, the Earl of Arundel, Sir Edward Cecil, Inigo Jones, and other eminent persons. A great feast followed, of innumerable dishes (*Ibid.* Vol. 1, p. 45; Vol. II, p. 149). On the 12th June, 1622, Alleyn writes in his diary, "I went to y^e Lord off Arundle, showed y^e fortune plott." The Fortune Theatre was burned down in 1621. Before the 16th April, 1622, Alleyn had begun to build a new house to take its place; leasing certain shares "on terms which bound the lessees to contribute towards the building expenses" (*Ibid.* Vol. II, pp. 43 and 288). Whether Lord Arundel was a shareholder we do not know; but his close connection with Inigo Jones presupposes his interest in theatre construction. The new playhouse was a "large, round, brick building." Here Arundel's influence as Buildings Commissioner seems clearly evident, as the old Fortune had been chiefly of wood (*Ibid.*). The friendship between Alleyn and Jones opens out further attractive possibilities. Alleyn died in 1626.

Spain, and attend the Infanta on her journey to England. If not suggested, the scheme was at least approved by Lord Arundel. Before the adventurous journey of the two Knights-errant to Madrid had upset all previous calculations, Buckingham, as Lord Admiral, had been appointed to command the fleet destined to bring home the Infanta. His increasing preponderance at Court, where he now exercised a dominant influence on both Prince and King, seemed to call for some decided make-weight from another side. What could be more appropriate than that Lady Arundel, for so many years the principal lady at the English Court, should go to meet the bride of England's heir? She was practised in the part: for had she not been sent to escort Princess Elizabeth, when a bride, to her new home at Heidelberg? It was necessary, however, to manage the project with the utmost discretion, and to keep it wholly from the Venetians, to whom the idea would have been far from palatable. No step, indeed, of any sort, could be taken which, in case of failure, would leave a trace of the intention; and thereby expose Lord and Lady Arundel to the mortification of increasing Buckingham's triumph at their expense. That, in the end, the King's approval would have to be obtained, was indeed a foregone conclusion. Meanwhile everything was kept dark: and we are indebted to a few stray notices in state papers and diplomatic reports for such scanty knowledge as we possess of the scheme. The change of plans which once more deferred Lady Arundel's return to England, is thus probably explained. She let it be known that it was her intention to remain at Turin till the cold weather should be passed. It was generally imagined that she would then pursue her way homewards¹.

On the 18th January, her friend Sir John Peyton wrote to her from Venice, approving her plan of wintering at Turin. In the same letter he gave her tidings which must have seemed like adding the coping-stone to her triumph in relation to the Venetian scandal.

The poore, unhappy Foscarini (he writes) that was executed is now proclaymed inocent of that crime. Fower of the wittenesses have bine successively hanged, the 5th is escaped, all now havinge confessed theyre conspiracy agaynste that Senator . . .².

In February, Lady Arundel and her sons were invited by the Court of Turin to take part in the festivities of the Carnival, which seem to have been exceptionally gay. The Prince of Condé was present, and the immense concourse of persons who assisted included

¹ Public Record Office, *State Papers, Domestic, James I* (unpublished). Chamberlain to Carleton, London, 4th January, 1622-1623.

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 262.

the Duke, the princes his sons, and many other notabilities¹. On the 12th March, she left Turin for Genoa. Before departing, she was "presented with some fair pieces of cristal, and a litter of crimson velvet, with three mules suitably fitted. The Duke of Savoy, attended by the Prince of Piedmont and Prince Tomaso, all the nobility of his Court, and all his guards of horse and foot, attended her out of the town²."

Morosini, Venetian ambassador at Turin, adds a few touches to the narrative, in his report to the Doge and Senate.

... The Countess of Arundel (he says) left yesterday morning for Genoa... She declares that she intends to proceed afterwards to Marseilles, and thence to the Hague, to see the Princess Palatine again. Some, however, do not hesitate to say that she means to proceed to Spain, to remain there in attendance upon the Infanta until the completion of the nuptials³.

Another Venetian envoy, Valerio Antelmi, writing to his Government from Florence, carries the rumours a step further.

... The Countess of Arundel is at Genoa, with very favourable letters from the Governor of Milan. They say she will proceed to Spain, to serve the Infanta, who is destined for the Prince of England⁴.

So the prospect of the Spanish marriage had tamed the bear, whose growl was formerly so menacing at Milan!

Presumably it was at Genoa that the tidings reached her which put an end to this much cherished plan. King James placed his veto upon it. No doubt he was again actuated by anxiety on behalf of his favourite. No rival was to share the lustre of Buckingham's expected triumph.

The Earl of Arundel is not well content (writes the Venetian Ambassador in London, on the 14th April). The King refused to allow his wife to go to Spain. There may be divers reasons, but the Court ladies, especially those of the Marquis, have thrown many hindrances in the way out of jealousy⁵.

Pleased or ill-pleased, it was necessary to bow to the royal decision. Lady Arundel returned to her plan of visiting the Queen

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Venice, James I, 1621-1623*, p. 574. Marc Antonio Morosini, Venetian ambassador in Savoy, to the Doge and Senate, 27th February 1623.

² *Hist. MSS. Commission, 7th Report (Sackville MSS.)*, p. 258. Sir Isaac Wake to the Earl of Middlesex, Turin, 21st March, 1623.

³ *Cal. State Papers, Venice, 1621-1623*, p. 588. Marc Antonio Morosini to the Doge and Senate, 13th March, 1623.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 612. Valerio Antelmi, Venetian secretary at Florence to the Same, 1st April, 1623.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 631. Alvisè Valaresso to the Same, 14th April, 1623.

of Bohemia at the Hague on her way home. First of all she turned her steps towards Mantua, attracted by the wealth of its art treasures and the cordial invitation of the Duke.

Tizianello, we know, broke off his contract with her on becoming aware of the projected journey to Spain. Was it a similar motive which induced Van Dyck to decline her pressing invitation to accompany her to England? That seems hardly probable: since it appears undoubted that he was with her at Mantua, after the Spanish plan had been definitely abandoned. The greatest confusion prevails as to the dates of Van Dyck's various sojourns in the Italian cities. One account states that he went in Lady Arundel's suite to Turin¹. Another, that he was with her at Milan². We have no definite information that Lady Arundel was at Milan at this period, beyond the hint contained in Antelmi's letter from Florence, already quoted³. As Milan lay on the direct route from Venice to Turin, it seems very probable that she made a halt there on her way from Venice to Savoy; and almost equally likely that she visited the city on her journey from Genoa to Mantua in 1623. The difficulty in fitting in these movements with those of Van Dyck, lies in his return to Rome early in 1623⁴. We know, moreover, that he did not remain there long upon this occasion; and that in the summer of 1623, he was wandering about amongst various Italian cities. Luzio, one of the most recent writers on the subject, regards it as certain that at this time he was with Lady Arundel at Mantua⁵. His reasons for refusing her invitation to England, lay probably in the good prospects of employment amongst the Genoese nobility, the presence there of his friends and compatriots, the De Wael brothers, and the unexhausted charm of the fair land of the south.

The summer was well advanced when Lady Arundel and her sons found themselves at last on the homeward path. Perhaps they travelled by sea from Genoa to Marseilles, and thence across France; but there is no record of this part of their journey. News of their return were now reaching England; an earnest of which was sent forward in the shape of three Italian servants, of whom one was a negro, and of a Venetian gondola⁶.

Meanwhile messengers had been coming and going between

¹ Soprani, *Vite de' Pittori, etc. Genovesi*. Ed. Ratti, Genova, 1768. Tomo primo, p. 446.

² Alessandro Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga, etc.* p. 51, quoting Menotti, *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, 1897, p. 292.

³ See *ante*, p. 226.

⁴ Menotti, *loc. cit.* p. 396-7.

⁵ Luzio, *loc. cit.* p. 51.

⁶ Birch, *Court and Times of James I*, Vol. II, p. 410. Chamberlain to Carleton, from London, 12th July, 1623.

Madrid and the English Court. The amended articles of the marriage treaty had arrived, and were to be finally considered by the whole Council on the 16th July. Almost at the same time, Lord Arundel received tidings from abroad which filled him with consternation, and compelled his absence from the important meeting. His wife and sons had reached Ghent, on their way to the Hague, when the eldest boy, James, Lord Maltravers, was struck down by small-pox. The gravest fears were entertained for his life. Overcome with anxiety, Lord Arundel rushed off abroad, accompanied by a physician, to do all that rested in human power to save the precious life¹. It was of no avail. In the bloom of youth—he had barely completed his sixteenth year—death claimed him for its own; we do not even know whether the distracted father arrived in time to find his best-loved child still living.

Lord Arundel's grief was immeasurable. His deep and warm heart clung with special affection round his first-born; and the blow was overwhelming. Long years afterwards, when drawing up a paper containing certain directions to accompany his will, he wrote:

I doe desire also that a Figure of Marble might be made for my eldest and dearest Sonne, James Howard, with some short Latine Epitaph testifying the truth of him, that God never gave to any of our ffamily of so tender yeares a greater proportion of virtue, learning, witt and courage, then to him².

Other contemporary records bear evidence to the striking qualities of this poor boy. The author of the *Life of Anne, Countess of Arundel*, often quoted here, speaks of him as "a comely Gentleman, of rare witt and extraordinary expectation³." Well might his father mourn.

¹ Birch, *Court and Times of James I*, Vol. II, p. 413, Chamberlain to Carleton, from London, 26th July, 1623.

² Brit. Museum, *Harl. mss.* 6272, f. 167. See Appendix II for the whole document. The body was brought to England and buried at Arundel in the vault erected some years previously by Anne, Lady Arundel, in which the remains of Philip, Earl of Arundel, already reposed: but the directions as to a monument, quoted above, appear to never have been executed.

³ *Life*, etc. p. 232. The writer is, however, mistaken in giving his age as "about eighteen," and the year of his death as 1624. James, Lord Maltravers, was born in June, 1607 (see *ante*, p. 36). That his death occurred in July, 1623, is abundantly testified by a mass of contemporary evidence. The writer (supposed, as already stated, to be the Jesuit chaplain of Anne, Lady Arundel, in later years) makes no mention of Lord Arundel's hurried journey to his dying son; but expatiates much on the supposed conversion of the latter to the Roman faith, upon his death-bed: "haveng never been a Catholick before, nor known to be so much as the least affected that way; because the man who by his Father's appointment taught and tutor'd him both in England and Italy, was not only an heretick but also a minister" (*Life*, p. 233). Not far distant from this date, Mr Chamberlain wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton, "Priests and Jesuits grow so bold that they swarm about the sick, and if they can find means to anoint and cross them,

Of the six sons born to him, two only remained: Henry Frederick, intelligent indeed, but of disagreeable character, as time would more and more reveal; and William, whose amiable disposition perhaps lacked something of the intellectual endowment of his brothers.

Of the outward appearance of James, Lord Maltravers, some idea may be gathered from Sir Henry Wotton's observation, already quoted, of his remarkable resemblance to his father. No portrait of him appears to exist: that bearing his name at Arundel being obviously of later date and of an older subject.

The sorrowing parents arrived shortly afterwards in England. Arundel was too prostrate from the blow to resume at once his usual occupations. He was, in fact, made ill by it. A little later he wrote to his friend, Sir Dudley Carleton, that his extreme sorrow made him incapable of this world's affairs¹.

The King, who had not been pleased at his leaving England at the crisis of the marriage treaty, was now anxious that Arundel should bestow his care on a Roman Catholic chapel in course of preparation for the use of the Infanta and her Spanish suite. James much desired that it should be ready in time for her expected arrival; and Conway², who was joint Secretary of State with Calvert, had orders to instruct Inigo Jones to hurry on the work, and increase the number of men employed upon it. At the same time (17th August), Conway sent a letter to Lord Arundel, in which he stated that he sympathised in his recent sickness and sorrow, on account of which, said he, the King refrained from ordering him to assist in hastening the chapel, though he would be glad of any attention Lord Arundel was able to give to it³.

The dream on which these measures were founded was soon to be shattered. Early in October, Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham returned alone from Madrid. In dudgeon at the shilly-shallying, insincere treatment they had received, they wished the declare that they died in their faith" (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1623-1625, p. 125, 6th Dec. 1623). Father Gerard (see *ante*, p. 12) was the person at whose hands it was said in this case to have been effected. It will be remembered that the Jesuit establishment at Ghent had been founded by Anne, Lady Arundel, which was the probable reason of her daughter-in-law's visit to that city.

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1623-1625, p. 81, Earl of Arundel to Sir Dudley Carleton, 19th September, 1623.

² Edward Conway, ultimately Viscount Conway, was a creature of Buckingham's and a man of mediocre ability. He was knighted by Essex at Cadiz; served in the Netherlands and became Governor of the Brill; was a member of Parliament; Secretary of State; Ambassador at Prague; Lord President of the Council; and died in 1631.

³ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1623-1625, p. 57, Secretary Conway to the Earl of Arundel, 17th August, 1623.

King to declare immediate war on Spain. So complete a reversal of the policy hitherto pursued with feverish zeal, could hardly find favour with the monarch, or with those members of the Council who sincerely believed in the advantages of the Spanish alliance. They were disposed to regard so extreme a measure as an exhibition of temper on the part of Buckingham, arising from mortification at the failure of the proceedings. The negotiations therefore dragged on for some time longer; and it was not till March, 1624, that James finally declared the treaties with Spain dissolved.

In December, 1623, some months after her return to England, we find Lady Arundel despatching an enthusiastic expression of thanks for hospitality received, to her late host, Duke Ferdinand of Mantua. The contents of this letter are interesting; for they contain the germ which ultimately developed into the purchase by Charles I of the famous Mantuan collection. She wrote in Italian, of which the following is a literal translation¹.

The Countess of Arundel to Duke Ferdinand of Mantua.

Most Serene Prince

I recognise with the utmost possible respect and devotion, the great affability and grace with which your Most Serene Highness condescended to honour me, your most humble servant, in your splendid and glorious Court: for which signal favour (besides that it will remain a perpetual memory in this house) I have been unable better to express the fitting gratitude, than by executing the commands of your Highness, which will always be to me sacred and inviolable. I arranged, therefore, in conformity with the wish of your Highness, with the Most Serene Prince, my master,

¹ The letter is printed by Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga, venduta all' Inghilterra nel, 1627-28*, p. 51. The original runs as follows:

Ser^{mo} Principe

Riconosco con ogni più possibile riverenza et devotione la molta benignità e gratia con la quale V. A. S^{ma} degnò honorarmi la sua humillissima serva nella splendida et gloriosa sua corte, per il qual favore segnalato (oltre che ne resterà perpetua memoria in questa casa) non ho potuto meglio esprimere la dovuta gratitudine che col essequir gli comandamenti di V. A. che mi seranno sempre sacri et inviolabili. Compli adunque conforme al gusto di V. A., col S^{mo} Principe mio Sr, che ne resta sodisfattissimo, non tanto per quella sua cortesissima offerta di pitture (ben che siano cose da lei [? lui] stimate tra le più pretiose) ma principalmente de haver cognitione particolare delle grandissime sue virtù et valore et de l'amorevole affetto che li porta V. A. Ser^{ma}, con la quale concorre d'obligarseli. Et io non potendo egguagliare con la debolezza delle mie forze l'infinita gratia sua verso di me, la supplico humilissimamente ricevere in supplemento il mio molto volere et la devotione che le conserverò sempre, et con profundissima riverenza inchinandomi, prego da N. S. Iddio a V. A. S^{ma} il colmo d'ogni grandezza.

Di V. A. S^{ma}

Hum^{ma} et d^{ma} serva

A. Arundell and Surrey.

who showed the utmost satisfaction; not so much for your most courteous offer of pictures (although these he esteems amongst the most precious things), but principally for the opportunity afforded him of recognising your great qualities and worth, and the affectionate feelings entertained towards him by your Most Serene Highness, with whom he agrees to accept this obligation. And I, being unable with my feeble powers to equal your infinite grace towards me, beseech you most humbly to receive in addition the assurance of my utmost good will, and of the devotion which I shall always preserve for you. Inclining myself in profound reverence, I pray God to grant to your Most Serene Highness the crown of all greatness.

Your Most Serene Highness's

Most humble and most devoted servant

A. ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Arundell House, 20th December, 1623.

Lord Arundel's duties were of too manifold and pressing a nature to allow him for long to withdraw himself from public life. The constitution of the Marshal's Court, in which that of the Constable was now merged, had in some measure to be reconstructed; and, in November, he held a Court of Chivalry, as it was termed, in the Painted Chamber at Westminster. The occasion was important, marking the revival of an old and long disused form of justice; and the Earl Marshal inaugurated it by a "good pithy speech." The proceedings were conducted with much ceremony. Various cases connected with the Heralds' offices, and other branches included in the jurisdiction of the Court, came before it for consideration, and were duly adjudged¹.

Here, at least, he stood on his own ground, and could pursue his way without let or hindrance, but in the Council, and elsewhere, Buckingham's masterful will was a source of growing anxiety to all. Men like Arundel, who were truly attached to the King, saw with dismay that he had become a complete nonentity. Buckingham was in truth the ruler of the country, and Prince Charles was as wax in his hands. In these circumstances, some of the leading men combined to oppose the Duke's preponderance, and his rash political schemes. Amongst the principal of these were Arundel, Middlesex²

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1623-25, p. 118, 24th November, 1623.

² Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, was born in 1575, and rose by his own merits from the rank of merchant adventurer to that of Lord Treasurer (1622). He had previously been made a Privy Councillor, and, in 1620, represented the borough of Arundel in Parliament. His zeal and integrity in administering the King's finance, brought him much credit. He owed his rapid rise chiefly to the favour of Buckingham, but was opposed to the war with Spain advocated by the Duke, and objected to the lavish waste of money incurred on the Spanish journey. He also endeavoured to introduce to the King's favour Arthur Brett, his wife's

and Bristol. For the first time Arundel placed himself openly in the opposite camp to the favourite. No doubt the latter resented his action, for in December, 1623, there were rumours that Lord Arundel would be sent to the Tower. Nothing came of them, however. His position was too assured to be meddled with easily. "He signs Council letters as usual," wrote Locke to Carleton, "only is not so frequent at the Board¹."

The opposition could, however, effect little against the imperious ascendancy of the Duke. James began at last to reap the bitter fruit of his own folly. He felt his impotence to direct the course of events, and complained mournfully that he could no longer govern. He grew jealous of his son's increasing popularity. The Spanish envoys in London worked on this mood with a tale, no doubt wholly apocryphal; that Charles and Buckingham were engaged in a plot to dethrone him, and set the crown on the head of the Prince. Yet, shaken as he was in his authority, James assented weakly to all the steps that Charles and Buckingham forced upon him. The Spanish envoys were told to return to their own country on the dissolution of the marriage treaty. Middlesex and Digby, who had tried to stem the torrent, were both placed on their trial.

As the glamour waned, through which the King had hitherto viewed Buckingham, his recognition of Arundel's sterling qualities increased. The old and trusted friend, on whose obedience and devotion he could implicitly rely, grew daily in favour. In June, 1624, James was twice his guest at Highgate, to "hunt the stag in St John's Wood." It was said that Bristol and the Spanish ambassadors were secretly to come and meet him there; but Prince Charles, who seems to have obtained knowledge of the proposed interview with the Spaniards, so strenuously opposed it that he succeeded in shutting them out².

The trend of affairs could not be to Lord Arundel's taste. He withdrew more and more from public life; though his personal attachment to the King remained unaltered. His private pursuits

brother, hoping to break the dangerous hold exerted by the Duke. But Buckingham would brook no opposition. In 1624, various charges were brought against Middlesex, in connection with the offices he held; and, in May, he was deprived, heavily fined, and imprisoned in the Tower. His captivity lasted only a few days, as had been the case with Bacon. It was, however, felt generally that he had deserved well of the King, and that harsh measure had been meted out to him. Subsequently he was pardoned, and finally had the triumph of witnessing Buckingham's impeachment. Middlesex died in 1645.

¹ *Cal. of State Papers, Domestic*, 1623-25, p. 134. Locke to Carleton, 26th December, 1623.

² *Cal. of State Papers, Venice*, Vol. xviii, 1623-25, pp. 343, 354. Alvisè Valaresso to the Doge and Senate, 14th and 21st June, 1624. Birch, *loc. cit.* Vol. II, p. 459.

furnished him with ample occupation for his leisure, as will be seen from a subsequent chapter; and he diligently accomplished his duties as Earl Marshal.

A new marriage was now projected for Prince Charles. In December, 1624, the treaty was sworn to, by which he became affianced to Princess Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV and Marie de' Medici. But before the wedding could take place, the death of James I turned another page in the book of history. In March, 1625, the King was seized by an intermittent fever. The principal officers of the Court, amongst whom was of course Lord Arundel, watched around the death-bed of their sovereign. Bishop Williams administered the last Sacrament, in the absence of Bishop Andrewes, whom the King had asked for, but who was himself too unwell to attend. The illness of the King terminated fatally at Theobalds, on the 27th of the same month.

Charles at once appointed a Commission of the great officers of the Court, including the Earl Marshal, to make the necessary arrangements for the removal of the body to Denmark House, where the lying-in-state took place. An effigy of the King was placed outside the pall over the remains. The funeral, at Westminster Abbey, was the largest ever seen in England up to that time. The number of persons who attended is variously given as eight or nine thousand; the procession from Denmark House to Westminster lasting from ten in the morning to four in the afternoon. It was much remarked that Prince Charles, the Chief Mourner, followed on foot, a thing unprecedented for one of his position, on such an occasion. He was supported by the Earls of Arundel and Rutland, his train being borne by "the Duke of Lennox, Marquis Hamilton, Earl of Denbigh, Lords Matrevors¹ and Strange." Curiously enough, the name of the Duke of Buckingham does not appear as having been present at the funeral.

In the Abbey, the coffin, still surmounted by the deceased King's effigy, rested beneath an elaborate architectural structure, domed, pillared and beflagged, having symbolic figures on pedestals at either corner. This erection, known in the term of the time as "the herse," was designed by Inigo Jones, and was reputed the fairest and best fashioned that had been seen².

¹ Lord Arundel's second son, Henry Frederick, who had succeeded his elder brother as Lord Maltravers. He was now in his seventeenth year, having been born in August, 1608.

² Mr Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, 14th May, 1625, quoted from the *Birch MSS.* by Nichols, *Progresses of James I.*, Vol. iv, p. 1049, where there is an engraving of this remarkable edifice. Most of the details here given concerning King James's funeral, are derived from the same work.

The death of James I closes a long epoch in Lord Arundel's life. It marks the termination of what was, perhaps, its happiest period; though later years brought him many important offices. Arundel was now in his fortieth year. At the Court of King James he had developed from a mere stripling into a man of mature character and recognised position. He had overcome the tendency to consumption that had troubled earlier days; and, though always delicate, was gradually acquiring the massive proportions of head and frame which were his in later years. The tall figure and courteous manners, the high-bred, aquiline features and brilliant dark eyes, lent peculiar distinction to his presence. In the friendship of his Sovereign, he had found compensation for much of which the crooked fate of his ancestors had deprived him; and he repaid that friendship with a warmth of gratitude which no future allegiance, however steadfast, could rival. Henceforward his life was to run on other and more difficult lines.

If the surface of his disposition was chequered by certain very obvious faults, such as hasty temper and autocratic will, those who possessed a larger insight had long perceived the greatness of his deeper qualities. Of no one could it be said with more truth than of Arundel that he was the "soul of honour." Indeed, his unblemished integrity and singleness of purpose were, perhaps, in an age of corruption, the cause of much of his unpopularity. They seemed to sit in silent judgment on the less scrupulous. Again, his breadth of intellect and balanced opinion gave him an authority which was daily becoming more widely acknowledged. Side by side with his stern uprightness in public life, there was the charm he irradiated in intimate intercourse; the warm, inalienable affections which found play in the sphere of his family and of his nearest friends. Yet all this would have been insufficient, perhaps, to lend him lasting fame, had it not been for that innate love of the beautiful which, like sunshine sparkling over an austere landscape, illumined every portion in its brilliant rays, and found enduring expression in his world-renowned collection of works of art.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CORONATION OF KING CHARLES. THE MALTRAVERS MARRIAGE.

1625—1626.

SO long as King James lived, Arundel had an assured friend on the throne, notwithstanding occasional disappointments. With his successor the case was different. Charles was too much accustomed to the domination of the Duke of Buckingham to remain uninfluenced by the likes and dislikes of the favourite. Buckingham's animosity towards Lord Arundel was now undisguised; nor, in the present mood of the King, did he lack opportunities to make it felt. One such occasion arose very soon after the death of King James, when, under the specious disguise of the performance of public duty, it is difficult not to suspect a shaft aimed particularly at Arundel.

It will be remembered that when creating him Earl Marshal, James had desired to attach to that appointment a pension of £2000 a year; an acknowledgment of many years of devoted and unrequited service, which was frustrated by the intrigues of Williams and his confederates. Only the usual, nominal fee of £20 a year became his, therefore, so far as the usual sources of remuneration were concerned. Notwithstanding this arrangement, arrived at on the 29th August, 1621¹, a warrant was however issued on the 15th July, 1622, to the officers of the Exchequer, "to pay to Thomas, Earl of Arundel, £1000 for the first half-year of his pension of £2000, granted on fines on alienations; those fines having been paid into the Exchequer without notice of this grant²." It would appear from this, that the King had found means to circumvent the opposition of the Great Seal, by passing the pension through another channel. No further entry occurs on the subject: probably because on future occasions the pension was deducted before the fines on alienations reached the Exchequer. The work of the Earl Marshal's Court was no sinecure; and justice demanded that, like other great offices, it should receive adequate financial recognition. It appears likely, therefore, that Lord

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Vol. x, 1619—1623, p. 285. Patent conferring on Thos. Earl of Arundel and Surrey, the dignity of Earl Marshal of England, etc.

² *Ibid.* p. 426.

Arundel continued to receive this pension during the life-time of King James and until deprived of it by his successor: a supposition which is confirmed by a passage in a letter written many years later by his widow¹.

One of the first matters dealt with by the Privy Council after the accession of Charles was that of the late King's money affairs. James had spent enormously; and had left debts, it was said, to the amount of a million sterling. The Privy Council at once decided that no pensions should be paid for a year. Quickly alive to the bearing of this method of alleviating the financial situation, Arundel, as Earl Marshal, followed up the resolution by a proposal to limit honours. Titles, he said, should not be distributed broadcast, as in the past, but reserved for persons of distinction and noble birth. Buckingham, who was secretly hoping to create peers (nominally, of course, through the King), to strengthen his own party in the House of Lords, and who had himself risen to the highest rank for no better reason than favouritism, hotly took up the challenge. He angrily denounced Arundel's proposal as an aspersion on the late King. For the moment the subject was allowed to drop. But the thrust was neither forgiven nor forgotten, and was to cost Arundel dear in the future.

Yet, apart from any personal aspect of the discussion, there can be no doubt that Arundel, imperiously monarchical though he was, saw the danger of the course on which the young King was embarking, and would gladly have arrested it betimes, had that been possible. The exercise of an unbounded royal prerogative, based on the recommendations of a favourite who played solely for his own hand, could only lead Charles into collision with those powers it was most desirable to conciliate. On three points, especially, Lord Arundel laid stress: that the rights of the old nobility should be respected and upheld; that offices should not be put up for sale, and that the King should permit the Council to participate in such decisions as he might think fit to promulgate, in order that they might go forth as agreed upon with the Councillors. Moderate and prudent as these proposals were, they cut at the very root of the one-man government which Buckingham was determined to maintain. In the King himself, and in the crowd of sycophants who surrounded the Duke, Arundel's high-minded endeavours to purify the political atmosphere merely aroused displeasure. Somewhat later, doubtless through Buckingham's influence, the King appointed a kind of inner Committee of the Privy Council, to consult with him privately, as occasion might

¹ See Appendix iv.

arise, from which Arundel, the faithful Councillor of King James, was excluded. He continued to perform his duties as Earl Marshal, but the cordiality and intimacy of former days had, for the time being, vanished.

One of the first occasions of importance with which he was officially connected, was that of the arrival of the King's bride from France. Princess Henrietta Maria had been married by proxy to King Charles, at Paris, on the 1st May, 1625. On the 12th June, she disembarked at Dover, where Lord Arundel was present to receive her. The King, who was at Canterbury, impatiently awaiting her arrival, hurried over next morning to pay his respects. On hearing that he had come, the brilliant little French princess, who was only fifteen years old, ran down to greet him, and offered to kiss his hand. Charles took her in his arms and kissed her. Then, perceiving that she reached to his shoulder, which was taller than he had been led to expect, he glanced downwards at her shoes. Reading his thought, the quick-witted French girl instantly displayed them, exclaiming, "Sir, I stand upon mine own feet; I have no helps by art. Thus high I am, and am neither higher nor lower¹."

A vexation arose for the young Queen when, starting to drive with the King to Canterbury, she was refused the company of her faithful attendant, Madame de St Georges. That lady was esteemed of insufficient rank; and, in addition to Lady Arundel, Buckingham's mother and sister were crowded into the carriage². Alas! it was one of the many unpleasant incidents which continued to occur so long as the Duke's ascendancy prevailed.

On the 16th June, the royal pair received a great ovation on entering London. As the state barge glided to its moorings, the surface of the river was gay with thousands of boats assembled to greet them. From the shore and from every house-top rang out the shouts of cheering multitudes. Guns thundered forth their welcome from the Tower, and from the ships of the Navy. No beginning could have been more auspicious.

Lord Arundel's private affairs call for little comment at this time. One event must just be touched upon, because it led to important consequences in his family at a later period. It was in this year that he was given the wardship of a young kinsman, Henry, afterwards fifth Baron Stafford, the direct descendant of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who was attainted and beheaded in

¹ *Court and Times of Charles I*, Vol. 1, p. 30. Dr Meddus to the Rev. Joseph Mead. London, 17th June, 1625.

² Gardiner, *England under Buckingham and Charles I*, Vol. 1, p. 184.

the reign of Henry VIII¹. The boy was taken into Lord Arundel's house to be educated with his younger son, William. He seems to have been a youth of promise; and, on his death, some years later, a volume of verse was dedicated to his memory by his cousin, Anthony Stafford². Mary, sister of Henry, Lord Stafford, married Lord Arundel's son, William; and it was owing to young Stafford's early death that the King conferred on William Howard and his wife the Stafford peerage³. These developments belong to a later page.

Lord Arundel was destined to see many turns of the wheel of Fortune, in the case of others as well as of himself. It will be remembered that Williams, Bishop of Lincoln and Dean of Westminster, had been given the Great Seal after the fall of Bacon. Currying much favour with Buckingham, he had, as we know, placed himself in strong opposition to Arundel. Success seems to have gone to the head of the ambitious ecclesiastic, who now deemed himself strong enough to oppose the policy of the Duke. He was soon to discover his mistake. In December he was deprived of the Great Seal, which was once more placed in commission; Arundel being again one of those nominated as Commissioners.

The great event of the King's coronation was now rapidly approaching. It was part of the duties of the Earl Marshal to make the necessary dispositions for the ceremony, which took place on the 2nd February, 1626. Arundel had arranged that the royal barge should moor at Sir Robert Cotton's steps to the river, where a suitable landing could be effected. Cotton's famous house and library occupied a site now partially covered by the House of Lords. His garden, running down to the river, was a favourite resort of men of learning. Members of Parliament used it freely for walk and talk. The stairs to the Thames were spacious and easy of access. On the auspicious morning, carpets had been laid down, and everything prepared with the utmost care for the reception of the Sovereign. Sir Robert himself stood at the top of the steps, awaiting the august arrival, when by an intrigue of Buckingham's, the bargemen "bawked" the spot where they were expected to halt, and passed on to the Parliament stairs, where Charles and his attendants were con-

¹ The sister of this Duke was Arundel's great-grandmother, having married Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk. Hence the relationship.

² *Honour and Virtue triumphing over the Grave, exemplified in a fair devout Life and Death, adorned with the surviving perfections of Henry, Lord Stafford, lately deceased.* 1604.

³ Roger Stafford, a cousin of the deceased Henry, should rightly have succeeded to the barony. But the King forced him to relinquish the succession on the plea of poverty, and then disposed of the peerage as described.

strained to land through neighbouring boats, instead of straight on to the steps, "soe fitlie accomodated" for the occasion.

Cotton, who at this time represented in Parliament the borough of Thetford, as he did later that of Castle Rising—both, be it recollected, Howard property—belonged to the group who upheld the privileges of Parliament as against the extreme advocates of the royal prerogative, led by the Duke of Buckingham. Sir Robert had recently drawn up a series of notes on the English constitution, which had been widely read. They came into the hands of Buckingham; and the fiasco at the landing-stage is supposed to have been the result of his anger at their contents. The insult, moreover, carried a double shaft. Doubtless it was aimed in equal measure at Lord Arundel, who, in his capacity of Earl Marshal, and in his intimate friendship with Sir Robert Cotton, unwittingly exposed by him to this indignity, must have been deeply offended.

The King, robed in white, and accompanied by the peers in attendance, proceeded first to Westminster Hall, where a high stage and throne had been erected. King James had, as we know, vested in Lord Arundel the double office of Earl Marshal and Constable, but Charles had for this day bestowed on Buckingham the post of Constable. Probably it was found necessary to give him some high dignity, to enable him to play the leading part in the ceremonies which alone would prove acceptable to him. Consequently, he it was who now approached and, on bended knee, presented to the King the regalia. Charles distributed the various objects to the office-bearers: "the first sword to Marquess Hambledon¹, the second to the Earle of Kent², the Crowne to the Earle of Pembroke, the ball with the Cross to the Earle of Sussex³, the long sceptre to the Earle of Essex, St Edward's Rodd with the Dove to the Earle of Hertforde⁴, etc.; onlie the Lord Mayor carried the short sceptre." The procession to the Abbey was then formed; Charles proceeding on

¹ Hamilton.

² Henry Grey, eleventh Baron Grey de Ruthyn and eighth Earl of Kent, succeeded to those titles on the death of his father in 1625. He married Lady Elizabeth Talbot, sister of Lady Arundel. He died without issue 1639.

³ Robert Ratcliffe, fifth Earl of Sussex, succeeded his father in 1593; took part in the expedition against Cadiz, under Essex, 1596; K.G. 1621; died 1629. A full-length portrait of him, mentioned in the Lumley inventory of 1590 is now owned by Mr Henry Harris, of Bedford Square. (See illustration to Mr Cust's article on Marcus Gheeraerts, *Walpole Society Annual*, III.)

⁴ Sir William Seymour, second Earl of Hertford, who succeeded to that title 1621, will be recalled as the husband of the unfortunate Lady Arabella Stuart. He married secondly Lady Frances Devereux, daughter of Robert, second Earl of Essex. He was a faithful adherent of the royal cause, was created Marquess of Hertford, 1640; restored to the Dukedom of Somerset (forfeited by the attainder of his ancestor, Protector Somerset), 1660; and died the same year.

foot, bareheaded, beneath a canopy. At the entrance to Westminster Abbey he was met by the Archbishop (Abbot) and by the Earl Marshal; who walked one on his right hand, the other on his left. All doors were open, and the interior thronged. The Archbishop next presented him to the people as their King: and desired them by "generall acclamation to testifye their consent and willingness thereunto." Probably some did not hear, and others "doubted what to doe," for not a voice was raised "till my Lorde of Arundel tolde them: They should crie out, 'God save King Charles.' Upon which, as ashamed of their first oversight, a little shouting followed¹."

The Coronation ceremony on this occasion was reputed one of the most punctiliously correct in form that had taken place since the Conquest. In addition to the ordering of these arrangements, Arundel had been appointed by the King to act, in conjunction with Lord Pembroke, as his deputy for the creation of Knights of the Bath, customary on such occasions.

Hardly had the coronation festivities terminated, when Lord Arundel and his family found themselves suddenly plunged into dire disgrace with the King. The circumstances were as follows. Lord Maltravers, who was now in his eighteenth year, had already been approached by his father on the subject of matrimony. It was the custom of the time to marry very young; and Arundel hoped his son might find a wife who would bring with her a sufficient dowry to add materially to the resources of the family. For the present, however, Lord Maltravers displayed no inclination towards marriage. But, on being pressed by his father to say "whether there were no woman he had ever seene that he liked better than another, he confessed that there was, and with some difficulty named my Lady Elizabeth Stuart²." The young man added, however, that there was no hope of obtaining her, as her mother wished her to marry Lord Fielding, and that, in addition to this obstacle, she had nothing by way of estate to answer his father's hopes.

A prospective alliance between young Maltravers and Lady Elizabeth Stuart was no new idea. It had already been spoken of in the late King's reign; and had been desired by her uncle, the deceased Duke of Richmond, and his brother, Lady Elizabeth's father. King James himself encouraged the project. Ties of close friendship united the two families. The intercourse between Lord Arundel and

¹ Ellis's *Original Letters*, Series I, Vol. III, p. 217, Letter cccxxii. Mr (afterwards Sir Simon) D'Ewes to Sir Martin Stuteville. The Queen was not present, having refused to be crowned by a Protestant ecclesiastic.

² Daughter of Esme, Duke of Lennox, and niece of Lodowick, Duke of Richmond. She was born 17th July, 1610, so was at this time only fifteen.

the Duke of Richmond, at Court, had been constant and intimate through many years. Moreover the widowed Duchess of Richmond had been the daughter of Thomas, Viscount Howard of Bindon, and was therefore linked by blood with the proposed bridegroom. Notwithstanding these circumstances, Lord Arundel had not felt disposed to encourage the match, on account of the well-known lack of means of that branch of the Stuart family.

Lodowick, Duke of Richmond, died in February, 1624. He was followed to the grave but a few months later by his brother and successor, Esme, Duke of Lennox (the English dukedom having expired with the elder brother): so that, in July, 1624, the family honours had devolved upon a boy of twelve, James, Duke of Lennox, the son of Esme, and brother of Lady Elizabeth.

The Duchess of Richmond, who seems to have possessed a good share of the Howard love of magnificence, moved "with great pomp" in April, 1625, from Ely Place, hitherto her London residence, to Exeter House, which she had furnished splendidly for her reception. She was accompanied by her nephew and niece, the young Duke of Lennox and his sister, Lady Elizabeth: while, amongst the large concourse of distinguished persons who escorted her to her new home, Lord Arundel is the first mentioned. The move appears, indeed, to have developed into a stately procession, in which the number of coaches was especially remarked¹.

A few days after the conversation just recorded between Lord Arundel and his son, the former was told by Lady Elizabeth's mother, the Duchess of Lennox², whom he met by chance at the Queen's Privy Chamber, that the plan she had so long cherished for her daughter's marriage with Lord Fielding, was now completely at an end. Arundel communicated this news to his son, who received it with great satisfaction. Having discussed the subject also with Lady Arundel, and agreed with her that their son's happiness must come before any thought of a marriage settlement, Lord Maltravers was given permission to try his luck.

The Duchess of Richmond now warmly espoused the cause of her niece's union with Lord Maltravers. It was said that she had even promised to make Lady Elizabeth her heir, in order to facilitate matters³.

¹ *Court and Times of Charles I*, Vol. I, p. 15. Mr Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, London, 23rd April, 1625.

² Katherine, daughter and heir of Sir Gervase (afterwards Lord) Clifton, of Leighton Bromswold.

³ *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, Vol. XIX, 1625-1626, p. 358. Zuane Pesaro, Venetian ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate, 19th March, 1626.

In the midst of all this, a new suitor appeared on the scene in the person of Lord Lorne, son of the Earl of Argyll. It can hardly have been without design that the Duchess of Lennox apprised Lord Arundel of the rupture of her daughter's engagement to Lord Fielding. Lord Lorne had not then come forward. Directly he presented himself, she seems to have changed her tactics. It was expected that, if the alliance came to anything, the King would give the bride a marriage portion; and, either this prospect, or some more occult motive, induced her to urge Lord Lorne to make his suit known to his Majesty. The King warmly took up the idea: and offered the young man to Lady Elizabeth's acceptance. He was anxious, it was said, to wipe out an old feud between the houses of Campbell and Stuart.

The talk of the probable engagement of Lady Elizabeth Stuart to Lord Lorne now became so general, that Lord Arundel paused before entering into open negotiations on behalf of his son. He wished first to acquaint himself with the real position, which seemed somewhat obscure; and especially to ascertain the feelings of Lady Elizabeth herself. He had no desire to ride for a fall, either for himself or his son; and Buckingham, as usual, had his irons in the fire, and was intriguing against the Howards. Before taking any public step, Arundel therefore sought out his cousin, the Duchess of Richmond. It happened that just at this time Lady Elizabeth had drawn Lord Arundel as her Valentine; and he heard that "though other folkes used to throw him in the fire, yet that she wore him in diamonds¹." He had consequently resolved, so he told the Duchess, to offer her some little gift in return. The outcome of the conversation was that the Duchess of Richmond asked Lord and Lady Arundel to come to her house some day, with Lord Maltravers, when Lady Elizabeth would be there. The invitation was accepted: the Duchess declaring that her niece's affections were free, and by no means engaged to Lord Lorne.

The meeting accordingly came off; Lord Arundel giving his son a small ring to present to Lady Elizabeth on his behalf. As was natural on such an occasion, the young people found a good deal to say to each other, while their elders discoursed at a distance. At the close of the interview, Lord Arundel observed that his son seemed well pleased.

¹ These words are put into Lord Arundel's mouth by the writer of a long letter, signed only with initials, amongst the Arundel MSS. But they read as though they must have been uttered by him originally, especially as the letter in question is addressed to him. Most of the details of this curious love-story are derived from this letter (Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 284), which will be referred to again in the following pages.

What was Lord Arundel's amazement, not unmixed with consternation, when, two days later, Lord Maltravers threw himself upon his knees before his father, and, imploring pardon, announced that he was married to Lady Elizabeth! Arundel immediately went off to the Duchess of Richmond to seek corroboration of the astounding fact. He found the young lady had already been there to make a similar avowal to that he had received from his son. He went on to the house of her mother, the Duchess of Lennox. The girl was sent for. She greeted Lord Arundel by asking his blessing on her marriage. Obviously the lovers, alarmed by the advent of the powerfully-backed Lord Lorne, had taken the law into their own hands.

Clearly there was now no course open to Lord Arundel but to go straight to the King, acquaint him with what had happened, and beg him to overlook the hasty proceedings of young affections. Charles, however, was very angry. He would listen to no excuse. It was in vain that Arundel pleaded that his son had acted without his knowledge. The King peremptorily dismissed him from Court; and, the following morning, sent four royal guards to convey him to the Tower. Early in March, by the King's orders, he was sequestered from the Council table. There was, indeed, talk of deposing him from the office of Earl Marshal; but this was not carried into effect. The other persons involved came in for their full share of the royal displeasure. Lady Arundel was ordered to withdraw to her mother-in-law's house at Horsley, in Surrey; the Duchess of Lennox to a residence she had fifteen miles from London; the bride and bridegroom to remain at Lambeth with the Archbishop of Canterbury; and the Duchess of Richmond to keep to her own house in town¹.

The part played in all this by the Duchess of Lennox is not quite clear. Contemporary opinion seems to have regarded the marriage as a plot hatched between three ladies, the Duchess of Richmond, the Duchess of Lennox, and Lady Arundel, in view of the real attachment existing between the two young people. From the letter quoted overleaf², it is plain that the Duchess of Lennox sent Lord Lorne to the King: while it is certain that she shared in the punishment inflicted by Charles on each promoter of the Maltravers union. The inference appears to be that the Duchess somewhat disingenuously kept on good terms with both sides, in order to come out right in any event. Possibly her apparent acceptance of Lord Lorne was merely a blind to conceal her share in bringing

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Venice*, Vol. XIX, 1625-1626, p. 358. Zuane Pesaro, Venetian ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate, 19th March, 1626.

² See note 2, page 245.

about the Maltravers marriage, and thus (she may have thought) to escape the anger of the King.

All these restrictions did not come into force simultaneously, as will be seen by the following correspondence between Lord Arundel and his daughter-in-law, who was still at Arundel House.

Lady Maltravers to the Earl of Arundel.

My most Honorable Lord and deare Father

Howe unfortunate I take my selfe to be that I sholde be borne to be an occasion of the least troble that hath or may fall to yo^r Lo^p, to my most noble Mother, and to my best beloved my deare lord, in whome longe since I placed my true affection and love. And weare it not that I have reallie founde your noble favors¹. . . ne farr beyonde my desart, I sholde rather desyer death than any other worldlie blessinge, that thereby the Kings Ma^{ty} displeasure myght be appeased to us all. Had I had manie lyves, for the love of my deare husband, and to shewe my readines to obay his Will, I wolde have adventured them all, whoe shall fynde me most lovinge and most faithfull to him, as shall your Lo^p and my most noble Mother, ever readie to obaye yo^r pleasures. I beseech S^r pardon my presumption in writinge to you, and continue your ffatherlie love to me, and I shall ever be

Yo^r Lo^{ps} most obedient daughter and Servant to be coⁿfaunded,

ELIZABETH MALTRAVERS.

From Arundell House this 6 of ffebruarie, 1625 (1626).

To my most ho^{ble} and deare ffather my Lord the Earle of Arundel and Surrey.

The Earl of Arundel to Lady Maltravers.

My deare Harte

I cannot be quiet tyll I heare howe you doe, and I must conjure you by y^e love you beare your Husband, and us all, that you will not disquiet your selfe, but be cheerfull, synce we have placed our greatest felicitie in your well doinge. For his M^{ties} great displeasure I am verie sorie, but cannot doubt but he will remytt the fault of doinge it before he knewe it, since that w^{ch} is done, was ever desired by your parents and best friends, and by good Kinge James himselfe. And synce you were discharged of your treatie for my Lord ffielding my Lord Lorne was noe otherwise but left free to seeke you, if he colde satisfie yo^r friends and wyne your owne affection; which, being extreme averse, made you hasten this the more, where both yo^r affections met so strongely. So, my deare Childe, wishinge you all blessings of Heaven and earth, upon you and yo^r Husband, I rest ever

Yo^r most affectionate ffather and Servante

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Tower, 5 March, 1625 (1626).

To my deare Daughter the Ladie Maltravers at Arundell House².

¹ Torn.

² *Harl. MSS.* 1581, f. 390 (printed by Tierney).

Meanwhile the House of Lords angrily demanded Lord Arundel's release, regarding his detention during their session as a breach of their privileges. Arundel, whose pride was deeply wounded by the King's attitude, especially by the rejection of his candid assurance that he knew nothing of the matter beforehand, was disposed to trust for his release to the action of Parliament. When examined by the Commissioners appointed for the purpose by Charles, his answers had not inculcated him¹, but his delicate sense of honour forbade him to give information which might bring others into trouble. He declined to reply to any further questions. The King, who had gradually arrived at a better understanding of the circumstances, was now more irritated by Arundel's persistent silence than by the fact of the marriage itself. His refusal to answer was interpreted as contempt. His friends were greatly disturbed by the turn things were taking; and it was at this juncture that the long letter of remonstrance was written to which allusion has already been made².

This document, though too long to be here reproduced, is of special interest, inasmuch as the author appropriates the chief blame for the trouble in which Lord Arundel finds himself; and begs him not to shield the writer at his own expense. It is couched in terms of mingled intimacy and deference. Certain advice is offered as to how best to conciliate the King; and Lord Arundel is implored not to increase the anger of the Sovereign by depending for release on the agency of Parliament.

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, Vol. XIX, 1625-1626, p. 365. Zuane Pesaro, Venetian ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate, 27th March, 1626.

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 284. "It is true that I have principally moved," says the writer, "in the busynes for wch you suffer. You have bin questioned upon it, and are now no longer censured for the busynes it selfe, but for concealing the manner of it: and this I must belevee you have nobly done out of respect to me: for yo^r owne parte was so cleene from offence to all y^e world but yo^r selfe, that it had bin no danger to you to have tolde yo^r very thoughts."

"My Lord Arundel's case," writes Sir Simon D'Ewes to Sir Martin Stuteville, "is not so bad as the world takes it. You know he is a most indulgent man to his wife and children, and hath in his son's hearing often said, he referred his son's match to himself. He [i.e. Lord Maltravers] often visiting the Duchess of Richmond, she would be sure to have her kinswoman, Lady Elizabeth Stuart... there, and so often caused them to meet, and so cunningly would leave them together.... True it is, young Campbell, the Earl of Argyle's son (being fourth Earl of Scotland) had leave of the king to marry her, if he could get her. *But neither her mother, the duchess, nor herself, ever gave him any welcome.* I think that some propositions had formerly been made about this match. King James desired it, and the duke (of Richmond), but Arundel then excused it, alleging his debts, and this lady's little portion. He is at large in the Tower.... But the upper house, *conceiving this storm to have fallen by the duke's (of Buckingham) means,* questioned already his commitment, and begin to desire his enlargement." (*Court and Times of Charles I*, Vol. I, p. 90.) The italics are mine. M. H.

Who was in a position, first to play a leading part in engineering such a marriage, and, secondly, to admonish the somewhat unapproachable Lord Arundel as to the line of conduct best to pursue? In spite of apology, the writer displays an affectionate confidence that his counsel will be taken in good part. The care with which the composition has been preserved, shows that in this he was not mistaken.

The letter was evidently drawn up with the utmost secrecy. It shows no name of place, and bears only the abbreviated signature: Fr. Cr. Whose are these initials? A careful comparison with the signature of Sir Francis Crane, as seen on many official documents in the British Museum and Record Office, places the authorship of the letter beyond doubt. In this personage we recover, therefore, another of the group of Lord Arundel's personal friends. It cannot be doubted that, in many cases, every trace has been lost—or perhaps just a name is preserved—of those on whom he depended for companionship in his private tastes. Consequently the addition to their number of so interesting a personality as that of Sir Francis Crane, is doubly welcome¹.

Crane's early life is shrouded in mystery; but if, as is generally supposed, he was a native of East Anglia, that circumstance in itself would commend him to Lord Arundel's notice. Since the early years of King James's reign, he had held the office of Clerk of the Parliament. A closer tie with Lord Arundel was probably established when Crane became Secretary to Prince Charles while Prince of Wales, which must have brought him into frequent contact with the personages of the Court. His main title to distinction clearly arises from his connection with the celebrated tapestry works, financed by King James, at Mortlake, and here it is easy to perceive the link which admitted him to Lord Arundel's friendship. He must have been some years senior to the great art enthusiast, and known to him, probably, through a considerable period; a supposition which

¹ I am indebted for the identification of this signature to Miss Constance H. White, who kindly undertook to make some investigations for me at the British Museum and the Public Record Office. Tierney (*Hist. of Arundel*, p. 451, note a) gives the signature of the letter as: P. Cr. A comparison of this reading with the original document showed the first initial to be so obviously incorrect, that I sent a copy of the signature to Miss White, asking her to give me her opinion, and that of the experts of the British Museum. All agreed that the inscription should read: Fr. Cr. It remained to discover to whom these initials belonged. This, by a comparison with many official signatures of Sir Francis Crane, preserved in the public collections, and of some of which she sent me tracings, Miss White successfully accomplished. Her reading was subsequently corroborated by the Rev. Professor Jenkins, Lambeth Library. It is only right to add that Dr Williamson had already suggested to me the very same name.

would explain the tone of long-standing familiarity exhibited by the letter¹.

Sir Francis Crane was anxious that Lord Arundel should write the King a detailed narrative of his (Arundel's) share in the circumstances of the marriage. Crane gives an elaborate outline of the matter he would propose to put forward; and assures Lord Arundel no one could be harmed by it, as the Duchess of Richmond had already told so much, "to save her self," that most of the facts were known. "If you do any such thing," continues the writer, "send it first to my Lady of Richmond, to lett her see what yo^r will saye of her: but leave no coggie wth her.... Yo^r Sister of Lenox² I will acquaint wth it."

Perhaps it may be inferred that Lord Arundel was not prepared to offer further explanations in a quarter where they had before been so ill received. At any rate, nothing more seems to have come of Sir Francis Crane's intervention. In the meantime, the House of Lords continued to clamour for Arundel's release. Two important matters were coming on: the impeachment of Bristol and of Buckingham. The latter carried with him all the courtiers and ecclesiastics who deemed themselves dependent on royal favour. On the other side, Arundel's presence and strong personality were of the utmost value to the upholders of the rights of Parliament. Notwithstanding his autocratic temperament and unwavering loyalty to the King, his logical mind was quick to discern the limits of power proper to each source of authority. He held that each should function within its

¹ The year of Sir Francis Crane's birth is unknown. His first steps into prominence in 1606, when James I gave him the life-appointment already mentioned, as Clerk of the Parliament. He sat in the House of Commons several times, as the representative of various Cornish constituencies, and was knighted in 1617, while Secretary to the Prince of Wales. In 1619, the famous factory of tapestry was established in a house he had built at Northlake, and was liberally subsidised by King James. The expense of the undertaking was, however, great. Large grants of lands, and other privileges of financial value, were accorded to him, to liquidate debts owed to him by Buckingham and later by Charles I; but he remained out of pocket in the work he had undertaken. Amongst the chief productions of the Northlake factory were the tapestry at Elvington, showing family groups of Kings James and Charles; that at Knole, with the portraits of King Charles and of Crane himself; the "Acts of the Apostles," subsequently presented by Charles III to Louis XIV, etc. Crane built himself a fine house, in the Italian style, at Stoke Park, and there entertained King Charles. A curious point, which again brings him into relation with one of the principal actors in the Mulwaxes drama, is that, at a later period, the King gave him a joint-patent with the Duchess of Richmond for the conveyance of fashings. He was the last lay Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, an appointment suggestive of the influence of Lord Arundel.

Sir Francis Crane was painted by Van Dyck, but it is not known where that portrait now is. An engraving of it exists, however. He died at Paris in 1621, and was buried at Woodhouse in Norfolk, where he had bought an estate.

² Her daughter having married Lord Arundel's son, the Duchess became his "sister" in the language of the time.

due sphere, and opposed the encroachment of one upon the other. While the training of a life-time spent at Court, and personal affection for the royal family, drew him in one direction, his friendship with Selden, Cotton, and others learned in the history of the English constitution, and determined to maintain its rights, showed him another aspect of the controversy. Moreover Digby, Earl of Bristol, whom Buckingham had detested ever since the Spanish episode, and caused to be disgraced, was Arundel's friend; and those who upheld Bristol's cause, needed Lord Arundel's voice in Parliament. Above all, the question of privilege exercised the minds of the Lords. When in March they debated Arundel's claim to be set free, the Lord Keeper¹ appeared with a message from the King, that Arundel was not imprisoned for parliamentary reasons, but for others affecting his Majesty. Nothing daunted, the Lords continued to discuss precedents in order to arrive at a decision. The dispute became lively. Buckingham, whose goading influence, more than any other cause, was answerable for the King's anger, declared that Arundel's release ought not to be asked of his Majesty. A division ensued, in which the Duke triumphed. The peers exclaimed bitterly that they had lost their liberty; that any pretext would serve the King to get rid of a lord who showed opposition in Parliament.

In April, apparently fearing his forcible release by the peers, the King ordered Lord Arundel's removal from the Tower to his mother's house at Horsley; still, of course, as a prisoner. He was even threatened with deprivation of his vote in Parliament; a decree the King would probably have had no power to enforce. Meanwhile, at the end of the month, a slight illness obliged Buckingham to absent himself from town. The Upper House immediately took advantage of the occasion to resume the discussion on privileges, and passed a resolution that to remove any of their members excepting for felony or treason, was contrary to their liberties. Thus armed, they decided to remonstrate once more with his Majesty; this time unanimously. The reply was first withheld, then evasive. Again and again the same request was proffered, always with negative result.

A letter from Lord Arundel's correspondent, Mr (afterwards Sir) Philip Mainwaring, shows the excitement that prevailed in regard to the proceedings in Parliament.

Mr Philip Mainwaring to the Earl of Arundel.

Right Ho^{ble}

It seems the Upper House calls it self to morrow morning, and the

¹ Sir Thomas (afterwards Lord) Coventry, who had succeeded Bishop Williams as Keeper of the Great Seal.

cheif reason thereof is conceaved, wanting a member, they may thence take occasion to putt his Ma^{tie} in mynd of their last demaund unto his Ma^{tie} in point of right *inprivileg*. And thereupon is hoped that his Ma^{tie} will graciously inclyne to condescend ther unto; so as wth in a few dayes we may hope to see yo^r Ll sitt in Parliament. And indeed, there is lyke to be occasion now in parliament w^{ch} will require all the wisdome of the whole Kingdome¹.

For my Lord of Bristoll, his busines seemes to be of small consequence, w^{ch} he offereth unto the Parliament.

Our House hath some thing now on foote in Parliament, w^{ch} at the least makes a noyse.

And now that the King himself makes him self a partie against my lo: of Bristoll, and intimates all ready that yo^r L^{ps} shall have the hearing of the busines, certaynely these many yeares of Parliament hath not heard of busines of the like nature, and so many of them wth in those walls.

But the point is, the King will and ought to have preheminance in all things, and so he will now in this proceeding in Parliament concerning my L. of Bristoll and my L. of Buckingham. His Ma^{tie} will charge my L. of Bristoll, and whensoever the charge comes, it must be first. Then the question will be wheather my L. of Bristoll may not at the same tyme proceed wth his charge against my L. of Buckingham. Most are of opinion they may and will go on together.

Y^r L. humblest

PH. MAINWARING.

Lambith, this 24 Aprill, 1626.

To the righ. Ho^{ble} the Earle of Arundell, Earle Marshall of Ingland, at Horseley².

¹ Alluding no doubt to the impeachment of Buckingham.

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 285.

CHAPTER XIX.

LORD ARUNDEL IN DISFAVOUR WITH THE KING. PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURE AT ARUNDEL HOUSE. ASSASSINATION OF BUCKINGHAM.

1626—1628.

WHILE these events were progressing, a great life was passing away almost unnoticed. The health of the late Lord Chancellor, Bacon, had for some time been in an unsatisfactory state. The terms of his sentence had so far been relaxed that he was now permitted to come to London. Towards the end of March, he was taking a drive towards Highgate, when a heavy fall of snow occurred. He was anxious to test whether snow would act as a preservative against putrefaction. (It is curious to find the idea of "cold storage" originating with Lord Bacon!) Accordingly he stopped the coach, obtained a hen from a neighbouring cottage, and proceeded himself to stuff the body of the bird with snow. In making the experiment, he caught a severe chill, and soon became so unwell that he was unable to continue his drive. He drew up at Lord Arundel's house at Highgate, of which, in earlier days, he had enjoyed the hospitality, and where, in the absence of the owner, he was readily received and succoured. Thence he wrote a letter of apology to Lord Arundel which has, unfortunately been preserved only in part; but of which the fragment is of great interest.

Francis Bacon, Viscount St Albans, to the Earl of Arundel and Surrey.

My very good Lord

I was likely to have had the fortune of Caius Plinius the elder, who lost his life by trying an experiment about the burning of the mountain Vesuvius. For I was also desirous to try an experiment or two, touching the conservation and induration of bodies. As for the experiment itself, it succeeded excellently well; but in the journey (between London and Highgate) I was taken with such a fit of casting as I know not whether it were stone, or some surfeit, or cold, or indeed a touch of them all three. But when I came to your Lordship's house, I was not able to go back, and therefore was forced to take up my lodging here, where your housekeeper is very careful and diligent about me; which I assure myself, your Lordship will not only pardon towards him, but think the better of him for it. For indeed, your Lordships house was happy to me; and I kiss your noble hands for the welcome which I am sure you give me to it, . . .

I know how unfit it is for me to write to your Lordship with any other hand than mine own; but in troth my fingers are so disjointed with this fit of sickness, that I cannot steadily hold a pen. . . .¹

Bacon's state at this time does not seem to have been one of danger, but, unfortunately, the steward, anxious to pay him every respect, put him into one of the best beds; which, owing to the absence of the family, had not been used for a considerable time. The warming-pan with which the bed was prepared, perhaps concealed but certainly did not cure its damp condition. Bronchitis supervened, either from this cause or from the original chill; and, on the 9th April, the illustrious patient breathed his last.

It is singularly to be regretted that no word or letter from Lord Arundel has been preserved to touch into brighter light this final episode of the great Lord Chancellor's life. Silence and darkness surround the bald facts which have just been narrated.

Meanwhile the vicissitudes of Lord Arundel's fall from favour remained unmodified. Spring wore into summer: and when application after application for his release remained ineffective, the Upper House adjourned; declining to transact further business until their member was restored to them, or cause shown for his detention. Thus pressed into a corner, the King ungraciously gave way. On the 5th June, Arundel received through Secretary Conway, the royal message that he could go to Parliament, but not to Court. On the 8th he was in his seat in the House of Lords. Within ten days of being granted, however, the permission was rescinded. A communication from Conway, dated the 14th June, ordered his restraint at Horsley "together with his lady, his son, and his son's lady, as they were before the Earl's leave to come to Parliament²." On the 25th June, to the general consternation, the King dissolved Parliament, in order to place a check on the proceedings against Buckingham. Lord Arundel was left fettered to Horsley.

The restriction to one spot of a man so much involved in public and private business, was fraught with grave inconveniences. Amongst Arundel's duties as Lord Lieutenant of Norfolk, was that of providing for the safety of the coast from the incursions of marauders. Already in March of this year, Sir Charles Cornwallis had written from Beeston, near Norwich, informing him of the urgent need for help against the Dunkirk raiders, who were stealing ships, and firing into east coast towns³. A fleet was believed to be approaching for

¹ I. Spedding's *Life of Bacon*, Vol. II, p. 620.

² *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1625-1626, p. 353. Secretary Conway to the Earl of Arundel and Surrey.

³ *Cal. of State Papers, Domestic*, 1625-1626, p. 274. Sir Ch. Cornwallis to the Earl of Arundel, 8th March, 1626.

the purpose of inflicting yet further damage. Arundel, in his turn, communicated with Conway, earnestly entreating him to provide for the safety of Norfolk, and telling him that Sir John Hobart, one of the Deputy Lieutenants of the county, would keep him advised of what was needed¹. Other affairs probably called with hardly less urgency for his freedom of movement. Hitherto his confinement, apart from the personal cause, had formed an element in the struggle for supremacy between King and Parliament. Now that Parliament was dissolved, such rigorous measures towards an innocent man, appeared devoid of all meaning. On the 11th July, a grudging permission was accordingly granted to Lord Arundel to come to his house in London "for one month²." Two days later, we find the victim proffering a modest request for an exact definition of the degree of liberty the King is willing to allow him, his wife and children³. As a result, freedom was given to him and them to repair to "any of his houses for two months⁴." The repeated nagging restriction, after the long period of restraint already suffered, must have been particularly galling. Such was Buckingham's revenge for Arundel's opposition to the cheapening and corruption of honours. Fate had brought the opportunity to his hand, and he used it to the full. One of the most interesting of the highly instructive Venetian reports at this period, tells how the Duke made an excuse of the Maltravers marriage to "drive Arundel out⁵." But of the weakness of the King, in thus allowing himself to be made a cat's-paw, what can be said?

A further despatch, addressed in August to the Doge and Senate, shows how the general situation struck an intelligent foreigner. Alvise Contarini had newly arrived to take up the post of Venetian ambassador in England.

I find affairs here (he writes) in very great confusion. Private passions and interests do not leave the public breathing time. I may say the kingdom is divided in two. The King, Buckingham, and a few individuals, who being near at hand sun themselves in the rays of royal favour; the other party consisting of all the rest of the country. The most experienced think that these two extremes cannot last long without the destruction of one or the other; and they discuss the subject, perhaps too freely, as one that can have no other result.

The King has greatly lost popularity; in such wise that the hatred increases against the Duke, who since the last dissolution of Parliament,

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, p. 309. Earl of Arundel to Secretary Conway, Horsley, 15th April, 1626.

² *Ibid.* p. 372. Secretary Conway to the Earl of Arundel, 11th July, 1626.

³ *Ibid.* p. 374. The Earl of Arundel to Secretary Conway, 13th July, 1626.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 378. Secretary Conway to the Earl of Arundel, 18th July, 1626.

⁵ *Cal. State Papers, Venice*, Vol. XIX, 1625-1626, Appendix I, p. 602. Report on England, probably by Angelo Contarini, 1626.

having availed himself of violent means to maintain his supremacy, is necessarily compelled to persevere in this course, without the least deviation. The removal from office of those who spoke against him in Parliament, the expulsion from Court of the Earl of Arundel, whose followers, in consequence of this persecution, have their ranks now swollen by a great part of the people in general, and the imprisonment of Bristol, are illustrations of this policy¹.

It is curious that, in the midst of these anxieties, we have the first letter that shows Lord Maltravers sharing his father's interests in the domain of art.

*Lord Maltravers to Mr Humphrey Haggett*².

Good Mr Haggett

On Monday I received an answer to my letter. I would have written yesterday, but that I had some occasion that hindered me. . . . The booke which I desired you to enquire for, is of Giovanni d'Udines, and it is very like it may bee now to bee had at Roome, and that Mr Smith³ may know of it. My Lords desire is that all diligence may bee used with Sr Henry Vaine⁴ for procuring that my lords antiquities may come from Amsterdam with the Kings.

So in hart I rest

Your very loving frinde

HEN: MATRAVERS.

Horseley, July 5, 1626.

*To my very loving frinde Mr Humfrey Haggett at Arundel House*⁵.

The confidence that Lord Arundel expressed in his letter to his daughter-in-law that the King's anger could assuredly not be prolonged was now stretched almost to breaking-point. The irksomeness of the situation was becoming intolerable. On the 4th September he wrote to Conway in the most conciliatory tone, "desiring to im-

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Venice*, Vol. xix, 1625-1626, p. 512. Alvise Contarini, Venetian ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate, 21st August, 1626.

² Mr Humphrey Haggett was in Lord Arundel's service, chiefly, it appears, at Arundel House, as a secretary and man of business. He is termed "Servant to the Earl of Arundel" in the *State Papers (Domestic Series, 1627-1628, p. 140)*.

³ See Appendix vi.

⁴ Sir Henry Vane (father of Sir H. Vane, the famous parliamentary leader) was born in 1589. He was educated at Oxford, and subsequently studied law. Having held a succession of small Court appointments, and repeatedly sat in Parliament, he was sent, in 1629, on the first of a series of diplomatic missions to Holland and Germany. In the same year he was appointed Comptroller of the royal Household. He was in high favour at Court, especially after Buckingham's death. In 1630 he was made a Privy Councillor; and, ten years later, succeeded Sir John Coke as Secretary of State. The evidence he gave at Strafford's trial was highly damaging to the accused; and although there seems no reason to impugn his good faith, the King, in 1641, deprived him of the Secretaryship and of all Court appointments. Vane immediately went over to the Parliamentary party, and continued to serve it until his death, which occurred in 1655.

⁵ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 287.

plore the King's grace in the humblest and best way he could¹." As a response, the apartments which for many years had been his at Court, were taken from him. In the reign of King James they had been a home to him during Lady Arundel's absence abroad, and at many other times. Now he was summarily deprived of them. "Thus all hope of a speedy return to favour is at an end," wrote Alvise Contarini, "since he must remain at a distance of five miles from the Court²." When Lord Arundel's proud and sensitive nature is considered, added to his long years of faithful service to the royal family, and his entire innocence in the matter for which he suffered, the dignified composure with which he met these reverses of fortune cannot fail to excite admiration.

Inferring from the most recent rebuff that the King feared his uninvited reappearance at Whitehall, he now offered his word of honour that if he might have his liberty, he would "not offend the King in pressing near his Court or Council without leave³." If Charles had thought Arundel was likely to push his way in where he was not welcome, he had mistaken the character of the man with whom he had to deal. But this request met with no better success than previous efforts; for, early in 1627, Conway intimated to him an extension of leave, "to follow his business," from the 4th January to the 12th March, "with the former limitations⁴."

It is pathetic to read the contents of Lord Arundel's next petition for release from the hampering embargo. On the 11th March, he writes to Conway, from Arundel House, that "he has understood that it is the King's pleasure to limit his stay in London until tomorrow; but wishes it to be intimated to his Majesty that it has pleased God to send him a little grandchild⁵; that he has private business to transact; and that his mother, to whom Horsley belongs, is now in town. He has carried himself with desire to give his Majesty no distaste; and if now, after a year, the King will dissolve this cloud, and leave him to his own liberty, he shall hold himself at

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1625-1626*, p. 420.

² *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, Vol. XIX, 1625-1626, p. 541. Alvise Contarini to the Doge and Senate, 18th September, 1626.

³ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1625-1626*, p. 441. Minutes of application to be made to His Majesty by Secretary Conway on behalf of the Earl of Arundel, etc., 30th September, 1626.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1627-1628, p. 4. Secretary Conway to the Earl of Arundel, 4th January, 1627, Whitehall.

⁵ This was the unfortunate Thomas, born 9th March, 1627, who became mentally afflicted at the age of about eighteen, and remained all his life under care at Padua, where he died in 1677. The ducal honours of the family were revived in him, at the Restoration; and passed, at his death, to his brother Henry.

most freedom when he lives in such place and manner as shall be most to the King's liking¹."

Gallant and courteous words! The picture they reveal might well have evoked a sympathetic response: the family assembled at Arundel House to welcome the birth of an heir; Anne, Lady Arundel, amongst them, to rejoice over her first great-grandchild; the familiar surroundings, and the delight of wandering once more amidst the treasures of the Gallery. All this was to be summarily exchanged by the head of a great family, the old and honoured friend of King James, for an enforced sojourn in a particular dwelling in the country at the peremptory bidding of the young sovereign, who had played as a boy in the garden at Highgate. For what reason? Yet Lord Arundel was by no means exceptional in his experiences. Small wonder that the protest against arbitrary restraint became one of the principal clauses of the Petition of Right, in the first great struggle between King and Parliament.

What immediate reply was made to this touching appeal, does not transpire. That Charles had no present intention of "dissolving this cloud," is apparent from the fact that another whole year elapsed before Arundel regained his freedom of movement. He seems, however, to have been permitted more liberty of sojourn at Arundel House.

Of the aspect at this period of the garden and gallery of that noble mansion, a good idea may be gained from the *Life* of Joachim Sandrart, affixed to his *Teutsche Academie*². In 1627, Sandrart, then a young man of twenty or twenty-one years of age, accompanied to England his master, Gerard Honthorst, who had been invited thither by the King, probably on the recommendation of Carleton³. Sandrart found favour in England; and, amongst his most conspicuous patrons, was Lord Arundel.

Foremost (we are told in the *Life*) amongst the objects worthy to be seen, stood the beautiful garden of that most famous lover of art, the Earl of Arundel; resplendent with the finest ancient statues in marble, of Greek and Roman workmanship. Here were to be seen, firstly, the portrait of a Roman Consul⁴, in long and graceful drapery, through which the form

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Charles I*, 1627-1628, p. 88. The Earl of Arundel to Secretary Conway.

² *Teutsche Academie*, II Theil, Lebens Lauf und Kunst-Werke des Wol-Edlen und Gestrengen Herrn Joachims von Sandrart,... etc., 1675. The *Life* was drawn up, from information imparted by Sandrart himself to his friends, during his life-time. The Latin edition of 1683-84 has also been used in the account given above.

³ He was now Vice-Chamberlain of the King's household, and had been created Lord Carleton of Imbercorne.

⁴ See *ante*, p. 84.

and proportion of the body could be readily perceived. Then there was a statue of Paris; and many others, some full-length, some busts only; with an almost innumerable quantity of heads and reliefs, all in marble and very rare.

From the garden one passed into the long gallery of the house; where the superlative excellence of the works of Hans Holbein of Basel, held the master's place. Of these the most important was the Triumph of Riches. . . . Near this appeared also the Triumph of Poverty¹. . . . In the same gallery were some of Holbein's best portraits; to wit, those of Erasmus of Rotterdam, Thomas More, Chancellor of Henry VIII., the great English King, and the incomparable Princess of Lorraine, beloved of that monarch. . . . Other portraits were there also; some by old German and Dutch masters; some by Raphael of Urbino, by Leonardo da Vinci, by Titian, Tintoretto, and Paul Veronese. In the acquisition of these works the Earl had made numerous and prolonged journeys into Italy, Germany and Holland, in order to collect, from various sources, original works of these renowned artists. . . .

The order in which Holbein's works are enumerated in the foregoing description, clearly shows that the two great Triumphs, placed before everything else, and most minutely dwelt upon, were the large finished productions themselves, not merely the original sketches.

In the same work, the *Teutsche Academie*, when dealing with Holbein's life², Sandrart gives further details from his own pen.

The far-famed Earl of Arundel (he says), who spared neither gold nor silver if anything by Holbein was to be had, brought together a whole gallery of paintings by that master; as well as complete books of his sketches, some outlined with the pen and washed, some as diligently hatched as if engraved on copper, some executed on large paper with black chalk, and completed with such masterly and surprising skill that if he (Sandrart) had not himself seen and held them many times, he could not have believed that the hands of one man could have achieved so many elaborate works of biblical and profane histories and poesies. . . . The Earl of Arundel showed him in addition, several times, a very small book, likewise executed by this noble hand, containing on twenty-two pages the whole story of the Passion. Here again, all was carried out as finely and carefully as in pure miniature. Amongst other things, the figure of the Redeemer was each time introduced in the form of a monk habited in black. On one occasion, when discussing this book with the Knight (*sic*) Inigo Jones Server, the King's famous architect, he conducted Sandrart to the King's Cabinet, where he showed him, amongst other things, a book full of the designs of this artist in pen and ink. . . .³

¹ It is unnecessary here to reproduce Sandrart's elaborate and well-known descriptions of these two famous paintings. A full account of them will be found in Mr Chamberlain's excellent *Hans Holbein the Younger*, Vol. II, p. 23 *et seq.*

² Part II, Book III, p. 251.

³ Sandrart here proceeds to describe Holbein's designs in King Charles's collection for all manner of vessels, dishes, ornaments, daggers, saltcellars, etc.

From the foregoing extracts, it is clear that Sandrart was a frequent visitor at Arundel House. He had, indeed, the best opportunity to become familiar with its famous collections, for Lord Arundel employed him to make copies of many of the portraits in the gallery. Descamps says that the young painter executed for Lord Arundel, amongst many others, copies from Holbein's portraits of Henry VIII, Sir Thomas More, and Erasmus, in which he imitated the master's manner to deception¹.

Sandrart left England for Venice in the same year, 1627², having with difficulty obtained leave from the King to depart. Honthorst remained in this country till December, 1628. Whether Lord Arundel saw anything of this painter, is difficult to determine. The appreciation he had expressed of the "Æneas flying from the sack of Troy," sent to him by Carleton in 1621, would make a nearer relationship probable. On the other hand, the King and (while his life lasted) the Duke of Buckingham, kept the painter so fully occupied in their employment, that he can have found little time to work for other patrons.

Just about this time, Arundel House was the centre of another engrossing interest, as will be seen at greater length in the ensuing chapter. The marbles gathered by Lord Arundel's agents in the Levant, were arriving in England, and had to be disposed in and about that splendid mansion. The time needed to arrange so many new objects must have been considerable. It was Lord Arundel's plan to build the inscribed stones into the walls; while setting up the statues chiefly in the gardens. There was at least one colonnade, which may have afforded shelter for both inscriptions and marbles. Certainly we hear of no damage accruing to them from exposure to the weather till long after Lord Arundel's death. In the portrait nominally by Van Somer, more probably by Mytens³, executed nearly ten years before the great influx of statues now under consideration, he is seen pointing to the sculpture in the interior of the gallery. Whether this arrangement was adhered to, as pictures grew in number and required the inside space, we do not know. But it is certain from many records besides that of Sandrart that the gardens were richly adorned with the Greek and Roman marbles procured by their noble owner at ungrudging cost. What visions of Italy may have floated before his eyes, as he peopled the flowered terraces and

¹ Descamps, *Vie des Peintres*, etc. (1754), Vol. II, p. 102.

² There is some uncertainty about this date. Having arrived only in this year, the space of time seems short for all the work he is credited with during his stay in England. But if originally computed by old English reckoning, the year 1627 would not end till the 25th March, 1628.

³ See p. 145.

shady groves on the then green banks of the Thames, with the beautiful offspring of the south!

While all this was proceeding, the search for pictures, especially for those by Holbein, already so well represented in the gallery, continued unremittingly. To the year 1628 belongs the letter from Sir Isaac Wake, now English resident at Turin, which established the identity of one of Holbein's celebrated portraits. Familiar though it is, the passage must be repeated once more.

Sir Isaac Wake to William Boswell.

Turin $\frac{\text{November } 26,}{\text{December } 6,}$ 1628.

... The picture after w^{ch} you do seeme to enquire, was made by Hans Holben in y^e time of H. 8. and is of a Count of Moretta. My Lord of Arundel doth desire it, and if I can get it at any reasonable rate he must and shall have it...¹.

The difficulty, meanwhile, of finding money was great. In addition to the restraint, a fine had been imposed upon Lord Arundel which took from him all the funds bestowed upon him by King James "for many years faithful service"; a sum with which he had intended to pay off his debts². For the future, therefore, these hung like a mill-stone round his neck; a load which was ultimately transmitted to his heirs, and for which he was unjustly blamed. For it must be remembered that they were incurred in the first instance, not so much by lavish expenditure on works of art, as by the need of raising money to buy back property which should have been his without purchase. No one will deny, however, that, when opportunity arose to enrich his collections, he spent without stint, and without much regard to his financial position.

For the moment, the important question was how to cover some part of the deficit caused by the fine, which was seriously inconvenient. It was probably for this purpose that Lord Arundel contemplated parting with some of his property in Norfolk.

The Earl of Arundel to his Agent in Norfolk.

Good Syre

I have written to my noble Lord Byshoppe³ what I remembered, and as you are very carefull of y^r selfe, soe I would have you assure that worthy lord that I am sensible of his extraordinary love, and to desire him

¹ Sainsbury, *Original Papers*, etc., p. 292. As is well known, Lord Arundel did not succeed in obtaining this portrait, which to-day forms one of the principal ornaments of the Dresden Gallery.

² See Appendix IV, Letter of Aletheia, Countess of Arundel, to Lord Andover.

³ Arundel's friend, Harsnet, Bishop of Norwich.

that he will goe on cheerefully. I am still of opinion as I was for preserving Earsham, Bungay and Forn . . . sette entire as nowe they are, beinge willinge to any improvemente, and to sell rather in another place. For reducing the Coppholders to certainty of fines, meethinkes it should be, too, much more gayne when they were reduced to a rounder fine, w^{ch} a few examples woulde easily make. For Keninghall, you knowe I am not soe much in love wth that seate, though it be rich; for now it hath less woode then before, and it is flatte. To conclude, I would doe any reasonable thinge to reduce my poore Estate out of this captivity of intereste, though it be to lessen my Sonne extremely in Norfolke, w^{ch} greeves my Harte.

But for God's sake, caste all y^r wittes to keepe the best thinges; and me thinkes some good frendes should be founde, that are able, rather to lend a somme for a yeare or twoe, then to have my Family, that hath bin soe longe there, forced in a manor to leave the cuntrye.

Mr Peeke telles me he hath bin carefull, and soe will be, to advance y^r Sales all he can. My Sonne can tell you howe the businesse of the corrantes standes¹, Mr Garraway havinge bin much out of towne; and Mr Garsett, my Sonne sayes is to goe with him into Norfolke. I continewe at Horsley this so^mer, and resolve not to looke into the North this yeare. I have entreded my good Lord Bishoppe to be present this yeare at my auditte, and doe you sollicite him in it, that he will be pleased not to fayle it. For Risinge Chase and all other thinges, I leave them to my Sonne whoe will advise with you. Soe I remayne

Y^r very lovinge m^r [master]

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Ar: Ho: 8 Aug. 1627².

In December, 1627, Arundel's name, as Lord Lieutenant of Sussex, conjointly with that of Edward, Earl of Dorset, was included in the Commission to establish Court Martial for offending soldiers in that county. It was one of the orders, spread over many districts, to which objection was subsequently taken by Parliament. So far as Lord Arundel was concerned, it was probably purely formal; a matter of his signature to a document, rather than of his presence on the spot. There is no evidence of his release from restraint until the following summer. Early in 1628, there is a repetition of the

¹ The income arising from the duty upon currants imported from Zante and Cephalonia, and granted to Lord Arundel by King James (see *ante*, p. 192), was suspended during the period of his disgrace with King Charles. It was renewed on his return to favour. But the Levant Company now raised objections to its continuance, which Charles endeavoured to counter, with what success does not seem clear. An interesting account of the matter will be found in Alvis Contarini's despatch to the Doge and Senate of Venice, of 23rd February, 1629 (*Cal. State Papers, Venice*, Vol. xxxi, p. 553, 1628-1629), in which the curious statement is further made that the English people consumed "a greater amount of currants than all the rest of the world, and were so accustomed to this luxury, and so fond of it, that men have been said to hang themselves because they had not enough money to buy them on certain popular festivals when they are customary."

² Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 15970, f. 5. Thomas, Earl of Arundel, 8th August, 1627.

royal edict of the previous year, permitting him to "follow his business" from the 4th January to the 12th March, "under the limitations of his former leave¹." Clearly the restrictions were still in force, so far as Court and Council were concerned. When the third Parliament of Charles I met, on the 17th March, 1628, the House of Lords remarked on the absence of Lord Arundel, and on that of several other peers², who were suffering detention by the King's orders. The House desired to know the cause. The missing members were promptly permitted to resume their seats, and no further obstacle was raised to their attendance.

The discussions in both Houses which led up to the Petition of Right, were now absorbing general attention. It is unnecessary to enter into the details of the great debates which preceded and followed the drafting of that famous measure. They are chronicled in every text-book, and can only here be touched upon in so far as they concern Lord Arundel. A letter written in April of this year gives a vivid contemporary account of the fine stand he made on behalf of the ancient rights and privileges now imperilled.

The Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville (extract).

...All that come from London tell us that...the greater part of the Lords stand for the King's prerogative against the subjects' liberties; that the Lord President³ made a speech in the Upper House on the King's behalf, endeavouring to show the inconveniences which might follow in having our King's so tied. Against whom the Earl of Arundel stood up, confuted him, and made a public protestation against him and the rest who were of the same opinion, concluding that those liberties which now they would betray, were those which had cost so much of their predecessors' blood to maintain them; and, for his own part, he was resolved to lose his own life, and spend his own blood, rather than he would ever give consent to the betraying of them.

Of his part were fifty lords and earls: Shrewsbury, Essex, Sussex, Warwick, Lincoln, Devonshire, Bristol, Say, Clare, Bolingbroke, Mulgrave, and the more ancient nobility. The bishops were divided; Canterbury, Norwich, and Lincoln, for the subject...⁴.

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1627-1628, p. 4. Secretary Conway to the Earl of Arundel, Whitehall, 4th January, 1628. A further petition presented by Lord Arundel shortly before the opening of Parliament met with a peremptory refusal from the King (*Ibid.* 1628-1629, pp. 10, 17, 22, all in March, 1628).

² They were the Archbishop of Canterbury (Abbot), the Bishop of Lincoln (Williams), the Earl of Bristol (Digby), and the Earl of Lincoln (Clinton). Gardiner, *England under Buckingham and Charles I*, Vol. II, p. 202.

³ The Earl of Manchester (Henry Montague).

⁴ *Court and Times of Charles I*, Vol. I, p. 346. "The Bishop of Lincoln," continues the writer, "much commended for what he spoke on behalf of the subject, acknowledging he had once offended in the days of his late master, in standing for the prerogative to the prejudice of the subjects' liberties; for which he now desired forgiveness, professing that henceforward neither hope of greater

The chief provisions of the Petition of Right were aimed against forced loans, levied by the King's will, without passing through the regular channel of Parliament; against arbitrary imprisonment, without cause shown; against martial law, in time of peace; and against compulsory billeting on private persons, without their consent. All these articles, and others hardly less important, were based on recent orders promulgated by the King on his own initiative alone. The forced loan levied in 1627 had given deep offence. The injustice of arbitrary imprisonment had been seen in many conspicuous examples. The dislike of martial law seems to have arisen from a general fear that the secret object was to over-ride the common law, and place all guarantees of freedom at the mercy of the royal prerogative. Billeting had sometimes been enforced merely as a vexation.

When the Petition was sent up from the Commons, the House of Lords appointed a Committee to consider the provisions, which consisted of Coventry, Manchester, Arundel, Bedford, Bristol, Saye, Paget, Weston, and Bishops Harsnet and Williams¹. The peers were anxious to add a clause, to safeguard the royal prerogative. After much discussion, a sentence was drafted which shall here be given because, nominally supplied by Weston, it is believed to have been originally proposed by Arundel. In any case, it well represents his position as a mediator between two extremes. While upholding with heart and soul the liberties for which Parliament was fighting, he also desired to protect rights to which the King had any just title. The clause ran as follows:

We humbly present this petition to your Majesty, not only with a care of preserving our own liberties, but with due regard to leave entire that sovereign power wherewith your Majesty is trusted for the protection, safety, and happiness of your people².

The Commons, however, rejected the addition, fearing it would invalidate the whole. The Lords thereupon agreed to drop it, but accompanied the Petition with a clause explanatory of their position, not embodied in the document itself. The measure was then passed by them as it stood, and sent up to the King.

preferments, nor fear of the loss of what he presently enjoyed, should make him do or speak against his conscience." Williams was a time-server, and it is not easy to judge how far this was an expression of his real feeling, how far the popular side attracted him for its future possibilities. He was too shrewd a man not to see that Buckingham, who was now universally hated, was tottering to his fall; not, of course, in the King's estimation, but in his failing influence over the House of Lords, and in the obloquy of the country at large.

¹ Gardiner, *loc. cit.*, p. 253, quoted from the *Lords' Journals*, Vol. III, pp. 787-8.

² *Ibid.* p. 256.

Charles gave an evasive reply. Parliament, meanwhile, held back supplies urgently needed, until a satisfactory answer had been received. Buckingham's disastrous fiasco before Rochelle now made it imperative to obtain money to fit out a new expedition. The Duke, anxious to retrieve his failure, persuaded the King to accept the Petition of Right. The royal consent was given in due form, and elicited a storm of applause throughout the country. The judges consulted by the King had, indeed, suggested a casuistic interpretation of the measure which deprived it of much of its force. Of that the people knew nothing.

Sir Richard Weston, who was rapidly rising to a prominent position in public life¹, now undertook to effect a reconciliation between Lord Arundel and the King. Weston had sat in Parliament for the borough of Arundel; a circumstance which, in those days, could hardly have arisen without strong local support. It may be inferred that he was on friendly terms with Lord Arundel, perhaps even his nominee. These relations were no doubt strengthened by subsequent co-operation in the Petition of Right. Sir Richard had been promoted to the House of Lords, as Lord Weston of Neyland, in the course of the recent debates. He was probably glad to secure the support of a man of Lord Arundel's views, who, while sharing his own position on the question of the royal prerogative, was a declared friend of the popular party. Such an attitude would make him a useful mediator should occasion arise. Other reasons doubtless pointed in the same direction. It may well be that Buckingham himself was not without influence in the matter. Aware of his growing isolation, he was anxious to do something to regain a measure of popularity. His majority in the House of Lords had melted like snow beneath the sun; and he soon saw that it would be to his own advantage to conciliate those peers whom hitherto he had made it his business to drive into disgrace. At the end of May, when the House proposed to present an "humble suit unto his Majesty that those Lords who had been long in disfavour and confined, might be

¹ Richard Weston, first Earl of Portland, was born in 1577, and knighted by James I, 1603. A lawyer by profession, he had held various minor appointments when, in 1620, he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Brussels, to negotiate with the Archdukes regarding the restitution of the Palatinate. On his return, he was made a Privy Councillor and Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1620-1621 he represented Arundel in the House of Commons, and, in subsequent Parliaments, sat for various other boroughs. He was created Lord Weston of Neyland, and appointed Lord High Treasurer, 1628; and advanced to the dignity of Earl of Portland, 1633. On the death of Buckingham, he became the most prominent minister of Charles I. Portland was a Roman Catholic and a friend of Spain. He died in 1635. His son and successor in the Earldom, Jerome, married, in 1632, Lady Frances Stuart, sister of Lady Maltravers.

received into favour," it was Buckingham who undertook, jointly with Lord Holland, to convey the supplication to the King, and "returned instantly with grant thereof to the House¹." In consequence of this, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Earls of Essex, Lincoln, Warwick and Bristol, Lord Saye, and some others, went forthwith to kiss his Majesty's hand.

Arundel was absent from his place that day: whether from accident or design does not appear. It soon became evident, however, that the Duke did not intend so influential a personage to remain outside the general reconciliation. His own quarrel with Arundel was, through Weston's mediation, first accommodated: and at York House, the residence of Buckingham, Lord Arundel was at last admitted to the King's presence, and received back into grace. This took place towards the middle of July². The "cloud" rolled away from the horizon; once more the sky was clear.

Hardly had this happy consummation been attained, when an event occurred which vibrated throughout the country, evoking wild demonstrations of joy amongst the common people. On the 17th August, Buckingham had gone down to Portsmouth to see the fleet which was preparing for the new expedition to Rochelle. Coming out from breakfast on the 23rd, in the house where he was staying in the High Street, he was suddenly stabbed to the heart by a man standing in a passage opening into the lobby. The Duke staggered forward a step or two, and fell dead to the ground.

The assassin, John Felton, was a man of good Suffolk family, distantly related, in fact, to Lord Arundel; and had served in the army from early youth. Bitterly aggrieved that Buckingham had refused to bestow upon him an expected captaincy, he had allowed the matter to prey upon his mind; and the action recently taken against the Duke in Parliament, excited in him the fanatical idea that in ridding the world of his presence, he would be doing a praiseworthy deed. Yielding himself voluntarily prisoner after the murder, he was in due course conveyed to the Tower of London, where he was visited, amongst others, by Lord and Lady Arundel and Lord Maltravers. In November he was tried; and, pleading guilty, was hanged at Tyburn.

Lord Weston now stepped, politically, into Buckingham's place at Court, though the King never again admitted a minister to the

¹ *Court and Times of Charles I*, Vol. 1, p. 358. Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, 31st May, 1628.

² *Cal. State Papers, Venice*, 1628-1629, p. 213. Alvise Contarini to the Doge and Senate, 7th August, 1628.

close personal friendship enjoyed by the late favourite. Cool-headed and intelligent, Weston's position was nevertheless considerable. If almost as unpopular in the outer world as the Duke himself, he at least possessed greater capacity for dealing with public affairs.

Before the end of the year, Lord Arundel found himself on the crest of a wave of prosperity. Weston did not forget to whom he owed the beginnings of his career: Charles himself received him more and more into the cordial relationship of older days. In October he was restored to his seat on the Council. By November he was stated to have "grown into great grace with the King¹." A few months later, a letter dated by his secretary from Whitehall, shows that he was once more occupying his apartments at the Palace. To place the climax on the reconciliation, the King and Queen paid him a visit in December at Arundel House, and went through all the rooms to see the collections.

¹ *Court and Times of Charles I*, Vol. I, p. 419.

CHAPTER XX.

RESEARCH IN THE LEVANT.

1622—1628.

WHILE these events were taking place at home, Lord Arundel was eagerly adding to his collections. Neither domestic excitements nor royal disfavour, availed to distract his attention from his favourite pursuits. We must retrace our steps a few years, in order to give a connected view of the researches in the Levant, which brought to England so many of his famous marbles.

Sir Thomas Roe, whose acquaintance has already been made on his return from the Court of the Great Mogul, was, in 1621, appointed Ambassador at Constantinople. Lord Arundel immediately grasped the opportunity thus afforded, to enrich his collection of Greek antiquities, inscribed stones, ancient manuscripts, and such spoils of the East as might be obtainable.

The years of Roe's embassy, which terminated in 1628, are crowded with a voluminous correspondence on political and archaeological subjects. He exchanged letters with English statesmen and diplomatists, with the Queen of Bohemia, who had a warm regard for him, and with many and diverse friends. In 1740, Richardson, the novelist, published a large portion of this correspondence, in a ponderous folio volume of eight hundred closely-printed pages¹. Numerous other letters are preserved in the Public Record Office, some of which were printed by Sainsbury². Naturally, only a fraction of this rich mine of information refers to researches conducted on behalf of Lord Arundel. Yet Roe's letters on this subject alone are so long and so minute that, interesting as they are, only selections from them can here be offered. No records better illustrate the romance of collecting, as practised by some of its earliest devotees.

Roe himself, frank, open, and an excellent negotiator, made no pretence at connoisseurship in matters of sculpture³, but his good offices were essential to obtain from the Turkish authorities the permits necessary to enable Lord Arundel's emissaries to pursue

¹ Sir Thomas Roe, *Negotiations in the Levant*.

² W. Noel Sainsbury, *Original Papers relating to Rubens*.

³ But he understood, and himself collected, both ancient manuscripts and coins, which he gave or bequeathed to the Bodleian Library. See, for his knowledge of ancient coins, his letter to the Countess of Bedford, Constantinople, December, 1626 (*Negotiations*, p. 583).

their researches and to carry away what they procured. Without this, nothing could be done. In the early days of the Ambassador's residence at Constantinople, Lord Arundel commended to his kindness a Mr John Markham¹, whom he sent out to collect "antiquities" on his behalf.

Extract from a letter from Sir Thomas Roe to the Earl of Arundel.

Constantinople, 27th January, 1621-2.

... But now I desire only to give your Lordship an accompt of the care I have of your Lordship's commands. I moved our Consul, Richard Milward, at Scio, whom I found prepared and ready: Wee conferred about the maid of Smirna, which he cannot yet obteyne, without an especial command². I brought with me from Messina the Bishop of Andre, one of the islands of the Arches, a man of good learning and great experience in these parts. Hee assured mee, That the search after old and good authors was utterly vaine; that neither in Greece, nor in any other place subject to the Grand Signor, were left so much as the footsteps or ruines of any antient learning. The last French Ambassador had the last gleanings; only of some fewe he gave mee notice, as of an old Tertullian, and a piece of Chrisostome in manuscript, which may be procured to be copied, but not the originall...

Concerning antiquities in marbles, there are many in divers parts, but especially at Melphos, unesteemed here; and, I doubt not, easy to be procured for the charge of digging and fetching, which must be purposely undertaken. It is supposed that many statues are buried, to secure them from the envy of the Turks; and that, if leave obteyned, would come to light, which I will endeavour as soon as I am warme here.

Coynes will be had from Jewes, but very deare when enquired for. Two are given me by Dominico to present to your Lordship, which I have delivered to Antony Wood, captain of the Rainbow; the one gold, is of Alexander; the other is brasse, and very antient, of a Queen of Servia, with hieroglyphicks now unknowne. I have also a stone taken out of the old pallace of Priam in Troy, cutt in horned shape: but because I neither can tell of what it is, nor hath it any other bewty, but only the antiquity and truth of being a peece of that ruined and famous building, I will not presume to send it you; yet I have delivered it to the same messenger, that your Lordship may see it and throw it away.

At Scio I found divers rare peeces of white corall, the gatherings of a dead English Gentleman, in the hands of our Consull; which, because I thought they would well affect you for: fountaines (your Lordship's curiosity being unlimited) I advised him to send, which I think you shall receive by this shipping. What other services I can doe your Lordship, I will not fail...³.

¹ Subsequently made English Consul in Turkey. He died shortly afterwards.

² *I.e.* permit.

³ Roe, *Negotiations in the Levant*, p. 16.

The Earl of Arundel to Sir Thomas Roe.

My Lord Ambassador

I must give y^u many thanks for the greate care w^{ch} I perceive y^r Lo^p hath (amidist y^r more serious affayres) taken of the businesses w^{ch} I recomended unto y^u concerninge Antiquities, w^{ch} I finde every way; and have received the Medall of Alexander w^{ch} y^r Lo^p (I thanke y^u) did send me, and I doe much valewe. For y^e stone, y^e M^r of the Shippe could not finde it, and I was y^e lesse troubled for the wante of it, in respecte y^r Lo^p wrote it had noe gravinge upon it.

I must nowe earnestly intreate y^r Lo^p that y^u will not only continewe y^r former care, but procure to the bearer heereof, Mr Jhon Markham, a very honest Gentleman and much my frende, such coffmandes from Constantinople, to enable him or such as he shall employ to finde Antiquities; to doe it safely and wthout interruption; as likewise that y^u will favor his owne person, whoe I assure my selfe will deserve it. For my selfe, y^u see I am still full of burdens and requestes unto y^r Lo^p w^{ch} y^r owne kindnes bringes upon y^u. All I can say is noe man is gladder of y^e greate honor and service to o^r King and nation that y^u doe then my selfe, nor none shall wish y^u better then

Y^r Lo^{ps} very affectionate true frende

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Arundell House, December 9, 1622¹.

What success Mr Markham met with, is not revealed; though it is evident, from passing notices, that while he lived he was both an active and a competent agent. In 1624, after the death of Markham, another individual comes upon the scene in the person of the Rev. William Petty, whose name has already been mentioned in these pages, and who was now sent out by Lord Arundel to carry on the work. Petty had for long been chaplain in Lord Arundel's house, and, it is said, had a living in the Isle of Wight². His extraordinary energy, combined with his knowledge of ancient art, seemed to fit him in a special manner for the task on which he now engaged. His travels in the East, and the hardships he endured in his zeal for his employer's service, were almost phenomenal in character; and his name has remained indelibly associated with the gathering of the Arundel marbles.

Lord Arundel wrote to introduce him to Sir Thomas Roe. Mr Petty travelled out by Venice, whence a further letter on his behalf was addressed to the Ambassador at Constantinople by his friend, Mr Branthwaite, who had been left in charge of the Embassy at Venice when Sir Henry Wotton returned to England.

¹ Sainsbury, *Orig. Papers*, etc., p. 280 (Appendix).*

² Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, Wornum ed. 1888. Note by Dallaway, Vol. 1, p. 293, n. 5.

The Earl of Arundel to Sir Thomas Roe.

My good Lord,

I pray excuse my not writinge unto yo^u of late, and doe not impute it to want of affection unto yo^u to whome I am much beholdinge, for the greate care y^u have taken in enquireing for such thinges as I desired y^r Lo. to doe, w^{ch} faulte I will nowe amende; and, to beginne, doe putte y^u to a newe trouble, w^{ch} is, to recomende unto y^u, one Mr William Pettye, a man of very good learninge and other partes, whoe hath bin longe in my House, and is ledde wth a greate desire to see Turkye. My earnest requeste is unto y^r Lo^p to give him all y^e favor and direction y^u may, to see what antiquities, cyther of bookes, medalles or stone, w^{ch} may be founde; and that, where he shall desire to travell, y^r Lo^p will directe him for safetie as much as may be, for he doth not only love antiquities extremely, but understandes them very well. What favor y^r Lo^p shall doe him, I shall very thankfully acknowledge. Soe wth my best wishes I rest ever,

Y^r Lo^{ps} very affectionate frend

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Arundell House, September 10, 1624¹.

Extract from a letter from Mr Branthwaite to Sir Thomas Roe.

... This daie a gentleman of my Lord of Arrundalls is shipped here to goe for those partes; who thoughte he maie be furnished with the recommendation of greater persons, yett, with your honors leave, I make bolde to throwe in my mite; and the rather, because he is my countriman, and longe acquaintance. His name is Pettie; his callinge, a divine, wherein he hathe worthilie proceeded batchelor, and, notwithstandinge his dependencie, a man that is sound inoughe, and hathe more in him then he makes showe of. His endes of travellinge into those partes he will acquainte you with. And therefore, if your honor wilbe pleased, at his cominge, to showe him your favourable countenance, your honor shall finde none more readie to be commaunded by you, then

Your honors most affectionat servaunt,

MIC. BRANTHWAITE.

Venice, this $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁸ September, 1624².

In due course, Sir Thomas Roe responded to Lord Arundel's appeal on behalf of Mr Petty; promising to do all in his power for him, but expressing some anxiety at the delay in his appearance. Petty had turned his face, in the first instance, towards Smyrna, and was supposed to have taken ship from that port, for Constantinople, some forty days before the date of this letter³. On Twelfth Night a terrible storm had occurred. Many ships had been wrecked, and

¹ Sainsbury, *loc. cit.*, p. 281.

² Roe, *Negotiations*, etc., p. 285.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 334-35, Sir Thomas Roe to the Earl of Arundel, Constantinople, 20/30 January, 1624 (1625).

lives lost; and the Ambassador entertained great fears for the safety of the intrepid traveller. However, he arrived at last, having successfully escaped all the perils he had encountered.

The current of research was not, indeed, destined to flow an even stream throughout its course. Apart from the incidental adventures with which it alternately swelled and sank, another element of disturbance soon made itself felt. The Duke of Buckingham also was anxious to collect the trophies of ancient art; and had imposed upon Roe a task similar to that entrusted to him by Lord Arundel. Roe was hoping for the help of Buckingham, now all-powerful, to obtain an appointment in England. He could not afford to offend the man who could shape his destiny to his desire. He therefore wrote to Lord Arundel suggesting that, since Mr Petty could do nothing without the permits which only he, Roe, could procure: and since he, Roe, had been commissioned for similar objects by the Duke, though without a competent adviser, such as Petty, to act and judge for him: Petty's spoils, discovered through Roe's permits, should all be packed together for England, and divided on arrival between Lord Arundel and Buckingham.

Arundel, however, would hear of no such arrangement. Fairly enough meant by the Ambassador, the plan was indeed more plausible than practical. That the expert knowledge of Arundel's representative should be employed to enrich his rival at his expense, was not a proposition likely to smile upon him. Petty, who on learning the plan from Roe had, whether genuinely or from discretion, made no objection to it, subsequently took up quite a different line. Acting, no doubt, on Lord Arundel's instructions, he reserved all his finds for his patron alone. "Honest Thom," as the Queen of Bohemia called Roe, was somewhat perturbed by the ready wit with which Petty contrived to forestall rivals, and secure the best specimens for his master. Too good-natured to quarrel with Petty, and sincerely anxious to give satisfaction to Lord Arundel, he was nettled by the rejection of his scheme to divide the proceeds, and by Petty's constant success in "preventing" the persons he was now constrained to employ on behalf of Buckingham. He continued, however, to obtain permits for the agile emissary of Lord Arundel; and, as well as might be, to deal out his favours impartially between the rival collectors.

Rivals they were, indeed, only in a limited sense. Arundel had all the advantage which real love and genuine knowledge of his subject could give. He could judge as well as buy: and selected his agents, no less than his trophies, with expert discernment. Buckingham, abundantly wealthy through the lavish favour of the King,

could purchase to a much longer figure, probably, than Arundel. How far his judgment extended seems more questionable. Although quick at picking up a superficial acquaintance with a pursuit that had become fashionable, others had selected for him all the fine things for which his gallery earned fame. His best pictures he bought *en bloc* from Rubens, who had collected them for his own pleasure. Arundel could appreciate with the eye of a connoisseur a mutilated fragment which had once formed part of a noble whole. Much of value that Petty gathered consisted of broken specimens¹. Buckingham was "not so fond of antiquity to court it in a deformed or misshapen stone," but would not "stand upon any cost" if "beauty with antiquity" could be combined². The measure of divergency in the knowledge and taste of the two men could hardly be better expressed. Arundel's personal judgment and capacity in matters of art, in an age of collecting, of which he had largely set the example, placed him easily at the head of the English amateurs of his day. After the death of Prince Henry, whose early promise might have developed similar results, only King Charles could rival him in this respect. Charles was, be it remembered, a much younger man; and the Arundel gallery was already celebrated when the future King was but a child.

The Earl of Arundel to Sir Thomas Roe.

My good Lord,

I write y^e effecte of this letter unto y^r Lo^p double³, leaste one of my letters showlde miscarrye. All is to give y^u many thankes for y^e good newes of Mr Petties safe arrivall after feare of y^e contrary, and y^r kinde usage of him since his arrivall at Constantinople, and assistance in procuringe antiquities for me. He hath written mē worde of sixe antiquities in a wall, as allsoe a victory in an other parte of a wall, w^{ch} I doe conjure y^r Lo^p by all loves, that y^u will helpe to procure for me presently: mony I knowe there will doe any thinge, and I am willinge to bestowe it. For antiquities I am confidente those partes are able to furnishe infinite more then will serve all England; and therfore am resolved that Mr Pettie shall search only for me, because he knowes what will fitte me beste. Therefore I beseech y^r Lo^p to assiste him in what soever he shall finde for me, as allsoe wth all comādes for search and security in his travell, as y^r Lo^p hath most nobly promised me. Soe wth my best wishes to y^r Lo^p I rest ever,

Y^r Lo^{ps} most affectionate true frende

Whithall, May 12th 1625⁴.

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

¹ "Mr Petty hath raked together 200 peices, all broken, or few entyre." Roe to Buckingham, Nov. 1626 (*Negotiations*, p. 570).

² Roe, *Negotiations*, etc., p. 534. The Duke of Buckingham to Sir Thomas Roe, 19th July, 1626.

³ Lord Arundel had written two days earlier to the same effect (Sainsbury, p. 285).

⁴ Sainsbury, p. 285.

The "sixe antiquities" here referred to, formed part of the once celebrated sculptures of the Golden Gate at Constantinople, supposed to have been erected to commemorate the victory of Theodosius over Maximus (A.D. 388). Roe now sought to obtain permission to remove them, for the benefit of his two patrons. The letters which revolve round these endeavours are amongst the most captivating of the series. The methods employed were not, indeed, such as commend themselves to modern notions. Yet, in view of the crumbling fragments which are all that remain of those once resplendent decorations, who can withhold a sigh of regret that the effort failed? In the midst of a population that appeared wholly indifferent to the treasures of the past, that was venal from the highest to the lowest, bribery and subterfuge seemed, to the eyes of the time, the natural weapons of the searcher. Roe's description of the far-famed sculptures is too interesting to be here omitted¹.

Extract from a letter from Sir Thomas Roe to the Duke of Buckingham.

... Wee have searched all this cyttye, and found nothing but upon one gate, called antiently Porta Aurea, built by Constantine, bewtified with two mighty pillars, and upon the sides and over yt, twelve tables of fine marble, cutt into historyes, some of a very great relevo, sett into the wall, with small pillars as supporters. Most of the figures are equall, some above the life, some less. They are, in my eye, extreemly decayed; but Mr Petty doth so prayse them, as that he hath not seene much better in the great and costly collections of Italye. Your grace, for better enformation, may view his letters to the earle of Arundell, how he hath allowed them. There are of them but sixe that are woorth the taking downe, the others beinge flatt Gothish bodyes, lame, and of later tymes sett up only to fill place of the other sixe. Two, in my opinion, (though Mr Petty like them) want much of excellence, great, but brute; and, as I conjecture, are some storje of Hercules, not mentioned in his labors.

The fower, to which I have most affection, are fuller of woorke. The one is (as we comment) an Endimion carelessly sleeping by his sheepe; Luna descending from the sckye with a torch in her hand, representing night; and a Cupid hovering in the ayre, to signifye her love. This last gentleman is much misused, and wee can only know him; the other two want some parts, and the faces battered; but the generall proportions are both brave and sweete.

The next is an historye I understand not, eyther of some race, or game; in the midst is a horse, a young man naked running by yt, and reaching to pull another off. Some other figures ther are, which I remember not; but it hath beene a peice of great bewtye and art; the relevo so high, that they are almost statues, and doe but seeme to sticke to the ground: some

¹ The late date of the Porta Aurea, and the high value imputed to the sculptures which adorned it, suggest that, when the Gate was erected, some sculptures of an earlier and better period were incorporated in its decorations.

leggs, and other parts, standing holow off, are broken and lost; yet, in the whole, it hath a show of rare antiquitye.

The third is a Pegasus, with the Nimphs or Muses; one representing the founteyne Pirenne powring out water. These figures are many, but less then halfe the life, as I judge them; not so much defaced, standing high, and to a vulgar eye, like myne, of most grace and pleasure.

The last is a Satyre, sckipping betweene an Hercules, or a wild man, and a woman, which she seemes to avoid: the one hath a whip in his hand, the other a pott of water held behind her. . . . These are above the life, and rather great and stately then delightfull; but generally they have all suffered much violence, both by weather and spight.

Yet they are so well esteemed by this gentleman, that I will endeavor to gett them. Promise to obteyne them I cannot, because they stand upon the ancient gate, the most conspicuous of the citye, though now mured up, beeing the entrance by the castell called the Seaven Towers, and never opened since the Greeke emperors lost yt¹. To offer to steale them, no man dares to deface the cheefe seate of the grand signor: to procure them by favour, is more impossible, such envy they beare unto us. There is only then one way left; by corruption of some churchman, to dislike them, as agaynst their law; and under that pretence, to take them downe to bee brought into some privat place; from whence, after the matter is cold and unsuspected, they may bee conveyed. I have practised this for the foure, and am offered to have it done for 600 crownes. To send them home, chested, and freight, with some other bribes att the water syde, may cost 100 more. This is a great price, and yet I rather despayre of obeynyng them. . . .

THO. ROE.

Constantinople, 1/11 May, 1625².

Extract from a letter from Sir Thomas Roe to the Earl of Arundel.

. . . Mr Petty hath this while visited Pergamo, Samos, Ephesus, and some other places: where he hath made your Lordship greate provisions, though he lately wrote to mee, hee had found nothing of worth. Your Lordship had good experience in a man for such an employment, that spareth no paynes nor arts to effect his service. . . . I have done for Mr Petty whatsoever was in my power, by giving him forceable commands, and letters of recommendation from the patriarch. I have bene free and open to him, in whatsoever I knewe, and so I will continue for your Lordships command: but your Lordship knowing that I have received the like from his grace the Duke of Buckingham, and engaged my word to doe him service, hee might judge it want of witt, or will, or credit, if Mr Petty (who could doe nothing but by me) should take all things before or from mee. Therefore to avoid all emulation, and that I might stand cleare before two so great and honorable patrons, I thought I had made agreement with him

¹ Popular superstition, common to Greek and Mahomedan, says that it is by this Gate that the Christians will re-enter the city, on the day when they return victorious to Constantinople (Edmondo de Amicis, *Costantinopoli*, p. 415); a dream that may yet be fulfilled.

² Roe, *Negotiations*, etc., p. 386.

for all our advantages. Therefore wee resolved to take downe those sixe mentioned relevos on *porta aurea*, and I proceeded so farre, as I offer'd 600 dollers for 4 of them, to bee divided between his Grace and your Lordship by lotts. And if your Lordship liked not the price, Mr Petty had his choice to forsake them. . . . Since, hee wrote mee another letter, in manner renouncing them at that price, and advising mee not to spend above 200 dollers for all sixe. . . .

Your Lordship, beleeve an honest man and your servant, I have tried the bassa, the capteyne of the castle, the overseer of the Grand Signors works, the soldiours that make that watch, and none of them dare meddle: they stand betweene two mighty pillars of marble¹, in other tables of marble, supported with lesse pillars, upon the chiefe port of the citty, the entrance by the castle called the Seaven Towres; which was never opened since the Greeke Emperour lost it, but a counterscarfe and another wall built before it. The vizier dares not, for his head, offer to deface the chiefest port, so many will clamour against him: the capteyne of the castle, nor the overseer of the walls, cannot doe it without a speciall command from the grand Signor: the soldiours cannot steale them, being 30 foot, and 40 foot, high, made fast to the walls with iron pinns; and must bee lett downe with scaffolds and the help of at least 50 men; for if they fall, they will breake to dust, the ground being so thinne and worne with age. There is then but one way left in the world, which I will practise; and if I can procure them, your Lordship shall know my service by the part I send you without Mr Petty or any other helpe. Within the castle, and on that gate, is a continuall watch of 20 soldiours: it is the kings prison; and how hard it were to take downe such things, of at least a tonne weight apeece, from the Tower-gate of London, your Lordship will easily judge. And if I gett them not, I will pronounce no man, nor ambassador, shall ever bee able to doe it, except the grand signor, for want, will sell the castle.

After all these disputes for nothing, Mr Petty hath advised mee, that returning from Samos, where hee had gotten many things, going to Ephesus by sea, hee made shippwrack in a great storme upon the coast of Asia; and, saving his owne life, lost both all his collection of that voidage, and his commands and letters by mee procured, desiring mee to send him others, or else, that hee can proceed no further. Hee was putt in prison for a spy, having lost in the sea all his testimonyes; but was released by the wittness of Turks that knew him. From thence he recovered Scio, where hee furnished himselfe againe; and is gone to the place where hee left his boate to fish for the marbles, in hope to find them, and from thence to Ephesus; and this is the last newes I heard from him. To renew commands so often, gives great jealousy to these people, having taken out 3, in little more then a yeare, for your Lordship: so that with much adoe and by force of a bribe, I have againe procured another, and more large, for your Lordship, which is nowe by mee, and shalbee sent to Mr Petty, so soone

¹ Apparently still standing.—“Nel muro esterno rimangono due colonne corinzie, che appartenevano all' antica Porta dorata....” De Amicis, *loc. cit.* p. 415.

as I know where he is: though I have written to him to leave the sea, and to spend this winter with mee, where he shalbee welcome....

Your Lordships most humble and affectionat Servant,

THO. ROE.

Constantinople, Oct. 20/30 1625¹.

The Same to the Same.

My Lord,

My last letters brought your Lordship the advice of Mr Pettyes shipwracke, and losses upon the coast of Asya, returning from Samos: his commands and letters of recommendation, and his labors, together there perished. The first I presently renewed, and sent them to Smyrna; and the other, I thincke, he hath, by great industrie, since recovered. From that tyme, what adventures hee hath passed, his owne enclosed² will give best satisfaction; and it shall suffice mee to say in gross, that, although hee will not boast to mee, yett I am informed hee hath gotten many things rare and antient. Ther was never man so fitted to an employment, that encounters all accidents with so unwearied patience; eates with Greekes on their worst dayes; lyes with fishermen on plancks, at the best; is all things to all men, that he may obteyne his ends, which are your lordships service. He is gone to Athens, whither also I have sent; and from thence promiseth mee to visitt this city, wher I shalbee glad to enterteyne him, and to know the history of his labours.

I have in my endeavour bad success, by the ignorance of those that I am forced to employ, who send me heavy stones at great chardge, that prove newe images, wher I seeke old idolls; for such also were the Roman statues of their emperors. From Angory, I had a hal(f)-woman, brought 18 dayes by land, upon change of mules, which wants a hand, a nose, a lip; and is so deformed, that shee makes me remember an hospital. Yet the malicious Turkes brought trouble on the buyers, by a false command, accusing them of a great wealth stollen out of the castle; it hath cost mee mony to punish them, and that is all I have for my labor. I have sent three servants together to Tassos, Cavalla, Philippi, and all the coast of Thrace; followed Mr Petty to Pergamo, and Troy; am digging in Asya; and to fulfill the proverb, turning of all stones. Somwhat I hope to gett, to save my credit; but I dare not write to his grace untill I am in possession: so often I have beene by Greekish promise deceived.

Those on Porta Aurea stand up, ready to fall, in spight of all my arts and offers; the tymes are so dangerous that I dare not venture to entreague others; but ther is an opportunity attended to make them stoope. The glorie of taking them from the gate of Constantinople inciteth mee farther then any bewtye I see in ruines, that only showe there was once bewtye; good embles of one that had beene a handsome woman, if an old woman were not a better; yet few love them.

When I have made my collection, I will not forgett that I was engaged by your Lordships commands; as I am assured your Lordship will not

¹ Roe, *Negotiations*, etc., p. 444.

² Unfortunately not preserved.

grudge mee to performe the service I owe the duke of Buckingham, betweene whom, and your Lordship, if ther had beene an union, ther had nothing beene difficult to us both here, and many things much cheaper.

... So humbly kyssing your Lordships hands, I committ you to the heavenly protection.

Your Lordships most ready servant

THO. ROE.

Constantinople, 28 March, old stile, 1626¹.

In his enterprising pursuit of trophies in marble, Mr Petty was not forgetting the quest of ancient manuscripts. Some account of one such venture is related by Sir Thomas Roe in a letter addressed at about this time to Dr Goade, chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury². The Primate had written to the Ambassador enclosing a letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople³, in which he doubtless begged the latter to afford facilities to Roe to acquire ancient books on his behalf. Roe, in replying to the Archbishop, enthusiastically describes what he terms "the jewell" of the Patriarch's library: "an olde and greate manuscript in Arabicque antiently belonging to the Patriarch of Alexandria, and by Cirillus brought away... It conteynes all the first councills, their histories and acts... Some popes have used great meanes to have it..." At the time of writing, Roe had obtained it on loan, and was fervently transcribing certain portions of it, feeling doubtful of being allowed to acquire it permanently.

With this letter to the Archbishop, he enclosed one to the chaplain, who had also written to him; and in this less formal communication, he expatiates on the subject more at large. After reiterating his encomiums of "the manuscript of ancient canons, mentioned to his grace," he proceeds,

Mr Petty, a woorthy gentleman and learned, employed hither by my lord of Arundell for antiquities, by my meanes had admittance into the best library knowne of Greece, where are loades of old manuscripts; and he used so fine arte, with the helpe of some of my servants, that hee conveyed away 22⁴. I thought I should have had my share, but hee was for

¹ Roe, *Negotiations*, etc., p. 495.

² George Abbot.

³ Roe "was a warm friend of the Greek church in Turkey, and on intimate terms with its celebrated patriarch, Cyril Lucaris. Cyril presented through Roe to James I the famous 'Codex Alexandrinus' of the whole Bible, which the patriarch brought from his former see of Alexandria; it was transferred with the rest of the royal library to the British Museum in 1757" (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Art. "Roe"). Cf. *Negotiations*, p. 618.

⁴ Of course, against payment; or Roe himself would not have wished to share them. But who shall say whether the monks had any right to sell!

himselfe: hee is a good chooser, saw all, or most, and tooke, I thincke, those that were, and wilbe of greate esteeme. Hee speaketh sparingly of such a bootye, but could not conteyne some time to discover, with joy, his treasure. Historyes some, Ephraim and Manasseth, two Greeke fathers, Phocion, Eusebius, and some other names that I have forgott. When hee returnes, I make no doubt he will communicate, and contribute to the publique good; for I esteeme him a woorthy man. I meant to have a review of that library; but hee gave it such a blow, under my trust, that since it hath beene locked up under two keys, wherof one kept by the townsmen that have interest or oversight of the monastery, so that I could doe no good: but I holde myselfe to have good title to some of them, though in his hands I esteeme them safe for the same use; but my hope is, to deale with the patriarch, and not to trust to my selfe, and to chances.

The Barron of Sanoy¹, now a clergyman, and attending her majestie in England, with great industrie, and a strong purse, robbed all Greece: hee carried away two bookes borrowed of the old patriarch, of which this [patriarch] doth much lament; he knowes not the names, and the church was promised restitution, either in stampe, or by themselves; but nothing performed; these bookes were highly esteemed here, and are doubtless gone to Rome, toward a redd hatt...

Your affectionat frend to do you service

THO. ROE.

Constantinople, 8/18 April,
Easter-eave, 1626².

The last phase of the negotiations for the sculptures of the Golden Gate is recorded in a letter to Buckingham.

Extract from a letter from Sir Thomas Roe to the Duke of Buckingham.

... Those (marbles) on Port Aurea are like to stand, till they fall with tyme; I have used all meanes, and once bought them, and deposed, 3 moneths, 500 dollers. Without authority, the danger and impossibility were alike; therefore I dealt with the great treasurer, who in these tymes is greedy of any mony, and hee had consented to deliver them into a boat without any hazard of my part. The last weeke hee rode himself to see them, and carried the surveigher of the citty walls with him; but the Castellano and the people beganne to mutine, and fell upon a strange conceit; insomuch that hee was forced to retyre, and presently sent for my enterpreter, demanding if I had any old booke of prophesy: inferring, that those statues were enchanted, and that wee knew, when they should bee taken downe, some great alteration should befall this citty. Hee spake of a vault under ground, that I understand not; which concurring with the rumour of the Cossacks, filled them with superstition, and suspection of mee; in conclusion, hee sent to mee, to think, nor mention

¹ Apparently one of the French priests brought over to England by Henrietta Maria: for whom Sir Thomas Roe, a staunch Protestant, had evidently small liking.

² *Negotiations*, etc., p. 500.

no more that place, which might cost his life, and bring mee into trouble; so that I despair to effect therein your graces service: and it is true, though I could not get the stones, yet I almost raised an insurrection in that part of the citty....

Your Graces most humbly to obey you

THO. ROE.

Constantinople, 8/18 May, 1626¹.

So the refusal which neither historic association nor intrinsic beauty had sufficed to inspire, was brought about at last by terror of the supernatural! Meanwhile Lord Arundel had received Roe's letters describing the somewhat ruffled course of his relations with Mr Petty, and writes to thank him for all his good offices, and especially for offering to send him a share of such booty as Roe might secure, independently of Petty. The combination of haughtiness and conciliation in the letter are amusingly characteristic.

The Earl of Arundel to Sir Thomas Roe.

My good Lord,

I thanke y^u very hartily for y^r kinde letters, and am very confidente of y^r greate love and respecte to me, w^{ch} I make noe doubt but y^u will ever expresse upon all occasions.

For Mr Pettie, he hath often written unto me, howe favorably and kindly y^r Lo^p hath used him, and I assure y^r Lo^p both he, and I for him, are very sensible of y^r kindnes therein; and I must intreat y^r Lo^p to excuse him if he want courtshippe, especially nowe, when his desire to shew his love to me and my House, I make accounte takes up his whole time. As y^r Lo^p writes, I thinke he is fittely composed to be a searcher of thinges of that nature, w^{ch} he hath now putte himselfe unto. I pray God his successe may proove aunswerable unto his good will and paynes; and I doe earnestly intreate y^r Lo^p to continewe to assiste him wth y^r favor, in procuringe comādes and such thinges as he shall be a suitor unto y^u for; and as he directes all his labor of collectinge for this House alone, w^{ch} I must never thinke to breake, but keep entire, soe I shall very thankfully accepte y^r Lo^{ps} kinde offer in havinge a share, in such other thinges as the industry of those whome y^r Lo^p employes shall produce: and shall keepe them distinguished in my House, by themselves, as a memory of y^r Lo^{ps} love to me and my Family, w^{ch} I shall endeavor to deserve in any thinge I may. Soe wth my best wishes to yo^r Lo^p and yo^r good Lady, I rest ever,
Y^r Lo^{ps} most affectionate true frende,

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

I send this by Sea, because I thinke it be a safe way, hopinge my former letters be longe since come to y^r Lo^{ps} handes.

Arundell House, September (26), 1626.

*To my hono^{ble} freind Sr Thomas Roe, Kn^t,
Ambassador for his Ma^{tie} at Constantinople².*

¹ Roe, *Negotiations*, etc., p. 511.

² Sainsbury, p. 286.

Mr Petty, meanwhile, had visited Athens, and "divers cityes in Morea"; and, from these travels, appears to have reaped a rich harvest. Some further dispute arose respecting two statues at Corinth, to which Sir Thomas Roe claimed a prior right. The Ambassador wrote to Lord Arundel complaining of sharp practice on the part of his emissary, but expressing his willingness to continue to help forward the work. The root of Roe's annoyance seems to have lain in the difficulty of finding anyone of equal efficiency to employ on behalf of the Duke of Buckingham. "I have none so expert and industrious," he exclaims, "able to doe that w^{ch} his skill and labour doth performe: for I thincke hardly any man can match him in patience, travell, and cunning to obteyne his ends¹." On receiving Lord Arundel's letter of September, 1626, however, the kindly Ambassador sent him a much mollified reply.

Sir Thomas Roe to the Earl of Arundel.

Right Hon^{ble} my very good L^d,

With the enclosed letter from Mr Petty I received another from y^r L^p dated in September last, full of y^r favour, in acceptance of y^t little service I have beene able to doe you: which hath beene far short of my humble affections, if I had not beene engaged by great obligations of duty. Yet I will not prove so barren as to pay my thanckfullnes to y^r L^p only in wordes; when I returne I will render some fructs of my profession, w^{ch} I know you will vouchsafe to accept according to y^r owne noble nature.

What course Mr Petty meaneth to take, I presume hee hath advised y^r L^p; only intimating to me y^t hee will returne to Greece, to meete a servant of myne who is in search of y^e same Commoditie. There hath beene some emulation rather then discontent betweene us, and as I did not looke for much Courtship from a Philosopher, so I did not expect some other requitall of my curtesies to him. But all he doth, is for y^r L^{ps} service, to w^{ch} hee is so true and affectionate, y^t I will not consider other, then his zeale to y^t.

Hee chalengeth two marbles bought by him at Athens, which is true y^t hee bargayned, and gave earnest; and so I have given order that if hee returne thither hee shall have them for y^r L^p; or, if my man hath found meanes to send them away, that hee shall pay for them, and dispose them either to Mr Petty or to Zant, to y^r L^{ps} use. Further I have taken out for him a new Command, and given directions to my servant, when hee hath finished y^t for w^{ch} I sent him, that hee shall leave Mr Petty all his strength, friends, commands and letters, and in y^e meane tyme to lett him use them as for himselfe; for my purpose is not of y^t latitude to make a general Collection, but to fetch away some statues of w^{ch} I have beene enformed in Corynth, Lacedemon, and Achaya; and often abused in y^e information.

¹ Sainsbury, p. 289. Sir Thomas Roe to the Earl of Arundel, Constantinople, 17th Feb., 1626 (1627).

There is enough under ground, if our licenses would extend to digge: but I worke by y^e Turkes themselves, and buy, or it were too dangerous a Trade in Turkey.

In y^e rest I will doe Mr Petty all helpe, and service, and show it y^r L^p in effects as one y^t is most ambitious to concurr in y^r noble dessignes, and to be truly esteemed, etc.

THO. ROE.

Constantinople, July 20/30 1627¹.

The Ambassador was at this period lucky only in one respect: he obtained, to his great delight, the desired permission to return to England. In March, 1628, his successor, Sir Peter Wych, had already arrived at Leghorn on his way to the East; and Sir Isaac Wake, in imparting this information to his friend at Constantinople, begs him to travel by way of Venice, whence he promises to do all in his power to procure him a safe journey home.

Thus far fortune favoured him. But the researches made on behalf of the Duke of Buckingham met with an adverse fate. The man of knowledge whom Roe at last found to undertake the necessary journeys, died at Patras, in the midst of his labours; having discovered much, but garnered little, before his untimely end. Sir Thomas was disheartened but not beaten. In June, 1628, he was at Smyrna, having bidden farewell to Constantinople. Thence he wrote to impart to the Duke the joyful tidings that he was now engaged in lading the marbles for shipment to England.

Alas, that so much time and good-will should have been expended in vain. Buckingham was slain by the hand of the assassin in August of the same year. It seems doubtful whether either letter or marbles reached England before that date.

Roe himself never saw the Duke again. His journey home was not without adventure. When he at last landed on the Continent, he made a long round in order to visit his friend and protectress, the Queen of Bohemia at Rhenen; in support of whose claims he had been endeavouring to enlist the active co-operation of Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transylvania. The year 1629 had dawned before he once more set foot on English soil.

The arrival in England of the marbles gathered for Lord Arundel aroused no small stir amongst his learned friends. About Epiphany (1627), says John Selden, in his preface to the *Marmora Arundelliana* (1628), there was brought from Asia to the house of the Earl of Arundel, a fairly large collection of marbles, broken and fragmentary, but for the most part bearing Greek inscriptions. Many of these

¹ Sainsbury, p. 289.

treasures were due to the zeal and scholarship of Mr William Petty, whose "ardent and incomparable devotion to the glory of old Greek art" had caused Lord Arundel, some years previously, to engage him upon these researches in the East¹. No sooner had Sir Robert Cotton set eyes upon them, than he hurried off to Selden—it was then late at night—and urgently besought him to set about the task of deciphering the Greek next morning. This proposal Selden readily accepted, asking only that Patrick Young, the King's Librarian, and Richard James, both men of light and learning, might assist him in the work, in order to bring it to more rapid completion. Cotton at once agreed, and the next day "at dawn," the three colleagues met in the gardens of Arundel House!

Such was the enthusiasm with which the English antiquaries of the early seventeenth century greeted the golden harvest of the Levant. Pity that they had no successors at a later date to ward off the tragic fate which overtook so many of those dearly-garnered sheaves. That piteous story belongs to another chapter.

It was at Wrest² that Selden completed his *Marmora Arundelliana*. The book was published in 1628, and at once carried the fame of the marbles throughout the cultivated world.

¹ Petty appears to have returned to England either then, or a short time after, with his precious freight.

² See *ante*, pp. 138-139.

CHAPTER XXI.

RUBENS IN ENGLAND. DEATH OF WILLIAM, EARL OF PEMBROKE, AND OF ANNE, COUNTESS OF ARUNDEL. THE EARL MARSHAL'S COURT.

1629—1631.

WITH the dissolution of the parliamentary session of 1629, which ended in tumult early in the month of March, public affairs entered upon a new phase. For eleven years the King now governed without resorting to the country. As war could not be prosecuted without supplies, peace was made with France in 1629, and with Spain in 1630. The business of the kingdom was conducted by the King, one or two leading ministers, and the Council; but principally by the King.

A change corresponding in some measure to the new turn in public events, can be traced in Lord Arundel's career. Restored to grace with the King, while his parliamentary activity was necessarily suspended, his services were in request on most of the important Commissions appointed during this period¹. In a wider sphere, they were soon to be utilised on various diplomatic missions connected with the affairs of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. The intervals between these ambassadorial errands, however, afforded ample leisure for the pursuit of his favourite occupations. The correspondence now to be considered falls, therefore, mainly into two categories, the dealings with artists and emissaries connected with the collections, and the letters and affairs of the Queen of Bohemia. A dispute regarding the jurisdiction of the Marshal's Court also took up much of his time.

The great event of the year 1629, artistically speaking, was the visit of Rubens to England. He arrived at the beginning of June², and remained in this country a little over nine months. He came as the envoy of his patroness, the Archduchess Isabella, Governess of

¹ The dates and purposes of the various Commissions on which Lord Arundel sat, will be found in the printed *Calendars of State Papers* for the years under review. They were chiefly concerned with the ordinary routine of public business, intermingled with efforts to raise the money of which the King was always in need.

² M. Max Rooses (*Rubens, Sa Vie et Ses Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 481) says he landed at Dover the 3rd June, and arrived in London the 5th. Sainsbury (*Original Papers*, etc., p. 130) places his arrival in London between the 20th and 27th May. The discrepancy probably arises from the difference between the old and new methods of dating.

the Spanish Netherlands, to pave the way for the peace between England and Spain¹. During his stay here, he received the commission for the internal decoration of the Banqueting Hall at Whitehall, and probably made the designs from which the finished paintings were sent to England some years later. For us the main interest of his sojourn in this country, centres in the magnificent portrait he now executed of Lord Arundel; one of the finest in the whole range of the painter's performance. Preserved up to recent times at Warwick Castle, it passed a few years ago into the possession of Mrs Gardner, of Fenway Court, Boston, Mass., U.S.A., through whose kindness it is here reproduced².

Lord Arundel, clad in armour, is seen standing, at three-quarter length, in imposing architectural surroundings. The figure is turned to the right; the face, directed towards the spectator, is at a somewhat fuller angle. He wears the riband and medallion of the Garter: the latter hanging from a small chain about his neck. With his right hand he grasps the baton of the Marshal; the left rests upon his hip. On a table at his side is a richly plumed steel helmet. The noble head, the eagle pose, the grandeur of the conception, are apparent at a glance, but how describe to those who have not seen the original, the splendour of the colouring, the rich blue of the Garter riband against the steely lights and deep clear shadows of the superbly painted armour, the rainbow reflections in the gleaming helmet, the unsurpassed harmony of the whole? This is indeed a great painter's tribute to the man whom he regarded as "one of the four evangelists" of art! It is impossible to conceive, when standing before this masterly portrait, that, *in the same year*—or, indeed, at any time—Rubens can have inserted, as has been generally supposed, the common, dead-alive figure, called Lord Arundel, in the Munich canvas. The Warwick Castle portrait utterly forbids any such presumption.

It is not without interest to note the impressions left on the artist's mind by this, his first and only visit to England. The following is part of a letter written from London to his intimate friend, P. Dupuy.

Peter Paul Rubens to P. Dupuy. (Extract.)

London, 8th August, 1629.

Illustrious Sir

To see such variety of countries and courts in so short a time would have been more fitting and useful to me in my youth than at my present

¹ A full account of the political objects of his visit is given by M. Max Rooses, *loc. cit.*

² See frontispiece.

age: because the body would have been more robust to tolerate the discomforts of the post; and the mind, with the experience and practise of such diverse nations, might have rendered itself capable in the future of greater achievement. But now I consume my physical strength, which in any case is gradually declining, and there remains to me little time in which to reap the fruits of so much exertion, *nisi ut, cum hoc resciero, doctior moriar.*

Yet I am consoled and compensated by the mere delight of the beautiful spectacles presented to me on my peregrinations, amongst which this island seems to me a theatre deserving the curiosity of every man of worth. This is so, not only from the pleasantness of the country, the beauty of the race, and the splendour and order of the external cultivation, which appear to me extreme, as of a rich and flourishing people, at the height of peace, but also from the incredible quantity of excellent pictures and of antique statues and inscriptions, which are found in this Court¹. I will not speak of the *marmoribus Arundelianis*, of which you first informed me. I will confess that I have seen nothing in the world more rare, as regards antiquities, *quam fœdus ictum inter Smyrnenses et Magnesios, cum duobus earumdem civitatem decretis et victoriis Publii Citharædi.* I regret that Selden, to whom we owe this publication and commentary, departs from his studies *et immiscet se turbis politicis*, which appears to me a profession so alien to his most noble genius and accurate learning, that he cannot accuse Fortune if, through his participation in popular clamour, *regis indignitatis iram provocando*, she has thrown him into prison² with other parliamentarians...³.

¹ Rubens uses this expression in the wider sense of "the circle of this Court," not restricting his observations to the possessions of the King alone.

² See note, p. 139.

³ Gachet, *Lettres Inédites de Pierre-Paul Rubens*, pp. 228 and 232. Rubens wrote in Italian, of which the above are translations. The originals run as follows:

Rubens al sig. P. Dupuy.

Di Londra, il 8 d'agosta, 1629.

Molto Ill. Sig.

Il veder tante varietà di paesi e corti in so poco tempo mi sarebbe stato più proprio e utile nella mia gioventù, che nell' età presente, perchè il corpo sarebbe più robusto per tolerar gli disaggi della posta, et l'animo, colla esperienza et uso di diversissime nazioni, si poteva rendere idoneo per l'avenire a cose maggiori; ma adesso io consumo le forze corporali, che da se vanno declinando, ne mi resta tempo da cavar il frutto di tante fatiche, *nisi ut, cum hoc resciero, doctior moriar.* Fra tanto mi vado consolando, et compensando col solo diletto de' bei spettacoli, che mi rappresenta la mia peregrinazione, tra quali quest' isola mi pare un theatro degno della curiosità d' ogni galant' huomo, non solo per l' amenità del paese e bellezza della nazione e splendore e nitore del culto esteriore, che mi pare estremo, come di un popolo ricco et lussuriante in alta pace, ma ancora per la quantità incredibile di pitture eccellenti, statue et iscrizioni antiche, che si ritrovano in questa corte. Non farò mentione de *marmoribus Arundelianis*, de' quali V. S. mi diede la prima notizia, et confesso che non ho visto cosa al mondo più rara, per conto d' antichità, *quam fœdus ictum inter Smyrnenses et Magnesios, cum duobus earumdem civitatum decretis, et victoriis Publii Citharædi.* Mi dispiace ch' el Seldino, al quale habbiamo l'obbligo della publicatione e del commentario, s' aparte della contemplatione *et immiscet se turbis politicis*, che mi pare professione tanto aliena del nobilissimo suo genio et essattissima dottrina, che manco deve accusar la

To another friend, the universal correspondent, De Peiresc, he expresses himself similarly.

London, 9th August, 1629.

... Certainly, in this island I do not find the barbarous conditions which might be presumed from its climate, so remote from Italian elegance. On the contrary, I confess that in what concerns excellent pictures by the hands of the greatest masters, I have never seen so large a mass together as in the royal collection and in that of the late Duke of Buckingham: while the Earl of Arundel possesses an infinity of antique statues, both Greek and Roman. These will be known to you, as they have been published by John Selden, and commentated by him with great learning, as was to be expected from his polite and accomplished genius. You will also have seen his treatise, *de Diis Syris*, printed anew, *recensitum iterum et auctius*. But I wish he would confine himself within the limits of a life of study, and not entangle himself in political quarrels, for which he is now imprisoned with a few others accused of contumacy towards the King in the late Parliament. Here is Sir Robert Cotton, a great antiquary, and a master of many branches of science and learning, as well as the Secretary Boswell¹; these you probably are informed about, or indeed correspond with, as you do with all the distinguished men of the world...

It is certainly a source of pride that Rubens, for whom the most polished Courts of Europe, Madrid, Brussels, Paris, the principalities

fortuna, se per contumacia popolare, *regis indignitatis iram provocando*, l' ha gettato in una carcere con altri parlamentari....

Rubens al sig. Di Peiresc.

Di Londra, il 9 d'agosto, 1629.

... Certo in quest' isola io non trovo la barbarie, che si presuponerebbe dal suo clima tanto remoto dalle eleganze italiche, anzi confesso che per conto di pitture eccellenti delle mani de' maestri della prima classe, non ho giamai veduto una si gran massa insieme, come nella real et del già duca di Buckingham; et appresso il conte d'Arundel una infinità di statue antiche et greche et latine, le quali V. S. haverà vedute, essendo publicate per *Joannem Seldenum* et commentate per *eundem* assai dottamente, secondo, il valore di quel virtuoso et politissimo ingegno, il cui trattato *de Diis Syris*, V. S. averà veduto stampato di nuovo, *recensitum iterum et auctius*. Ma io vorrei che si limitasse negli termini della vita contemplativa, senza intricarsi nelli rumori politici, per li quali sta preso con alcuni altri accusati di contumacia contro il re nell' ultima parlamento. È qui ancora il cavaglier Cottone, gran antiquario et insigne in varie scienze de dottrine, et il secretario Bozuel, de' quali V. S. deve haver esatta notizia, anzi corrispondenza con essi, come l' ha con tutti gli galant' huomini del mondo....

¹ Sir William Boswell, born in Suffolk, was, in 1606, a Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and must therefore have been a man of middle age, when, in 1633 he was appointed Ambassador at the Hague, in succession to Sir Dudley Carleton. He was knighted at the same period. He had previously served a long diplomatic apprenticeship with Lord Herbert of Cherbury in France, and with Carleton in Holland. On the return of the latter to England, Boswell acted as Secretary at the Hague until he received the full dignity of Ambassador. He was a man of considerable cultivation, and was esteemed by many distinguished persons. We shall hear more of him anon, during Arundel's mission to the Queen of Bohemia. Boswell died in 1649.

of Italy, held no secrets, should have been so deeply impressed with the conditions he found in England.

The public business on which he came over left him little time for the pursuit of his art. Nevertheless, in addition to the noble portrait of Lord Arundel already described, which, for chronological reasons, can be assigned only to this period¹, he accomplished various other work while in this country. Besides the designs for Whitehall, already mentioned, he painted and presented to the King the Allegory of Peace and War, now in the National Gallery; while a picture of St George and the Dragon, executed out of compliment to England, was, notwithstanding this fact, despatched by the painter to Flanders on its completion. It is now back in the royal collection in England. In addition, a portrait of old Parr, "the old, old, very old man," is said to have been painted by Rubens at Shrewsbury during his stay in England², and a few minor or uncertain works.

Honours were showered on the distinguished visitor before he bade farewell to these shores. In February or March, 1630, the Earl of Carlisle, twice in one week, magnificently feasted the Spanish ambassador and "Mons. Reubens," who had "prepared the way for his coming³"; while the King, as is well known, made him a Knight, and gave him the sword, encrusted with diamonds, with which the ceremony was performed, besides a diamond ring and hat-band. Arundel's Spanish sympathies combined with his love of art to form a double tie with the great painter. The former were recognised by the appointment of the Earl Marshal as one of the Commissioners to negotiate the peace with Spain⁴.

To return now to the events of 1629; the tale of which may be completed with extracts from one or two interesting letters, and a few scattered glimpses of Lord Arundel's personal avocations.

The Earl of Arundel to Sir Henry Vane.

Good Mr Cofferer,

I write nowe unto y^u only to let y^u knowe that since my last letter, His M^{tie} (upon y^r laste dispatch received) was pleased y^u shoulde retorne,

¹ In July, 1629, Lord Arundel completed his forty-fourth year; an age which appears to correspond well with that represented in the picture. Moreover, at no other time was he sufficiently long in contact with Rubens for the execution of so important and elaborate a work, obviously executed from life.

² Sainsbury, *loc. cit.* preface, p. xix.

³ *Court and Times of Charles I*, Vol. II, p. 64. Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, 6th March, 1630.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 67. The Same to the Same, 13th March, 1630. The other Commissioners were the Lord Keeper (Coventry), Lord Treasurer (Weston), Archbp of York (Harsnet), and Viscount Dorchester (Carleton).

being exceedingly well satisfied wth y^r negociacion, w^{ch} I will no more dilate, knowinge y^u will have it from more authentically handes.

I must likewise give y^u very many thankes for y^r care concerninge Blomes Paintinge, and booke of Holbien, and the Kinge protestes agaynste any medlinge wth it, at sixe hundred poundes w^{ch} he sayes coste him but twoe hundred. For the drawinges, I hoped to have had them for £30, but rather then fayle, as I tolde y^u, I woulde goe to £50, but never thinke of £100, nor £50 offered w^{thout} sure to have it. If he would let it come upon security to send it backe, I should be gladde; if not, let it rest.

My only suite is nowe unto y^u that y^u will intend to bringe y^r selfe hither safely and speedily, w^{ch} none wishes more then

Y^r most faithfull frende to coñand,

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Aru: Hou: 25^o Aprill, 1629.

To my very worthy frende, Sr Henry Vane, Knight, Cofferer to His M^{tie}, at the Hage¹.

Sir Francis Cottington to Sir Endymion Porter².

S^r:

I have received yo^f lres wth my Lo. of Arundells note; I wyll deliver the Conde his, and serve my Lo. of Arundell y^e best I can. I wyll inquire for thos pictures of the Conde de Benevente; and indevor to gett allso thos of Titian, w^{ch} I left in y^e Palace y^e last time.

This is y^e day of my imbarcation (for I am going abroad) the wind is good to carry us away if we can gett out. Remember my servis to M^{ris} Porter and God keepe you all.

Yo^f humble servant

FRA: COTTINGTON.

Porchmouth (*sic*), November 2, 1629.

To my hon^{ble} frend Mr Endimion Porter, one of his M^{ties} Bedchamber.

(Inclosure in Endimion Porter's hand.)

A note of such things as my Lord Embassador S^r Francis Cottington is to send owt of Spaine for my Lord of Arundell: and not to forget the booke of drawings of Leonardo de Vinze w^{ch} is in Don Juan de Espinas hands, whoe everie man at Madrid knowes, and Vizente Juarez best, whoe is the wenches father that sings soe well³.

¹ P.R.O., *State Papers, Foreign, Holland*, 139, f. 132.

² Endymion Porter, who had a Spanish grandmother, was born in 1587, and brought up in Spain, partly in the household of Olivarez. Returning to England, he entered the service of Buckingham, and was thence transferred to that of the King. He was much employed in negotiation with Spain, and in 1623 accompanied Prince Charles and the Duke to that country. He sat in the Long Parliament, voted against Strafford's attainder, and offended the Puritans by his reputed Romanist leanings. He was a connoisseur in art, and bought pictures both for himself and for his patrons, especially for the royal collection. He sat to Van Dyck more than once, and was well known to most of the celebrated painters of the day, including Rubens. He was also a patron of poets and men of letters. He married a niece of Buckingham, Olivia Boteber, by whom he had five sons. Porter died in 1649.

³ Sainsbury, *loc. cit.* p. 294.

Ephemeral glimpses of Lord Arundel's familiar actions are caught here and there. However insignificant in themselves, they bring the past close again, and reanimate its actors with the breath of life. A letter written by him from Horsley, in January, 1630, to Francis Windebank¹, thanking him for his care of "poor Lady Sandys²," seems to reveal a friendship of which we have not previously heard. Lord Arundel adds that he has been "twice forced back by foul weather in endeavouring to go to the Vine," and that he shall be "glad to see her at Arundel House³." A little later, a letter from Sir John Borough to Lord Dorchester, tells that he is "drawn out of town for ten days by the Lord Marshal⁴."

More serious events than these were now to engross Lord Arundel's attention. In April of this year, he sustained two grave losses by death; both of which must have caused him profound concern, and one very poignant sorrow.

On the 10th of that month, his brother-in-law, William, Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Steward, died very suddenly, of an attack of apoplexy. He had just completed his fiftieth year, and, supping the previous night with "my Lady of Devonshire, without Bishopsgate," had appeared to be in the best of health, hoping to live as long as his father, who had attained the age of sixty-four. He returned in good spirits to his home, Baynards Castle, on the Thames. In the night, he was heard to utter a deep groan. He was found to be unconscious, and remained in that state until death occurred, at eight o'clock next morning. Arundel had always been on good terms with his brother-in-law, whose charm of disposition made him one of the best-loved men about the Court, and who shared his interest in art, and, in considerable measure, his taste for collecting.

Lord Pembroke left no will; but, it was said, debts to the amount of £80,000. Lady Pembroke now entered upon an income of £12,000;

¹ Sir Francis Windebank, born in 1582, was made Secretary of State on the death of Lord Dorchester, in 1632. His previous career had been unimportant, but had embraced much foreign travel. In early life, he had been intimately acquainted with Laud, with whom he subsequently quarrelled. He was closely linked with the circle to which Lord Arundel belonged, especially with Weston, Cottington, Panzani, etc. His sympathies were strongly Spanish; although at first a convinced member of the Church of England, he finally became a Roman Catholic. Ultimately, his unpopularity was so great, that he fled to Paris, where he died in 1646. Windebank was married, and left a large family of sons.

² Doubtless the widow of Sir Edwin Sandys, who died in October, 1629. He was a prominent member of Parliament on the popular side, and was also warmly interested in colonial enterprise, especially in the affairs of Virginia.

³ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1629-1631, p. 178. Earl of Arundel and Surrey to Francis Windebank, 30th January, 1630.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 206. Sir John Borough, Norroy, to Secretary Dorchester, 6th March, 1630.

of which £3000 represented jointure, and the remaining £9000 her own large fortune as one of the Talbot heiresses. She was a strange woman, and the marriage, whether through her fault or her husband's, had not been a happy one. If report spoke true, Lord Arundel, whose son, Lord Maltravers, was heir to the Talbot portion of the inheritance, Lord Pembroke having left no living issue, endeavoured to obtain from the King the custody of his widowed sister-in-law, on the ground that she was mentally incompetent. The King's decision, however, gave the preference to Philip, Earl of Montgomery, Lord Chamberlain, who now succeeded his brother as fourth Earl of Pembroke¹.

A yet greater blow befell Lord Arundel in the death of his mother, which took place but a few days after that of Lord Pembroke. Anne, Lady Arundel, at this time residing at Shefnal Manor in Shropshire, had been gradually failing in health since September of the previous year. Throughout the winter, she was seldom able to go into the garden, or even to move to other parts of the house; though she was still a regular attendant at Mass. Towards the end of February, her illness took a turn for the worse, and in the weeks that followed, her state became obviously grave. During this period, Lord and Lady Arundel came from London to visit her who had been their best and constant friend through joy and sorrow. On one occasion, Lord Arundel brought with him a physician from London, taking care he should be a Catholic. For the moment, the report given of the patient's condition was reassuring. But all such hope proved ephemeral²; and, on the 19th April, 1630, Anne Dacre, Countess of Arundel, completed her earthly course at the age of seventy-three³.

Her death caused profound grief, not only to her devoted son and nearest relations, but to a wide circle of friends and neighbours, and especially to her warmly-attached household. From Shropshire the body was conveyed in her own coach, to Arundel, for interment. The melancholy journey, along bad roads deep in mud, occupied seven days; and it was thought a marvel that the vehicle, weighed down with its heavy burden, arrived without mishap at its destination. There she was laid to rest in the vault, built by herself, which had already received the remains of her husband, Philip, Earl of

¹ *Court and Times*, etc., pp. 73-74. Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, 17th April, 1630.

² It was probably at about this time that she wrote the letter to Lord Arundel already quoted (p. 113).

³ Gossip declared that her demise added £6000 a year to her son's income. (*Court and Times of Charles I*, Vol. II, pp. 73, 74.)

Arundel, of her eldest grandson, James, Lord Maltravers, and of other grandchildren who had died in infancy.

Thus passed away a woman of mark in her day; whose strong character, warmth of heart, and devotion to duty, won the regard alike of great and humble. Early in the life of this great lady, Mary, Queen of Scots, sent her a piece of emblematic needlework, wrought in silk and silver by her own hands. Towards its close, Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, on whom had descended so much of her grandmother's charm, cheered her by the kindness and affection of her letters. The Infanta Isabella, Governess of the Spanish Netherlands, showed her many marks of esteem: Philip III of Spain caused her portrait to be sent to him through his Ambassador in London, and hung it in the Escorial amongst those of other notable persons. Her best title to remembrance is found however in her domestic virtues, and in her unbounded charities to the poor and needy¹.

It was well perhaps that a happy event was impending, to restore a due measure of sunshine to the bereaved family. That the graceful act of royal favour to which it gave rise, was gratifying to Lord Arundel, is evident from the letter which, on Michaelmas Day, he addressed from Hampton Court to his friend, Sir Henry Vane.

The Earl of Arundel to Sir Henry Vane.

My very good lord

I write seldome to troble y^u, havinge nothings worthy divertinge y^r thoughtes. For o^r selves, I thanke God wee are well, and have of his goodnes received the addition of another little Boy, whome the Kinge was pleased, of his owne mocion, to make a little Charles, cominge privately wth the Queene, one after noone when he was at London, to Arundell House.

We are all gladde to see y^r good Lady, soe well come ever, and hope y^u will not be longe absent; for since the businesse of Spayne is soe forward as y^u understand, and S^r Fra^s Cottington² hath his revocation, I trust y^u, that are but on the other side of the water, will be heere soone, especially since I doe not discerne (by y^r dispacies) any greate likelihood that the States of Holland will make use of his M^{ties} Power to treate for them, but only receive notice of his owne proceedinge wth Spayne.

I pray comend my most humble and faithfull service to the Queene of Bohemia. Soe God send y^r lo^p all happines, and us both an happy meetinge; till when and ever I am

y^r lo^{ps} faithfull frende to comãde

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

¹ *Life of Anne, Lady Arundel*, pp. 253-267.

² Ambassador in Spain.

If Sig^r Francesco returne by the lowe Countryes, and have neede of a Passe, I beseech y^u helpe him unto it to further his retorne hither.

Hampton Courte, Michaelmas Day, 1630.

To the Right Ho^{ble} Sr Henry Veyne, Knt., Comptroller of his Ma^{ty} Housholde, and lo: Ambassador Ektraordynarye at y^e Hage¹.

In December, peace with Spain having been concluded, the Spanish ambassador gave a great banquet to the English Commissioners, the Lord Treasurer (Weston), the Earl of Arundel, both Chamberlains², the Earl of Carlisle (Hay), the Earl of Holland (Rich), and Viscount Conway, in token of renewed amity³. Lord Dorchester⁴, who had been invited, was unable to be present, owing to an attack of gout.

This fortunate consummation was balanced by events of less happy augur in another direction. Arundel's appointment as Earl Marshal had, from the first, found detractors; and the extended scope given to the Marshal's Court by incorporating with it the ancient dignity of Lord High Constable, did not tend to diminish the jealous strictures of which it was the object. Arundel now found himself vehemently attacked by the judges of the King's Bench, who complained that his wide interpretation of the duties of his office, interfered with the jurisdiction of the ordinary law courts.

The functions attached to the position of Lord High Constable of England, were originally those of a Court of Chivalry, and were confined to the dispensation of martial law. In course of time, they so overleapt these boundaries, that, in the reign of Richard II, a statute was passed which curtailed the power of the Court presided over by the Constable and the Marshal, and enacted that no case should there be tried which could be dealt with by the common law of the land. It will be recollected that when James I revived the office of High Constable in favour of Lord Arundel, it had long been in disuse, having lapsed in 1521 with the attainder and execution of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, in whose family it had been hereditary. By the terms of King James's decree, Arundel was ordered to "proceed in all cases as judicially and definitely as any previous Constable or Earl Marshal." The King shortly after caused to be handed to him the Constable's staff and seals of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, who had flourished in the reign of Edward III;

¹ P.R.O., *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, 1630, Vol. CLXXIII, p. 78.

² The King's Chamberlain, Philip, Earl of Pembroke; the Queen's Chamberlain, Edward, Earl of Dorset.

³ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1629-1631, p. 412. Rowland Woodward to Francis Windebank, 16th December, 1630.

⁴ Formerly Sir Dudley Carleton, now Secretary of State.



Anna Dacres Comitissa Arrundellia & Surtia,

L. W. Ferrar del. a. r. v. m. Schaevel.

W. Valler fecit.

Photo Donald Macbeth

Ann Dacre, Countess of Arundel, in the 69th year of her age

before the statute of Richard II was promulgated. Scrupulously exact in acknowledging the definite sphere of each branch of authority, it was yet not likely that Arundel would admit the right of any extraneous body to question the decisions of the Sovereign concerning the Court of Chivalry, the King himself being, of course, the Fount of Honour. He therefore took full advantage of the royal ordinance, conceiving himself on unassailable ground, and went his way; not perhaps, without manifesting some degree of supercilious indifference to the opinion of those he deemed his inferiors, hardly calculated to exert a soothing effect on his antagonists.

The head and front of the attack, on this occasion, lay with Sir William Jones, a Welshman, and a justice of the King's Bench. Jones apparently denounced the proceedings of the Marshal's Court in no measured terms. Arundel was very angry. But Jones was a man of well-known erudition in the ancient law of England, and a dangerous enemy. If we may assume that the following passage from a letter written by Arundel's friend Harsnet, now Archbishop of York, to Sir Henry Vane, refers to this controversy, some light is thrown on the attitude of the Earl Marshal.

Archbishop Harsnet to Sir Henry Vane.

... Begs him to enforce patience upon their most noble Lord Marshal. His great and noble spirit is not well weighted with the plummets of ancient magnanimity, which was ever more glorious in suffering than in doing. He must be called upon to expect, expect, and expect¹, and do everything rather than fall upon suddenness or abruptness. There is no medium. He must either be patient, *vel actum est*: he is undone².

The feeling of the royal circle, however, was clearly with Arundel. The action of Jones was sharply censured by both Lord Chamberlains, Lord Pembroke calling him a "saucy fellow." In February, 1631, the difference between the Earl Marshal and the Lord Chief Justice, who supported if he did not inspire the action of Jones, was discussed in the House of Lords in the presence of the King³. The points at variance were not decided; but the trend of opinion was obviously in favour of Arundel, since he was given permission to prosecute Jones "anew," and to send a warrant after him to Wales, whither Sir William had apparently deemed it prudent to retire. The judges, nevertheless, continued to uphold their colleague on the Bench. They argued that, after Parliament, their jurisdiction had

¹ *I.e.* wait.

² *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1629-1631*, p. 167. Archbp Harsnet of York to Sir Henry Vane, Ambassador to Holland, 16th June, 1630.

³ *Court and Times of Charles I*, Vol. II, pp. 97-8. Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. 27th February, 1631.

always stood supreme. It was again a contest between the arbitrary edict of a sovereign, and the ancient rights of the state. Arundel begged the King to appoint Commissioners to decide the issue between himself and his opponents. For the moment, however, he triumphed. A clause in the statute of Richard II, already mentioned, laid down that, in the event of a case coming before the Court of Chivalry which was deemed to belong to another tribunal, the party aggrieved must obtain a privy seal from his Majesty to stop the proceedings of the Constable and Marshal, until the King's Council should decide to what jurisdiction the case rightly belonged. This clearly placed the authority of the Council above that of the Bench. The retort was a question whether the King's Council did not, in this instance, mean the supreme Council of the Lords in Parliament?

The controversy remained unsettled. Ten years later it terminated, as was perhaps inevitable, in the suppression of the Marshal's Court. It is, however, worth while to note that Sir Nicholas Hyde¹, at this time Chief Justice of the King's Bench, was the uncle of Edward Hyde (subsequently Earl of Clarendon), through whose unremitting hostility to Lord Arundel that event at last came about.

Sir Nicholas Hyde was a lawyer of little distinction, but he had acted as Buckingham's counsel at the time of the Duke's impeachment; and through his patron's all-powerful influence, was appointed Lord Chief Justice in 1627. Buckingham, as we have seen, desired at that period to increase his following in the House of Lords. The promotion of so unimportant a personage to so great a position, excited general surprise and gave birth to a rhyme which suggests the common opinion of his merits:

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

The future Lord Clarendon was at this time a brilliant young man, pursuing the profession of the law in a somewhat perfunctory manner beneath the aegis of his uncle, the Chief Justice. It seems likely that the animosity which, in later years, Clarendon persistently displayed towards Lord Arundel, had its roots in these early days, and was an inheritance, through Sir Nicholas, from the Duke of Buckingham: that upas-tree which overshadowed the whole course of Arundel's public life.

Towards the end of this year a celebrated case came before the Earl Marshal's and Constable's Court which affords a good example

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Art. "Hyde, Sir Nicholas."

of its functions. It would be tedious here to go into the many ramifications of accusation and counter-accusation brought by the two Scottish disputants. Suffice it to say that Donald Mackay, first Lord Reay, the commander of one of those bands of irregular troops who so greatly enhanced the fame of British valour on the Continent, charged with treason one David Ramsay, an officer of the Marquess of Hamilton. After brilliant prowess displayed by Reay in the German wars, Gustavus Adolphus, with whom he was now serving, deputed him to make arrangements with Hamilton for the considerable force with which the latter proposed to join the King of Sweden's troops. Reay was sent to England, where he then made a statement to the effect that Hamilton's real aim was to supplant Charles I on the throne of Scotland, and that Ramsay was his informant. This accusation Ramsay stoutly denied. Reay thereupon sent him a challenge. The dispute was brought before the Court of Chivalry, whose business it was to decide whether the combat should be permitted to take place. The King appointed Robert Bertie, Earl of Lindsey¹, to fill the post of Constable for the occasion. A number of peers supported and assisted the two principal officials.

The case was conducted in the Painted Chamber with great ceremony. It was much observed that, although the position of Constable ranked before that of Marshal, the latter directed all the proceedings. Arundel addressed those present in a short speech, in which he emphasized, first, the care taken by the King to ensure a fair trial, and further the "usefulness and legality of this kind of trial on such an occasion." The two adversaries were then introduced into the Court; after which Duck, the King's Advocate, made a learned discourse, relating all the circumstances of the case, and demonstrating from various sources and precedents the entire legality of the proceedings.

Lord Reay was then invited to state what he had against Mr Ramsay. Reay, who had prudently caused his statement to be drawn up in writing, requested that it might be read out by Dethick, the

¹ Robert Bertie, Earl of Lindsey, Lord High Chamberlain, born in 1582, was a distinguished admiral and commander, an enthusiastic traveller, and, in addition, versed in many branches of science and learning. His claim to the earldom of Oxford was rejected in favour of Robert de Vere: the position of Lord High Chamberlain was, on the other hand, awarded to him. He spent many years on his estate in Lincolnshire, reclaiming large areas of fen land by drainage for husbandry and habitation. He was several times appointed to act as Lord High Constable, Lord Arundel's tenure of that office notwithstanding: a notable occasion being that of the trial of Strafford, when he was Speaker of the House of Lords. He was an ardent royalist, and was killed fighting for the King at Edgehill in 1642. Lindsey married Elizabeth, only daughter of Edward, Lord Montagu of Boughton, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Montagu Bertie.

King's Proctor, which was allowed. He then declared himself ready to maintain his assertions with his life, and threw down his glove into the court.

Ramsay was asked what he had to say in reply to these accusations. Less business-like than his antagonist, he embarked in a speech of rambling generalities as to the improbabilities of his having been guilty of the disloyalty imputed to him. Thereupon the Earl Marshal, in words of great courtesy, intervened, advising him either to keep to the points of the accusation, or to petition the King to allow him to employ counsel. Ramsay hastily replied that all that Reay had said of him was false, and that he would justify the same with his life; at the same time throwing down his glove. Arundel saw that so general a denial to specific charges, could not but prejudice Ramsay's case. He therefore advised that the defence on each point, should be put in writing by counsel; and the Court adjourned to enable this to be done.

The trial drew out in length, as one adjournment followed upon another, for various reasons. The common law judges declared that, should the Court of Chivalry award a combat, he who slew the other would, by their law, be guilty of murder. There was even some talk of transferring the case to the ordinary Courts; rumours which probably proceeded from interested quarters. In the end, the Court of Chivalry completed its business: ordering a combat to take place in Tothill Fields, Westminster. The King, however, now intervened; perhaps to prevent a drastic collision between the Marshal's Court and the King's Bench. At a re-assembling of the Court of Chivalry, he caused it to be made known to the disputants that he considered neither party had committed treason, though neither was free from blame. They were therefore sentenced to a nominal imprisonment in the Tower, while finding sureties to keep the peace. With this the affair ended.

Meanwhile Lord Arundel was not inattentive to the exigencies of the Commission on Buildings. An amusing sample of the kind of incident that often occurred is furnished by an application addressed jointly to him and to the Earl of Dorset, in the month of July. John, Earl of Clare, Sir Henry Spiller, and George Long, had apparently been appointed to see that certain provisions of the proclamation forbidding wood to be used for rebuilding, were carried into effect. They now reported that an ancient inn, the Greyhound, in Holborn, "near adjoining to Brooke House," being ruinous, had lately come into the possession of one Hollingshead, a wealthy citizen, who, repairing the same, openly supported the ruins with timber contrary to the proclamation. The writers representing this circumstance to

him, he treated the proclamation with contemptuous disregard, and themselves with insolence: all which they now submitted to consideration¹. What ensued from this indignant protest does not appear. A guess that the delinquent was made to smart handsomely for his defiance of authority, would perhaps not be far from the mark.

In April, 1631, the Commission for the repair of St Paul's was either entirely reconstituted on a much wider basis, or a very large number of persons was added to it. It now comprised over sixty names; which included the Lord Mayor and most of the chief officers of the Court, the State, the Church, and the Bench². The actual work seems, however, to have been delegated to a sub-committee, of which Sir Henry Spiller and Inigo Jones were members. The latter, indeed, was called upon to assist other commissions besides those concerned with buildings. Such was that appointed in 1630 for "viewing" the Thames from Staines downwards—the remote forerunner, it would appear, of the present Thames Conservancy—and extended, in the following year, from Staines to Oxford. The Commission itself was composed of Lords Arundel, Wimbledon, Dorchester, Falkland, and Sir Thomas Edmondes³. Most of these were old friends of the Earl Marshal's; amongst newer, one, Lord Falkland; seems to have stepped into a position of intimacy.

One of the reports on buildings includes Inigo Jones, with Sir Henry Spiller and Laurence Whitaker, in the epithet "Justices of the Peace for Middlesex⁴." Almost at the same time, the architect sends an independent report, to the Commissioners for the repair of St Paul's; on the old Church of St Gregory, hard by the cathedral. He conceives it no way hurtful, he says, to the foundation or walls of St Paul's, nor will it take away the beauty of the aspect when it shall be repaired. It abuts on the Lollards' Tower, which is answered on the other side by another tower, unto which the Bishop's Hall adjoins; neither of them any hindrance to the beauty of the Church⁵. Later he was obliged to rescind his good opinion of the proximity of St Gregory's, as the parishioners constructed a new vault which threatened to undermine St Paul's⁶. From this they were called upon to desist⁷; but ultimately the Church was pulled down.

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1629-1631, p. 9.*

² *Ibid.* 1631-1633, p. 6, 10th April, 1631, where a complete list of the names is given.

³ *Ibid.* p. 133.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 75, 13th June, 1631. Is this a clerical error in the Report?

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 76. Inigo Jones to the Commissioners, 14th June, 1631. There would seem to be a good deal in these reports to throw light on the then architectural condition of London, and the activities of Jones in connection with it.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 277. Inigo Jones to the Council, 25th February, 1632.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 281.

In September Lord Arundel officiated at the State reception, in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, of an Ambassador Extraordinary from Poland, Johannes Albertus Racouski. The ceremonial attending the introduction into the King's presence of this magnificent personage, must have been strikingly picturesque. Conducted by the Earls of Arundel and Carlisle, one on either side, he advanced through a "lane" composed of pensioners on the King's side, and of Court beauties on that of the Queen. Lodged in the great palace of Westminster, the Ambassador was given a military escort for the occasion, who fired volleys on his departure from Court and again on arrival at his abode.

This Racousky (adds Mr Pory, who tells the tale), is a person of a comely presence and promising countenance, of great birth, riches and learning; being able exactly to speak five or six languages. He comes at his own charge, and hath brought with him two great standard chestsfull of plate for his own particular use, and, at his return home, he is to be rewarded with the office of a vaivod, or viceroy¹.

Thus matters grave and matters gay, art and ceremonial, combined to lend colour and variety to the tale of the fleeting years.

¹ *Court and Times*, etc., Vol. II, pp. 128-129. Mr Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart., London, 8th September, 1631.

CHAPTER XXII.

DEATH OF LORD DORCHESTER. HOPTON'S LETTERS RESPECTING WORKS OF ART. LUCAS VORSTERMAN AND HOLBEIN'S TRIUMPHS. VAN DYCK'S SECOND STAY IN ENGLAND.

1631—1632.

IN February, 1632, Arundel lost his old friend, Lord Dorchester, so long known to his contemporaries as Sir Dudley Carleton. The former ambassador was buried in Westminster Abbey. He had survived but a short time to enjoy the honours tardily accorded to him, little more than three years having elapsed since his appointment as Chief Secretary of State.

As an early collector, and especially as an intermediary for collectors of larger means than he himself possessed, he deserves a distinct niche in the temple of fame, quite apart from his public services. It will be remembered that it was through him that the merchant and agent, Daniel Nys, was first introduced to influential English patrons, and that the collections of Somerset, Arundel, Buckingham and others, were enriched by those examples of Venetian art which seem to have given a permanent bias to English taste. His love of statuary equalled his fondness for paintings. We have seen that he obtained marbles as well as pictures from Nys; and it will not be forgotten that Rubens thought so highly of Carleton's antiques as to acquire them from him in exchange for certain paintings¹.

Whether the early friendship with Arundel continued undimmed in later years, there is nothing to show. At the time when all promotion depended on Buckingham's goodwill, Carleton enrolled himself beneath the banner of the favourite. As a reward, he received various distinctions, culminating in the peerage bestowed when Buckingham was endeavouring to increase his party in the House of Lords. Arundel's attitude towards these machinations was, as has been seen, one of determined opposition; though he would have been

¹ There is a fine full-length portrait of Lord Dorchester, painted in 1628, the year of his promotion, in the possession of his heirs, who still own Brightwell, in Oxfordshire; though the old house, destroyed by fire, has been replaced by a modern dwelling.

the first to acknowledge that, in Carleton's case, the honours were well deserved.

It was in the autumn of this year that a little episode occurred so characteristic of Lord Arundel, that it shall be given in the narrator's own words.

Mr Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart. (extract).

London, September 20, 1632.

... One day, the last week, my Lord of Arundel and his son, my Lord Maltravers, having espied my Lord of Canterbury's coach on Banstead Downs coming towards theirs, before they came a butt's length short of it, both their lordships alighted, and went a great pace towards his grace's coach; who, when they approached, said, "What! and must my lord marshal of England take so great pains to do me so much honour? Were my legs as good as my heart, I should have met your lordships the better half of the way." Then my Lord of Arundel replied, "It might well become an earl marshal to give so much respect to an archbishop of Canterbury, besides the particular obligation from his lordship to his grace for his noble usage of his son and daughter Maltravers, while they were his prisoners." Whereupon my lord's grace took occasion to congratulate unto both their lordships my lord Maltravers's brave and hopeful progeny of three sons and a daughter; and so they parted...¹

A few letters belonging to this period, show the correspondence connected with works of art and "curiosity" unabated. The first of these is labelled, by whom does not appear.

Extract of a letter written in answer to mine, near Dantzick, the 3 of May, 1631.

... There is an Urna Vera at Dantzick. The price I know not as yet.

Item. There is a booke in folio all bound and edged with silver. The pictures in it are from the first folio to the 38th folio: all sortes of Birds. And afterwards there are divers skillfull pictures.

From the 46. fol. to the 53rd fol. There are the Seven planets made by the penne.

From the 54th fol. to 69. fol. There are all sorte of fishes. And then follow other kindes of skillfull things.

From 95. fol. to 104. fol. All sortes of flowers. And then againe some other peeces.

There are also two other bookes full of fashions of apparells, very well done.

An English gelding, for a friend of mine, who hath these bookes, and some paires of gloves for his wife and daughters, will make me obtaine these things (as I suppose) for so good a friend as you are to me.

Concerning the bookes of that Author you wrote to me to be in the hands of the Italian painter in Poland, I have written to that King's Court and expect shortly an answer².

¹ *Court and Times of Charles I*, Vol. II, p. 177.

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 297, unsigned.

The following throw light on the enquiries set on foot in Spain.

Arthur Hopton to the Earl of Arundel.

May it please yo^r Lo^p

The bearer hereof, Mr Robert Oxwicke, a marchant of London, will deliver to yo^r Lo^p four pictures put upp in four cases, w^{ch} I caused to be sent to him in a ship of his from Bilbao. For the flotage of them I have remitted him to yo^r Lo^p, because being so far from Bilbao, I could not bargaine wth the master of the ship. . . .

Concerning the other particulars of yo^r Lo^{ps} l^{re}, I shall give yo^r Lo^p accompt by Hen: Davis, whome I shall presently dispatch, and by him I send yo^r Lo^p some drawings chosen by the Marquesse de la Torre (whoe is the Cavallero Crecentio mentioned in yo^r Lo^{ps} l^{re}) whoe is a great servant of yo^r Lo^{ps}, and a freind to o^r nation; in the choice and price of all the matters of art I have doone nothing but by his order, and therefore I hope for yo^r Lo^{ps} good acceptance, although not for my service, yet for my obedience.

That w^{ch} remains. . . upon the foote of the accompt, I beseech yo^r Lo^p to com^{and} to be paid to Mr Roger Drake, a mercer at the Signe of the three nunes in cheapside. . . .

ART: HOPTON.

Madrid, July 29th 1631, st^o n^o1.

The Same to the Same.

May it please yo^r Lo^p.

By this bearer Hen: Davis I received yo^r Lo^{ps} of the 11th of May together wth yo^r Lo^{ps} directions concerning matters of Art, wherein I will punctually follow yo^r Lo^{ps} order in doing nothing wthout the advice of the Marques de La Torre (whoe is the Cavallero Crecentio whome yo^r Lo^p mentions in yo^r l^{re}), and doing soe I shall humbly desire yo^r Lo^p to accept of my desire to doe yo^r Lo^p service, and not to lay the successe to my charge if any thing shall happen not according to yo^r Lo^{ps} expectation w^{ch} I should bee sorry for.

The Marquess remembers all the tokens of yo^r Lo^{ps} being at his house at Rome, and confesseth that hee att that time tooke yo^r Lo^p for a principall gentlman but if hee had then understood of yo^r Lo^{ps} quality hee would have served yo^r Lo^p wth whatsoever was to bee gotten in that city, And now I finde him very ready to doe yo^r Lo^p all service.

I have received upon y^e bill of exchange that yo^r Lo^p sent mee 4000 Rs in silver.

Upon making knowne to the Marques yo^r Lo^{ps} purpose, hee caryed mee presently to a painters house and bought these Drawings (w^{ch} hee esteemes to bee a good bargaine) w^{ch} I send by this bearer Davis packed upp according to his owne direction. Wthin few days after hee sent for mee and tould mee that (upon a chance) hee was offered certaine pictures of great vawle and tould mee that hee hath knowne one of them to have bin sould for more then was demanded for three; and wth them were to bee sould twoe peeces of *pasi* of Brugle² w^{ch} hee is much taken wth, and

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 299.

² See Appendix v, Nos. 49 and 52.

because they were not to bee had but all together I was in some doubt, yet observeing by yo^r Lo^{ps} lfe that yo^u would bee contented to lay out the whole sume of yo^r bill and something more if the Marques should choose peeces to such a valew, I resolved not to lett them passe, and soe have bought them, and have sent them safe packed upp to Bilbao to bee conveyed to yo^r Lo^p.

The peeces are One of Leonardi del Vinci the beheading of S^t Jo: Baptist¹ w^{ch} is the principall peece, and was brought from Roome by the Conde of Lemos when hee came from being Vice King of Naples. The second is a passion of o^r Savio^r by Tintorett². The third is of o^r Lady wth o^r Savio^r in her armes, and S^t Joseph standing by her, and on her other side S^t Jo: Baptist³. They are much esteemed here and the Marquesse assures mee they will give yo^r Lo^p great contentm^{te}.

This inclosed note will give yo^r Lo^p an accompt of how yo^r money is laid out, and of the overplus that remaines due to mee, w^{ch} I beseech yo^r Lo^p to comānd to bee paid to Mr Drake a mercer at the three nuñes in Cheapside.

The twoe pictures by the Life of Ticiano are in the possession of the Marquess of Lleganes and are past recovery.

The Picture of S^r Tho: More is in Rome in the Cardinall Crecentios house & is not to bee had for any price as the Marques tells mee.

I have bin often called uppon for the Primer yo^r lo^p speaks of, but will not part wth it untill I heare from yo^r Lo^p and doe not send it now because the Marques likes it not, yet confesses it to bee a very laboriouse peece, it will not bee had anything under 100 ducats. While I ame writeing this the owner thereof comes to mee & tells mee that hee cañot leave it wth mee above twoe monthes in w^{ch} time I desire to knowe yo^r Lo^{ps} resolution.

The gentlman that is owner of the booke drawne by Leonardo di Vinci hath bin of late taken from his house by order from the inquisition; whoe after some time of restraint at Toledo, was permitted to goe to live at Sevell where hee now is. All the dilligence that I can use therein is to procure to have advice when either by his death or otherwise his goods are to bee sould, and therein I wilbe very watchfull.

I knowe not whether there bee many things of art (worthy yo^r Lo^{ps} haveing) to bee sould in this place but I observe that there are few buyers of such things, soe that if the choice that the Marques hath now made for yo^r Lo^p shall encourage yo^r Lo^p to goe any further wth him yo^r Lo^p may comānd a credit for money to lye heere wth Peter Ricauts correspondent, w^{ch} being alwise ready wee may the better serve yo^r Lo^p.

The pictures are sent to Bilbao and are consigned to Mr Robert Oxwicke a marchant in London uppon whose accompt the ship is here. God almighty blesse yo^r Lo^p according to the prayers of

Yo^r Lo^{ps} most humble servant

ART: HOPTON.

Madrid Aug: 7th: 1631

st^o: n^o:

The lfe that goes wth this is from the Marquesse⁴.

The Earl of Arundel.

¹ See Appendix v, No. 213.

² *Ibid.* No. 349(?).

³ *Ibid.* No. 304.

⁴ Not in the collection of Arundel Autographs.

For the Right ho^{bl}: the
Earle of Arundell.

For drawings	0660	RS. Silver
For a Case of Satten and a Cover of Cucerada...	0008	RS. Silver
For three pictures	2800	RS. Silver
For 2 little peeces of Brughel	1000	RS. Silver
For the Custome of the pictures for takeinge out an order out of y ^e Councell of Hazienda to p ^r vent openinge them by the way and for rewards of such as tooke pains therein ... }	0320	RS. Silver
To a servant of the Marques de la Torres ...	0028	RS. Silver
To a Carpenter according to his bill hereunto anexed }	0249	RS. Brasse
The Cariage of the pictures to Bilbao	0200	RS. Brasse
	<u>5265</u>	
Of this Received	4000	RS. Silver
Remaines due to me	1265	
The exchange of 800 ^{RS} w ^{ch} was paid in silver at 8 pro 100 }	0064	
Some total of that w ^{ch} Remaines	1329	
	£	s.
In English money is	0033	04 0 ¹

An unsigned and undated draft or copy of a letter written by Lord Arundel may here find a place; because it will serve as an introduction to one of considerable interest addressed to him by Lucas Vorsterman, the engraver.

Lord Arundel's letter is to Mr Lionel Wake, an English merchant at Antwerp, who frequently undertook the transmission of pictures to England for Rubens and his circle. Internal evidence shows that it was written between 1625—in which year Mr Trumbull returned to England and, also, Brueghel's death occurred—and 1631, when Vorsterman, who had resided some eight years in our country, returned to Antwerp. The wording of Lord Arundel's letter shows clearly that, when it was written, the engraver was still in England.

The Earl of Arundel to Mr Lionel Wake (draft).

Good Mr Wake

I have formerly by Mr Trumball's recomendacons desired yo^r paines for some things on my behalfe, in w^{ch} I still intreate yo^r carefullnes, as in a matter wherein you shall doe me acceptable pleasure. Now, having other occasions there, I could finde none whose courtesie I would more willingly receive then yours. I doe therefore earnestlie desire you, that you would receive for me a peece of painting begunne by Brugles and

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 300. Printed by Tierney, without the account. He mentions, however, in a note (p. 493) that 660 silver rials were equivalent to about £18. 11s. 3d. sterling; 1000 rials equal £28. 2s. 6d.; and 2800 rials equal £78. 15s. 0d.

finished by Mostard; being a squabbling of clownes fallen out at Cardes, w^{ch} is in stampe by Mr Lucas Vorsterman, and w^{ch} shalbe brought unto you by order of a letter from Vorsterman sent herewith: and that you would pay for the same and, as carefully, speedily and securely as you may, send it over consigned unto me.

Likewise that for such other things as any of Vorstermans freinds shall bring unto you to be sould for me, you wold, if you are assured of their goodnes, and that they are originalls of good Masters hands, agree, and pay for them, and send them unto me. Otherwise, that after you have contracted for their price, they may be sent hether; and, if they prove not such as they are given out for, and thereupon refused here, they may againe be received, their charges being borne, and they restored as well conditioned as when they were sent hether.

For your travaile and expenses herein, I faithfully promise you, you shall receive a full satisfaction, and yo^r Courtesie shall make me ever readie to pleasure you wherein I may¹.

Vorsterman's letter will be read with interest, as it throws some light on the engravings of Holbein's Triumphs. The name of the copyist is unfortunately not stated. It definitely establishes the fact that a copy of at least one of the Triumphs was made while the original was at Arundel House: and that this copy it was now proposed to engrave.

The correspondence shows Vorsterman to have been on terms of considerable intimacy with Lord Arundel. Doubtless he was familiar with the gallery, and had seen Sandrart, and other painters, at work there. On his return to Antwerp, in 1631, he probably carried with him the drawing in question.

The "Triumph of Poverty" was certainly, and the "Triumph of Riches" probably, engraved by his son, Lucas Vorsterman the younger: and copies of both subjects, supposed to have been made by the latter for the purpose of engraving, are extant². It seems unlikely that the drawing referred to in the letter of the elder Vorsterman can have been one of these, because in that case, it would doubtless have been executed at once with the necessary precision for engraving. We must therefore suppose, either that this drawing

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 383.

² Both were formerly in the Eastlake collection. The "Triumph of Poverty" is now in the British Museum. See the detailed and excellent account in Mr Chamberlain's *Hans Holbein*, Vol. II, pp. 26 *et seq.* It does not appear certain, however, that these drawings are by the younger Vorsterman.—As pure conjecture, I would suggest that the drawing of the "Triumph of Riches" in the British Museum, which Mr Chamberlain finds Italian in character, may possibly be the copy sent by Vorsterman the elder to Lord Arundel, and have been the work of Orazio Gentileschi. This painter was the intimate friend of Sandrart when the latter was in England, and was in all likelihood one of the large group of painters who frequented Arundel House.

was subsequently so much retouched by the younger Lucas as to pass for his entirely; or that this proposal was abandoned, and two wholly fresh copies executed at Arundel House, to fulfil the conditions of the graver's art.

Lucas Vorsterman to the Earl of Arundel.

Most excellent Sir

I wrote some months ago to your Excellency, but having heard that you have been absent¹, I believe it is useless to await a reply. I therefore make bold to write to you again, having learnt of your safe return, to inform you that there are at present in these parts certain gentlemen of importance who possess a considerable number of antiquities, both in marble and in pictures by old and rare masters: and as I have heard from them that they desire to sell and dispose of these, owing to the calamities of this country, I wished not to fail to give notice of this to your Excellency, as the great and principal lover of antiquities; if your Excellency will be good enough to inform me whether you are disposed and desirous to have your part in them. Otherwise I am resolved to send them to France, peace being now made between the King and his brother. But the gentlemen desire first to ascertain the wishes of your Excellency.

In addition, I am anxious to know whether the drawing of the Triumph by Holbein, made in your house, satisfies you for engraving; what is wanting might be retouched, through your Excellency's intercession, by Mr Gage², or Van Dyck, or some other, according to your taste.

The bearer of this is a virtuoso, and a painter of note³: he brings the drawing of the Triumph with him, to show to your Excellency, because it was not sufficiently finished for engraving.

Thus, kissing your hands, I pray God to give to your Excellency prosperous and long life.

Your Excellency's most devoted and most affectionate servant

LUCAS VORSTERMAN.

Antwerp, 24 October, 1632⁴.

¹ In January, 1632, Lord Arundel appointed Sir Henry Bouchier to act as his deputy in the Court Military, in the case between Lord Reay and David Ramsay; which suggests that he was about to undertake an absence of some duration or distance. No further clue has been found to throw light on whither he was bound, or what the object (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1631-1633, p. 252, 9th Jan., 1632*).

² This is the first we hear of Mr Gage as a practical performer with the brush.

³ Who this painter was, does not appear.

⁴ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 307. The somewhat barbaric Italian of the original runs as follows:

Excellentissimo Singnor

Io per alcuni mesi ho scritto a Vña Eccellenza, ma havendo inteso che Leý é stata absente, voglio credere che la sua risposta e restata inutil. Per questo piglio l' ardire di servierla altera volte, sapendo il suo salvo salvo ritorno, per avisarla che presentemente si trovano in questa parte certi Signori d' importanza quali sono provisti di assaý numero di Antiquita, tanto in marmore come di pittura di Maestri rari et vecchi; et come io ho inteso di loro che desiderano disfarsene et venderli per occasione della calamita di questi paesi, Io non ho volluto mancare di n' avisar a V.E. come grand et primo Amatore della Antiquita, se degni dunque

Van Dyck, here curiously suggested for the task of touching up a copy from Holbein in order to adapt it for engraving, had arrived in England in the spring of this year; and, excepting one brief visit to the Continent in 1640, remained here till his death, in December, 1641. On his first arrival, he was lodged with Edward Norgate; which seems a certain indication that Lord Arundel was concerned in bringing the painter to England, though the King defrayed the cost of his maintenance¹. Soon he was transferred, still at the royal expense, to an apartment at Blackfriars, while a summer residence at Eltham was placed at his disposal. The King lavished upon him marks of favour. Within three months of his arrival, the painter had completed several of his most brilliant portraits of the royal family; while the King had made him a Knight, and showered gifts upon him. Occupied thus fully by the royal orders, there was at first little time for Van Dyck to execute commissions elsewhere. By degrees, however, as the King's requirements were satisfied, the demand for his services spread far and wide. Following the fashion set by the sovereign, all the great personages of society desired to have their "picture" taken by Van Dyck. The splendid portrait of Lord Arundel executed by the artist on an earlier visit to these shores, had, as we know, been given to Buckingham. Another masterpiece by Van Dyck was presently to take its place, but for the moment, public business engrossed the time of the Earl Marshal; and he was content to await more ample leisure.

Another letter shows Lord Arundel's relations with the Anglo-Saxon scholar, William Lisle².

V.E. avisarmi se ha gusto et desiderio haverne la sua parte. Alteramente sono risolutissimi di mandarli in Francia con questa pace fatto dal Re et l fratello, ma gli Singiore vogliono primo aspettar l desiderio del E. vostro.

Di piu, voria sapere se il dessengio del Triumffo di Holbein fatto in casa sua, gli contenta per sculpirlo, et...manca qualche cosa farlo ritoccar per interseessione sua al Sig. Gagio oben Van Dyck, o alteri segundo il gusto suo.

Il portator di questo et vertuoso et pittor di notte (probably rough Italian for "note" not for "night-pieces" as was at first suggested (*Ed.*)), a il disengio del Triumffo menato seco per mostrar al Excell: Vost, parque non era assai finito por sculpirlo.

Et con questo basciandole le mani prego Iddio dia a V.E. prospera et longa vita.

Di V^{ra} Eccelenza

Divotissimo et aff^{mo} Servitore

Lucas Vorsterman.

Di Anversa alli 24 d'ottobre, 1632.

¹ Carpenter's *Pictorial Notices*, etc. p. 27 and Appendix v (Privy Seal Warrant to Edward Norgate). Bellori asserts as a fact that Lord Arundel was instrumental in introducing Van Dyck to the King; but this does not seem incompatible with the statement of Félibien that the actual message of invitation was sent by Charles through Sir Kenelm Digby (*Ibid.* p. 22).

² William Lisle, born about 1569, was probably of East Anglian origin, although his father lived in Surrey. He had links with the Court through various members

William Lisle to the Earl of Arundel.

Sire

Your noble well-taking my former letters hath made me bould thus to use my pen again; as I shalbe glad to doe, whensoever it may tende to yo^r honour and service. And now, my good Lord, give me leave, I pray; the rather by cause I myssed that happines to see yo^r lordship at the court, late in Newmarket, where, with yo^r favorable admittance, I might have noticed that, by word of mouth, which here I write.

Since I saw yo^r honour last, I met with another book, worthy to be layd by the former; this being as rare a monument of the Frenche church and language, as that other was of th' English—PSALTERIUM INTERLINEATŪ ANTIQVO NORMANICO—of equall antiquitye, and fair-written with a great pen, or pencill, upon a thicke parchement. An ignorant bookseller, that had yt, woulde have destroyed yt, to binde other books withall: and I, desirous to save yt, when he knew not how to measure the value but by his own bushell, gave him his asking—as much as it waied in other parchement books of the same foulding, whereof I had some to spare. So once in my life, I bought a book by waight, which, with myself, I make

Your Lordship's to comãund,

WYLL. LISLE.

Cantabrigiæ, 9^o 9^{bris} 1632.*To the right honorable Thomas, Earle of Arundel and Surrey, etc., etc.*¹

One more letter shall be added here, of wholly different type, but of much interest, owing to the personality of the writer.

Thomas Wentworth, Viscount Wentworth, subsequently Earl of Strafford, was at this time President of the Council of the North. He was already appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, but did not proceed to Dublin till the following year. Meanwhile he wrote to Lord Arundel respecting certain irregularities in the conduct of the Talbot estates in Hallamshire. The portion inherited by the widowed Mary, Countess of Pembroke, was administered by her brother-in-law, now Lord Chamberlain. To Philip, Earl of Pembroke, Lord Wentworth alluded with scant approval. He is anxious to prevent encroachment on the property belonging to Lord Arundel through his wife.

Arundel and Wentworth were at this time on very friendly terms. In the constitutional struggle which had preceded the Petition of Right, they had taken a similar line; supporting the claims of his family, but his own career was purely that of a scholar. He achieved lasting reputation as a student and translator of Anglo-Saxon documents. He had access to Cotton's library, and was related to another of Arundel's friends, Sir Henry Spelman. Most of Lisle's life was passed at Cambridge. He died in 1637.

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 306. Tierney says that this book is now in the British Museum, and that the interlineary version is of the twelfth century.

of the popular party where these appeared justified, while maintaining intact the prerogative of the King. Like most men of moderate views, at a time of passionate crisis, each failed to impress his policy on others. Arundel, steering a middle course, pleased neither side, and lost influence with both. Wentworth, drawn wholly into reaction, advanced to meet a more tragic fate. It is not easy to imagine a lasting friendship between these two men, each autocratic in practice, even when moderate in principle. At a later date they quarrelled. Wentworth deemed himself injured by an action intended quite innocently, it would seem, by Arundel; and as the Lord Deputy was a man of unyielding will, and intolerant of criticism, the breach proved irreparable. The happy tone which prevailed in their intercourse, before it was clouded by this untoward episode, is agreeably reflected in the letter which follows.

Viscount Wentworth to the Earl of Arundel.

My much Honored Lord

I understande your Lo^p must over into the Low Cuntries to waite backe upon the Queen of Bohemia¹, w^{ch} makes me feare I shall not have the happinesse to looke upon you before my going into Irelande.

I am told ther is directions given by S^r Edw. Leeche, and Mr Bright, now this Michelmas, to the tenantts of Hallamshire, that they pay noe rentts to yo^r Lo^p, w^{ch} is a wonder to me; and that in the meane time they make use of yo^r woods for the Ironworke. My Lo., looke to it; and in any case gaine an absolute possession of the landes, and lett the tenants see they are to depende upon you, not upon S^r Edw. Leeke (*sic*) and Bright, nor yet upon the Chamberlain. You lose, I dare boldly say, one thousande pounds a yeare for wantte of a good officer ther, w^{ch} Bright will never doe for you; besides that his dependence is more upon them then you. I have allwayes told you so, and I am sure I tell you truly.

If you would appointe Rich: Burrowes your bayliffe ther, you would finde a great alteration, mightily to your profit. I knowe the man; he hath £200 a yeare of his owne, sounde and cleare estate, noe children, a man that is not having², and will take pride to doe you better service then hath been done ther before you; and, in good faithe, for his worthe and honesty I durst as farre undertake as for any such man I know in all thes parttes.

Yo^r Lo^p will pardon me this boldnesse, but sumtimes a freinde neare hande may see much more then a wiser man farre of. And whilst yo^r Lo^p is pleased to cast a regarde to thos little things w^{ch} concerne me alone, wth soe much affection and favoure, me thinks I am bounde to watch over everything w^{ch} may touche yo^r profit or inheritance in thes parttes, w^{ch} I shall be sure to doe faithfully and clearly. And, Good my Lo., gett

¹ The circumstances of Lord Arundel's embassy into Holland are related in the next chapter.

² Grasping (?).

possession in any case; in good faithe, you loose infinitely till that be dun, both in profit and honoure: and I confesse I disdaine extreamly to thinke, such a thing as the Chamberlaine should indanger to putt the Marshall to the worse.

Yo^r Lo^p willbe pleased thes lines may presentt my service to My Lady, and to my Lo: Maltrevors. Wishing yo^r Lo^p a happy passadge and a safe returne,

Yo^r Lo^{ps} most faithfull and most humble servantt

WENTWORTH.

Yorke, the 23rd of Decemb. 1632¹.

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 310. The letter is written in a beautiful clear, well-formed writing, neither large nor small. Endorsed in a contemporary hand, "1632, 23rd December, my Lord Deputy to my Lorde."

CHAPTER XXIII.

EMBASSY TO HOLLAND.

1632—1633.

THE friendly relations of Lord and Lady Arundel with Princess Elizabeth, which had existed since her earliest youth, had never died down. Those relations had been further emphasized at the time of her marriage by their appointment to escort her on her journey to Heidelberg. The affectionate confidence of the letters she addressed to them, now grave now gay, tells its own story. The first of the series, written in a painstaking, immature hand to Lady Arundel, to thank her for some little present, or "token" as it was then called, seems to date almost from Elizabeth's childhood.

Princess Elizabeth to the Countess of Arundel.

Madame

I give you manie thankes for your letter and token by Woodward which I will weare for your sake, and will in all occasions give you assurance that I am ever

Your most affectionat frend

ELIZABETH.

To the La: of Arrundell¹.

A world of experiences, sweet and bitter, in the career of the "Queen of Hearts," lies between this little composition and the next letter (1631) that has been preserved. The happy days at Heidelberg, of her early married life, one gay succession of hunting-parties and merry entertainments, conducted with lavish expenditure; the ill-omened acceptance of the crown of Bohemia, which brought ruin to the unfortunate Prince Palatine, a leader of the Protestants of Germany, by rousing the undying resentment of the Imperial (Catholic) party; the defeat and flight from Prague of the hapless young King and Queen; their refuge at the Hague, hospitably thrown open to them by the Prince of Orange; the loss of the Palatinate, and the long wars in which Frederick sought to recover his patrimony: all this, and how much more, filled the account of those chequered years! Now the contents of the coffers had dwindled almost to vanishing point. The royal couple were at last reduced to dependence on the bounty of the King of England; and, when payments became

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 303 (undated).

unpunctual, knew not where to turn to satisfy their creditors. A tragic story indeed: brightened only by the undimmed affection which united the royal pair, and by the heroic cheerfulness with which Elizabeth met every reverse. Intermingled with these stormy events, came the successive births of a large family of children. Even here, adversity pursued them. In 1629, their eldest son, Prince Frederick Henry, a youth of unusual promise, was drowned, through a collision off the coast of Holland, when on a boating excursion with his father. The bereaved parents were inconsolable. To the father's grief was added the pang of feeling that his own life had been saved while that of his son was lost. For long he found it difficult to shake off the melancholy induced by this reflection.

A new factor was now to enter into the troubled affairs of the Palatinate, and bring fresh hope to the brave spirits which had been so sorely tried. In 1630, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, appeared on the scene of war. In a series of brilliant victories, he swept all before him. Soon a completely different turn was given to the hitherto depressing outlook. The expectations of Frederick and Elizabeth rose high. They earnestly entreated auxiliary help from England; and Charles I, devoted brother though he was, found himself unable, financially, to place such a contingent in the field as the King of Sweden expected. He therefore spent himself in fruitless negotiations with Vienna; while Elizabeth, feeling golden opportunities were slipping by, implored for a more substantial form of assistance. It was probably in consequence of her representations, that Sir Henry Vane, now Comptroller of the King's household, was, in the summer of 1631, appointed by Charles to go on a mission to the King of Sweden.

The Queen of Bohemia to the Earl of Arundel.

My Lord

I must not lett Colepewer returne without these lines that you may be assured I do not forgett my best frends. He will tell you all the newes heere, which is verie little, for the armie lies still and doth nothing, and our last letters from Germanie were intercepted, so as there is none or verie little newes stirring heere. I am glade to heare that our honest fatt controuleu^r¹ is to goe to the King of Sweden. I hope he will carie some good commission to him. All is heere in the oulde fashion; the next weeke we goe to Rene (Rhenen). There and everie where I ame ever constantlie

your most affectionat frend

ELIZABETH.

¹ Sir Henry Vane.

I must give you manie thankes for your favours to Count Henry and Rupert¹ and his fellow at there being in England.

Uppon Monday last it hailed hailstones bigger than a man's fist. The Hagh, this ¼ of Julie [1631].

You must send me your sweet face drawn of the same bigness that I have your daughters², Mitens hath the bigness. If you doe not, you shall not have a good word from me.

...*the Earle of Arrundel*³... (defaced).

At Rhenen, to which Elizabeth refers in the foregoing letter, the royal couple spent some of the happiest of later days. Here, on the wooded banks of the Rhine, they had built themselves a hunting lodge, for the indulgence of their favourite pastime. On this little property, all their own, surrounded by the lovely gardens they had created, they could forget for a while the weary lot of those who live in exile.

The next letter shows Elizabeth in high spirits at the success of the campaign.

The Queen of Bohemia to the Earl of Arundel.

My Lord

I must not lett this oulde servant of mine goe, but I must give you thankes for yours by another of the same date, and for your favours to her, which I know was for my sake.

I hope one day to summon you of your promiss of reconducting me to the place you have already bene with me in⁴, for as you may see by the newes I doe send this weeke to Fetharde (?) to whome I commande that when he hath anie, you shall see it, that the way is a making; the Reingrave having intreated Don Philipe de Silva and the Count of Emden to retire faster then they came into the Palatinat, where the King of Sweden is. All goeth well; the King of Bohemia and he are both verie well and my good-natured cosen the Duke of Bavaria well proved for his kindness to us heere⁵. We doe nothing but take tounes, but poor Count Ernest⁶ hath lost his life, in whom I have lost a faithful frend. His eldest sonne hath his government of Frise [Friesland], and commands his brigade in the

¹ I find no other record of this visit of Prince Rupert to our shores. Who Count Henry was, does not seem quite clear; but it appears likely that he was the son of Count Ernest Casimir of Nassau-Dietz. See note 6.

² Lady Maltravers.

³ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 292. This letter is attributed by the compiler to 1629, but internal evidence proves that it belongs to 1631.

⁴ Heidelberg.

⁵ This is of course meant satirically. The Duke of Bavaria was the bitter enemy of the Palatine family.

⁶ Count Ernest Casimir of Nassau-Dietz. In 1613, the wedding party were the guests for a night of the Count and Countess at Arnhem, when the Countess presented her little son, Henry, then a year old. Later they stood sponsors to Elizabeth's daughter, Louise Hollandine (see Mrs Everett-Green's *Life of Elizabeth of Bohemia*, pp. 72 and 198).

armie. You did see him when we weare at Arnhem, but he was then but a yeare oulde. His name is Henry, and my lost deare Brother did christen him; therefore you may be sure he is not hated by me, who ame ever constant in my love to you and yours. This beleeve of her that will never change being

Your most affectionat friend

ELIZABETH.

The Hagh this 17th of June [1632].

*To the Lord Of Arrundel*¹.

Alas! her happiness was destined to be short-lived. Early in November, 1632, the victory of Lützen cost the gallant King of Sweden his life. Before the end of the month, Frederick, King of Bohemia succumbed to an attack of plague, aggravated by the sad tidings of the death of his great ally.

The widowed Queen was so overwhelmed by the terrible news of her husband's death, that for a time her life seemed in danger, but her brave spirit soon rallied to meet the duties which now devolved wholly on her; the care of her helpless children, and the vindication of their rights. Her brother, the King of England, wrote in the most affectionate terms, begging her to come over at once, and take up her abode in this country. Elizabeth hesitated. Charles was so persistent that he then resolved to send a special ambassador to the Hague, to persuade her to return, and, if successful, to escort her home. For this mission, he selected her old and faithful friend, Lord Arundel.

Arrangements were made to invest the occasion with all the ceremony befitting the high rank of the Queen. The Earl Marshal was to be accompanied by Lord Goring and Sir Robert Anstruther, with a suite numbering a hundred and fifty persons. He threw himself with warm-hearted zeal into an enterprise by which he might hope to serve the sorrowing princess. With the curious spirit of contrariety which so often marked the King's conduct to Lord Arundel, even when they were, as now, on the best of terms, Charles could not however bestow upon him the welcome commission without infusing into it a drop of bitterness. It was Arundel's wish that his wife should accompany him on his embassy to the Queen of Bohemia. Together they had escorted her on her wedding journey to Heidelberg; and it would have seemed but natural that now, in her hour of bereavement, the same friend should have been at hand to offer such consolation as was possible in the sad circumstances. But for some

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 293. The compiler places this letter in 1630, but it can only have been written in 1632, when the Kings of Sweden and Bohemia were together in the Palatinate.

wholly inscrutable reason, Charles set his face against this apparently reasonable request. The annoyance felt by Lord Arundel is clearly reflected in the following petition which, before leaving England, he presented to his royal master. It will be noted that, while scrupulously observing the outward forms of humility, the tone is so proud and independent as almost to lay down the law to the King.

My humble suites unto his m^{tie} upon my goinge into Hollande by his comandemente, w^{ch} I have readily and cheerfully obeyed.

First, that he will be pleased, upon all occasions, to favor my poore wife in my absence, whoe staves behinde me, not only very much contrary to my desire and hers, but contrary to what wee promised the Queene of Bohemia heeretofore, and contrary to the practice of former times, and the expectation of the present time, that a man should be commanded to conducte a queene, and his wife not goe wth him, especially when they both went together, to attend and conducte her before; w^{ch} notwithstanding wee obeyinge, deserves, wee hope, a gracious acceptance of his ma^{tie}, and his favor and comforte to be showed her in my absence.

Nexte, that he will be pleased to doe y^e like to my sonne, Henry, and y^e rest of my children, and to heare bothe my wife and them favorably, in what addresses they shall have unto his m^{tie} in my absence.

Thirdly, that, if it shall please God to take me, before my retorne backe hither, I beseech his m^{tie} to continewe the landes of Shrewsbury, w^{ch} wee nowe holde by his awarde, to my wife, that she may preferre them to y^e best for o^r children, w^{ch}, God knowes, will be the mayne stay of theyre fortune. This I conceive to agree wth what his ma^{tie} hath allready settled, and it is accompanied wth the stronger reason, both because she is heyre unto them, and, besides, wee disclayme in certainty o^r interest to a great presente estate of inheritance, for this w^{ch} dependes upon one life, and then goes to my sister of . . .¹.

The particulars and correspondence which have been preserved relating to this journey are unusually copious; and give so vivid and characteristic a picture of the proceedings that they must here be given in some detail. Captain Plumleigh, a well-known officer of the royal navy, was in command of the ships ordered to convey the expedition to Holland. Having arrived as far as Rochester on his way to the coast, Lord Arundel addressed to him the following directions to prepare for sailing.

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 311. It seems doubtful whether the damaged space at the end should be filled by the name of "Pembroke" or "Kent." It will be remembered that King James had arbitrated many years before in the matter of the Talbot inheritance. If the "one life" was the reigning Lord Shrewsbury, then the name should probably be "Pembroke": if Lady Pembroke herself was the "one life," Lady Kent would be the next heiress. The above is the original draft of the petition, in Lord Arundel's writing.

The Earl of Arundel to Captain Plumleigh (draft).

Capt: Plumleigh.

Being come thus farre on my way, I have thought good to send this bearer, expressly sente you to let you know that I intend that the Victory, being Admirall¹, be made ready for the transportacion of my selfe and those that I have appointed to attend me, according to a note I send you herewth-all. The Rere Admirall is to be made ready for my Lo: Goring and his Company, the Vice admirall for S^r Ro: Anstruther, and the St Denis to be left behind for bringing the Victualls now preparing for the Queene of Bohemia and hir trayne, according to the direction I have sent you by this bearer my Servant. I purpose, God willing, to be wth yo^u on Saterdag, and the wind continuuing faire, do intend to embark the same day. And therefore I desire yo^u to use all diligence that the Shippes may be in a readines accordingly.

Rochester, the 27th of December, 1632².

Captain Plumleigh to the Earl of Arundel.

Right Hon^{ble} and my very good Lorde, etc.

According to your Lords: lfe and list, I have taken order for the accomodation of your Lords: trayne and attendants. The Hoigh³ with your Lords: provisions is by us, but the weather is so rough that as yett wee cannot by any meanes shippe them without endangering the spoyle both of the Hoigh and them. Noe time shall be lost to give your Lords: satisfaction in all poyntes. The winde is now in a badde poynte for Holland, neither are the Pilotts arrived fro^m the Trinity house which are to take charge of the shippes over, but I am confident they will speedily be heere. At Margett your Lords: may finde reasonable entertainment till the winde come up fayre for your passage; and I, according to your Lords: order, will there attend with the 3 shippes till your Lords: be pleased to com^{ma}nde me away: Who am

Your Lords: most humble Servant

RIC^D: PLUMLEIGHE.

From on borde His M^{ties} shippe the Victory in Margett Roade, Dec^r 28 [1632].

For His M^{ties} speciall service.—To the right Hon^{ble} my very good Lorde the Earle of Arundell and Surrey, Earle Marshall of England and Lord Ambassador for his M^{tie} . . . at Canterbury.

hast hast	fro ^m his M ^{ties} shippe the Victory in Margett
post hast	Roade December 28 at 6 in the evening. Ric ^d
hast hast	Plumleigh ⁴ .

¹ I.e. the Flag-ship. The two other "Admiralls" were the second and third ships of the convoy.

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 312.

³ Tender (?).

⁴ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 313.

Captain Plumleigh to the Earl of Arundel.

Right Hon^{ble} and my very good Lorde, etc.

The wind is come up fayre since my last lfe to your Lords: and it is pittie to loose a breath of it, if it may bee saved; but as yett your Lords: provisions are not shipped, nor any Pilott come downe fro^m London to take charge of the shippes, though I writt for them with all expedition within an hour after I heard of your Lords: going upon this employment. Haply at Dover and Sandwich there may bee found some men able to undertake the charge, but in these ports no warrant of ours takes any place for imprest, soe that I must beseech your Lords: to direct your lfes to Sir Edward Dering and the Maior of Sandwich, for the speedy sending of such men as they know fitt for this service; and they may easily bee heere before your Lords: can be imbarqued for your voyage if there bee a convenient care taken by them for their dispatch away by to morrow morning. God preserve your Lords:

Your Lords: most humble Servant

RIC^o: PLUMLEIGH

Victory, Dec: 29. 1632.

To. . . at Margett¹ (damaged).

If the wind had veered for the better in the Channel, a less favourable change had occurred in the mental atmosphere of the principal person concerned. Lord Arundel conceived that Plumleigh had failed to show him the respect due to his person and his mission by not immediately coming to meet him on his arrival at Margate. At once his easily ignited irascibility was aflame.

The Earl of Arundel to Captain Plumleigh (draft).

Captaine Plumley

Since yo^r owne discretion serves you not to come ashoare, or at least to send me some of yo^{rs} to attend me, especially having sent my servant expressly before, to give yo^u intimation of the certaine time of my coming hither; the important necessitie of my imbarking wth all convenient diligence; and the uncertaintie of the true cause of this strange neglect, in a business so nearly concerning his M^{ties} service considered: I have thought good by this lfe to co^mmand you to come instantly ashoare, that understanding from you the reason of this delay, I may take some due course, as is fitt in a busines of this nature, to the end that what inconvenience may hereafter arise by this yo^r neglect, I may lay the fault upon the right cause.

Margate, 29 December, 1632².

It may at once be said that this burst of anger quickly yielded to the sense of justice which was happily not long in re-asserting

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 314.

² *Ibid.* No. 315. Draft or copy in a clerk's hand, therefore unsigned.

itself¹. Indeed, Lord Arundel's desire to make amends to Captain Plumleigh, largely contributed, in the sequel, to that officer's professional advancement.

If this incident well illustrates a weak point in Arundel's mental panoply—the readiness to take offence at any supposed slight to his personal dignity or position—the following directions drawn up for the observance of his suite during the embassy to Holland, show him in a light that is wholly admirable.

Directions to be observed by those gent: and others that attend my Lo: the Earle of Arundell and Surrey, his Ma^{ties} Ambassador into Holland, 1632.

First, that all due care be taken for the religious worship and service of Almighty God.

That every man do carefully and diligently attend the dutie and service of his place; and, as well in his attendance upon my Lo: Ambassador, or any other nobleman or gentleman respectively, as in any publique commaundes.

That all men endeavor by all good offices of amitie and affection one to another, to behave themselves wth that sweetnes and courtesie, that they may be an example to others, and an honor to our Nation; to w^{ch} end, they are carefully to avoid all excesse in drinke, or anything that may savour of rudenes, or incivilitie, or giving ill language, or exceptious mis-interpretation of wordes or actions in the worst sense.

That they be carefull by all meanes to avoid discourse or arguments of Religion or State; leaving all Nations to their owne Lawes and Customs. Observing to themselves, reservedly, what they shall find worthy observation, taking care above all things not to discover any dissension or difference in opinion of publique or private affaires at home; endeavouring to make it appeare to strangers that all his Ma^{ties} subjects, as they are under one King, so they are of an unanimous consent in point of Religion and government.

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

At Margate, the 29th of December, 1632².

Letters from the mayors of Sandwich and Dover to Lord Arundel, show that the difficulty respecting the pilots was satisfactorily solved. On the night of December 30 the little convoy set sail; early on the following afternoon it dropped anchor near Helvoetsluis. That night Lord Arundel and his party remained on board; as it took some time to secure the necessary boats to convey them up the channel of the Maas, on their way to Delft and the Hague. Arundel occupied the

¹ Partly, it will shortly be seen, through the good offices of Edward Norgate, who accompanied Lord Arundel as secretary.

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 316. Written by a secretary, signed by Lord Arundel. Endorsed "Orders and Directions to be observed by the gent. of my lords trayne, at Margate, 29 December, 1632."

interval in despatching the following letters to announce his safe arrival.

The Earl of Arundel to the Queen of Bohemia.

May it please you^r Ma^{tie}

I coulde not omitt instantly uppon my arrivall heere to give you^r Ma^{tie} notice of it; presuminge soe to doe, only out of the quallity I holde to be sent by the only Brother and Kinge in the worlde to his only royall sister. I acknowledge the extraordinarye faire and happye passage God hath blessed us with, as a singuler signe of good omen w^{ch} God will send to all you^r Ma^{ts} affaires. For my selfe, I now longe for nothing soe muche, as to rest my selfe at you^r feete. And so wish that the newe yeare beginning may bring you^r Ma^{tie} newe and happye fates to attend yo^u, as is prayed for by

You^r Ma^{ts} most humble and most faithfull servant

A. S.

From aboard his Ma^{ts} good shipp the Victory, the 31st December 1632¹.

The Earl of Arundel to Secretary Coke.

Mr Secretary

Though I intend tomorrow to write to yo^r Hon^r more at larg from the Haghe, yet being resolved to let no occasion escape of conveying my l^{res}, I have thought good to let you know that, thanks be to God, I am come hether wth all my company safe and well. We set saile last night from before Margate, wth a faire wind, w^{ch} brought us this evening before Helford Sluce, neare the Brill. I shall intreat yo^u therefore to present my most humble service to his Ma^{tie}, to whom I forbear to write till, upon my access to the Hagh (where, God willing, I hope to be tomorrow), and audience wth the Queene and States, I shall be able to say more then I can do for the present. So wth remembrance of my affectionat. . . I rest etc. from aboard the Victory, 31 December, 1632².

The letter to the Queen of Bohemia, and probably other official announcements of his coming, Lord Arundel despatched to Mr William Boswell, from whom he received the following reply.

William Boswell to the Earl of Arundel.

Right Honorable and my singular good Lord

This morning between 2 and 3 the bearer heerof (Mr Neve), delivered me your Exc^{cies} l^{res}, wth newes of yo^r arrivall, in the comfort whereof I take my part equall wth any other living. As soon as it was day, and decent, I repaired to the Qu: of Boh^a her Court, for delivery of yo^r Exc^{ys} l^{res} onto her Majesty; wh^{ch} being done, and her pleasure entreated, I acquainted

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 319. The letters in the text despatched (not received) by Lord Arundel, are from drafts or copies retained by him: hence the incomplete signatures, etc.

² *Ibid.* No. 320.

the Pr^{ce} of Aur^{ge} (Orange) and States wth yo^r Exc^{ys} arrivall, and com-
mands unto mee to provide your Ex^{cy} a howse, whereof I thought it my
duty to give them notice, and therein to desire their assistance. Their
answer I expect whilst I write; and can only say that the Pr^{ce} asking mee
what tyme you had appointed to come hether, I told him, wth all possible
speed w^{ch} might stand wth conveniency on their side. Upon wh^{ch} he
said, it could not be this day; and the concurrence is extra^{rie}: for Pr^{ce}
Razgville (Radziwill) is to enter this afternoon, appointed 2 or 3 dayes
since, in quality of Amb^r to these States fro^m the new K: of Poland,
wherein coaches and all wilbe employed; besides the States I believe will
not walk so readily, though af... The towne is so full, and housen so
difficult to finde, as they will hardly be provided to receive yo^r Ex^{cy} wth
decorum. Mr Neve comes wth all directions and advise I am able sudenly
to offre, and if my self wayt not upoⁿ yo^r Ex^{cy} presently¹, it is because I
attend the accomodation of yo^r lodging, and such other things as must be
ordered heer, wherein I beseech yo^r Ex^{cy} to accept the faithfull endeavours
and devotions of

Yo^r Excell^{cies} most humble and most faithfull servant

WLLM. BOSWELL.

Her Ma^{ty} being exceeding glad of yo^r Ex^{ys} safe arrival, purposed to
have dispatched a gentlem: of h^r owne for you; but, fearing he might give
yo^r Ex^{cy} trouble upoⁿ the way, and now hearing that yo^r Ex^{cy} is not
likely to passe Delft this night, resolveth rather to send him thether unto
yo^r Ex^{cy}. I must beseech yo^r Ex^{cy} to let mee understand wth speed any-
thing conducing to His Ma^{ty}s service and yo^r Ex^{ys} content of mee.

This enclosed I received this morning from Sig^r Burlamachi for yo^r
Ex^{cy}².

(January 1st, 1633.)

On New Year's day, 1633, the transit to the Hague was success-
fully accomplished. Passing through Delft, they proceeded at once
to their journey's end; where Lord Arundel quickly bent his steps to
the residence of the Queen of Bohemia. He was, however, somewhat
perturbed to find that the States, having been unable, for the reasons
described by Mr Boswell, to give him the formal reception usually
offered to ambassadors, were very insistent that he should return to
Delft, to afford them the opportunity of making good this omission.
As it appeared that the Queen of Bohemia was anxious that he should
acquiesce in this proposal, he felt obliged to consent, though he did
so with reluctance. From the Hague he despatched the following
letters to England, giving an account of these events.

¹ At present, at once.

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 321. Endorsed, doubtless by
Norgate, "1632 (1633), Mr Boswell to my Lord." Burlamachi's communication
(not preserved) was probably connected with the financial side of the expedition.

The Earl of Arundel to King Charles I.

May it please yo^r Ma^{tie}

Accordinge to yo^r expresse commandment, and my desire, God hath favoured us wth an extraordinary swifte and happye passage, soe as on o^r new-yeeres eve, by two or three a clocke afternoone, wee arrived safely at the Gore, from whence instantly I dispatched to the queene, yo^r ma^{ties} sister, to give notice of my arrivall, as also to Mr Boswell: and kept yo^r ma^{ties} shippes that night, wth all my companie, till I might provide boates for o^r passage upp to Delphe, w^{ch} next morninge, beinge new-yeeres day, wee did, and came thither, and from thence hither privately, the first house I entered beinge the queenes house, where I found her exceedingly comforted. But the great and extraordinary demonstrations w^{ch} yo^r ma^{tie} hath made unto her of love and comfort worthy of yo^r selfe, shee tells me that shee hath written unto yo^r ma^{tie} her selfe, and that nothinge will afflict her more then if any thinge doe arise in the p^{re}sent conjuncture of affaires, w^{ch} may hinder her of the seeinge yo^r ma^{tie} soe soone as shee desires, w^{ch} shee vowes is the greatest of all comforts worldly shee can imagine.

I tell her (accordinge to yo^r ma^{ties} instructions) I am come to attend her backe, when shee is readye to make use of yo^r ma^{ties} most princely offer, w^{ch} is composed of soe much dearenes and latitude, as is only fitt for her selfe to make the election. I conceive I shall very shortly make an other dispatch, w^{ch} will give more light in the busines. In the meane time, I tell the queene I conceive yo^r ma^{tie} will not make any alteration of what you were pleased to give me in chardge untill you shall heare from me what her ma^{tie} shall after my arrivall (sedato animo) resolve; and then give yo^r directions upon it accordingly.

I most humbly begge yo^r pardon for these scribbled lines, espetially if I have mistaken any thinge in yo^r directions; sithence I am sure none brings a more willinge obedience to serve yo^r ma^{tie}, nor a truer hearte to pray for all prosperitye to attende you, then

Yo^r ma^{ties} most humble and most faithfull subject and servant,

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Haghe, 1st Januarie, 1632 (1633)¹.

The Earl of Arundel to Secretary Coke.

Mr Secretary

By my last from Margate I gave you accompt of my journey to the sea-side; by this despatch I am to tell you that, thankes be to God, I arrived before Helford Sluce, nere the Brill, on Monday in the afternoone, and yesterday, being new-yeeres day, came safely to this towne, leaving his ma^{ties} shippes in a quiet and secure harbor. At my first coming, I had private accesse and audience wth the queene, whome I find in good health, and somewhat comforted, after her great sorrow. But I am constrayned to loose a day, much against my genius, in the formalitie of my reception.

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 323. Endorsed by the Secretary, "3rd Januarie, 1632. To his sacred ma^{tie}."

For, coming hither last night, before, it seemes, the States could take notice of my arrivall (though I sent a messeng^r expressly from aboard his ma^{ties} ship, to give them knowledg thereof), this day I am so importuned by the Prince of Orange to returne to morrow to Delfe, and to be brought in by the States wth the usuall ceremonies to amb^{rs}, that, though I have done my best to decline it all I can, it being against the substantiall p^{te} of my busines to spend time in circumstances, yet, since I understand it is partly the queenes desire I should comply wth them in theires, I have accordingly condescended thereunto, and therefore I forbear to enlarge myselfe any longer in this, because I intend, by my next, to acquaint y^r honor wth the p^{ti}culars of my reception and audience, wth the occurrents that may arise thereupon.

So, wth my affectionate comēdaçõs I comitt you to God.

Ffrom the Hagh, this. . . .

Postscript.

The queene tells me she hath written unto the kings ma^{tie}: tomorrow I intend to write againe, and upon the answere of that despatch I conceive I shall depend for my returne. The estate left by the K. of Bohemia is all inventories, and wilbe well answered¹.

A letter despatched at the same time to his friend, Lord Weston, is somewhat less formal in tone. A few passages which merely repeat the information already imparted to other correspondents, are omitted.

The Earl of Arundel to Lord Treasurer Weston.

My Lord

I cannott omitt to give you^r lord^p notice of our arrivall heere by the first occasion, though all I can write is briefly this: I came hither sodainely, yett wth givinge all the warninge possible the time woulde permitt. I wayted instantly on the Queene, whome I finde to receive the kings exceeding love and goodnes to her as it deserves; but for the time of her comminge not yett resolved. I goe on with hasteninge the busines all I can. . . .

For the treatinge with the States and dispatching Sr Robert Anstroder², it shalbe hastened all that may be. But this formall meetinge w^{ch} I am now goinge backe to receive from Delphe by the Queens desire (but much against mine own) will hinder the busines a day or two. Howsoever, I will drive all on, accordinge to his Ma^{ties} direcçõs, as fast as may be,

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 324. Endorsed by the Secretary: "1632 (3), 3 January. M. of a letter from my lo. Amb^r to Mr Secretary Coke. Sent by Jo. Rolles."

² Sir Robert Anstruther, frequently employed on diplomatic missions in the affairs of the Queen of Bohemia, was now instructed to attend the Assembly at Heilbronn, where the Protestant Princes of Germany, the Swedish Chancellor, Oxenstiern, and the ambassadors of the other Protestant powers, agreed to support the restitution of the young Prince Palatine, who now succeeded his father. Heidelberg was surrendered at the same time.

and will wthin a day or two write againe when I hope to see more light through the negotiation. So wishing your lord^p all health and happines, I rest

Your lord^{ps} most affecōnate and humble servant

A. S.

Haghe, 1st/₃ January, 1632 (3)¹.

Further conversations made it clear that Elizabeth had felt the time was not yet ripe for proceeding to England, without prejudice to her childrens' prospects. She feared especially lest such a step should be interpreted by the enemy as an abandonment on her part of her eldest son's claims. Her presence in Holland seemed at this juncture indispensable, to meet and advise upon each question as it arose. Lord Arundel was at first a little disappointed at the turn things had taken; and disposed to blame Sir Francis Nethersole, the Queen's former secretary and devoted servant, for having misled King Charles as to his sister's wishes. But he soon came to see the wisdom of the Queen's decision, and, with some skill, completed his negotiation to the satisfaction of both sides.

The Earl of Arundel to Secretary Coke.

Mr Secretary,

By my last dispatch of the third of this moneth, sent expressly to yo^r Honor, I acquainted you with my first private accesse and audience with the queene, and of some circumstances and formalities from the States, in the manner of my reception in publique, which was yesterdayes worke. So, that being past and done, with the ceremony of condolence, I have, after large and ample discourse with the queene, this day received hir finall answeere concerning hir returne into England; which is that, with all possible expressions of thankfulness to his ma^{tie}, shee desires to be excused, at least for some monethes, supposing that hir residence here will more conduce to the advancement and good of hir children, then hir returne into England.

And therefore, till the affaires of Germany may be composed (now in combustion by the present troubles) she can be unwillingly contented, for the good of hir children, to deprive hir selfe, for a time, of hir greatest worldly felicitie, the desired sight and conversation of hir dearest brother, untill it shall please God to open a way for the restauration of the peace of Germany, and settlement of hir children. But I shall need the lesse to insist upon this, referring what can be further said upon this argument to hir ma^{ties} owne letter to the king, which, she tells me she intends to write tomorrow; at which time I purpose to have audience with the States, and will do my best for the speedy dispatch of Sr Robert Anstruther hence, which, I hope, wilbe the worke of a very few dayes.

The affaires of the Germane princes go fairly on, and in good prob-

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 322. Endorsed, "3rd January 1632 (3). To my lord Threa^r from my lord Embassador."

abilitie to produce good effects; the rather for that the Duke of Saxe goes on with the same pretensions to the duchy of Cleves and Juliers, as was formerly resolved on betweene the King of Sweden and himself, the rumor whereof is fearfull to the Duke of Newburgh, who, to secure his possession, endeavors to put himself into the protection of the States, but I do not heare it is accepted.

Of the yong Duke Radzivill his ambassage hither, and his intended journey to Bruxelles and England, I told your Honor in my last letter, but not the manner of his qualification. Hee is a yong gent. of 18 yeares of age, who, living in the universitie at Leyden, hath received charge, during his residence here, from the new elected king of Poland, to go on this legation.

I heare that the St Denis is come sooner then was expected, whose diligence is comendable, though there be little use of the service, for which she was employed¹.

By all probabilitie I may receive answere of this pacquet before my returne; yet I shall entreat your Honor to signifie unto me his maties comands, with as much convenient expedition as may be. So, with my very affectionate comendations, etc.

Yo^r Ho. very assured friend,

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Postscript.

For the newes of Germany, I have desired Mr Boswell to write it, as also what faire professions are made in France to embrace our good cause, as I am confident you will heare from Mons^r D'Ogier at Paris. The Duke of Arscot, and divers of his fellowes, are gone hence for more ample comission, or instructions, and are dayly expected to returne: the event is so spoken of variously here, as in England. Neither do I find any more constant and perticular relation here yet of the late great battaile of Lipswick, then wee had in England².

The Earl of Arundel to King Charles I.

May it please yo^r matie,

Havinge nowe passed the office of condolance wth y^e queene, yo^r sister, to her greate comforte, and extreame sense of yo^r maties soe unusuall love and favor shewed unto her, I acquainted her wth that parte of y^e cause of my sendinge, w^{ch} was to attend her into Englande, and therefore desired to knowe her pleasure, aboute what time she would be ready to embarque, that accordingly I might advertise yo^r matie, whoe expected her wth a desire equall to yo^r expressions; and wthall hasten as farre as in

¹ It will be remembered that the "St Denis" was ordered to bring over provisions for the Queen of Bohemia's proposed journey to England.

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 325.—Endorsed, "1632 (3), 6 January. A copie of my lo. Amb^rs letter to Mr Secr. Coke. Sent by Verano." The last-named was an Italian secretary, apparently employed at this period by Lord Arundel in the place of Francesco Vercellini, who, remaining in Lord Arundel's service, was a few years later, if not already at this time, engaged abroad in collecting works of art on behalf of his patron.

me laye, the dispatch of her businesse heere. To this (as I wrote formerly unto yo^r ma^{tie}) she sayed she desired noe worldly comfote soe much as the sight of you, and should be extremely afflicted that any aspecte in y^e present conjuncture of affaires should hinder her of the instante enjoyinge of it. She told me she had formerly written unto y^r ma^{tie} concerninge it. I told her ma^{tie} I was now sent to put in execution what yo^r ma^{tie} had before offered, w^{ch}, beinge an effecte of infinite kindnesse, yo^r ma^{tie} doubted not woulde be aunswered wth y^e like: for my parte, I was to use noe argumentes: all the service I could doe her was, to beseech her to doe what she did, upon deliberate and good advisement, in an acte upon w^{ch} all y^e world looked, and w^{ch} might be soe importante to the reste of her fortune. She hath nowe bin pleased to let me knowe certainly that she conceives her presente affayres will deny her that happines, at this time, w^{ch} she soe infinitely desires, and hopes heereafter to enjoye. She promiseth me by this dispatch to write unto yo^r m^{tie} her selfe, to w^{ch} I humbly leave the reasons; and, for myselfe, must lamente that I have not bin soe happye, as to be an instrumente in the presente meetinge of those soe greate princes, in whome soe many and stronge consideracions of reason, of affection, and of bloude, concurre mutually in y^e same ende.

For the estate left by the kinge of Bohemia, I thinke yo^r m^{tie} will see a cleere and honeste accounte: but I doubt it will proove much shorte to what was expected. This beinge done, I shall have noethinge els to stay me, but the dispatch of Sir Robert Anstrudder into Germany, in w^{ch} wee have lost noe time on o^r partes; for yesternight, as soone as y^e Prince of Orange had brought us in, accordinge to custome, we sent to demande audience of the States, since w^{ch} time wee have had noe answer yet; but I hope wee shall have a soone dispatch, and then I hope in a little time to sette my selfe in order for my retorne; that I may have the happines to kiss yo^r royall handes. In the meane time, I shall pray for all health and happines to attend you, and will be ever

Yo^r m^{ties} most humble and most faithfull

Subjecte and servante,

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

When I came, I tolde S^r Fran^s Nethersole that I wondered he tooke not more care to advertise yo^r m^{tie}, by very many wayes, of a businesse w^{ch} you had soe much reason to desire to heare of, especially when I founde alteration in that, wherein I conceived he gave yo^r m^{tie} reason to thinke y^r m^{ties} offer woulde instantly be embraced and cheerfully made use of. He desires, this night, leave of me to write unto yo^r ma^{tie} of it, in w^{ch} I badde him use his discretion: and he pleases him selfe wth a fine distinction (as he thinkes) that he tolde yo^r m^{tie} some difficulty might phappes arise in it¹.

The letters despatched took long to arrive in England. Meanwhile Captain Plumleigh applied for directions as to the return

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 327.—In Lord Arundel's own hand, and endorsed by him, "Coppoy of my letter to his m^{tie} from the Hage, 7^o Janu. 1632. St^o Ang." (1633).

voyage, in a tone which shows that the quarrel with Lord Arundel had quite blown over. Arundel had evidently written himself to Sir John Coke to soften the impression made by the irate epistle despatched from Margate. A letter from the Secretary of State, of the 11th January, notes that the writer "forbare to press the neglect of the Captaine at Margate, because hee afterwards gave...better satisfaction¹." Plumleigh himself wrote to Edward Norgate full of gratitude for his intervention, which seems to have been both tactful and kindly². With William Boswell, too, Norgate stood on terms of considerable intimacy, judging by a letter³ addressed to him, while at the Hague, by that official. These side-lights show Norgate to have possessed both judgment and delicacy, and to have enjoyed the confidence and friendship of men of sterling quality.

At last the letter was despatched from England which instructed Lord Arundel to return as soon as his business was completed. It appears doubtful, however, whether this, and the subsequent missive from Lord Weston, could have reached him before he started homewards.

Secretary Coke to the Earl of Arundel.

Right honorable

This morning your Lordships letters sent by divers express messengers, cam altogether to my hands. I p^rsently delivered such as were addressed to the king, and received from him this only comandment, that so soone as you had performed his cōmandments you should return home: not doubting but you have dispatched away S^r Rob. Anstruther into Germanie.

I conceave this letter cūming in the ship w^{ch} bringeth supplie of victuals, wil find your Lordship at sea: and therefore I presume to troble you no further at this tyme, save only wth the tender of the dutie and faithfulness of

your Lordships humble servant

JOHN COKE.

Whitehaule, 18 Janu: 1632(3).

To the right honorable, The Earle of Arundell and Surrey, Earle Marshall of England and Ambassad^r Extraord^y for his Ma^{tie} with the States Generall, etc.⁴

Lord Treasurer Weston to the Same.

My Lord

The Secretary calleth so sodeynly for l^res, that I can only tell you I sent you^r l^re to y^e king who was much taken wth it, cōmanded me to keepe it, as conteyning much for his service, though he told me you^{rs} to him

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 331.

² *Ibid.* No. 334.

³ *Ibid.* No. 329.

⁴ *Ibid.* No. 335.

had part of the same thinge. How well he is pleased, yf he had nott written himself, yow should not have it from me, no^r how carefull he hath been to lett my La: know it, and all others, how full of contentment he is wth all yow have don. Though I envy yow so good newes, yett I wish you a good and speedy retorne. The King is extreame well satisfied wth the Queen of Bohemias reasons; and you^r journey hath binn of more use to settle both theyr mindes then was foreseene.

Yow^r Lord. most humble faythfull servand

R. WESTON.

20 Jan. 1632(3)¹.

A further letter from Coke contains little that is new in substance, but concludes with a commendation of Lord Arundel's conduct of his mission which is confirmed by other contemporary testimony. Without doubt, the embassy to Holland had considerably enhanced his reputation as a statesman. After expressing some doubt as to the straightforward intentions of the Dutch Government, the Secretary continues,

This I make bold to write, that your lordship may bee pleased to observe them, in their waies, and in their ends; w^{ch} I know you will do, according to that wisdom for w^{ch} you are honored. More I will not add, save only this assurance, that you have, by the testimonie of al that cum or write from thence, donne his m^{tie}, and the state, and yourself, that honor, and given that great satisfaction, w^{ch} answereth to expectation, and to your true merit².

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 338.—Endorsed: "1632(3), My lord Thres^r to my lord." The letter written by King Charles is unfortunately not forthcoming.

² *Ibid.* No. 337. Secretary Coke to the Earl of Arundel, 20th January, 1632 (1633).

CHAPTER XXIV.

CONCLUSION OF EMBASSY TO HOLLAND. BUSINESS IN NORFOLK. CORRESPONDENCE WITH PETTY.

1633.

STORMY winds had hitherto made plans for departure impracticable. "The Dutch witches are all at worke, or else wee could never meete wth such weather," wrote the bluff Captain Plumleigh to Edward Norgate. At length the skies cleared: and Lord Arundel hastened to rejoin the ships lying at Helvoets Sluis, while the conditions remained favourable.

The two elder sons of the Queen of Bohemia, Prince Charles Louis, now Elector Palatine, and Prince Rupert, accompanied him to the place of embarcation and on board the "Victory"; an arrangement which Lord Arundel evidently enjoyed hardly less than the young Princes themselves. The latter were now respectively sixteen and fourteen years of age. Arundel seems to have been detained at Helvoets Sluis some days after their departure; whether by insufficient wind (for the weather was fine) or by unexpected political delays, does not appear. In this interval, an exchange of letters took place with the Queen and the Princes, which breathe mutual satisfaction.

The Earl of Arundel to the Queen of Bohemia. (Copy.)

May it please you^r Ma^{tie}

To grant me pardon if I importune you wth these lines whilst I lye heere wth extreame faire weather, but denied of both the happinesses I most desire, to be either at the Haghe or in Englande. Howsoever I most humbly thanke you^r Ma^{tie} for you^r continued favours to me you^r olde servant; and especially in sendinge those two pretious parts of you^r selfe to see o^r kings shipp, for whose exceedinge goodnes and parts, awnswerable to their bloode, both you^r Ma^{tie} and wee all have singular cause to render all humble thankes to Almightye God¹. I must not forgett to tell the kinge o^r Master, howe sweetely and discreetely the prince Elector observed as soone as he was in the shipp, that now he was in a part of his unckles dominions, and how heartily Prince Ruperte rejoyced when he came in sight of them, and would needes helpe to rowe.

I spake to Sr. Jacob Ashley of somewhat I had heard sithence I had the honor to waite on you^r Ma^{tie}, as also I have written to M^r Boswell. I beseeche you^r Ma^{tie} to make use of all things to you^r best advantage for

¹ Until King Charles had a child, these Princes were in the direct succession to the English throne.

the greate busines in hand, and advise freely wth M^r Boswell, whome I holde to be a very discreete and faithfull servant both to the kinge o^r Master and to you^r Ma^{tie}.

Maddam, excuse my trouble, for I vowe to God noe bodye livinge wishes more true felicitye to you^r Ma^{tie} and you^{rs}, than my selfe, who will live and dye

You^r

Aboard the Victorye, 26 Jan: 1632 St: vet: (1633).

My lord of Dover¹ will needes have the happines to see you^r Ma^{tie}, who knows how much wee desire to heare of the safe arrivall of the sweete Princes².

At the risk of some amount of repetition, the charming and characteristic letter he addressed at the same time to the two Princes themselves, must here be added.

The Same to the Princes Charles Louis and Rupert. (Copy.)

Sweete and Excellent Princes

I cannot omitt to give you humble thanks for the greate honor and favour you did to the shippes of the Kinge o^r Master, you^r Royall unckle, to whome I must not forgett the kinde and discreete observation w^{ch} you^r highnes the Prince Elector made as soone as you were aboarde the Victorye, in rejoycinge that you were nowe uppon the kinge you^r unckles dominions: And the gladnes you^r highnes Prince Rupert shewed when you tooke to helpe to rowe towards them. And the patience of both, showed in enduringe all the inconveniences both in the shippe and wthout it, by the ill weather, w^{ch} I am sorrye was not like this, beinge a summers day. But I hope you will make the right use of it, that those things w^{ch} are best and most desired are not had wthout many difficultyes and sufferings. Of w^{ch} I pray you may both have the leaste portion, and as lardge an one of happines as ever any had, as you^r vertues deserve.

So beseechinge you that I may ever be p^{rs}erved in you^r favors, as one of my cheefest felicityes, I rest

You^r High^{ness} most humble and faithfull servant

Aboard his Ma^{ty} good shipp the Victorye at Helvard sluce, 6 ffebruar:
1632(3)³.

To this letter he received the following reply from his youthful guests.

¹ Henry Carey, fourth Baron Hunsdon, was created Earl of Dover in 1627. He died in 1668.

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 341.

³ *Ibid.* No. 342. Endorsed by the Secretary with the preceding letter: "A Coppye of my lords letters to the Q: of Bohemia and to the two Princes; 26 Jan: Aboard the Admirall." The apparent discrepancy in the dates arises from the difference between the old and the new mode of reckoning.

The Princes Charles Louis and Rupert to the Earl of Arundel.

My Lord

We that have never bin parted since our first meeting, and are now joyned so kindly together in your letter, will not separate ourselves, in returning you manie thancks, w^{ch} belong unto you rather then to us.

Prince Charles Louis Assuring you that I have taken such contentment in your companie, and the sight of the Kings Ships, that the next time I shall have the happinesse to come upon them, I shall have no minde to returne.

Prince Rupert *And I shall thinck there is no paines in rowing, if that may bring me to the presence and service of his Majestie.*

Wee both beseech you to keep us in his Royall favor, for w^{ch} we shall ever remaine

Your most affectionate friends

CHARLES
RUPERTHag^e the 5 of Feb. 1633¹.

It is interesting to compare the handwritings of the two boys in the foregoing letter. That of Prince Charles Louis is the more finished and precise, but suggests the well-taught effort of a school-boy. Prince Rupert's writing, on the other hand, is bolder, broader, more energetic and fiery.

Elizabeth, too, sent a gracious response.

The Queen of Bohemia to the Earl of Arundel.

My lord

Your letter was verie welcome to me, and I hope you will follow the good example of this lord, if the winde holde as it doth. In the meane time, I give you manie thankes for your care of my two boyes, and the honnour you did them, in there being with you. I ame glade Charles had so much witt to avow himself in his uncles dominion, when he was in the ship, and that Rupert was so desirous to be there: for if they doe not, as long as they live, desire to serve that deare brother of mine, and love him, and all that is his and my countries, I will never acknowledge them to be mine.

Jacob Asheley did deliver me your message, which I thank you for. This day I spoke with the Prince of Orenge, and, by way of discourse, intreated him to help Robin Anstruther to a good dispatch from the states, which he promiseth faithfullie to doe all he can for it. I then asked him what he thought of the treatie of the truce, for yesterday they mett with those deputies. He saide he knew not what to make of them, for they

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 349. The italicised portions are in the handwriting of Prince Rupert; the remainder in that of Prince Charles Louis.

shew but an oulde power they had from Spaine, of five yeares standing, and he did not beleewe that it woulde be, this yeare at the least, a truce, or it may be never: he thought they onelie desired to draw on time. This is all I can learne of that business: but he assures me that the states will not forgett my childrens interests, whither there be a truce or not. This day he was at dinner, with Count Henry of Berg and the Count of Cullenbourg, at Count Pompegs. The little squinting Paun¹ was with them: they had a better feast then that the little Paun made you. Bruder Henry and the good Floris were blowen, the Prince told it me. The Viscont de Turenne was there. The extraordinaire French ambassadour, Charnasie, is already come to Mastrict: they looke for him heere everie day. The letters of Collein are not yett come. This is all I have to say, onelie that I ame most constant in being ever

Your most affectionat frend .

ELIZABETH.

The right reverend Mister Quirke goeth to morow to visite your frends at Leiden.

The Hagh, this 6 of Februarie, St^o N.

*To the Lord of Arundel*².

Meanwhile Sir Robert Anstruther, about whose departure for Germany the English Government was so urgent, had written to Arundel a farewell letter, containing assurances of his zeal in the cause committed to him.

Sir Robert Anstruther to the Earl of Arundel.

Right ho: my verie good Lord

You will receive from M^r Boswell the papers w^{ch} are convenient to take wth y^u concerning this busines here. I was yesterday twice wth her Ma^{ty}, who made very hono^{ble} mention of yo^r lor^p and yo^r deportment at yo^r being here; and, in wishing yo^u a happie passage, said she was sorry yo^u went hence so soone.

I do hope to stay no longer here then this weeke, and have been labouring to gett away wth all y^e diligence I can use; because I do not only loose time, but live at an unreasonable charge in this place, as I presume yo^r Lor^p by yo^r owne late experience wilbe easily induced to beleewe.

I do humbly intreat yo^r Lor^p to present my duty to his Ma^{ty}, and my service to y^e noble Lords about him; and to be assured that yo^u have a faithfull servant in me, wheresoever I goe. Thus most hartely wishing unto yo^r Lor^p a happy and prosperous passage and a safe arrivall at home, I kisse yo^r hands and remayne

Yo^r Lor^{pps} most humble and obliged servant

Haghe, 24th Jan^{ry} 1632³.

RO. ANSTRUTHER.

¹ "Paw, the Advocate of Holland" (Memorandum by Lord Arundel on the "Principal men amongst the States General," Arch. of Norfolk House).

² Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 350.

³ *Ibid.* No. 340. Endorsed: "24 Jan. 1632 (1633), Sir Robert Anstruther to my lord."

Several letters addressed to Lord Arundel by William Boswell, show that the former, as usual, had managed to combine official business with care for the collections, and illustrate the good opinion the Ambassador had formed of the Secretary at the Hague.

William Boswell to the Earl of Arundel.

Right honorable my ever good Lord

I am extremely out of contenance and sorry th^t yo^r L^P was gone this day before my indisposition would p^rmit mee to goe abroad: but I hope it will cause yo^r L^{ps} commands to reflect the more, and sooner, upon mee.

I have this morning met wth Overbeck, who desireth a note (promised) from yo^r L^P of the pieces, names, and prices, at Harlem, or elsewhere, for yo^r L^{ps} content of him. A kinsman of his (who dwelles in this towne) telles me of a Book of Hemskerks (w^{ch} he can procure upon reasonable termes) conteyning many pieces of diverse sorts.

I send yo^r L^P (heerwith) my Dispatch unto M^r Secret^{rie} Coke, concerning yo^r L^{ps} Embassage to these states. It is folded up only with a flying seal, that yo^r L^P may peruse, and (if yo^r L^P think good) take copie thereof. Or if your L^P doth dislike the same, dispose of all therein to yo^r owne best content: my self haveing no end therein, but narration of truth, and my duty to yo^r L^P, wth w^{ch} and my continuall prayers for yo^r L^{ps} speedy and safe passage, I kisse yo^r L^{ps} hand, and shall ever rest

Yo^r Lord^{ps} most humble and most faithfull servant

WILLM. BOSWELL.

I must take leave to put yo^r L^P in minde of the memoriall you purposed to have given me for your service.

Hague, 22 Jan: 1632 st. vet. (1633)¹

The Same to the Same.

R: Hon^{ble} my singular good Lord

Immediately upon receipt of yo^r L^{ps} yesterday, I p^rformed yo^r L^{ps} commands unto the Queen: who as graciously accepted thereof, and wth many thanks for yo^r L^{ps} care of the Princes, who returned well yesterday, towards evening.

Yo^r L^{ps} boxe, wth key accompanying, shalbe sent by y^e first safe opportunity. M^r Overbeck I will this day put in minde, entreating yo^r L^P (haveing r^d my former sent hence upon Thursday last) to make him punctuall answer to wh^t I toke leave to write therein from him.

Concerning y^e Dep^{ties} of y^e States Gen^{rall} and their proceedings, I hope yo^r L^P is pleased wth yo^r rough materialls w^{ch} I, addressed in yo^r L^{ps} pacq^t unto M^r Sec^{tie} Coke: but wthout mention of them in my oth^r t^res (*sic*) unto him that yo^r L^P might peruse them and dispose thereof, as to yo^r L^{ps} owne wisdome should seem best: for I am but Actuarie of yo^r L^{ps} Embassy.

I have taken leave by the same hand to offre unto yo^r L^{ps} vacant

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 339.

hours on shipboard the *Reliioni del Card^{le} Bentivoglio*, wishing any better piece (worthy of yo^r L^{ps} acceptance) had been in my studye.

Yo^r L^{ps} advise by S^r Jacob Ashley, I shall carefully respect. Wth most humble thanks for the singular honours yo^r L^p vouchsafed to doe me heer, praying the continuance of yo^r noble affection, and y^e good opinion your L^p hath conceived of

Yo^r L^{ps} most faithfull, humblest servant,

WILLM. BOSWELL.

Hague, Saturday 26 Jan: 1633, St. Angl^o.

I beseech yo^r L^p to excuse my defaults, and sinnes of Infirmitie; which is a Marginall note, but purposed for a principall point in my text¹.

The Same to the Same.

R: Hon^{ble} my singular good Lord

The bearer (my ever honoured Lo: of Dover) will certifie yo^r L^p how kindly y^e Queen hath taken yo^r L^{ps} most noble respects to her self and Princes. I shall not faill in my duty and service to y^e best of my understanding and abilitie, as yo^r L^p commands.

Upon Saturday the Dep^{tics} were to meet wth others of these states, for opening of their powres and purposes only; but my indisposition having imprisoned me all yesterday, I shall not be able (until my next) to give yo^r L^p any p^{ti}cular accompt of what passed. In the mean tyme, by what I heard before their returne hether, I believe their Commission is to report only to their Superiors, at Bruxelles; and, by what I know heer, that the Pr^{ce} of Aur^{se} [Orange] wilbe in the field betimes; where p^haps (and most likely) they may fall unto some treaty, and accomodaçon the next winter.

Mons^r Charnacée (the French Kings Amb^r with Germany) is expected heer er long; especially (tis thought) to divert the treaty for this bowt. An army of 10,000 or 12,000 (w^{ch} I take to be that the Chancellor Oxenstiern² levyed to Hall) is falling downe towards the Weser. The Duke of Bavaria upon Gust: Hornes comeing into this contrey, presently quitted Landsberg, and y^e 2 little townes he had recovered from the Sweds upon y^e Lee.

I shall send this morning earnestly unto Overbeck, and endeavour to get Heemskerks book into my hands for your L^{ps} perusal and likeing.

I must multiply my acknowledgement of yo^r L^{ps} favours, and wth my devotions for yo^r L^{ps} good passage, remayne, as I shall for ever,

yo^r L^{ps} most faithfull and most humble servant,

WILLM. BOSWELL.

Hague, 27 Jan: st. vet. 1633. In hast Munday morne.

May it please yo^r L^p I made not my dispatch concerning yo^r L^{ps} negotiation unto Mr Sec^{tie} Coke, but wholly under correction of yo^r L^p, to be also disposed of wholly as your Lo: pleases³.

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 343. Endorsed: "1632(3), 26 Januar. M^r Boswell to my lorde." The P.S. is written in the margin.

² Chancellor of Sweden.

³ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 344. Endorsed by Lord Arundel: "M^r Boswell to me, Hage 27 Jan. 1632 A^o vecte."

The Same to the Same. (Extract.)

... I have not yet heard from Mons^r Overbeck concerning the p̄ticulars w^{ch} I sent him out of your L^{ps} memoriall and t̄res (*sic*) unto mee, but I expect wth the first.

From Mons^r Gerbier I have received t̄res (*sic*) for yo^r L^p w^{ch} I send heerwth and notice of 3 cases wth so many marble cesternes in them, w^{ch} have been put aboard the Admirall (shippe) wherein yo^r L^p came; but yo^r L^p being gone, I thought best to direct Mr Quarles to embarg. them at Rhotterdam (whether they were brought) and so for England: w^{ch} I understand he hath done very carefully (the Admiralty there haveing given them passe without any Liceat) aboard Jhon Franklin, bownd for London, wth the first; wherof Mr Quarles will also give accompt.

The Queen and Princes are well, and exceedingly desirous to understand how well yo^r L^p hath passed the seas, being much dismayed that since yo^r L^{ps} leaving Helvoet Sluys no newes hath come of yo^r passage. The P^roc^e of Aur^{se} also, and diverse of the States, have very earnest asked of yo^r L^{ps} health, passage and content, whereto I have made such answer as I presumed your L^p would, to season all points for his Ma^{ts} service, the Queen and Princes behalf, and yo^r L^{ps} honour, w^{ch} I shall ever study wth my life: most humbly praying yo^r L^p to accompt mee, and command mee,

Yo^r L^{ps} most faithfull and humblest servant

WILLM. BOSWELL.

Hague, $\frac{6}{16}$ Febr. 163 $\frac{2}{3}$. In hast¹.

The Same to the Same.

Right Hon^{ble} my singular good Lord

As I was dispatching away this bearer, yo^r L^{ps} servant², the newes of yo^r L^{ps} safe arrivall in England came hether, whe^{of} the Queen expressed extr^{me} joye, as yo^r L^{ps} friends and servants heer have likewise done, my self in p̄ticular, the apprehension w^{ch} long silence wthout notice wh^{re} yo^r L^p was, haveing growne very great.

The Dep^{ties} heer have not yet brought such powre as y^e States require for farther conference, both for the point of assurance and also for the treaty to be had: wherfor they have dispatched one of their company to the Infanta and their Assembly at Bruxelles. In y^e mean tyme their wheels stand still: but y^e military preparations goe on fast, and y^e P^roc^e of Aurance wilbe very early in the field; whence p̄haps towards Autumn may appeare some winter fruit of their severall meetings and conferences. For my p̄ticular, the conjuncture of affaires in Germany and heer, relating to my M^{rs} [Mistress's] interest and honour, make mee very tender in meddling wth either p^{ty} upon the point of their treaty; and I am confident hetherto neither party hath conceived any thing amisse of his Ma^{ts} royal purposes. In Germany the Swed. and Germ. confederation grow strong; but wth the Emp^r doth I fear not so well.

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 351. Endorsed: "1632 (3), 6 Februar. Mr Boswell to my lord."

² Verano, the Italian Secretary.

As soon as I can, I shall give yo^r L^p accompt of M^r Overbeck, and yo^r L^{ps} other commands, being ever

Yo^r L^{ps} most humble and most faithfull servant

WILLM. BOSWELL.

Hague, 12 Feb. 163 $\frac{2}{3}$ st. Angl^o1.

The following communications from Sir Robert Anstruther, give the final phase of the negotiations before his departure for Germany. Some anxiety had been felt lest the Swedes should be unwilling to yield the whole fruits of their victory in the Palatinate, to the young Elector: having received, as they with some justice averred, so little help in the war from his partisans. It was this fear which was at the back of the recent negotiations. This was the reason of Sir Henry Vane's despatch to Gustavus Adolphus in the summer of 1631; the Swedish King having already shown clearly that he had expected from Charles I more help than he had received. Elizabeth's anxiety to gain allies for the cause of her husband and son; her imploring letters to King Charles; Sir Robert Anstruther's mission to the German Princes; the endeavour to enlist the co-operation of the States of Holland and of the King of France; all sprang from the same root. Lord Arundel's embassy to the Hague was directed at least as much to urging the Dutch States to take active steps on behalf of the young Prince Palatine, as to conveying to the Queen of Bohemia her brother's invitation to England. The fact that he left the Prince of Orange about to take the field, gives the measure of his success.

Sir Robert Anstruther to the Earl of Arundel.

Right Hono^{ble} my verie good Lord

I thank yo^r Lord^p for y^e welcome I^{fe} you honored me wth all, of the 25th, whereby I understand the papers M^r Boswell sent are safe come to yo^r hands, of w^{ch} I am exceeding glad, as also of y^e safe returne of y^e sweete princes to this place, where they do liberally divulge y^e great honor yo^r lo^p did them, and do much admire his ma^{ties} shippes, and their equipage; wishing (wherein I do also most hartely concurr) unto you a faire wind, and a prosperous voyage.

I have receaved the paper of remembrances, men^çoned in yo^r I^{fe} from M^r Boswell, whereof I will use my best endeavour to give yo^r lo^p an acceptable accompt.

From Germany o^r last advices beare (inter alia) that y^e administrator, having of late sent his deutez unto Chancellor Oxenstern, to treat about the restitu^çon of the places he deteynes in y^e Palat., hath receaved a faire answere, namely, that he intends not to keepe them from y^e owners, but will be ready to restore them upon reasonable termes, whensoever he shall see any on o^r parte able to receive them, and. . . to secure them from

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 352.

y^e intrusions or surprises of the com^on enemy. This gives me good hope that I shall not find y^e Swedes so costive as was feared.

My departure from hence wilbee very speedy, but if, in y^e mean time, any thing shall come to my knowledge worthy of yo^r Lo^p, I will hold you carefully advised. Herewth, humbly kissing yo^r hands, I take leave, resting

Yo^r Lo^{ps} most humble servant at comd,

R. ANSTRUTHER.

Hage, 28^o Jan^y 163² $\frac{1}{3}$.

The Same to the Same.

Right Ho: my verie good Lord

Since my last unto you, wee, having nothing from Germany but what tends to y^e confirmation of y^e Chancellor of Swedens purpose, of restoring, upon reasonable terms, when on our side a party shall appeare, capable of receaving and defending the severall places from y^e comon enemy, I thought to have parted hence yesterday. But the intervention of some important busines, hath caused the States to pray my patience untill Monday for my leave-taking. The intervall I employ in embarking, and sending away, part of my family and equipage to Bois-le-Duc, where I expect a passe from y^e Arch-Duchesse, having dispatched one to Brussels to that end on Monday last, wth order to stay there untill my coming.

Mons^r Charnasi is arrived heer from France. Not as a publique minister, yet in respect of former acquaintance, he hath seene me, and told me that both y^e French King and his cheife ministers, are well affected to y^e yong Elector, and his p^onsions, w^{ch} they wilbee ready to wittnesse, whensoever it shalbee usefull.

Thus, wishing yo^r Lor^p a safe and prosperous passage, I kisse yo^r hands and remayne

Your Lordships most faithfull servant

RO: ANSTRUTHER.

Haghe, $\frac{2}{12}$ Febr: 163² $\frac{2}{3}$.

This should have come to yo^r hands before now, but Captaine Mayn-wareing having beene putt back againe, hath given me opportunity to tell yo^r Lor^p that this afternoone (my leave being taken) I part hence. Febr. $\frac{6}{16}$ 163² $\frac{2}{3}$.

Mr Norgate parted hence yesterday in the morning².

On the conclusion of Lord Arundel's embassy, the States of Holland sent the following official despatch to the King of England.

The States General to King Charles I.

Sire

Comme nous eusmes tres agreable la lettre que nous presenta de la part de vostre majesté le Seig^r Comte d'Arundel, envoyé par deça pour

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 345. Endorsed by Lord Arundel: "Sr Ro. Anstruther to me, Janu. 1632, St^o vet."

² *Ibid.* No. 348.

vostre ambassadeur extraordinaire, lors qu'il arriva en ceste cour, nous ne l'avons pas voulu laisser retourner, sans tesmoigner a vostre majesté, par ceste, le grand contentement qu'il nous a laissé de sa sage et prudente conduite, sur les affaires qui se sont presentés es conferences tenues entre luy et les deputez du corps de nostre assemblée. Vostre mat^{te} entendra, par sa vive voix, ce qui est de nos bonnes et sincerés intentions sur les choses publiques, et l'affection particulière que nous portons au service de vostre majesté, et à tout ce qui peut servir du bien et conservation des affaires d'Allemagne en general, et de Palatinat electoral en perticulier: assureants vostre mat^{te} que nous aurons a grand honneur de pouvoir demonstrier, en toutes occasions, les effects de nostre gratitude. Sur ce prions Dieu. Fait le 31^e de Janvier, 1633¹.

Arundel arrived back in London on the 6th February and found his star much in the ascendant. The King was pleased with the success of his negotiations with the States, and received him with marked favour. He was appointed to attend the sovereign to Scotland in the summer, when the coronation was to take place at Edinburgh; and was shown other flattering marks of distinction.

He found a host of work awaiting his return. In much of this he was assisted by his son, Henry Frederick, Lord Maltravers. Arundel was anxious to initiate him thoroughly into the methods of public business, and employed him more and more as his deputy and amanuensis.

Maltravers was now in his twenty-fifth year. A young man of determined character, ready intelligence, and accomplished manners, the husband of a distinguished wife, and the father of four promising sons, he appeared to be shaping well for the position he would eventually be called upon to occupy. There was nothing at present to foreshadow the unhappy part he was destined to play in the future; though the handsome, virile countenance, shown in Van Dyck's portrait, is somewhat hard and unattractive in expression. Lord Arundel, kind and indulgent to the utmost degree as he was with his wife and children, possessed that innate authority which precludes discussion. It is unlikely that Henry Frederick ever exhibited to his father those qualities which, at a subsequent period, his mother had too much cause to lament. For the time being, his capacity for affairs, his love of art, and his warm participation in the progress of the collections, doubtless contributed much to the good understanding between father and son, and augured well for the future.

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 347. Endorsed: "Copie de lettres des Estats Generaux des Provinces Unies, au Roy de la Grande Bretagne. Datee le 31^{me} de Janvier, 1633, St. Novo. de la Hage."



Photo Donald Macbeth

Henry Frederick Howard, Lord Maltravers. By Van Dyck

Circa 1632-1640

For some while past, Lord Arundel had made over to his son most of the business connected with the Lord Lieutenancy of Norfolk, and other local affairs in that county. The mustering of men for the King's service, the ordering and command of these levies, the borrowing of money for the King, the raising of a loan for the Queen of Bohemia, are amongst the chief subjects dealt with in the papers that have been preserved. Minor topics also come up for consideration, such as the prevalence of poaching, the excessive number of dogs kept by private individuals, doubtless for this purpose, and similar matters of local interest. Lord Maltravers made frequent pilgrimages to Norwich, in the fulfilment of these duties; staying at the "Duke's Place," the old family house of the Dukes of Norfolk.

Lord Arundel had authority to appoint Deputy Lieutenants for the County of Norfolk. Amongst the names repeatedly mentioned in this capacity are those of "Sir John Hobart, Sir Thomas Woodhouse, Sir John Holland, Sir Anthony Drury, Sir Hamon Le Strange, Sir Charles le Gros, Sir Edward Waldegrave, Sir Robert Kempe and Sir Henry Hungate¹." Maltravers, acting as his father's delegate, but having no official status of his own, felt his authority insufficient to deal satisfactorily with some of the questions that came up for decision. It was perhaps as a mark of appreciation of Lord Arundel's success in the Netherlands that, almost immediately after his return, the King caused a new patent to be made out, in which Lord Maltravers is appointed joint Lord Lieutenant, with Lord Arundel, of the County of Norfolk².

This was not the only occasion on which Charles was willing to honour the young man whose marriage had once caused him such dire displeasure. We have seen that he stood godfather to the fourth son of Lord Maltravers, named Charles after his royal sponsor. Perhaps at the instigation, or at least by the wish, of Lord Arundel, Lord Maltravers was now selected to sit on various Commissions.

Of the Council of the Society for the Fishing, he had for some time been a keen member. The Commissioners now requested the Earl Marshal to advise with the Heralds about a seal³. Fishery seems to have been a subject which Maltravers had made peculiarly his own. At a later period, he endeavoured to promote a trade in lampreys between England and Holland.

The most important Commission on which Lord Maltravers sat

¹ Bodleian Library, Oxford, *Tanner MSS.* Vol. CLXXVII, f. 26 (14).

² *Ibid.* f. 28 (15).

³ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1631-1633*, p. 459. Min. Council of Society for the Fishing, 15th December, 1632.

in these years, was that for Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, to which both he and his brother, Sir William Howard, were appointed¹.

In the matter of the collections, too, Maltravers took an active part. It now became Lord Arundel's custom to depute to his son a portion of the correspondence concerning them, when absence from home, or the demands of public business, made it impossible for him to deal with the whole of it himself. These letters throw interesting side-lights on the purchase of various objects. Lord Arundel's predilection for drawings by old masters is specially revealed.

In the spring of 1633, Mr Petty was at Venice, about to embark, it would seem, on a fresh voyage of discovery in the Levant. At this juncture the living of Greystoke, part of the Dacre inheritance of Anne, Lady Arundel, fell vacant. Lord Arundel was anxious to bestow the benefice on Mr Petty, and for this reason a number of letters were despatched to bring him home, if possible, before proceeding on his further travels.

Lord Maltravers to the Rev. William Petty.

Good Mr Petty

I have now lately received twoe letters from you, and am gladde to heare that you are so well. And for any businesse that concernes you, I shall be allwayes gladde to doe my best. I have been in Norfolke and out of towne, and my Lord is now newly come out of Holland, and is gladde to heare of the things which you have bought him at Millan and at Vennice. I hope my Lord Ambassador Weston will bee soone heere².

My Lord desires to have those drawings of Neece³ which you offered a hundred crownes for, if they may bee had for reason; and hee desires you to treat with Daniel Neece to see if hee would part with his drawings out of his cabinette. Hee hath given order to Mr Richard to make over some sixe hundred crownes unto you, you know hee chiefly affects drawings;

I have sent you here inclosed the Armes of my lord Aubenye⁴, as you desired.

My Lord hath written to the Ambassador at Constantinople to assist you there.

So, praying for your safety, I rest ever,

Your most assured true frinde,

H. F. MALTRAVERS.

Arrun: House, Feb. 15, 1632 (1633)⁵.

To my assured loving frind, Mr William Petty, give these at Vennice. Raccomandato all' Sigi Tomaso Rowlandson, Agente in Vinetia.

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1633-1634, p. 326, 17th December, 1633.

² Jerome, Lord Weston, eldest son of the Earl of Portland, was sent on a special embassy to Paris in 1632, in connection with the affairs of the Palatinate. He returned in March, 1633.

³ Daniel Nys.

⁴ This was George Stuart, Lord d'Aubigny, brother of Lady Maltravers and of James, Duke of Lennox (later created Duke of Richmond). George, Lord d'Aubigny, was killed at Edgehill, fighting for the King, in 1642.

⁵ Brit. Museum, *Additional MSS.* 15970, f. 7.

Lord Maltravers to the Rev. William Petty.

Good Mr Petty

I received your letter, and am gladde to heare that you are so well, and that you had bought some good drawings, and were about others. And what you shall send hither to mee uppon your owne account, I will have a care of untill your comming home. I writte you worde the last weeke how my Lord had sent you letters of creditte for a hundred and fifty pounds present, after his comming out of Holland; and for such things as you can not now compasse, hee desires that you would take particular notice of them, that they may bee had heereafter.

You mention in your letter that you desire some care may bee had of your lininge [linen], which I will enquire of at my comming to London againe, which will bee about a fortnight hence; as I will likewise bee gladde to helpe anything else that may tend to your good.

I have spoken with Mr Wene about the titles of my Lord of Abigny, and have sent you heere a note of what hee conceaves, I sent you before his armes, and I rest ever

Your most assured true frinde

H. MALTRAVERS.

From Ware, 28th Feb. 1632 (1633).

My Lord likewise (? likes) very well those titlepeeces of Correggio at Millan, which you write of, though hee thinks the prices somewhat high¹.

The next letter to be recorded is a copy of one sent by Lord Arundel himself to Mr Petty. It is sealed, as many of Lord Arundel's letters are at this period, with a signet ring, bearing the device of a horse. It will be remembered that this was the Arundel cognisance. Some difference seems to have occurred with Sir Thomas Roe: later, however, they were on good terms again.

The Earl of Arundel to the Rev. William Petty. (Copy.)

Mr Pettye

I thank y^u for y^r letters, and am gladde to heare y^u are well. I have spoken with Sir Ralph Freeman, whoe promiseth me I shall have those things w^h his brother hath sent from Livorne, w^h he protests S^r Tho^s Roe hath nothinge to doe w^hall; for I have tolde him plainly I will have nothinge to doe with him in it nor any other thinge.

My sonne shewed me the letters that came hither from you, when I was in Hollande, and I am gladde you provide soe well for the drawinges, which I would have you continue. My lo: Amb^r Weston is not yet returned, but expected within a weeke from Paris; and then I hope wee shall receive some designes y^u mension to be sente in his company.

My sonne Hen: is nowe in Norfolke, to retorne I hope within a few dayes. Since he went, I have understoode that the Parson of Graystocke is deade, soe as methinks it would not be much amisse if you returned

¹ Brit. Museum, *Additonal MSS.* 15970, f. 8. Lord Maltravers was probably staying with Sir Thomas Fanshaw at Ware.

hither before y^u went into Greece, that we might advise what course to take aboute it. For though I can easily dispose of it, yet I meane to keepe myselfe some time wthout bestowinge it; but you knowe six months is y^e most I can holde it without lapse, w^h I will not adventure. Let me understand of y^t as soone as you can; for upon the eleventh of May the King intends (by God's grace) to beginne his journey for Scotland, and I waite on him.

I pray remember the other Cuppe of Veronesses designe w^h M^r Neece promised me, and his designes of his Cabinette. God sende y^u well.

Y^r lovinge frende

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Whitehall, 8 March, 1632 (1633).

To my lovinge frende, Mr William Pettie at Venice. Racc^{ta} all Sig^r Tomaso Rowlandson, agente di. . . in Venezia¹.

Lord Maltravers to the Same.

Good Mr Petty

I came twoe or three dayes agoe out of Norfolke, and at my comming to towne, I heard that the parson of Graystocke is dead, and my lord intends to conferre it upon you; and therefore, if you bee not already gone towards Zant, my lord desires y^t you will come backe, for feare the time should bee past; for you know in sixe monethes it falls in lapse to the Bishoppe, which my lord would avoid. And certainly it would bee every way much better for you to come home and settle all your businesses heere, and then goe forward in y^r journey to Greece if you saw cause. My lord advises you by all meanes to doe so, and tells mee that he did write as much unto you himselfe the last weeke. So hoping y^t this letter will meeete you in time, and wishing you all happinesse, I rest ever

Your assured faythfull frinde

H. MALTRAVERS.

Ar: House, 15 March, 1632 (1633).

Al Molt' Ill^{mo} S^r il S^r Guglielmo Pette, Venezia².

The next letter is from the younger son, Sir William Howard, now twenty-one years of age. Incidentally it reveals how Lord Arundel's love of collecting had infected his whole family.

Sir William Howard to the Same.

Good Mr Petty

My Lorde commanded mee to wright to you to lett you know that Mr Woode is come home with my Lorde Embassador Weston, and hath tolde him of the truncke of bookes which you sente; but my Lorde wonders that hee heareth nothings of the fifty drawinges of which you wright, and hee would bee gladd to heare which way you sente them.

I wish my selfe often with you, for I beeleve you have a pleasante journey. Thankes bee to God, all are well heare. I pray if you meeete with

¹ British Museum, *Additional MSS.* 15970, f. 10.

² *Ibid.* f. 11.



Photo Donald Macbeth

William Howard, afterwards Viscount Stafford. By Van Dyck

Circa 1632-1640

any thinge that is goode, I pray bye it for mee, and I will pay the mony uppon any sight of your hande. So, wishinge to see you heare shortly, I rest

Your most lovinge friende

W. HOWARD.

A: House, Mar: 22, 1632 (1633).

Al Molt' Ill^{mo} Sr Gulieumo Pette, Venezia¹.

Lord Maltravers to the Same.

Good Mr Petty

My Lord Duke of Lennox is newly come over in the company of my Lord Ambassador Weston, and my Lord is much troubled because you writte long ago y^t you had sent by the Ambassador fifty drawings, and hee knows nothing of them. Mr Percy, Mr Mannoringe, Mr Wood, nor none of his company; only Mr Wood says y^t a boxe of y^r bookes comes from Vennice by sea, and if this letter come to your hands, I pray you send more particular instructions how they were consigned.

I hope you will bee shortly on your journey homewards, beecause my lord and I writte severall times unto you how y^e parson of Graystocke is dead, and y^t hee desires you should come home. So in haste I rest ever,

Your assured true frinde

H. MALTRAVERS.

Whitehall, 22 March, 1632 (1633).

To my very lovinge frinde Mr William Petty give these. Raccomandato all M^{to} Ill^{mo} Sig^r Tomaso Rowlandson in Vinezia².

Here for the moment the correspondence breaks off. We must now follow Lord Arundel's footsteps as he accompanies the King on the progress to the north.

¹ Brit. Museum, *Additional MSS.* 15970, f. 13.

² *Ibid.* f. 14.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE SCOTTISH PROGRESS OF 1633. RELATIONS WITH LORD DEPUTY WENTWORTH. VAN DYCK'S PORTRAIT OF LORD ARUNDEL WITH HIS GRAND-SON, THOMAS HOWARD.

1633—1636.

IN May the King started on his journey to Scotland, for the coronation ceremony at Edinburgh. It was the first time he had revisited the land of his birth, since his father ascended the English throne. Great were the preparations made for his reception; lavish the entertainment offered him as he passed through England on his way north. Never had the country appeared more peaceful, more prosperous, more fertile of hope for the stability of the future. Charles himself, wishing to endow the occasion with every circumstance of splendour, had largely added to the number of his brilliant retinue. The climax of magnificence was reached when the august company passed through Nottinghamshire: where the Earl of Newcastle¹ welcomed and feasted the royal party at Welbeck Abbey with an extravagance of luxury rarely seen before in England. No single house, however, could accommodate so large a concourse of persons. Neighbouring doors were flung wide to receive the overflow; and while Lord Newcastle entertained the King and the greater portion of his suite, Lord Arundel, at Worksop Manor, hard by, proffered hospitality to his friend, Lord Portland, and probably to a few other participants in the progress. Amongst these we know was Dr Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, whose name will often recur in these pages².

The links that bound Arundel to the Weston family had been drawn yet closer by the marriage, in the previous year, of Portland's eldest son, Jerome, Lord Weston, with Lady Frances Lennox, the younger sister of Lady Maltravers. Unfortunately, the Lord Treasurer, whose health was now breaking, fell ill during his stay at

¹ Sir William Cavendish, Earl, afterwards Duke, of Newcastle, was a grandson of the first Sir William Cavendish and of Bess of Hardwicke. He was therefore a first cousin of Lady Arundel. This branch of the Cavendish family early became extinct; the elder line is represented to-day by the Dukes of Devonshire.

² On the journey north, a visit was paid to the family at Little Gidding; but no record has been preserved as to Lord Arundel's part in it.

Workshop. Lord Arundel wrote to Sir Henry Vane, who, as Comptroller, remained with the Court, to request the King's permission to postpone resuming the journey till Lord Portland was able to travel.

The Earl of Arundel to Sir Henry Vane.

Good Mr Comptroller

I thought good to advertise y^u that my lo: treasurer . . . hath this night had no rest, but bin in a continuall fitte of the stone, not wthout some aguish Distempere, w^{ch} Doctor Hervye conceives to be only an avidence of the fitte of the stone; and soe doe I, out of what I have often felte in the like kinde. Howsoever, it is a greate greefe unto me that it shoulde happen unto him at all, especially in this place, where he must needes wante many necessities that I could wish him. But he nowe lookes cheerefully, though he be not out of the fitte; and hopes he may be able to beginne his jorney towards Yorke to morowe, as he desires; but intreates y^u that y^u will beseech the kinge to dispence wth his cominge thither a day or twoe later, if his health shall hinder him. For my selfe, I hope for y^e like pardon, since my love to my lo: Treasurer, and lawes of hospitallatye, require at my handes not to leave him (though he desire me) till I see him in better state, w^{ch} I hope and wish may be soone, and then I will come away.

In the meane time and ever I am

Y^r Hon^{rs} most affectionate friende to coñande

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Worsoppe, Thursday May 23 1633.

To the Right Honorable Sr Henry ffane, knt. Comptroller of his Ma^{ts} housholde, and one of his Ma^{ts} most honorable Priuye Councell, these¹.

Apparently Lord Portland was quickly convalescent; for Arundel's next letter is written from Durham, where, after sumptuous entertainment by Sir Henry Vane at Raby Castle, the King was now the guest of the Bishop. What occasioned the gratitude expressed by the Earl Marshal to Windebank, does not transpire; but that he entertained for the Secretary of State feelings of warm friendship, is well known. The allusion to Laud's activities in relation to Durham Cathedral is interesting, both in itself, and as showing Lord Arundel's sympathies with the High Church party.

The Earl of Arundel to Secretary Windebank.

Mr Secretary

I cannot omitte by these fewe lines to give y^u very many thanks for y^r kinde letter; but yet a little to expostulate wth y^u, the mienes y^u use in givinge me leave to expresse the least part of the thankfullnes I owe y^u, and will ever lay up in my Hart to pay y^u, if God give me y^e occasion.

¹ P.R.O., *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I* (unpublished), 1633, Vol. CXXXIX f. 37.

The kinge and all heere (God be thanked) are very well; and we finde this Church of Duresme very well in order, and much the better for our worthy good frend, the Bp. of London, the Pewes beinge driven out of the Temple, wth the buyers and sellers. The Scottish Church I doubtte will not followe y^e good example, but of that we shall have more certainty when we come there.

In the meane time and ever God keepe y^u in all health and happines. And esteeme me

Y^r most faithfull frend to coffande

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Duresme 2^o June, 1633.

To my Honorable and worthy frende Sr Francis Windebanke knight Principall secretary of State and one of his M^{ties} most Ho^{ble} Privy Counsaile¹.

From Berwick he wrote again to the same correspondent; this time on a subject which was evidently causing him considerable annoyance, and which sufficiently explains itself. The vehemence of expression, when his wrath was aroused, or his dignity offended, is highly characteristic.

The Earl of Arundel to Secretary Windebank.

Good Mr Secretary

I thanke God we came hither well yesternight; and this holly White Sondaye [holy Whit Sunday] I am obliged to write unto y^u of an unhollye businesse, w^{ch} is that Peter Apsley, the eldest sonne of the late Liftenante of the Tower, hath, after runing from my messenger, contrary to his fayth and oath, into y^e lowe Countryes, and after beinge pardoned by y^e Kinge for this offence, upon y^e instance of my lo: of Northumberlande (to whome y^e offence at first was comitted) my lo: Goringe upon his creditte undertaking for him, and carryinge him after in my trayne into y^e lowe Countryes, hath nowe sente an insolente base letter of challenge to my lo: of Northumberland hither. All I can say is I have not knownen any thinge of this nature carried wth soe much sawcines and folly; and therefore His M^{tie} is pleased that y^u present his cause, all possible diligence to be used for the apprehendinge the sayde Peter Apsley and layinge him in close and safe prison till His M^{ties} retorne. If he be fledde over, that then y^u cause M^r Attorney to drawe a most severe Proclamacion agaynste him, recitinge his most false and wicked behaviore, in twice breakinge not only his M^{ties} Proclamacions, but as often falsifyinge his oathes and vowes to me, his Earle Marshall, and breakinge the Comandementes of duty and allegiance to y^e Kinge, layed upon him by me, and undertaken to be kept inviolably by him.

I am weary this good day givinge y^u this much trouble. I beseech y^u

¹ P.R.O., *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I* (unpublished), 1633, Vol. CCXL, f. 11. Endorsed: "2. June, 1633. Er: Marshall from Duresme. Rec: 14:"

continewe still the love y^u shewe to my wife and me and all o^{rs}, and be sure none wisheth y^u more happines then

Y^r most assured frende to comande

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Barwicke, Whitsonday 1633.

To the right honorable Sr ffrancis Windebanke knt., one of the Principall Secretaries of State and of his Ma^{ty} most honorable Privye Councell, these¹.

On the 18th June, King Charles was crowned with all pomp and ceremony at Edinburgh. The last letter written by Lord Arundel from Scotland is dated from Stirling the 3rd July.

The Earl of Arundel to Secretary Windebank.

Good Mr Secretary

I thanke y^u most hartily for y^r kinde letter. I am gladd to heare all are soe well. For Sr Fr^s Nethersole², y^u will finde he is understood heere as he deserves to be.

My lo: Trea^r and wee all comende y^e discreete minute of the letter about y^e loanes, if they had nowe succeeded; as allsoe y^r remandinge y^e seconde advise aboute it hither; the leaste parte of w^{ch} doth not lighte upon y^r approved fidelity and discession.

M^r Frizelles³ businesse is referred unto y^r selfe to examine wholly and reporte to His M^{tie}, and I shall not neede to entreate y^u to doe him [? justice] since his case is soe well understood all ready by y^u, and the foulnesse of Witherings abuse, w^{ch} I am confidente y^u will represent as it deserves.

Soe wth my best wishes I rest ever

Y^r most assured frend to comand

Sterlinge 3 July 1633.

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

To the right honorable Sr ffrancis Windebanke one of the principall Secretaries of State, these⁴.

¹ P.R.O., *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I* (unpublished), 1633, Vol. CCXL, f. 47. Endorsed: "9 June, 1633. Er: Marshall from Barwick: rec: 14. Peter Apsley."

² Nethersole, a devoted servant of the Queen of Bohemia, had been sent by her to England to plead with the King for a loan which, if immediately granted, might, it seemed at this particular juncture, bring the affairs of the Palatinate to a satisfactory settlement. In his eagerness for the Queen's service, however, he allowed his zeal so to outrun his discretion, that Charles became angry, and requested his sister to place her affairs in England in other hands. This was adhered to, although Nethersole was pardoned by the King. In consequence of these events, the Queen hurriedly sent over her Secretary, John Dineley, to take Nethersole's place.

³ William Frizell and Thomas Withering were the King's postmasters for foreign parts. It is not quite clear whether they divided the work or whether Frizell had succeeded Withering in the whole position. At any rate, a violent altercation ensued with reference to a sum of money which was deemed to be due from Withering, and which that worthy declined to hand out, to the great indignation of the Earl Marshal, and no doubt of all right-thinking people. It would seem that they triumphed, since we continue to hear of Frizell in the sequel, while Withering gently disappears.

⁴ P.R.O., *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I* (unpublished), 1633, Vol. CCXLII, f. 19. Endorsed: "Er: Marshall from Sterling: rec: 10: by Mr Frizell."

There is one point of interest in connection with the Scottish journey which must not be omitted here. Sir Edward (at this time Mr) Walker, to whom we owe by far the most valuable contemporary account of Lord Arundel¹, tells us that it was upon this occasion that he had "the felicity to be first made known to him, which (he adds) I must ever esteem as a singular happiness, and as the first degree and the only means of my future preferment." Walker was in fact associated with Lord Arundel, partly in a secretarial capacity, from 1633 till Arundel's final departure from England in 1642. It is impossible to over-estimate the value of Walker's characterisation of his patron, the truth of which is entirely substantiated from independent sources. It has been customary to regard Walker and Clarendon as representing two opposite poles of opinion with respect to Lord Arundel: the first, perhaps, unduly favourable, the second, exaggeratedly the reverse. A line drawn somewhere between the two would probably, it was thought, meet the facts. No conclusion could be more erroneous. A close study of Lord Arundel's life brings ever-increasing conviction of the accuracy of Walker's estimate, while it tends more and more to discredit that of Clarendon. It is time that the gall with which the latter whetted his pen, should cease to blur the memory of the great Earl Marshal.

Before July ended, the Court was back in England. At about the same time, Lady Arundel received a letter from the Queen of Bohemia, written in the gay mood of happier days. The recovery of the Lower Palatinate, and the prowess of her brave boys in the field, filled her with delight.

The Queen of Bohemia to the Countess of Arundel.

Madame

I have much reason to desire you by these to excuse me for not writing to you by Dinlie², but I did send him away in such hast as I could not have time to write to anie but those that of necessitie I must, as I commanded him to tell you.

This bearer, Mr Philpot³, can tell you all the newes heere, I have stayed him of purpose to carie the King my Brother some newes of it. By him you will have all, and I hope he will not faile to make as great a relation of it as he is himself in breadth. But I must say this for him,

¹ *Historical Discourses*, p. 214. (A view of the Life and Actions of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, etc.) By Sir Edward Walker, Knight, Garter, Principal King of Arms, etc. London, 1705.

² See note 2, p. 343.

³ Somerset Herald. Arundel had taken him on the embassy to Holland, but left him there for a time, on its conclusion, to be of service to the Queen. Later in the year, King Charles sent him over to convey the Garter to his nephew, Prince Charles Louis, the young Elector.

that he is a verie honest man, and done all the right that can be to his place and his masters honnour in that he was employed in.

For the newes of Germanie, all goeth yett well. I am sure you know already that all the lower palatinate is ours; your wicked husband tells me he is glade of it, but I scarce believe him, if it were not for his little frends sake who are in the armie, who he saith he loves better then me, but it is no wonder, since youths loves their equalles best. Well, in earnest, I must profess this to you, that I will yeelde to no bodie in my well wishing and affection to you both, and all yours; pray deare Arrundel be most confident of it, and without all compliment I ame ever constantlie

Your most true affectionate frend

ELIZABETH.

The Haghe this 29 of August 1633.

*To the Ladye of Arrundel*¹.

Meanwhile, mindful perhaps of Wentworth's advice, Arundel seems to have remained in the north, to look after his property there, when the King returned from Scotland. In the month of October, one of Lady Arundel's rare letters shows her husband at Greystoke, part of the inheritance of his deceased mother. Doubtless he also visited the Talbot properties on his way south. The letter reveals that he was accompanied by his son Henry Lord Maltravers, known in his family as "Han."

The Countess of Arundel to the Earl of Arundel.

My deerest Harte

I have, I thanke God, receaved the good newse of y^r good health, by y^r servant from Graystocke Castle, wheare I often wishe my selfe wth y^u; and, since I can not be theare, I hope y^u will be heere as sone as conveniently y^u may.

All o^r deer little ones at Albury ar vere well, and this littel one heere growes as well as can be (thanks be to God), and so I beseech y^u tell o^r deere Han from me, to home [whom] I wold have written but that his mesinger is going in hast. I am sorey that y^r servantes at Graystocke will beginne to play shich pranks, but I hope the exsample of those at Brough will teche them more witte. I beelieve Mr Page that he never sawe so fine a plase as Gowborough, for I think there is not shich another to be seene; and, for a lodge, I hope y^u will let me be the arkiticte when we are opon the place.

I tould Mr Conptrouler and Secretare Winnibanke, that it was not possible for y^u to be heere before the terme. They say they hope y^u will com as sone as y^u can, and that ther is great neede of y^r being heere.

Wth this I send y^u a letter of my Lo: Cottington, and one out of Itley; and an other from my La: Falkeland, whom I have not seene, but she writes to me that her poore Lord, even at his death, remembered with

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 294. It is there calendared as belonging to 1630, but internal evidence shows that it was written in 1633.

much affection us, and gave her order that some little thing w^{ch} he had provided for us at his country house, should be sent to us.

I know noe newes worth the writing to y^u, so I will end wth humble prayers to Allmighty God to send y^u a happy coming, and us a good meeting.

Y^r most faithfull loving wife

A. ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Arundell House

11 8ber 1633.

Mr Gage sayeth that the field can not be had unlesse the man that oearth [owneth] it have leave to make a great newe bulding.

*For my deere Lord*¹.

Albury, the country house in Surrey which Lady Arundel mentions as the sojourn of the elder grandchildren, was a source of special pleasure to Lord Arundel. In these later years, he seems to have concentrated upon it all the interest and affection formerly bestowed upon Highgate, which has gradually disappeared from view. Situated in a lovely district, surrounded by enchanting vistas of heath, and wood, and distant blue, what wonder that Albury made a special appeal to Arundel's fine sense of beauty! Much loving care was given to seeds, and climbers, and sweet-scented plants, for the garden. The place indeed became the favoured resort of the family for many years. Lord Arundel hoped to have drawn his last breath at Albury. His wish was not destined to fulfilment. But long after his death, his son and grandson continued to inhabit the home round which so many associations had gathered².

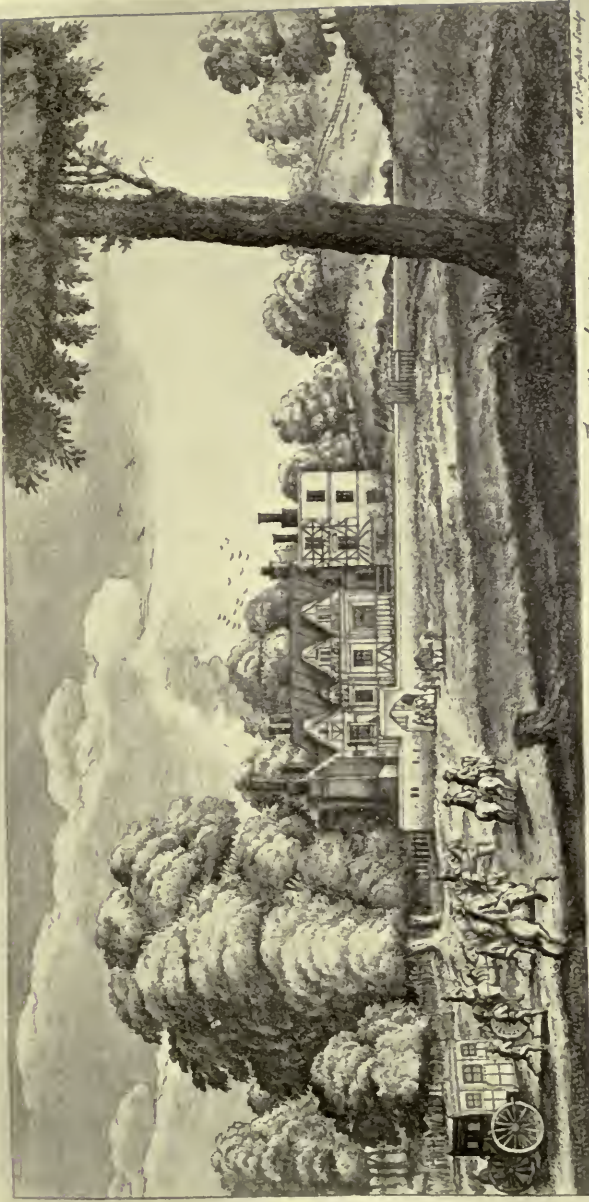
The rector of Albury, William Oughtred, the celebrated mathematician, enjoyed the intimate friendship of Lord Arundel, who, says Aubrey, "was his great patron and loved him entirely³." The acquaintance must have ripened through many years, for Oughtred had at one time been tutor to Henry Frederick, Lord Maltravers. There is a curious account of the grottoes Lord Arundel caused to be cut in the sandy sides of the hills about Albury, "wherein he delighted to sit and discourse." On one occasion, he and Mr Oughtred narrowly escaped death by the collapse of a grotto they had but just left⁴.

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 207, where it is calendared "Perhaps 1615." The contents prove the correct date is 1633. Windebanke was not made Secretary of State till 1632, while the first Lord Falkland's death, of which Lady Arundel writes evidently as a recent occurrence, took place in September 1633, as the result, of an accident in Theobald's Park.

² There are many mentions of Albury in Evelyn's Diary. The place was sold to Mr Finch in 1687, and later on came into the possession of the Drummonds, and thence to the Percy family who still own it.

³ *Letters of Eminent Persons.*

⁴ William Oughtred, born in 1575 at Eton, and there educated, was one of the



Alburgum in Comitatu SURREAE vulgo Albury sive mansio Regum Illustrissimo R. D. Th. Cant. Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi & SURREAE etc. Occidentem versus.

Albury House, Surrey. From an engraving by Van der Gucht

The birth of James, Duke of York, in the autumn of 1633, was followed by a grand christening, of which the arrangements fell to the Earl Marshal. It took place on the 24th November. The Queen of Bohemia was much gratified by the fact that King Charles sought all the godparents at the Hague. The Prince of Orange was very insistent that Lord Arundel should act as his proxy. The young Elector was represented by the Lord Treasurer, and Elizabeth herself by Lady Hamilton. The child was carried by Lady Arundel's sister, Lady Kent, supported by the Lord Privy Seal and the Duke of Lennox.

A matter which was destined to give some trouble arose in this year, in connection with a living in the gift of the young Lord Stafford, to whom Lord Arundel was guardian. This benefice, which was that of North Cerney, in Gloucestershire, was presented to one, Samuel Rich, both by the King, to whom young Stafford was ward in the first instance, and by Arundel, to whom the wardship had been delegated. The appointment was disputed by a rival claimant, William Poole, who asserted valid nomination from some other quarter. Poole continued to take vexatious measures against Rich for several years, and ultimately appealed to Laud. The Archbishop referred the matter to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. It seems to have been decided that Rich's appointment was good.

Not always were the King and the Lord Marshal so happily agreed on such a point. It is related that, on one occasion, when the right of presentation to a certain benefice lay in doubt between his Majesty and the Earl of Arundel, the latter exclaimed with warmth, "Sir, this rectory was an appendant unto such or such a manor of mine, until my grandfather, unfortunately, lost both his life and seventeen Lordships more, for the love he bore to your grandmother!" Charles, who had been insisting with obstinacy on a somewhat slender claim, was taken aback by the vehemence of this speech; and, returning some mild and temporising reply, restored harmony to the discussion¹.

The affair of Sir Francis Nethersole continued to occupy much time and attention. In January, 1634, Lord Arundel was amongst the members of the Council appointed by the King to deliberate upon it. Meanwhile events in the course of the year were to show

most distinguished mathematicians of his day. A Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, he was, in 1605, appointed to the living of Shalford, in Surrey, having entered holy orders two years previously. In 1610 he became rector of Albury, where he remained fifty years, till his death in 1660.

¹ Lilly's "Life and Death of Charles I" in *Lives of Lilly and Ashmole*, pp. 225-226.

that those who had judged immediate intervention on the part of England to be necessary if the Palatinate were to be retained, had seen only too clearly. The Swedes, for reasons of domestic policy, retired from the war; and, in the absence of effective help from England, the unhappy country again became the shuttlecock of the various contending parties.

For the rest, the routine of Lord Arundel's life pursued an even course. If at this time it held no very striking events, it was, on the other hand, filled with useful public business. The Commission on buildings which was reconstituted early in 1634, absorbed much of his attention. He was in high favour with the King, in which his son participated. In June of this year, Charles lent Lord Maltravers and his colleagues one of the Lion's Whelps of the Royal Navy for the purposes of the fishing association.

Perhaps the subject which at this period occupied the foreground of Lord Arundel's thoughts—apart from that, ever-present, of the collections—was the endeavour to recover the Irish possessions once owned by his grandfather, the fourth Duke of Norfolk. It has been seen how, from very early years, Arundel had cherished the idea of reconstructing the family inheritance. To wipe out the results of the attainder, and regain the forfeited lands and position, were objects of his dearest ambition. Since his early visit to Ireland, in 1617, he had been warmly interested in that country. The high estimate of its possibilities formed by Bacon, was fully shared by many distinguished Englishmen. Lands lost by attainder, fell to the Crown; and, in the present favourable attitude of the King, the titles to the Irish possessions of Arundel's forefathers, were readily awarded to him¹.

It was not always easy to make good these claims. Other owners had in some cases entered into possession, perhaps on defective titles, perhaps on the strength of promises which it was now difficult to reverse. In the semi-barbarous state of Ireland, much confusion prevailed in such matters. Lord Arundel pursued his aim with characteristic eagerness and persistency. The friendship with Lord Falkland seems to have had its roots in co-operation in these objects during the period when Falkland was Lord Deputy of Ireland. Now that office had passed into Lord Wentworth's hands; and the correspondence with him was no less animated.

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1633-1647*, Vol. II, p. 11. Draft of the King to the Lord Deputy for the Earl of Arundel and Surrey. Ordering him to give the Earl some property in Ireland, where his ancestors the Dukes of Norfolk and the Earls of Shrewsbury and Waterford have had great estates. The King holds it good for that kingdom to draw persons of so eminent quality to be engaged in some interest for the conservation thereof (14th May, 1633, Theobalds).

Wentworth's letters at the opening of this period, show plainly the high respect in which he held Lord Arundel, and the value he placed on Arundel's opinion and ripe judgment in public affairs.

I beseech your Lordship (he writes from Dublin in March, 1634), as one not well experienced in these great Affairs, or the Carriage of them, that you will express your accustomed Favour to me, by privately shewing my Errors in any Thing that shall chance to escape me, and I shall be sure to rectify all with as much Thankfulness and Readiness as possible. . .¹.

Arundel's reply is equally cordial in tone. An extract, at least, must here be given from his letter. The Parliament alluded to is of course the Irish Parliament of 1634, by which it was hoped to raise funds for the King.

The Earl of Arundel to Lord Deputy Wentworth. (Extract.)

My noble Lord

Your continual Favour and Care of what concerns my Interest in Ireland, makes me see you change not your Affections with the air. I have, as your Lordship wished me, taken notice to his Majesty of the favourable Remembrance, I understood by your Lordship he gave you of me, which he promiseth me very graciously to persevere in, until it be brought to effect. I am very tender how to do any Thing, which might give any Impediment to the King's Business now in this Parliament, if it succeed; and therefore, though I wish all Care for discovering Titles, which may help me, yet I shall, for the Time to proceed upon them, be wholly directed by you, when it may be fittest. . . .

. . . I have a great Desire to come over myself to wait on you there, and see, if I could, how your Parliament will use us, and so hath my Son; but of this I speak not here, neither can tell what I shall do. I hope shortly we shall hear again from your Lordship: In the mean Time, and ever, I shall wish all Health and Happiness to attend you, your noble Lady, the little Housekeeper, and all yours, and remain ever,

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Whitehall, 16th April 1634².

A confidential letter from the King to Wentworth must have crossed the Irish Channel by the same messenger, for it bears date April 17th.

King Charles to Lord Deputy Wentworth. (Extract.)

Wentworthe

The great Dispatch that your Brother brought me, has given me so much Satisfaction, that I could not but testify it by my own Hand. Though

¹ *Strafford's Letters*, Vol. I, p. 223. The Lord Deputy to the Earl Marshal. Dublin, 22nd March, 1633 (1634).

² *Ibid.* p. 232. The Lord Marshal to the Lord Deputy, Whitehall, 16th April, 1634.

I know you will find my publick Letters anufe to your Contentment, and full anufe to make this short; yet there is one General and one Particular, that I will name to you to take Care of, to wit, the Parliament and Arundel: In a Word, to content them both, so far as may not be to my Prejudice. As for Arundel, I need say no more; but as for that Hydra, take good Heed; for you know that here I have found it as well cunning as malicious....

So I rest

Your assured Friend

CHARLES R.

London, Apr. 17th, 1634¹.

Lord Maltravers was returned for the Parliament that met in Dublin in 1634, as member for Callan, in Co. Kilkenny²; and in August a letter from Wentworth to Secretary Windebank shows that Lord Arundel had achieved his purpose, and, with his son, was paying a brief visit to the Lord Deputy in Dublin³.

Lord Deputy Wentworth to Secretary Windebank.

Sir

We have had the Honour of my Lord Marshal's Presence these five or six Days. His Lordship and my Lord Maltravers were yesterday both sworn of this Council, and we that are members there hold ourselves much dignified by so noble an Association. It fortun'd that the same day we were in Council upon the Graces, what Advice was fit for us humbly to present to his Majesty, wherein, according to the acquired Habit his Lordship hath got in the wise and sound Understanding of Affairs of that Nature, he gave us excellent Assistance. The Resolution there taken I conceive tends much to the King's Honour and Service, and the Account I will with all possible speed transmit to your Brother Secretary⁴, to which I shall crave leave to refer you: But for the present I cannot but let you know, how judiciously and faithfully his Lordship expressed himself for the Crown, which is his peculiar, and well known to you; nor, to say Truth, did I ever know him do otherwise in those Cases wheresoever the Occasion presented itself.

This Night (being to begin his Journey tomorrow) his Lordship with much Modesty moved me in his own Business, concerning his Purpose of intitling his Majesty to some Lands in this Kingdom, formerly belonging to his Ancestors, desiring my Opinion, whether they might now be fitly stirred in, without Prejudice to other his Majesty's Services, and that I would signify the same unto you.

¹ *Strafford's Letters*, Vol. I, p. 233. The King to the Lord Deputy, 17th April, 1634.

² *Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1633-1647*, Vol. II, p. 64. Names of the knights, citizens and burgesses of the present Parliament holden in Dublin, 14 July (1634).

³ Walker (*Historical Discourses*, p. 214) says: "If I forget not, he in 1633 pass'd into Ireland to visit his then great Friend, Thomas Viscount Wentworth, Lord Deputy of Ireland, where he was nobly received and entertained, and sworn a Counsellor of that Kingdom...." The date should clearly be 1634.

⁴ Secretary Coke.

And surely I judge the Season very proper, and shall be ready upon Notice of his Majesty's good Pleasure to give the best Assistance thereunto that possibly I can, according to his Majesty's former gracious Recommendations of his Affairs unto me: In Expectance whereof I remain

Your faithful humble Servant

WENTWORTH.

Dublin, this 11th of August, 1634¹.

Two letters, written by Lord Arundel in April and May, 1635, show the cordial relations unabated. When writing the earlier of the two, he was laid up with a very severe attack of gout. He fears more, however, his "cousin of Suffolk's disease, of debility of the limbs." Happily his illness passed off without so grave a sequel; though it is evident that for a time he was seriously unwell². A little later, fresh directions emanate from the King, to grant to the Earl of Arundel and Surrey the seigneuries of Catherlagh and Old Ross, held by his ancestors in Leinster, and the seigneurie and lordship of Wexford, held by those of his wife³.

It was in April of the following year, 1636, just before Arundel started on his long embassy to Germany, that a letter written by him to the Lord Deputy revealed the first rift in the friendship.

The Earl of Arundel to Lord Deputy Wentworth.

Noble Lord

I Have forborn to write unto you of late in respect I hoped to have seen your Lordship here shortly, understanding that you were to come hither soon; thinking it fitter to speak unto your Lordship freely myself what was in my Heart, than to commit it to Paper, which might come to others View, especially when I took anything less kindly at your Lordship's Hands, than I had done formerly. The short is, when I remembered what noble and constant Friendship your Lordship had formerly shewed me, both here and in my Affairs in Ireland, and I relying wholly upon your Counsels here, and Directions to my Agents there, you were pleased not only so much, but by such a way, to lessen my Pretences there as might make me little grateful in that Kingdom, and make me appear both to his Majesty indiscreet, and to others fallen from your Lordship's Respect, when you were entreated to mould my Business as you thought best. This, I confess, I was sorry for, because I loved you so much, and, turning of the Case, I should not have done so to your Lordship.

This I meant freely to have communicated and reasoned at large by Word of Mouth, which since I cannot now, I have acquainted my Wife and my Son withal: and I hope your Lordship will notwithstanding

¹ *Strafford's Letters*, Vol. i, p. 276.

² *Ibid.* Vol. i, pp. 415 and 417. The Earl Marshal to the Lord Deputy, Arundell House, 30th Apr. and 3rd May, 1635.

³ *Cal. State Papers, Ireland*, 1633-1647, Vol. II, p. 105. The King to the Lord Deputy for the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, 5th June, 1635.

assist me with your best Wishes and Prayers in this so desperate a Business, which would not want Enemies enough in our own Country and Court, if it wanted in Germany. Whether I live or die, I wish your Lordship all Happiness, as

Your Lordship's very affectionate Friend to command,

ARUNDEL AND SURREY.

Greenwich April 7, 1636¹.

It does not seem as though a letter such as the foregoing should have produced a permanent quarrel, had Wentworth been really anxious to heal the breach. There is a gentleness in Arundel's words notwithstanding the reproach they convey, which seems to leave the door open for reconciliation had it been heartily desired. Wentworth, however, was a difficult man to appease, when once he had taken offence. "Personally," says Dr Gardiner, "he was most lovable by all who submitted to his influence, with an imperious temper towards all who thwarted him²." So long as Arundel committed his affairs entirely to Wentworth's judgment, all went well. Then an occasion arose when the Earl Marshal procured a letter from the King, ordering certain steps to be taken in his favour, without having previously consulted the Lord Deputy. Instantly the resentment of the latter was aflame. All his good offices were reversed. It does not appear clear whether the letter in question referred to property, or to an order to protect one John Jones, an agent working in Ireland for Lord Arundel, to establish the King's title to certain lands. In any case, Wentworth violently objected to Arundel's claim in this instance, whether justly or not it is difficult to decide; and to his agent, on whom the Lord Deputy heaped unmeasured abuse.

In a letter to the King, Wentworth avers that Arundel's communication of the 7th April was long in reaching him. Be that as it may, it was not till August that he replied to it. He then despatched to the Earl Marshal a letter of immense length, in which he seeks to justify all his proceedings, and declines to execute the proposition for which Arundel had obtained royal sanction. The demand, declared the Lord Deputy, could not be effected "without a foul and main breach as well of publick as private faith³." He proceeds to advise what in the circumstances Arundel should do; and protests once more his desire to serve him to the best of his power. As the King had ordered him to do this, and that Wentworth enclosed to

¹ *Strafford's Letters*, Vol. II, p. 3. The Earl Marshal to the Lord Deputy, 7th April, 1636. The "desperate business" alluded to is, of course, the embassy to the Emperor regarding the affairs of the Palatinate.

² *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Art. "Wentworth."

³ *Strafford's Letters*, Vol. II, p. 29. The Lord Deputy to the Earl Marshal, 26th Aug., 1636.



Arundel Club Photo, by kind permission

Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, with his grandson Thomas Howard

By Van Dyck

Circa 1635

his Majesty a copy of his letter to the Earl Marshal, perhaps too much importance need not be attached to these asseverations. In any case, it was hardly likely that a man of Arundel's hypersensitive temperament would accept such a rebuff without resentment; nor was it couched in language which was likely to diminish his ire.

Lady Arundel evidently tried to act as mediator, and to smooth things over. She had an interview with Wentworth during one of his visits to London while Arundel was in Germany; and in September wrote him the following letter, the last on the subject to be found in the Strafford papers.

The Countess of Arundel to the Lord Deputy.

My Lord

I did not think the Time long till I heard from you concerning the Business I recommended to your good Favour, because I knew you would take the first Opportunity your great Affairs would spare you to remember us, and put us into the most hopeful Way of good Success.

I have now received your Packet by your Servant. That to my Lord I will send away by the first Conveniency, and attend his Directions. In the mean time I do return to your Lordship my hearty Thanks for the great Pains and Care you have been pleased to take to inform yourself, and make me know, in what State that Business stands, which, if it did merely concern myself, I would wholly put into your Hands, and be assured of the best Advantage by it; because I know no Man in the whole World, in whom Reason and Experience can warrant me to put more Confidence. In which opinion I shall constantly remain, and be glad of any Occasion to give you Assurance of it, and that I am really and heartily

Your Lordship's most faithful Friend and Servant

A. ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Latham, Sept. 5, 1636¹.

Here we have outstripped our narrative in order to complete the story of the relations with Wentworth. We must now turn back a step or two, to record an interesting artistic event, which probably took place in the year 1635. This was the coming into being of the fine double-portrait, by Van Dyck, of Lord Arundel and his eldest grandson, Thomas Howard; of which the splendid and "undoubted original²" adorns the walls of Arundel Castle.

Lord Arundel, clad in full armour, and wearing, on a double chain, the medallion of the Garter, is seen standing at three-quarter length. With his right hand he grasps the Earl Marshal's staff; his left is extended to enfold his little grandson, who stands at his side, and like him is bareheaded. A curtain is draped behind the child:

¹ *Strafford's Letters*, Vol. II, p. 32. The Countess of Arundel to the Lord Deputy, 5th Sept., 1636.

² *Anthony Van Dyck*, by Lionel Cust, F.S.A., p. 132.

the deeper background is divided by the familiar Van Dyck cliff, the outline of which is broken by a few leafy sprigs.

This is perhaps the finest of several versions of Lord Arundel in armour which emanated from the studio of Van Dyck in the period we are now considering. Apparently the same drawing served for each painting until the "Madagascar" picture, executed probably in 1639, brought an entirely new presentment of Lord Arundel; older, with thinner hair, and quite distinct in type from the earlier portraits now under review.

Two points have hitherto been doubtful in connection with the group of Lord Arundel and his grandson: (1) its date; (2) which grandson is represented. Both questions are now set at rest by Lord Arundel's own testimony. In a letter written by him from Ratisbon in November, 1636, to Mr Petty at Rome, he states that he is sending by Francesco (Vercellini) "a Picture of my owne and my little Tom bye me¹," which he wishes reproduced in marble as a bas-relief, by a young sculptor at Florence whose skill he is anxious to test. He would like Cavaliere Bernino, or another sculptor, to do a second version of the same. It will be recalled that, just about this time, King Charles was sending the three heads painted of him by Van Dyck, to Bernini, to make a bust from; a fact which lends additional point to Lord Arundel's commission.

What came of the quest, does not transpire. At the date of this letter, Arundel had already been absent from England many months, on his Embassy to the Emperor. The picture must, therefore, have been painted a considerable time before the letter was written; and the age of the child, which appears to be seven or eight, harmonizes well with the date of 1635, or thereabouts. (Thomas Howard, the eldest son of Lord Maltravers, was born in 1627.) Moreover the deep lines which furrow the noble countenance of Lord Arundel, speak eloquently of recent illness, of which we know that he had a severe attack in the spring of 1635.

There is a fine bust-portrait, in an oval, of Lord Arundel, which shows the same head, apparently slightly younger, that is seen in the group with his grandson². Yet another version, a full-length in armour, is in the possession of Lord Clarendon at the Grove.

The misconception by which this group of pictures has sometimes been referred to the year 1639, arose partly, perhaps, from the armour, which led to the supposition that they were painted to commemorate Arundel's appointment as Commander-in-Chief of

¹ See *post*, p. 391, where the letter is given in full.

² Norfolk House, London.

the army sent against Scotland in that year: partly from the fact that two of Hollar's engravings from this series of portraits, emphasize the date 1639, and make elaborate mention of the appointment as Generalissimo¹. But the armour in itself proves nothing. Rubens painted Arundel in armour in 1629; and all his life he had donned it frequently for the tilting-matches at Court. It is indeed probable that one of Hollar's engravings, that which was actually executed in 1639, was intended to celebrate the distinguished appointment; but Lord Arundel's letter now makes it clear that the portraits from which they were taken were painted some years before that event occurred.

A few more letters written at about this time by Lord Maltravers, on the subject of the collections, may here find a place.

Lord Maltravers to Mr William Petty.

Good Mr Petty

I have received but one letter from you this great while. I beleeve they have miscarried as ours have donne, for I wonder y^t y^u have not received your monnyes that you sent for, beeing y^t William March protests that hee hath sent twoe bills of exchange.

I hope you will use meanes that the^e *Statua* may bee brought away, and there must bee extreame care in the packing of it uppe, that no part may bee broken, it beeing so entire a thinge. I have brought some of your Neapollitan Collection hither to show Mr Survayor here, whoe is madde to see them, the like collection never yet came into England at one time.

I pray God send you all health and happinesse, and I am ever,

Your constant true frinde

H. MALTRAVERS.

Hampton Court, 13 Jan. 1636.

All Ill^{mo} Sig^r Gulielmo Petty, Roma o Fiorenza, Raccomanda: all Ill^{mo} Sig^r Antonio Thracy a Fiorenza².

The Same to the Same.

Good Mr Petty

Mr Frisell went yesterday away post towards Italy, and my Lord and I did both of us write unto you to the same purpose that I doe now, which is this, that my Lord is commanded by the King to make all possible speede to goe Ambassador to the Emperour about the Prince Pallatines businesse. He thinks to be gone with some six dayes, and to goe with a small traine. His Lo^{ps} desires you to come and meete him at Vienna as soone as you can well and with safety, for he desires extreamely to see you, and I thinke you will bee as gladd to see him. But I am very sorry that I stay behind—my brother goes.

¹ Parthey, *Wenzel Hollar*, Nos. 1351 and 1353.

² Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15970, f. 16.

My Lord likes very well of what you have donne at Naples and Roome, but hopes you will buy the young man statue, and Gaddyes drawings.

So wishing yⁿ all safety and happinesse, I rest ever,

Your most assured faythfull frinde

H. MALTRAVERS.

from Lothberry, 25 March, 1636.

My Lord and I have written word to Sig^r Francesco Vercellini y^t my Lord desires him to meete him at Vienna, but if you doe not see him, I pray send him word of it, least the letters should miscarrye. I have sent you now two duplicates of this letter to severall places.

All Ill^{mo} Sig^r Gulielmo Petty, Firensa. Ra^{to} all Sig^r An^{mo} Thracy¹.

The Same to the Same.

Good Mr Petty

I receaved your letters of the 22 March, wherin you mension some drawings y^t you had bought of Steffarony and elsewhere, and you say thus: I have bought a rare Madonna with our Saviour naked of Correggios best worke, life great, well preserved, of the Duke of Brasciano. And as I was yesterday wayting upon the King, his ma^{ty} tould me y^t he had receaved a message from you by Mr Thomas Killigrew², that you had bought for him a Madonna of Correggio, a picture with twee or three heads in it of Rafaell, and the Adonis. I tould his Ma^{ty} that certainly Mr Killigrew had mistaken the message, because I shewed his Ma^{ty} your letter of the Madonna of Correggio, which sure you intended for my Lord; and, for the Adonis, I shewed him this day one of your letters when you write that above all other things you desire to have the Adonis at Arundell House. But the King hath commanded me to write to you to know, from him, whether those things that Mr Killigrew told him of are bought for him or not, that he may take order for them accordingly.

So wishing you all happinesse, I rest ever,

Your most affectionate true frinde

H. MALTRAVERS.

Arundell House, 15 Aprill, 1636.

I have often sent word unto you and to Sig^r F. Vercellini, of my Lords going into Germany, and how hee desires you both to meete him at Vienna.

All Ill^{mo} Sig^r Gulielmo Petty, accos^{to} all Sig^r Baldino, Roma³.

¹ Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15970, f. 17. Cunningham mentions (*Life of Inigo Jones*, Shakespeare Society, p. 42) that amongst the drawings of Inigo Jones at Worcester College, Oxford, is an "upright for my Lord Maltravers his house at loatsbury (Lothbury) 1638."

² Thomas Killigrew, wit, courtier and playwright, belonged to a family of whom many members were well known. He was born in 1612, became a page to Charles I in 1633, and remained faithful to the royal cause throughout his career. He composed a large number of pieces for the stage, rented theatres, and had his own company of actors. At Court his witty talk assured him a ready welcome; notwithstanding the licence he permitted himself both in writing and conversation. In the reign of Charles II he was often called the King's jester. Killigrew and Thomas Carew were painted by Van Dyck on one canvas, now at Windsor. There are numerous other portraits and engravings of him. Killigrew was twice married. He died in 1683.

³ Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15970, f. 23.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE GREAT EMBASSY TO GERMANY.

1636.

IN May, 1635, the Duke of Bavaria was married to Maria, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand. To celebrate the event, the Peace of Prague was signed between the Emperor and the Elector of Saxony, by which the Duke was confirmed in the possession of the Upper Palatinate and in the Electoral dignity. The compact seemed a death-blow to the hopes and rights of Prince Charles Louis. His adherents felt it urgently necessary that some decisive step should at once be taken. The Queen of Bohemia was convinced that only fresh intervention by arms could bring about that in which diplomacy had so signally failed. To start a war against the whole might of the Empire, was, however, beyond possibility for Charles I. He still believed in the good offices of Spain; and his agent at Vienna, John Taylor, who was a Roman Catholic, strongly Spanish in sympathy, and consequently much disapproved by the Queen, wrote glowing accounts of the good disposition of the Emperor. Time, however, passed, and fair words were succeeded by no expected effect in fair deeds. A diet was about to be held at Ratisbon. It was feared that the assembled Electors might ratify the terms of the Treaty of Prague, and that the cause of the young Elector Palatine would then be irretrievably lost. Unable to place an army in the field, King Charles resolved to send to Ratisbon an embassy of such weight and importance that a definite answer as to the Emperor's intentions regarding the Palatinate, could not be withheld. Patience was exhausted: trifling must end.

Lord Arundel was the envoy selected for this vital mission to the Emperor. The results of the embassy were almost a foregone conclusion. He himself called it, in his last letter to Wentworth, a "desperate" business. What reason was there to hope that, for mere verbal persuasion, unbacked by force, the Emperor, head of the Roman Catholic party, would restore to a Protestant prince land and vote, which he had just succeeded in transferring to a Catholic, who was, moreover, his own son-in-law? Arundel saw the position clearly. His duty to the King, and his affection for the Queen of Bohemia and her family, had impelled him to accept the difficult task.

He gathered himself together to throw the whole weight of his capacity and experience into the endeavour to achieve success.

Before following him on his journey from England, it will not be out of place to supplement the impression derived from his portraits, by a verbal description of his striking personality, as he appeared in these years. Edward Walker accompanied the Ambassador as secretary; and it is to his eloquent pen that we owe the following vivid characterisation:

He was tall of Stature, and of Shape and proportion rather goodly than neat; his Countenance was Majestical and grave, his Visage long, his Eyes large, black and piercing; he had a hooked Nose, and some Warts or Moles on his Cheeks; his Countenance was brown, his Hair thin both on his Head and Beard; he was of a stately Presence and Gate, so that any Man that saw him, though in never so ordinary Habit, could not but conclude him to be a great Person, his Garb and Fashion drawing more Observation than did the rich Apparel of others; so that it was a common Saying of the late Earl of Carlisle, Here comes the Earl of Arundel in his plain Stuff and trunk Hose, and his Beard in his Teeth, that looks more like a Noble Man than any of us...¹.

Such was the outward semblance of the man who, on the 8th April, 1636, embarked at Margate on H.M.'s ship, the "Happy Entrance." He took with him, after all, a considerable suite. Amongst its principal members were, in addition to Walker, Sir John Borough, Dr Harvey, Crowne, the author of the official narrative of the journey², and Rusdorf, who had for many years been in the service of the Queen of Bohemia and her late husband³. Some younger persons grouped themselves round Sir William Howard, who accompanied his father:

¹ Walker, *Hist. Discourses*, p. 214. Speaking of the Scottish journey of 1633, Walker says, "All Persons strived to outvie each other in the Bravery and Riches of their Apparel and Entertainment; but this Earl kept his old Plainness, and yet wanted not the Honour and Esteem due to his Person and Quality."

² *A True Relation of all the Remarkable Places and Passages observed in the Travels of...the Earl of Arundell and Surrey...Ambassador Extraordinary to Ferdinando the second, Emperour of Germanie....1636.* By William Crowne, Gentleman. The book was published in 1637 and dedicated to Lord Arundel's grandson Thomas Howard.

The sources for Arundel's embassy of 1636 are voluminous. Numerous letters written by him to secretary Windebank are printed in the *Clarendon State Papers*; much information is to be found in the *Calendar of State Papers*; and a great number of his letters, still unpublished, are among the *State Papers, Germany*, preserved at the Public Record Office. The foregoing deal with the official side of his mission. Other letters, relating to works of art, etc., may be seen in the *Add. MS.* 15970, at the Brit. Museum; and yet others, of mixed import, amongst the Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, etc.

³ Arundel had asked and obtained the King's permission to take Selden with him on the embassy to Germany, but Selden shrank from such an undertaking, being, as was well known, "a most tender (delicate) man" (*Court and Times of Charles I.*, Vol. II, p. 238). In 1634, Arundel had settled on Selden an annuity of £50, for his life; adding as a postscript to the deed by which this was appointed, "I do also give one buck yeerly out of my great parke of Arundell to be delivered

these were Francis Windebank, a son of the Secretary of State of that name, and Sir John Borough's son. The rank and file, messengers, servants, and officers of various sorts, swelled the company to a small army. The expense was enormous, but there can be no doubt that in the unsettled and dangerous country they had to pass through, their safety often lay in their numbers.

On the 10th April they reached Helvoets Sluis; whence the Ambassador proceeded with all haste to the Hague. Here he remained three days, during which important interviews took place with the Queen of Bohemia and the States of Holland. The latter received him with every mark of honour and distinction. The Prince of Orange, on whom he had, on his former mission to the Hague, made so favourable an impression, expressed himself cordially with regard to the objects of the present embassy, though in general terms.

Elizabeth herself was torn by conflicting feelings; as her letters to her trusted friend, Sir Thomas Roe, and to the Archbishop of Canterbury, make evident. Her eldest son, and Prince Rupert, were now in England, as the guests of their uncle, the King. Prince Charles Louis was discontented at the indecisive nature of the instructions given to Arundel; an indecision which the haste of youth was disposed to attribute to lukewarmness on the part of the Ambassador himself. Elizabeth's friendship for Lord Arundel was too old and too securely founded to admit of any doubt as to his constancy to her cause. She, too, however, was dismayed when she found by the King's letter to her, delivered by Arundel, that the instructions were couched in somewhat vague terms, and failed to bind the Emperor to any particular point. The fact was that Charles had given Lord Arundel, in addition to the written instructions, secret verbal directions, which bestowed upon him much fuller powers of negotiation, in case he should see his way to make them effective. Both King and Ambassador were too experienced not to know the folly of sounding the loud trumpet unless it could be backed by the sword. The Queen of Bohemia, on the other hand, who saw the Continental point of view, and the somewhat scornful attitude assumed towards the verbose diplomacy of England, kept hoping against hope that her brother would at last send an army across the Channel to make good her son's claims. She dreaded the acceptance of a compromise by Arundel, based on the cession of a part only of

whensoever and wheresoever my good friend, Mr John Selden under his hand shall signifie; and whensoever he shall come, he shall have the best sport my þke can afford." The annuity was given (as the deed records) in recognition of various legal services rendered by Selden, and others in connection with the "antiquities." (MS. Norfolk House.)

the inheritance, leaving the remainder to be settled by future negotiation. In her opinion, what was not yielded at once, would never be yielded at all. She had an interesting correspondence with Archbishop Laud, which very clearly reveals her point of view. The Archbishop upbraided her war-like spirit.

Although the Queen believed, and, as the event proved, rightly, that further negotiation would lead to no effective result, Arundel left the Hague feeling that he had at least made the King her brother's reasoning plain to her, and had convinced her that he, the Ambassador, would fail in nothing that might tend to the accomplishment of her desire.

On the 14th April, the company started in waggons on their further journey; calling at Utrecht on the way, where the Earl Marshal visited the younger sons of the Queen of Bohemia, who were at school there. Next day, they passed through Rhenen, and saw the Queen's house; sleeping that night at Arnheim. They now entered the war zone, and incurred some danger. Requesting of the Spaniards a passage through Schenck's Sconce, it was refused, on the ground that they had no permit to that effect. The Dutch Commander, however, sent Lord Arundel a message that he was advancing to the assault that night, and would give them a passage through next day; which accordingly took place. After a cordial reception at the General's tent, they embarked on the Rhine, and proceeded on their journey.

They were now getting into a district ravaged by plague, war and famine. At Wesel, the sickness was so virulent that it was unsafe to sleep in the place, and they remained on board all night. Next morning, however, they landed, and proceeded in eighteen waggons, on three of which the English colours were displayed, to Duisburg. Here they dined—the midday meal being so designated—outside the gates, which had been hastily closed against them, in the fear that they might be an enemy. In the afternoon, proceeding on their way, they had to pass through a long and dangerous wood. Arundel had taken the precaution to order a convoy of musketeers to come from the next town, to meet and escort them. These gallants, however, only joined them on the other side of the wood, which they consequently had to traverse unprotected. They actually passed within sight of the miscreants who infested it; but the latter did not dare to attack so large a party.

At Düsseldorf, the Duke and Duchess of Neuburg were walking out when they perceived the long train approaching. Mistaking its import, like the folk of Duisburg, they rushed to get the gates shut.

Quickly discovering their error, their fear was then turned into joy, and a splendid welcome extended to the English envoy and his suite. Coaches were sent out to meet them, the Duke's house thrown open to them, and, after hospitable entertainment, they were despatched on their way next morning with a military escort, to the sound of trumpets and ordnance.

The following night found them at Cologne, the only plague-free city they had yet come to. Here they remained a week, for many preparations had to be made for the further journey. The country between Cologne and Frankfort, they learned, was almost depopulated by war and plague. No food would be obtainable on the way. It was necessary, therefore, to lay in all supplies beforehand. Meanwhile, here as everywhere, they spent the time in seeing all the sights of the place; it sounds quite modern to hear of them visiting the Cathedral, and the Church of St Ursula, in the best spirit of the professed tourist! The civic and ecclesiastical authorities showered attentions upon them: presents of Rhine-wine were amusingly introduced by Latin orations.

The Earl of Arundel to Mr Secretary Windebank.

Good Mr Secretary

The best news I can write is, that your good son is well¹; and all we, God be thanked! here at Cologne. The Elector of Mentz, being here in this town, is very kind to me, and to the chief part of my negotiation, which is peace, and promises all good offices: and, in truth, I hope he will perform it, as time serves, he being heartily for peace, and the liberty of Germany.

The time of the Diet holding certainly, 7^o Junii, *Stilo novo*, I must make haste to wait upon the Emperor before, and all little enough. I desire I may not want what shall be fit for my negotiation; which is the copy of the Earl of Leicester's commission and instructions into France, the King's Majesty our master's general letter of credence to all the College of Electors, and our Prince Elector's, according to a memorial I send you here enclosed. I hope I shall hear shortly what the Ablegate brings.

I have been this evening at the Jesuit's fair new Church and College in this town, where they used me with all civility; as Mr Bilderbeck, the Holland Agent, who was with me, told me they did the Holland Ambassador lately there. I found in the College little Dr Hervey, who means to convert them.

God send us a happy success, and happy meeting: and [so I] ever rest

Your Honour's faithful Friend to command,

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Colonia, 6 May, 1636. *Stilo novo*².

¹ Young Windebank had been indisposed on the journey from the Hague, and remained at Leyden a night in the care of Dr Harvey. But he quickly recovered, and both rejoined the party next day.

² Clarendon, *State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 519. Original in P.R.O.

On the 28th April (old style) the Ambassador and his train started up the Rhine in a boat drawn by nine horses; passing "many villages pillaged and shot downe, and many brave vineyards on mountains along the river side." Bonn¹, the Siebengebirge with the Drachenfels, Nonnenwerth, and the other landmarks so familiar to the traveller of to-day, all came in for their due share of attention. Sleeping on board, they arrived next day at Coblentz, just taken from the French by the forces of the Emperor. Both parties showed great politeness to Lord Arundel, and arranged a truce while he passed through, the French being still close by at Ehrenbreitstein, whither they had retired from the town. The Imperial general begged Arundel to stay and dine, but, anxious to incur no delay, he declined the invitation, and anchored that night off Boppard². After passing Oberwesel, they entered the territory of the Lower Palatinate.

Many ruined villages and "many pictures of our Saviour and the Virgin Mary set up at the turnings of the water," they saw, as they glided slowly up stream, on their tranquil way. The pleasant vines on the mountains offered a sharp contrast to the wreck and desolation of human habitations. The Thirty Years' War, of which some eighteen had now elapsed, had graven deep scars on the once smiling face of the Rhineland. At Rüdesheim the population seemed almost frenzied by hunger, and fought among themselves for the food which Lord Arundel caused to be dispensed amongst them.

At Mayence the Ambassador's party slept, as usual, on ship-board, for the town was wretchedly battered, and possessed no food. Their eyes rested with warm interest on "the faire corner house, towards the river's side," in which the King of Bohemia had died. As was his custom, Lord Arundel distributed relief amongst the starving population, who, at sight of food, struggled so violently to obtain it, that some fell into the Rhine, and narrowly escaped being drowned. The whole way from Cologne to Mayence, every town, village and castle was burnt, pillaged and battered, and the region was so unsafe that at night all the company took it in turn to keep watch.

Leaving the Rhine, the party travelled by the Main to Frankfort. Here they stayed four days, while the carriages were prepared for the land journey which now awaited them. As before, they passed their time in sight-seeing; visiting the hall of the Diet, the Church of St Bartholomew, and other places of interest.

¹ Arundel had expected here to see the Elector of Cologne, but found he had retired to some place in the country leaving no message. The ambassador interpreted this, no doubt correctly, as due to antagonism to the objects of his mission.

² P.R.O., *State Papers, Foreign, Germany*, Book 9, f. 149. Earl of Arundel to Secretary Coke, 1st May, 1636. Crowne, *True Relation*, etc., p. 8.

On the 7th May they made their start in waggons, with an escort of musketeers; for they were now about to pass through difficult and dangerous country, where war was being waged in earnest. As they travelled through the Odenwald, they could hear the booming of the Emperor's guns, besieging Hanau, but a few miles away. Across hill and dale they slowly wound their way through scenes of terrible desolation¹. On one occasion they came at evening to a "poor village," Neunkirchen, entirely deserted, one house burning. Here they walked up and down all night with their carabines in their hands, hearing the roar of the guns posted in woods all round them. Arundel had his supper cooked in part of the embers of the burning house, which they afterwards discovered had been set on fire because infected by the plague. But in spite of the hardships of the night, his Excellency went next morning early to see the Church, which he found rifled; pictures and altars despoiled, unburied corpses lying about in the Churchyard.

At last, on the 10th May, they reached Würzburg. Here they made no long stay; for the report of the early assembling of the Diet rendered it imperative to press forward. On the following day, therefore, they were off again, now on their way towards Nuremberg. At one village they slept on the bare boards, the place having been pillaged only the day before. Starving children stood in the doorways of the hamlets they came through, to whom, and to their parents, Arundel distributed food. Of great interest to the Englishmen was the site which had been occupied by the King of Sweden's camp, at the time when the King of Bohemia and Lord Craven² were with him.

¹ Aubrey (*Letters of Eminent Persons*, etc.) gives an amusing account of Dr Harvey when on this journey:

"He was...a great favourite of the Lord High Marshall of England Tho. Howard Earl of Arundel and Surrey with whom he travelled as his Physitian on his Ambassade to the Emperor....Mr. W. Hollar (who was then one of His Excellency's Gentlemen) told me that in his voyage he would still be making of excursions into the woods, making observations of strange trees and plants, earths etc. and sometimes like to be lost. So that My Lord Ambassador would be really angry with him, for there was not only danger of thieves but also of wild beasts." Aubrey says, Dr Harvey, "was not tall but of the lowest stature, round-faced, olivaster (like wainscot) complexion; little, eie, round, very black, full of spirit; his haire was black as a Raven, but quite white twenty-yeares before he died...."

² William, Earl of Craven, born in 1606, was one of the most chivalrous and devoted of the adherents of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, and remained her faithful friend till her death in 1662. In 1631, he was given a command in the troop raised in England for the assistance of the Palatine family, and with the King of Bohemia joined the army of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden. In 1638, Craven was severely wounded at the battle of Gohfeld, and, with Prince Rupert, taken prisoner; but was released the following year. His generosity was unbounded, and he assisted with his large means not only Elizabeth, but Charles I and II.

On the 11th May, they arrived at Nuremberg. Very thankful must the Ambassador and his staff have been, after their long and hazardous journey, to repose once more in civilized quarters. The city authorities came to pay their respects, and treated their distinguished visitor with every mark of honour.

From Nuremberg, Arundel wrote home to both Secretaries of State, Sir John Coke and Secretary Windebank, informing them of his arrival there, and of the anxiety he felt at receiving no letters from England. He also speaks in almost every despatch of the terrible price of everything, begging that more money may be sent him; and deploras having been insufficiently provided with letters of credence to the notabilities through whose lands he was to pass¹.

Mr Taylor, the English agent who had hitherto had charge of the negotiations, came to Nuremberg to give the Ambassador the latest tidings of the Emperor, and of the general prospect. As a consequence of his information, less haste was needed than had at first been anticipated. The Emperor was at Linz, pending the arrival at Ratisbon of the Electors, who seemed in no hurry to assemble. The King of Hungary, who ultimately succeeded his father on the Imperial throne, was said to be coming immediately to Nördlingen, and to desire Lord Arundel might meet him there. The Ambassador prepared at once to fulfil this wish; but the King of Hungary changed his plans, Arundel thought with intention, and the interview was abandoned. Instead, Lord Arundel settled to go to Ratisbon, and thence to Linz to see the Emperor. Meanwhile the eleven days sojourn at Nuremberg, were pleasantly occupied with the interests so dear to his heart: visits to the sights best worth seeing, and the search for works of art to add to his collections. Of the poor results of the latter quest, he gives Mr Petty an interesting account in a letter printed below. In the "Dome," they were taken to see "a very stately picture of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, which hung in the middle of the Quire, drawne up, which had not been shewed to any in eighteen years before²." The chief event of Lord Arundel's stay at Nuremberg, was undoubtedly his purchase of the famous Dirkheimer Library.

His father had been Lord Mayor of London, and had bought Combe Abbey, where Elizabeth was brought up: and here, at her death, Lord Craven placed (and there still remains) the wonderful collection of portraits, Stuart and Palatine, which the Queen bequeathed to him. Lord Craven died in 1697.

¹ P. R. O., *State Papers, Foreign, Germany*, Book 9, f. 154. Earl of Arundel to Secretary Coke. Nuremberg, $\frac{30}{8}$ May, 1636.

² Crowne, *True Relation*, etc., p. 13.

The Earl of Arundel to Secretary Windebank. (Extract.)

Good Mr Secretary

All I can write from hence is, that we are safely arrived here, God be thanked! For myself, ill accidents of health daily increase upon me, yet not so but I am able to go up and down, and should be heartily glad to see this business put in a good way before I die.

We have received no word from you in England since we came thence, which seems very strange, and of some discomfort and discountenance; therefore I beseech you to solicit his Majesty, that weekly [? letters] may be constantly sent, though it be but, That all is well, and there is no change. I remember my Lord of Salisbury often told me, That he never missed [a] week to write to every Ambassador and Minister the King had abroad: and now, in this active business and time, it is rather needful to send a post extraordinary, to no purpose but only to amuse them, than to omit to send by all ordinary ways; especially when the Ministers of the Emperor and of Spain in London will omit no diligence of writing; and you may guess how contemptible I shall remain, when news shall be sent of England to the Emperor's Court of which I shall be ignorant. I write the more upon this subject, as foreseeing the effects that may follow upon it. Yesterday Mr Taylor came hither; who seems a very honest, well affected man: he will let you know how affairs stand. He tells me you have written unto him, how much it concerns him to use diligence that all things may succeed well, since the King hath proceeded so far upon his dispatches: he hopes well, notwithstanding the Dutchess of Bavaria is with child¹. I can say nothing yet, but that, I conceive, the point will be, that the King our master's friendship may be valued before the Duke of Bavaria's; which I shall endeavour to make them see. In the mean time, I hope, in England the reputation of our fleet, and the kind usage of those Ministers, will help well to what I shall say here. . . .

I find your son like his father in goodness; which must make me love him accordingly, and pray for all happiness to your self, your good lady, and all yours; as becomes

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Nuremberg, Saturday, 14th May, 1636, Stilo veteri².

The Earl of Arundel to Mr Petty.

Good Mr Petty

I knowe not where this rogue Quarke may find y^u, but I pray be carefull that he be kept from disorder. . . .

I shall be shortly (by Gods Grace) with the Emperor at Lintz, where I hope to see y^u and Francesco. I am come in Portte, as it were, and found a most myserable COUNTRY, and nothinge by y^e way to be bought of any

¹ The Palatinate had unfortunately been settled on the Duke of Bavaria and his heirs male. There had been some hope, had he died childless, that it might have been restored at his death, to Prince Charles Louis. This hope was frustrated by the birth of a son to the Duke, a few months after this letter was written.

² Clarendon, *State Papers*, Vol. 1, p. 529.

momente, heere in this towne being not one scrach of Alb: Duers paintinge in oyle to be sold, though it were his Countrye, nor of Holbien, nor any other greate Master. They say within these three or four yeeres greate store of good thinges have bin carryed out at easy rates; and, not longe since, a Lifehever¹ dyinge, an Italian hath bought and carryed away many of $\overline{\text{A}}$ drawinges.

I hope I shall see y^u shortly at Lintz. I have one Hollarse² wth me, whoe drawes and eches Printes in stronge water quickly, and wth a pretty spiritte.

Soe with my best wishes I rest

Y^r assured frende

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Norimberge Tuesday, $\frac{27}{17}$ May, 1636.

To my very lovinge friend Mr William Pettye at Venice³.

The Ambassador and his suite left Nuremberg on the 22nd May for Ratisbon, where they remained a week. They then started in four boats down the Danube, on their way to Linz. It was the beginning of an attractive tour. Many monasteries and other objects of interest were visited. Nor did Arundel forget his usual charities. At one of their halting-places, Vilshoven, there was a poor deaf and dumb boy, led by his sister. The Ambassador took them both on his boat to Passau, gave them new clothes, and money, and sent them back to their friends. At Passau, where the green Danube, white Inn, and black Ilz, unite in one stream, the party remained three days. Here they climbed to a Capuchin monastery on a high hill, visited the Lady Chapel on the crest, and descended 274 steps to another Chapel far below.

Continuing the descent of the Danube, they arrived at Linz,

¹ Mutilated, but the word intended is evidently "Leeffhebber" (Dutch) = amateur of art. Peacham says (*Compleat Gentleman*, p. 105): "What the Italians call 'Virtuosi,' the Dutch term 'Leeffhebbers'."

² Wenceslaus Hollar was born at Prague in 1607, and studied engraving under Matthew Merian at Frankfort. He had been living three years at Cologne when Arundel passed through, saw his engraving of the city of Prague, and engaged him in his service. Hollar now accompanied Arundel on his travels, and returned with him to England. He remained with the Earl Marshal till the latter left England for good, in 1642. Hollar then became entangled in the Civil Wars, fighting on the Royalist side; was present and made prisoner at the siege of Basing; escaped to Antwerp 1644; returned to England 1652; visited Tangier in the suite of Henry Howard 1669; died in England 1677. Hollar's first wife was "Mrs Tracy," "wayting-woman" to Aletheia, Countess of Arundel, by whom he had a daughter of remarkable beauty, and a son who died young. By a second marriage, he had several other children. Hollar was a kindly, simple-minded man, generous, improvident, and often in want. Besides their intrinsic worth, we owe to his engravings, with the familiar inscription, "Ex Collectione Arundeliana," an immense amount of information, otherwise unattainable, respecting the composition of the Arundel gallery.

³ Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15970, f. 26.

where some of the chief officials of the Court were at once sent to greet them. On the 6th June, the Ambassador had his first audience of the Emperor. Coaches were sent to fetch him and his attendants, and they were received with much ceremonious courtesy. Having ascended four flights of stairs lined with Guards, Lord Arundel was introduced alone to the presence of the monarch. His audience terminated, the officials of the suite were next brought in, to kiss his Majesty's hands. The Ambassador was then conducted to pay his respects to the Empress; but, on this first occasion, none of the subordinate officials were invited to enter her presence.

Another interview was granted a few days later, but proved equally barren of result for the business of Lord Arundel's embassy. He therefore pressed for a third audience, at which he represented that no long parleying was necessary after the discussions that had already taken place, and the promises given. The question contained only two points: (1) restitution of lands, and (2) of dignities. The Ambassador begged the Emperor to give him a plain answer as to whether he intended to content the King, his Master.

Thereupon the Emperor hummed and hawed, and declared that in matters of such weight he never gave personal answers, but delegated them to his Commissioners, of whom he had appointed three to negotiate with Lord Arundel¹. Being satisfied that the latter possessed plenipotentiary powers, he had conferred the same on the Imperial Commissioners. What then, was Arundel's surprise, not unmixed with indignation, to find, when shown the Emperor's written authority to the latter, a clause, attributed to Mr Taylor, that King Charles offered to the Emperor a league, offensive and defensive, with England! When it is remembered that Arundel's embassy was undertaken solely in the interests of the Prince Palatine, whose family had for years been engaged in deadly war with the Empire, the cynical dishonesty of the interpolation, can hardly be over-estimated. Had the English Ambassador not insisted on seeing the document, or failed to perceive the bearing of the obnoxious phrase, the results might have been disastrous.

As it was, considerable commotion was aroused. Taylor absolutely denied having promised any such thing. Arundel was disposed to believe him; especially as the chief Imperial Commissioner waved the matter airily on one side, as a mistake of the Secretary who drafted the paper². The episode revealed itself as an intrigue of blackest hue, designed to set a trap for the English Ambassador.

¹ The Bishop of Vienna, Vice-Chancellor Strahlendorff, and Dr Gebherd.

² Clarendon, *State Papers*, Vol. 1, p. 572. Earl of Arundel to Secretary Windebank, Lintz, 28 June, 1636.

The real fact was that the Emperor's whole object in calling the Diet was to get his son, the King of Hungary, elected King of the Romans, in order to pave the way for his ultimate succession to the Imperial throne¹. The aim of Arundel's mission was directly inimical to this cherished project. To effect what the King of England desired would deprive the Duke of Bavaria of the electoral vote; one of those on which the Emperor was counting in favour of his son. So as there was no object in making an unnecessary enemy, a direct refusal was avoided. Empty words and barren promises, spread attractively over more than one carefully prepared pitfall, were offered to the Ambassador with every semblance of goodwill. Arundel came to the conclusion that nothing was to be effected but what "the extremity of their affairs shall compel them unto," and asked for further instructions from home. He never had, he writes, the least invitation to treat of business but what he must often and often press for; and even so can procure no resolution or means tending to dispatch. Meanwhile he is "entertained and feasted with good cheer"; combined, however, with "a general unwillingness to talk of business."

The festivities comprised a dinner given to the Ambassador by Count Megau (High Steward of the Emperor's Household), and a ball by Count Slawata (Chancellor of Prague), to which Arundel and his suite were invited by order of the Empress. But he had not made the long and toilsome journey only to partake of social amenities; and in the unsatisfactory state of the negotiations, he resolved to "take the air" for a time, away from Court. His design was to meet the Emperor again at Ratisbon, by which time he hoped they would be moved to "think better of their affairs."

Mr William Howard, a cousin attached to the embassy, was somewhat disturbed at the independent spirit manifested in this move. He feared it might be taken amiss, and react unfavourably on the business in hand. In some alarm, he wrote to beg Secretary Windbank to give his chief a hint to preserve patience². "He naturally hates delay in anything," wrote Mr Howard, who, like Taylor, was still very sanguine as to the outcome of the negotiations. But Arundel gauged the situation more correctly. He felt it was inconsistent with the dignity of his master, King Charles, that the envoy who represented him, should be kept hanging about, on every frivolous pretence, and denied an answer. He saw that the best way to bring this home, was to absent himself for a while from the Imperial Court.

Meanwhile his private correspondence was not neglected. When

¹ This actually happened the following year, on the death of the Emperor.

² Clarendon, *State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 581. William Howard to Secretary Windbank, Lintz, 3rd July (Stilo novo), 1636.

it became evident that the Ambassador's stay in Germany might be protracted, several unofficial members of his party, Francis Windbank, Sir John Borough's son, and Dr Harvey, desired to seize the opportunity to visit Italy. Allusions to these excursions are to be found in several letters despatched to Mr Petty at about this time.

The Earl of Arundel to Mr Petty.

Good Mr Petty

I received juste nowe y^r letters, and am gladde M^r Friselle came soe happily to helpe y^u to packe up y^r designes at Livorne, of w^{ch} he writes wonders, yet noe more then I am confidente they deserve. I wrote unto y^u before in answere of what y^u wrote unto me, that in case y^u thought it the safer for y^e designes to goe by lande then by sea, y^u might send them hither to me, to goe hoame wth me; but that I leave wholly to y^u to doe what y^u thinke best for them, I havinge nothinge of desire in me to see them sooner, but to doe what you finde best and safeste for them.

I shoulde be gladde to see y^u soone, but I conceive it would be fitter for y^u to goe nowe to Rome and strike whileste y^e Iron is hotte, and resolutely by [buy] y^e Statua; and, if y^u can, y^e other of Sig^f Vitellescoes and the Humanum Sacrificiam. Be carefull to have y^e Intayle of y^e Statua broken to y^e Citty and People of Rome, and the Statua delivered out of y^e Territory, w^{ch} y^e Patroni are to see done, and even offered it. I doubt not but y^u will see all done as it ought, and speedily.

Remember Gadd[ys] Torzo, if to be had for reason. The Great Duke hath lately written me a moste kinde and noble letter. M^r Boothouse [h]as written to me freely offeringe what somes I will, and by this I write to him to assiste y^u wth what I shall neede. Goe on wth Courage; I doubt not my negotiation will hold me heere till y^u may well come after all is done.

Y^u doe well to write to my Sonne of Tom: Killegrewes businesse, which is nothinge but an idle fellowe tellinge broken pieces and packinge out y^e rest.

God keepe y^u.

Y^r affec: frend

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Lintz, $\frac{1}{2}$ June, 1636.

To my very loveinge ffriende Mr Wm. Petty at Venice¹.

The Same to the Same.

Good Mr Pettye

I wrote unto y^u yesterday by the Poaste, and now I cannot omitte to salute y^u by this bearer, M^r Borough, sonne to S^r Jh: Borough, to whom I am confidente y^u will shewe all the respecte y^u may.

For my businesse of the Statua at Rome, as I wrote, I shall not be quiette till I heare from y^u it is absolutely myne, I havinge bin soe longe in love wth it, as y^u knowe. For the bassorelievo of the Humanum Sacrificiam, and the Statua of Sig^f Vitellescoes, doe what y^u can.

¹ Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15970, f. 28.

I have bidden Walker to write unto y^u. I pray let me heare often from y^u, and I hope it will not be longe before I shall see y^u in the[se] partes, when y^u have with happy successe dispatched o^r businesse in Rome.

In the meane time, and ever, God keepe you. Soe I reſte

y^r assured frende

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Lintz, $\frac{17}{27}$ June, 1636.

To my loveing ffreind, Mr William Petty, these. At Venice¹.

On the 23rd June, the Ambassador and his retinue took boat for Vienna. Through the picturesque scenery of the valley of the Danube, with its castle-crowned hills and varied landscape, now green and low, now rising in bold and rocky promontories high above the river, they floated gently down-stream till they came to the famous rapids known as the Strubel and Wirbel, amidst grand and precipitate surroundings. On the 25th, they arrived at their destination.

The day following was a Sunday; and Lord Arundel had audience of the Queen of Hungary—that Infanta who once had so nearly become the bride of Charles I—and of her brother-in-law, the Archduke Leopold. Although the latter, as is well known, collected the greater part of his famous gallery of paintings at a later period, when Regent of the Netherlands, he must already have acquired some reputation in that pursuit, or Crowne would not so pointedly have expressed disillusionment at finding so little worth seeing in the Archduke's residence. The sentiment was assuredly reflected from Arundel. "And nothing we found noteworthy at his palace," says the official narrator, "but a spacious Courtyard. The next day againe his Excellence went to see the Duke's lodging, where we saw onely a few pictures. . . .²"

It is remarkable that, all through Lord Arundel's travels, special attentions were shown to him by the Jesuit community. Mr William Howard, who appears to have been a Roman Catholic, was to some extent a connecting link. The letters to certain Jesuits, with which he was furnished, opened the door to him of others, yet more distinguished; who were glad to show civility to an Ambassador from whose influence they hoped much for their coreligionists in England. Lord Arundel's charity towards poor Catholics, and his completely tolerant attitude towards those from whom he differed in opinion, were well known. In days when the adherents of the old and the reformed religion were sharply divided into two opposing camps, his position was a considerable puzzle to many Catholics. The best

¹ Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15970, f. 30.

² Crowne, *loc. cit.* p. 23. It would be interesting to know what the pictures were.

explanation that they could find for it was the belief that he still belonged to them at heart, and had merely seceded outwardly for reasons of expediency. How mistaken was this view, has already been shown, and will be seen again. Certain passages in letters written from England by Catholic emissaries, suggest, however, that it was in some degree a *parti pris*. The wish was father to the thought. To win back the head of the house of Howard to the ancient creed, was a consummation devoutly to be desired. To assume, and give out, that he secretly belonged to it already, might help to promote that object. At any rate, nothing was to be spared which might oil the wheels to that end.

It was the influence of Father Lammermann, the Emperor's Confessor, and a very considerable person, which procured for the Ambassador much splendid entertainment from the Jesuit establishments at Vienna, and at Prague. Apart from more general motives, all regarded him at this time as the emissary of peace, and their welcome was proportionate to their desire for the cessation of war¹.

The students of the Jesuit University of Vienna presented a kind of comedy for his delectation; there followed music, and a banquet. He was next taken all over the institution, and finally to the Church, where he heard exquisite singing, to the accompaniment of an organ reputed to possess five thousand pipes. At Vienna, too, he had much political conference with Chiroga, the Queen of Hungary's confessor, who seemed well affected to the negotiations Arundel had in charge.

Pleasant excursions outside the city, where Arundel was able to indulge a favourite hobby in visiting beautiful gardens belonging to the Emperor and Empress, accounted for the remainder of the stay at Vienna. A day or two before departure, he had a final audience of the Queen of Hungary.

From Vienna, a train of waggons conveyed the Ambassador and his suite, on the 1st July, towards Prague; the next point in their tour. Miserable as were some of the villages where they slept—the first night they laid on straw, at Hollabrunn—the country through which they passed appeared more prosperous than some of the districts previously visited. Ripe cornfields, where reapers were at work, must have offered a refreshing contrast to the ruin and

¹ Clarendon, *State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 595. William Howard to Secretary Windebank, Ratisbon, 30th July (Stilo novo), 1636. *Ibid.* Sir John Borough to the Same. "...Among the rest, Father Lammermann, the Jesuit, Confessor to the Emperor, and of great power, hath in all places waylaid his Excellency, and caused the Fathers of that Society to present him with sundry entertainments of honour; all of them tending to manifest the assurance here conceived, that his Excellency is come to restore peace to the Christian world, and more particularly to this deplored Germany...."

devastation they had hitherto witnessed. Considerable danger was occasionally incurred, however, from the "Crabats"¹ who infested the country, especially from one notorious band who were terrorizing the town of Znaim. The route chosen by the Ambassador took them through Budwitz, Iglau, Deutsch Brod, and Böhmisches Brod. As they approached their journey's end, the ravages of war again became sadly apparent. The last-named town had been burnt once, and pillaged twice; first by the Swedes, and then by the Duke of Bavaria.

Finally, on the 6th July, they entered Prague, where pleasanter conditions prevailed. Smiling plains and meadows unrolled before their eyes; rocks and hills, the latter clothed with vineyards, added charm to the setting of the famous old city.

The memory of the brief reign and tragic undoing of the King and Queen of Bohemia, gave pathetic point to the sojourn in their capital. The Palace which for so short a time had been theirs, was amongst the first goals of the Ambassador and his party, in their many and varied peregrinations. Crossing the Moldau by a "fair bridge of stone, as long as London Bridge," they wended their way to the "Castle on a high hill" (the Hradcany) "where the King of Bohemia had lived." Apart from the associations with that unhappy sovereign, the interest of the royal palace centred in the celebrated collections of the Emperor Rudolph II². Passing through three Courtyards, the visitors saw the bronze equestrian statue of St. George, which still adorns the second court, and entered "a spacious hall like Westminster, with shops."

"From hence," continues the chronicler, "we went up and passed through many faire rooms, well hung and pictures in them; and one room furnished with English pictures of our Nobilitie, which the King of Bohemia was forced to leave..." What visions of the hurried flight rise before the mind's eye! One wonders what became of these portraits, reminiscent of early and happy days, which Frederick and Elizabeth had gathered round them in their new home? Are they to be found amongst the treasures now at Combe³? Do they lie forgotten in the lumber-room of some foreign castle? Or, worse still, have they perished altogether? Who shall say?

The Council Room and the Masking Room "with severall faire pillars in the middle, and statues of brasse placed by them," next came in for their share of attention. The collections were of that

¹ Robbers, highwaymen.

² The greater part of these were later removed to Vienna.

³ See note, p. 364

heterogeneous order, fashionable in an earlier century, well described in the then current term, "rarities," and objects of "curiosity." There were pictures of Indian horses, a mosaic table which gave forth music the source of which could not be traced, a piece of ordnance which shot off bullets without gunpowder, and much else of the same kind. But the real attraction lay in the Schatzkammer, or Treasure-chamber, of the Emperor Rudolph II, a collection still famous throughout the world. A brief extract must here suffice, from Crowne's description, to give a glimpse of the arrangements at the time of Lord Arundel's visit.

In the first roome were cupboards placed in the wals on our right hand; the first was of corall; the second, of Purslaine; the third, of mother of pearl; the fourth, of curious brasse-plates engraven; the fifth and sixth, Mathematicall Instruments; the seventh, Basons, Ewers, and cups of Amber; the eighth, cups of Aggets, Gold and Chrystall; the ninth, of rocks; the tenth, of Mozaique worke in stone; the eleventh, cups of Ivorie, and a great Unicorne's horne a yard in length; the twelfth, of imbossing worke; the thirteenth, of Brasse pictures; the foureteenth, of antick things cast in silver; the fifteenth, cabinets of Bohemia Diamonds, and little chests of Bohemia pearle; the sixteenth, things belonging to Astronomy; the seventeenth and eighteenth, Indian worke;...the twentieth, of a lively statue of a woman covered with taffatie. Then, in the middle of the roome, are rare clocks of all kinds....

In the third roome, foure cupboards in the wals, full of rare pictures; and in the middle of the roome, anticke things, as a Bore rough cast to the life, and a statue of a strong Maid to the life, who went to war, and a presse of ancient books...¹.

It would hardly be gathered from Crowne's narrative, that, in spite of depredations committed by the Swedes, the "rare pictures" at this time still comprised upwards of seven hundred canvasses, including some of the finest works of Correggio and Titian, which were transported to Vienna in 1648, after the Peace of Westphalia, and to-day are amongst the chief glories of its picture-gallery.

From the Castle, the Ambassador and his party proceeded to the Cathedral, where they stood before the tomb of St John Nepomuc, and admired the wood-carving in the "quire." Thence, entering a garden behind the Castle, within the wall, they advanced along a covered walk to a "stately old building, with walkes round the house and set thicke with pillars, and likewise on the top of the house, with a delightful prospect all over the citie..." The words are full of charm. It would be good to know if that imposing pile still stands.

The morning's sight-seeing was brought to an end by dinner at the Keeper's house. The King of Hungary being absent from Prague,

¹ Crowne, *loc. cit.* pp. 28-30.

no hospitality was forthcoming; doubtless a great relief to Lord Arundel, who at Linz had already demurred at being "defrayed" by the Emperor. There was nothing he liked so much as getting right out of harness, and enjoying himself independently, in his own way.

In the afternoon, they visited a White Friary, two miles outside the city; and thence betook themselves to the magnificent house built by Wallenstein; and occupied, since his murder in 1634, by the King of Hungary. The Waldstein Palace—for Wallenstein is merely a variant of that name—is still owned to-day by the descendants of the famous commander, and visited now, as in Arundel's time, by the passing traveller. Its walls hung with pictures, or painted with the labours of Hercules, and its almost regal Audience Chamber, made a vivid impression on the English visitors of the seventeenth century. In the garden were five fountains, the largest adorned with a figure of Neptune surrounded by nymphs; there was a grotto-house; beyond were stables containing thirty-eight red marble pillars. It seemed, indeed, a fitting home for the vast ambitions which had created it, and which at last brought its owner to destruction.

At Prague Lord Arundel was again the recipient of marked attentions from the Jesuits. He was invited to a dramatic performance, and given a banquet, at their College, the head of which was at this time an Irishman. The argument of the little play, in which mythological characters symbolize current events, was in the taste of the day, and falls flat on a modern ear. But the point was to emphasize the peaceful aim of Lord Arundel's mission; and in this connection one pretty conceit may be recorded. Jupiter, having delivered over the world to Mars and Vulcan, "Peace, now forlorn, seeks out for a place where she may secure herself from the fury of Mars. *Neptune carries her over to England on a sea-shell.*" . . . "Howard, Earl of Arundel," is deputed by "Charles, King of Great Britaine," to "restore Peace unto the world."

A budget of English letters was amongst the events of their stay in the Bohemian capital. The bearer, Mr Page, was one of Lord Arundel's gentlemen who, in a higher grade than "Sadler, the post," officiated as a special messenger or despatch-carrier. An amusing personal touch concerning him may be found in a letter conveyed by him on this occasion, from Sir Thomas Colepeper at the Hague.

The Queene of Bohemia (writes Sir Thomas) was very well pleased to see Mr Page, this berer, in his hat and fether; by which habitt he will better passe then in his blak cote. . . .¹

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 366. Endorsed: "Sir Tho: Culpeper from y^e Hague, June 21, Received at Prague, July 11."

Two communications from Lord Chaworth, of the nature of news-letters, arrived by the same opportunity. The rather desultory trifles that they record, need not be reproduced here; but one touch, at the end of the second letter is interesting:

My Lo. Mautrevor (yo^r Exel^{es} sonne) ys nowe in Cambridge shire, about his ffen business. My La. wth yo^r brave children at Albury...¹.

More important is a letter from the Comptroller, Sir Henry Vane.

Sir Henry Vane to the Earl of Arundel.

My lord

Upon the receipte of y^r lors. last dispatch, M^r Secretary Windebanke and my selfe thought fitt to stay M^r Page for one day when he was readie to putt his foote into his stirrope....

Taylor writtes, the Diett is putt off for a fewe dayes. If itt bee soe, I confess I should bee sorry, for our blood growes soe warme in England and quarrells soe frequent, y^t, for my owne part, I longe to see you safe and well returned into England. For y^e errant y^r lors^p goes for, I doe most heartilie wishe itt well, and I am confident y^t more diligence cannot bee used then wilbee performed by y^r lors^p; and yett I cannot but bee verie doubtful of the event, in regarde of my former knowledge of Germany. If y^r lors^p can prevaile soe farr as to make the Interests of o^r master wth the Empr^{er} wey downe those of Bavaria when they shal bee putt into the scale, I confess y^r lord^s shal have done a greate woorke. Butt you will have to doe wth a craftie, subtile and wise Prince; and one y^t hath great power not only in Germany but in Italy, and wth the Jesuitts noe prince in Europe more. But I shall hope the best, and heartilie desire not to see y^r negotiation spinn out into lenght.

The Poland Ambassador, soe longe expected, is arrived this night att St Noel Casones house in Camberwell; he presses much his Audience, and sayes hee cannot stay in this court above eight dayes, for y^t the publicke interests of Christendome require his presence in france. In Holland hee tolde the Quene of Bohemia y^t for the macth, hee was to treat wth the Kinge our master; and heare hee intemates, and soe does Gordon, y^t when hee shalbee returned into Poland, then his kinge will dispatch Ambassadors to dispatch the same. Gordon is willinge to pawne his publicke faith too, and would have us beleave hee is in comission wth him. I shal say no more of this buseness, but as Pe: Vanlore was wont to say, a man may thinke; and my nexte may speake more clearly².

Ther ma^{ts} will stay heare until the 27 of this instant month, then to

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 365. The drainage of part of the fens was occupying much attention at this time.

² The King of Poland was treating for the hand of Princess Elizabeth the eldest daughter of the Queen of Bohemia. The marriage did not take place because the Poles objected to their King marrying a Protestant, and the Princess declined to change her religion. The King married, in 1637, a daughter of the Emperor. Gordon was the English envoy in Poland, who accompanied the Ambassador to the Court of Charles I.

Oatelands one the 18 of the nexte. From Theobalds they begin ther progress. Between this and ther remove from hence, itt is saide wee shal winde upp the clocke; for the ordinary spendinge of o^r time, wee are soe regular, y^t y^r lord^s att Vienna may as well knowe what wee are doinge heare, as wee o^r selves.

My lo: Deputy (though daylie expected) is not arrived. For other passages, I know you wilbee supplied by the bearer, who, I assure my selfe, would never else have soe metamorphised himselfe, as will appeare to y^r lord^s by his habitt: and therefore I shal conclude, beseechinge y^r lord^s to beleave y^t I am most faithfully

Y^r lord^s most humble servant

H. VANE.

Hampton Court, this 3 of June, 1636¹.

The pleasure of Lord Arundel's visit to Prague was considerably marred by somewhat severe indisposition.

... I am retyred here to Prague (he writes on the 9th July) taking it in my way to Ratisbone...

Since my coming to this towne, I have been ill-disposed in my health; being troubled wth a sore throat, and feverish. Yett not so ill but that (by God's Grace) I shall continue my intended journey to Ratisbone to be there this next weeke...².

The Emperor sent him gracious messages through Mr Taylor, regretting his sickness, wishing him a good journey, and saying he should be glad to see him at Ratisbon³.

For that city, the ambassadorial party set forth from Prague on the 13th July⁴, after a sojourn of seven days in the Bohemian capital. They took the most direct route. They would thus complete, by the end of their little tour, an irregular triangle, of which Vienna, Prague and Ratisbon, formed the points. The final instalment of the journey, that from Prague to Ratisbon, represented its shortest side.

Their road crossed the scene of the great battle of the White Hill, fought between the unfortunate Frederick, King of Bohemia, and the Imperial forces, which still bore tragic evidence of the bloody struggle in the unburied heaps of bones. The next morning brought them to more cheerful scenes. Thriving cornfields and meadows led them to Pilsen; but there was still risk to be encountered from the bands of marauders scattered through the country, especially when passing through the Böhmerwald. They escaped, however, unscathed; and on the 17th July, they found themselves once more at Ratisbon.

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 364. The allusion at the end is of course to Mr Page's change of costume. Endorsed: "Mr Comptroler from Hampton-court, June 3. Re: at Prague, July 11."

² P.R.O., *State Papers, Foreign, Germany*, Book IX, f. 199. The Earl of Arundel to "M' Secretary, Prague," 1st July, 1636.

³ Clarendon, *State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 592. Mr Taylor to Secretary Windebank, "Lintz, July 28th, Stilo novo, 1636."

⁴ Old style.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FURTHER PROGRESS AND CONCLUSION OF THE EMBASSY.

1636.

ON his return to Ratisbon, Lord Arundel found that the Emperor had not yet arrived in that city. He therefore determined on a further little tour in the neighbouring country. Augsburg was now the goal; and he and his immediate suite started on their new excursion on the 21st July. But, before setting out, the Ambassador despatched a letter to Secretary Windebank.

The Earl of Arundel to Secretary Windebank.

Good Mr secretary

I know not how to give you thanks for your continual favour to me and mine, both in weekly writing, which is a great comfort to me, and in assisting all my affairs at home. I shall always direct my packet particular to you, as you write; for indeed else the letters may go out of the way.

I am now going out of the way for a few days, it being for the King's honour I should not stay here alone: besides, if the Emperor first enter the town, I shall avoid competitions with the Spanish Ambassador; and I hope I shall, in this time, have a return of Sadler the post, whom I sent expressly.

Mr Taylor writes, they express much desire to satisfy me. The Jesuits make great demonstration of their affections to the business; and in a little comedy which they made me at Prague, did our King great honour, in making him the restorer of the publick peace. When I have the book of it (which I am promised), I will send it unto you: in the mean time many think it a *bonum omen* to the business, that they who are so powerful here own it so much; which they would not do if they did not hope for good success. I hope here at the Diet we shall find what will be done; and the best can be expected is but to come to our ends *per gradas*. God send all for the best.

Honest little Hervey is going a little start into Italy, and I give him some employment to Mr Pettye, about pictures for his Majesty. I hope ere long he will be back. Your good son hath a great mind to be going with him; and truly, I think, he could not go in better company for safety, if he were to go: but, finding your disposition not to have him go yet, and considering the heats of the year and that country, as I have never persuaded him to go, so I shall not give my consent to lose his good company, unless you give particular direction for it; and, I protest really, you may have that comfort, that he is endued with all civility and good qualities.

I am very sorry to hear Mr Comptroller should incline to have a powder-mill spoil my poor cottage at Aldbury, the only recreation of me and my poor family; which I am resolved to oppose as *pro aris et focis*, being the greatest indignity, I think, ever offered to any, especially in publick employment: I beseech you, assist it accordingly.

So, with my service to you and your good Lady, I rest

Your Honour's faithful Friend to command,

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Ratisbone, $\frac{20}{30}$ July, 1636¹.

On the 14th August, Windebank enclosed this and other despatches, with a covering letter from himself, to the King. On the 18th, Charles returned the Secretary's letter annotated. In reference to the "epitome of the interlude represented by the Jesuits" at Prague, which Arundel appears after all, to have received in time to forward, the King wrote, "*I retaine this.*" With regard to the Ambassador's irate allusion to the proposed powder-mill at Albury², his Majesty commentated, "*The Martiall, I perceave, is angrie with the Controuler, but without reason, which you may tell him in a discreet way*³."

Windebank must have fulfilled this behest with tact, or there was some misapprehension on Arundel's part as to the step intended, for no interruption appears to have occurred in the intimacy between Vane and the Lord Marshal.

To return to Ratisbon. Two days' journey through a charming region of hill and dale and river, and pleasant towns, brought the Ambassador and his party to their destination. It was yet early on Saturday, 23rd July, when they entered "Augusta," and with his usual eagerness, Arundel set off sight-seeing without a moment's delay. That day and the next, he spent, we are told, in seeing pictures; but what these pictures were, is unfortunately not recorded. The following day brought a visit to the splendid Stadthaus, with its many pillars, and the statues of the Caesars. The Fuggerhaus, the Arsenal, several monasteries, and "innumerable rare and curious buildings," were in turn inspected and admired. So much, indeed, did his Excellency find to delight the eye in the rich and stately city, that he remained there a whole week, and only departed on receiving intelligence from Ratisbon that the Emperor was hourly expected.

On his usual plan of making a little circle he returned by a different route to that taken in starting, when they had bent south from Neustadt. They now made for Neuburg and Ingolstadt, whence, by the

¹ Clarendon, *State Papers*, Vol. 1, p. 597.

² See a note on p. 395 (*Ed.*).

³ Clarendon, *State Papers*, Vol. 1, p. 618.

familiar means of boats on the river, they descended the Danube to Ratisbon.

They arrived just in time to witness the Emperor's state entry, which took place on the following day, Thursday, the 4th August. His advent was signalized by all the pomp and ceremonial demanded by so auspicious an occasion as the assembling of the Diet. Twelve magistrates met the Imperial procession at the outer gate of the city; the usual Latin oration was delivered; and, gaily escorted by troops, to the sound of martial music, the Emperor and Empress proceeded in their coach to the door of the Cathedral. Here the Bishop met them in "Mitre, Cope and Croysers's Staffe," incense filled the air with fragrance, and, to the accompaniment of drums and trumpets, a grand "Te Deum" was sung.

Arundel's first duty was, of course, to seek an audience of the Emperor, which was accorded to him on the day following the entry. A good many formal calls were then exchanged between the representatives of the various powers taking part in the Diet. The first visit he received was from the Ambassador Extraordinary of Spain, the Conde de Oñate, whose son was at this time Spanish representative at the Court of St James's. At first profuse in his expressions of cordiality, and desire to help, the elder Count was not long in showing himself in his true colours. Every argument he could think of was brought forward to support the pretensions of the Duke of Bavaria. He urged that as any restitution could only be of grace, and as a favour to King Charles, it was now for that monarch to say what he would do, and "with what forces he would assist the Emperor, with what against France, with what against Holland." Arundel was naturally indignant. He replied pungently that his master would indeed think it strange to be called upon to invade his friends and allies, merely because the Emperor and King of Spain had fallen out with them. He declared the King of England would do nothing "without it came accompanied with honour and value both of himself and his nephew." Oñate thereupon took a somewhat lower tone. But the die was cast. It was clear from henceforth that the results of Arundel's mission were likely to prove nugatory; for the Emperor would do nothing without the approval of Spain.

It was a sinister omen when, on the 9th August, the Duke of Bavaria arrived at Ratisbon to cast his vote at the Diet as an Elector of the Empire. One by one, other Princes, or their representatives, began to assemble. Much state was observed. The Elector of Mayence, who was favourable to the Palatine family, and had shown Lord Arundel civility at Cologne, brought with him 179 horses, and

a train of 185 persons. Oserlinsky, the Ambassador of the King of Poland, arrived with a picturesque retinue, clothed (says Crowne) in several coloured sattin dublets and red cloth hose, with long Poland red coates, most of woven silke, without sleeves, bands or hats; but red cappes on their heads with a feather like unto a Turkey's in every one of them; their haire all cut off their heads but one long locke left on their crowne; and all yellow, short bootes, no spurres, but iron heeles; and the Ambassador in the same fashion; and twelve footemen clothed in the same kinde in a meaner habit, having great Pole-axes in their hands, and sabres by their sides.

The envoys from Florence and Venice were, as might have been expected, particularly friendly to the English Ambassador. Indeed there was some talk of an alliance of the Italian princes with the partisans of the young Elector Palatine, as a make-weight against the overwhelming influence of the Imperial faction.

The time passed in ceremonial visits and counter-visits between the various magnates assembled, of which Lord Arundel received and returned his full share. On the 28th August, a solemn service was held for peace, which was attended on foot by the Emperor and Empress and all the notabilities. But the negotiations which Arundel was so anxious to push forward, made no progress.

At last, after endless futile conversations and communications, the Emperor sent two Commissioners to impart to the English Ambassador his final decision, which, on the 14th September, Arundel forwarded by express to Windebank. The affairs of Prince Charles Louis involved four points. These were the restitution respectively of the Electoral dignity, the Upper Palatinate, and the Lower Palatinate, and the removal of the Imperial ban, which would restore him to the position of a Prince of the Empire. As regards the first two points, of the Electoral dignity and the Upper Palatinate, the Emperor announced that he had already bestowed these upon the Duke of Bavaria. There remained the Lower Palatinate, and the question of the ban. The Lower Palatinate, on which both the King of Spain and the Duke of Bavaria had certain claims, could be had on compensation being given to those potentates. This being done, the Emperor would remove the ban as an act of grace.

Lord Arundel's reply was as dignified as it was firm. After pointing out that, had this decision been communicated to Mr Taylor at an earlier date, it would have rendered the present embassy unnecessary, Arundel proceeded to declare that, as often stated by him before, he had been instructed to demand plenary restitution, and had been led to believe he should receive satisfaction. In the

present circumstances, he could only refer the whole matter to the King his master, who would then do therein as should seem best to his royal wisdom. Meanwhile the Ambassador requested an audience of the Emperor, which was readily accorded; desiring to give his Majesty the opportunity of forwarding a despatch to his representative in England, at the same time that Arundel's letter was sent to the Secretary of State. Thus King Charles would be placed in possession of all the facts.

It was obvious that, having received the Imperial reply, there was nothing further for Arundel to do at Ratisbon. He therefore earnestly entreated Windebank to procure his recall, and to send it to him by express.

On the 8th September, the Diet had met for the first time, when the Emperor's propositions were opened and read. They were primarily concerned with his own family; especially with the suggested election of the King of Hungary to be King of the Romans. There followed clauses relating to the raising of forces for certain purposes within the Empire, and to a general peace with all Christian princes. Of Arundel's mission and its objects, there was not one word.

The disappointment felt by Lord Arundel at the abortive outcome of the negotiations, is reflected in a letter written by him at about this time to Sir William Hamilton at Rome. By a recent concession on the part of King Charles, Queen Henrietta Maria was now permitted a diplomatic representative at the Papal Court. To this office Hamilton had been appointed. The hope of a General Peace of which Lord Arundel writes, "moving from your part," alludes to a proposal made by the Pope for a meeting at Cologne of the great powers or their representatives, to discuss that object. Subsequently the plan fell through.

The Earl of Arundel to Sir William Hamilton.

Good Sir William

I have received yours of the 26th July, for which I give you very hearty thanks for your so much care and good wishes, both of the business I had in charge to this Court, and of my own particular; the which, with all affection, I return both to your person and employment; being heartily glad that one of your Honour's worth is chosen for her Majesty's service.

For myself, the account I can yet give is that, according to my instructions, I have solicited this business; but, to deal truly with you, I have not procured either so quick a dispatch or so favourable an one as I conceived the justness of the King my master's desires, conducing so much to the public tranquillity, does deserve: the Spaniards holding up their own interests, and this Court perhaps looking more on near ends than those at farther distance, though more useful for them. I have given

account unto his Majesty of the present state of the affairs here, and the winter drawing on, accompanied with my own infirmity of body, makes me desire to draw homewards, hoping that a good end of this business will cooperate with the General Peace which moves from your part. Here we conceive the appearance of this Diet is not answerable to expectation...

There is a gentleman called Mr William Petty whom I have employed in collecting matters of art for me in Italy, who at this present I think is in Rome. I have written unto him to wait upon you; if he do, I pray take him into your favour and protection, as one whose plainness doth not promise that knowledge and experience which is in him, and that you would please to give him your best assistance in procuring and transporting such things as he shall acquire for me.

So wishing you all happiness I remain

Your most affectionate friend to command...

(Docketed by Lord Arundel) The copy of my letter to Sir William Hamilton to Rome, September 1⁶/₈ 1636¹.

Tied to the spot until the formal revocation should arrive, Arundel felt the time hang heavily on his hands. He could no longer hope for a successful issue to the charge committed to him. Moreover, the state of his health made it important for him to accomplish the rough and comfortless journey home before the greater hardships of winter should set in. He occupied his enforced leisure with correspondence connected with his private affairs, especially with the pursuits so dear to him.

It is a far cry from the Diet of Ratisbon to the vicissitudes of the Irish Channel, but a letter concerning Lundy Island, which Lord Arundel seems at this time to have been anxious to purchase, must not be omitted here. Whether he succeeded in his application to Sir Paul Pindar, or ever possessed the island, is not revealed.

The annals of Lundy appear to be somewhat imperfect and fragmentary. After passing through the hands of various proprietors, it was owned in the early seventeenth century by the Grenville family. During this period it often fell a prey to the rovers of the sea. In 1625 it was raided by Turkish pirates, a few years later, a French man-of-war captured ships off Lundy, and subsequently French pirates attempted a landing. In 1633, a Spanish raid on the island took place, and a month later, Sir John Pennington, at this time in command of the home seas, proclaimed martial law. The Grenvilles seem to have disappeared. At about the same period, Thomas Bushell becomes the paramount personage in Lundy. Both these men were well known to Lord Arundel. Pennington had been Vice-

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 368.

Admiral in Raleigh's fleet for the Orinoco, and had served King Charles on the sea on many occasions. Bushell, as a young man, had studied under Bacon. Keenly interested in the treasures of the earth, Bushell was full of plans concerning the minerals of Wales, Derbyshire and the West of England. It was perhaps this aspect of things which attracted Lord Arundel to Lundy. The love of developing new or neglected regions was strong in him. The call of the wild and the hope of profit were inextricably mingled in the men of his generation; and these attractions were doubtless strengthened in the present instance by the desire to protect the island from pirates, and preserve it to the King. Nevertheless, the wish to acquire Lundy, remains a curious episode in Lord Arundel's history.

The Earl of Arundel to Sir Paul Pindar.

Good Sir Paul Pindar

The multiplicity of business interposing at my coming out of England, hindered me in my intentions of making a suit unto you which now my better leisure affords me time for; which is that you would do me the favour (I being at this present at the price of £3000 for the Isle of Lundy in the Irish seas) for the present to lay down that sum for me; taking it in your name, upon such terms and conditions as my wife, my son Matravers, and yourself, may think most convenient which sum, by God's assistance, I shall not fail to see repaid you again at my return, by which your so great favour you shall ever oblige me.

Your very affectionate friend

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Ratisbon, 25th August, 1636¹.

The letters that follow show how keenly his mind was occupied with the collections during his long stay in South Germany. A few passages have been omitted, to avoid repetitions.

The Earl of Arundel to the Rev. William Petty.

Good Mr Petty

I write still unto you, though I am uncertain where my letters will find you, but I hope at Florence or Rome, and that little honest Dr Hervey will be with you ere these. For Henry, the young youth I sent unto you with the Doctor, I hope you shall find him a very good boy, free from vice, and most obedient unto you. I pray you show him all of art that you can, I hope in time he will have a good guess of originals from copies. I long to hear of an absolute buying of the Meleager for me, and I shall be glad you buy some of the principal paintings of Ludovisio's for the

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 367. Endorsed: "A copy of a letter from my lord to Sir P. Pindar."

King our Master. I pray let me hear often from you until I see you, which I hope will not be long unto; till when, and ever, God keep you. So I rest

Your assured friend

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Ratisbon, 19th August, 1636.

Being surprised with company, I have bid Walker write to you of two particulars which I meant to have written myself¹.

The Same to the Same.

Good Mr Petty

I thank you heartily for your letter of the 16th August, from Florence, and am very glad to hear you are going on so well with the Statua at Rome, and the *Torzo* at Florence.

I wrote you word long since that I heard from my son Maltravers, how well the Neapolitan collection was arrived, and how well it proved in his judgment; as also what a great danger it escaped in the shipment. Cases of silk that lay close by it, being wholly spoiled with oil that ran upon them, and pierced both the sear-cloths and the boards. And therefore I desired you to have a principal care, if you charge the Statua or anything else by sea, to be sure that no oils shall be charged in that ship; for oil in white marble is never to be gotten out, as our Statues in Arundel House Garden show.

Francesco is not yet come. Doctor Hervye parted from hence tomorrow shall be five weeks, and since we never heard word from him; but of him once, that he was in . . . ; he means to come to you. I pray you go on with buying some of Ludovisio's best pictures for our King. Let me hear often from you till I see you, which I hope will be ere long. So God keep you.

Your assured friend

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Ratisbon, 2nd September, 1636, new style².

The Same to the Same.

Good Mr Petty

I wrote yesterday unto you by the ordinary, and cannot omit now to write again by this occasion of my good friend Mr Francis Windebank's departure, unto whom, I pray, do all the courtesy you may. I make account you are well acquainted with Mr Thomas Windebank, his elder brother, who I conceive will come to me in these parts.

Doctor Hervy parted from hence five weeks since, and from him we never received so much as one word since he went, where he was or how he did, which seems strange. He longs much to be with you, and, as I wrote unto you, he will be glad to see those pictures of Lodovisio's, and help with credit to buy them for our King, which I think his Majesty

¹ Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15970, f. 32. Addressed to Mr Petty at Venice.

² *Ibid.* f. 34. Addressed to Mr Petty at Florence. Both letters in modernised spelling.

would like very well. I have sent with the Doctor Hervey a youth called Henry van de Burg, son of a painter in Frankfort, to attend you, and return hither with you. He is a very honest youth, and loves all matters of art dearly. I pray have care of him, and let him see all things of art you may.

I hope you remember the clothed *torzo* and the *Cane Mastino*, with the Adonis, which by all means I would have. I am glad to find you are so mindful of the Gaddi's *torzo*. I pray be careful the Adonis be delivered free of the *fidei commisse* and that it be shipped free of oil, which had almost spoiled your Neapolitan collection of designs, which I am glad my son writes are so rare.

God keep your ways.

Your assured friend

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Ratisbon, 3rd September, 1636, new style.

I have bidden Walker write you by this, the name of the merchant in Bologna which showed Daniel Neece (Nys) so many designs of Alberto Durero there, which pray enquire of¹.

Lord Arundel was now startled and deeply distressed by the murder of two of his retinue while passing through a wood near Nuremberg. It was not until six days after the event that the bodies were found, barbarously ill-treated, and tied to the trunks of trees. The city of Nuremberg endeavoured to compensate by giving the victims a public funeral, attended by all the civic authorities of the place. The horror and indignation felt by Lord Arundel, is reflected in his next letter to Mr Petty.

The Same to the Same.

Good Mr Petty

I cannot omit to write unto you, though I am extremely oppressed with grief for the loss of my good servants, Lamplugh, and William Smith, the trumpeters, who were on Wednesday last, at noon-day, the first post on this side of Nuremberg, most inhumanly murdered, God knows by whom; one of the post-horses found, only. God give me grace to bear it with patience, and send us all free from the like misfortune.

I hope ere long I shall see you here, and that soon after I shall be going homewards, where (I thank God) I hear all ours are very well, which God long continue. I expect Francesco here about a week hence. I hope poor Dr Hervey is with you by this. I received a letter from him yesterday, that he hath been miserably vexed in the lazaretto at Treviso. I hope he will recover his time lost with satisfying his curiosity, which y^u will assist him in at Florence and Rome. I pray think of the safest ways to come hither, both for the Plague and other dangers; which I

¹ Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15970, f. 39. To Mr Petty "at Florence or Roma." Many of these transcripts had been made with modernised spelling, punctuation, etc.

shall be glad to assist by. . . from hence of the Emperor, or what else you think fit.

The Resident of Florence here, tells me he thinks the Duke of Bracciano will come hither, he says he is a generous Prince but mightily indebted, therefore methinks you might easily have of him the *vaso*, and those things you mentioned of his.

So God keep you in his holy protection.

Your assured friend

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Ratisbon, 8th September, 1636, St: No:¹

The Same to the Same.

Good Mr Petty

I have received yours of the 30th August from Florence, and am glad you are hastening to Rome, where I hope ere this you have despatched our business, and that little Dr Hervye is with you, who will assist for the buying the King's of Lodovisio. I have written unto Sir William Hamilton, brother to the Earl of Abercorn (who now resides in Rome for the Queen), that he will assist you in what you shall need, and I pray address yourself unto him, for he is a very worthy, courteous person.

Francesco is not yet come, but daily expected. From Mr Frizell I never heard since that time he was with you at Livorne. I have not seen one Colleredo, who was said to have something he got at Mantua; nor Duke Francis Albert of Saxe (who is now with the Elector of Saxe), who I hear hath two little bottles of Agate, which he had there, but will not sell them: but I saw a rare head, great, in *basso rilievo*, of Alexander, and a woman which he had there, and will, I believe, present it unto the Empress.

The Spaniards here prolonging this treaty more than was expected, and the winter coming on, makes me draw homewards, and I think I begin my journey about a month hence; so as I desire you to consider whether you can come hither in time or not, for it will be very dangerous to come after me with any goods this way, as our most grievous and inhuman loss lately may show. As soon as Francesco comes I will advise with him what he thinks best to be done. So God keep you in His holy protection.

Your assured friend

ARUNDEL AND SURREY.

Ratisbon, 16th September, 1636, St^o N^o2.

The Same to the Same.

Good Mr Petty

I cannot but salute you by all occasions, and am sorry that I fear I shall not have the happiness to see you before I go from hence, which I conceive will be about nineteen days hence. I have ordered Henry van

¹ Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15970, f. 36. (Addressed to Mr William Petty at Florence.)

² *Ibid.* f. 41. (To Mr William Petty at Roma.)

de Burg, my Dutch youth, to attend at Florence till he hear from you. I will have him only attend to design well, . . . that he might be fit another day to take to our pictures and collection of designs at Arundell House, he being apt to love and understand matters of art.

I hope by this you have despatched our *Statua*, and that you have agreed for some of Lodoviso's pictures for the King.

If you see Mr Thomas Windebank, I pray commend me kindly unto him, I should be glad if it were my fortune to have his company back into England. I wonder I never heard of Mr Frizell since he was with you at Livorne.

So with my best wishes, I remain ever,

Your assured friend

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Ratisbon, $\frac{20}{30}$ September, 1636¹.

Meanwhile Arundel was doing his part in dispensing hospitality, not only to the notabilities assembled at Ratisbon who had entertained him, but to a number of English, Scotch and Irish gentlemen fortuitously collected there. Of these the greater part were soldiers in foreign service. So numerous were they, indeed, that it was commonly said (of course with exaggeration) that a large proportion of the Emperor's army was composed of King Charles's subjects. We hear of an Irish lady, a Countess of Tyrconnell, of an Englishman, Sir Griffin Markham, dining with his Excellency. Of all these passing acquaintances, one only, perhaps, became a permanent friend. This was a Scotchman, Count or Colonel Leslie, Captain of the King of Hungary's guard. The relations between him and Lord Arundel became most cordial; Count Leslie, who was highly esteemed by the Imperial family, doing his utmost to advance the objects of Arundel's mission.

The King of Hungary's arrival at Ratisbon had indeed brought a most unexpected turn in the aspect of things. It was unfortunately not destined to last, for the goodwill of the Hungarian monarch, even if entirely sincere, was insufficient to overcome the mountain of obstacles that stood in the way. For the moment, hope reigned once more. Mr Taylor, whose Imperialistic sentiments were vastly excited by the latest development, wrote enthusiastically to Secretary Windebank of the good offices of the King of Hungary. Arundel's firmness in adhering to the instructions given to him, emphasized by the arrival of his letters of revocation, had evidently taken the Imperial councillors by surprise. They suddenly awoke to the fact that England was not to be trifled with, and that the half-veiled

¹ Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15970, f. 43. (To Mr William Petty at Roma.)

impertinence of their dilatory proceedings bid fair to make an enemy of Charles I, without producing any equivalent advantage. This was not their intention. They had meant by diplomatic juggling, to keep on amicable terms with the English King, while withholding all he asked. A complete reversal of tactics now took place. Whereas formerly they had feigned indignation with Arundel for not showing gratitude to the Emperor for the frankly insolent terms that had been offered, they were now as eager to express their admiration for the English Ambassador, as before they had been to criticize. "For his Excellency's person," writes Howard to Windebank, "I never knew any Ambassador give so general a satisfaction in this Court as he does. They hold him a wise counsellor, a diligent servant to his master, a fair honest dealer, and a stout cavalier." "The King of Hungary," says Taylor, after an interview with that monarch, "spoke much in commendation of my Lord Marshal, whom he had found to be a noble and understanding cavalier. . . . Indeed, my Lord Marshal hath left a marvellous opinion in this Court of his wisdom, and brave carriage of this business. . . ."

Crowne describes an audience Arundel had of the Emperor just before this transformation took place, which is so curious that it must find a place here. It was in the evening, and dark. After the interview with his Imperial Majesty, the Ambassador and his suite were to pay their respects to the Empress. "But," says the chronicler, "as we passed through the chambers to her Majesty, there were neither lights, nor men to direct us on the way; passing thus along in the darke untill we stumbled on a little doore, which is the doore of their antichamber, where we found three or foure Cavalieres who had runne from the Emperour's side thither a little before, to informe her Majesty of his Excellence's coming, who was instantly brought to her chamber, and after returned the same way, and but one attending with a light." Was this neglect of guidance and illumination an intentional slight? Or was it merely one of those strange inconsistencies of the period, when extravagant luxury so often went hand in hand with mediaeval roughness?

If a slight, such episodes were now at an end. Nothing could exceed the politeness shown to the English Ambassador. The Emperor, hearing of Arundel's taste for drawings, "sent him eleven books of most exquisite ones, which he doth above all things esteem, and which he carrieth still about with him. . . ." It is a pity we do not know what these drawings were. Notwithstanding his revocation, Arundel was begged to postpone his departure a little longer. Count Leslie added powerful persuasions to those of the Austrian magnates

whom he served. Some good arrangement might yet be found, it was hinted, to satisfy the English King.

Thus urged, Arundel could but consent; his desire to bring some better conclusion to the King his master overcoming his repugnance to further delay, but it soon became apparent that the opposition of Spain and Bavaria was not of a quality to be readily dissolved. Arundel then realized the futility of further parleying. Unwilling, however, to forego the slightest chance of improving the position, he drew up a paper of instructions to leave with Taylor, who had been notified by Windebank to resume his former position, in charge of the negotiations, on the departure of the Ambassador Extraordinary. Final hospitalities offered by the latter to many and sundry notabilities, occupied some days. There followed a ceremonious leave-taking of the Emperor (but partially recovered from severe illness) and Empress, and of the King and Queen of Hungary. On the 8th November, Arundel started on the homeward journey. He left Ratisbon amid many expressions of regret, and assurances (of course never fulfilled) that he would not have proceeded many days on his way, ere good tidings would overtake him as to the result of his negotiations.

A few more letters written to William Petty during the last days at Ratisbon, may here find a place. Petty had recently been attacked by illness, from which he appears to have quickly recovered.

The Earl of Arundel to the Rev. William Petty.

Good Mr Petty

I am very glad to hear of your good health, and safe arrival at Rome, by yours of the 12th of the present, from thence; and hope by the next I shall hear some good news of your conclusion of our bargain; and I hope the clothed *torzo* will go in the bargain, with some other excellent things, the *Gladiatore* of Vitelleschi, and the *Vaso vittoriato* at Rome I hope will not be forgotten, nor the *Torzo* at Florence. . . .

I hope I shall see the little perpetual mov[ement] called Dr Hervye here yet before my go[ing], and perhaps little Frizell who you write [was] at Naples. I conceive it will be yet ten [days] before I go hence, and perhaps it may p[ro]ve longer, and if it should be much beyond [my] expectation I should be very glad [of] a sight of you.

Here is nothing to be h[ad] worth] speaking of, in any kind of art. [The King of] Hungary told m[e thi]s day he loves paint[ings]. . . and this day. . . hath bestowed ten or twelve. . . I am told this Emperor. . . at Vienna collected by Emperor Rodolphus, of which I saw one, with some rare ones in. . . Parmesano, Primaticcio, and others but mingled with many mean ones; so, as I sent word, . . . is not so empty of designs as was thought, but I hope, by your help, we shall make it emptier, and we will not be

discouraged with all this noise. If you see Mr Frizell, pray hasten him hither, for he hath promised to bring me some good designs.

God send you all health and happiness. So I rest

Your ever assured friend

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Ratisbon, $\frac{1}{28}$ October, 1636.

I send you here enclosed a letter from my son Maltravers, who will be glad to hear of your good health, and being at Rome. I have bidden Walker write to you to have an exact design of the Cope which is in the *Sagrestia* of St Peter's, made and sent me; and to take a copy likewise of any writing that may be found at Rome, to show what King sent it, and upon what occasion¹.

Good Mr Petty

The Same to the Same.

I am sorry to have heard nothing from you these two weeks, but I hope you are well, and made some good despatch at Rome...

I know not yet how soon I shall depart hence, for though I have my revocation, yet these Princes desire my stay awhile, to see if they can accomodate things better to our King's satisfaction, than hitherto it hath been.

I wrote unto you formerly to be acquainted with Sir William Hamilton, who resides at Rome for our Queen. He is a... Gentleman, and am sure will... do you all courtesy. So I rest

Your assured friend

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Ratisbon, 4th November, 1636. N. Style.

It is said here confidently the King of Hungary will be elected King of the Romans the 8th of next month².

Good Mr Pettye

The Same to the Same.

I thank y^u for y^r letter from Rome... and though y^u had not then concluded wth Sig^r Pegini, yet I hope ere this y^u have, for such a businesse would not be lefte in longe suspence of treatye.

I hope to be gone from hence wthin three or four dayes, wthout I knowe better reason of my stay then yet I finde. I am thinkinge it would not be amisse to send o^r Designes w^{ch} are at Livorne, to Collen (Cologne), under the protection and safety of Cavalier Pesaro, when he comes Ambassador from Venice thither; because soe they are like to come more safe into England, though wth more chardge. Besides, wee may perchance have occasion to send somewhat els from Venice by that way, but I entende (God willinge) to leave particular directions in that point before I goe hence.

¹ Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15970, f. 49. This, and some of the following letters are much mutilated in places. The enclosure from Lord Maltravers is merely a short expression of regret at Petty's illness.

² *Ibid.* f. 52. (To Mr Petty at Rome or Florence.)

Dr Hervey wee heare hath bin tenne dayes on his way hither from . . . e as wee dayley expect him and de[sire if] he come well, to have longe disc[ourse of his tr]availes and adventures. I pray writ[e often] . . . Let me knowe howe [? fares] y^r servante Henricke. . . I hope he may prove good to looke to o^r Pictures and designes an other day.

Soe wth my best wishes unto y^r Gueste

y^r assured frende

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Ratisbone, Tuesday 11 Nov^{ber}, 1636. St^o N^o1.

The Same to the Same.

Good Mr Pettye

I am gladdē to understand by y^r letter y^u are soe well, but shoulde be gladdē to heare y^r labor at Rome had produced some good effectes, w^{ch} I hope y^r nexte will bringe newes of.

I am nowe goinge from hence homewards, I thank God. Francesco will tell y^u howe carefull I have bin to gette somewhat to make my wife's Cabinette handsome at hoame; and I will leave some notes wth him of what I desire y^u to thinke of wth him. I leave y^r frend, Mr Price, heere awhile, and after that (God willinge) he shall come to y^u, whome he loves soe much, and for whome, I assure y^u, he was very carefull when y^u were sicke. I hold him to be a very honest man, and will trust him in what concerns me.

I send by Francesco a Picture of my owne and my little Tom bye me; and desire it may be done at Florence in marble *Basso relievo*, to try a yonge Sculptor there whoe is said to be *valente Huomo*, Fransesco hath his name. I could wish Cavaliere Bernino, or Fra[ncesco Fi?]amengo, might doe another of the [sam]e. I pray, lett us have y^r picture as y^u [promised?]. Methinkes y^r Heade in marble would be proper at Arundell House amongst our Grecian collection.

God send y^u all health and happines, and I pray let us heare often from y^u. Soe I reſte

Y^r assured frende

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Ratisbone, Nov^{ber} $\frac{8}{18}$ 1636².

With slight variations, the homeward route was much the same as that of the outward journey. The civic reception from the great towns, probably in consequence of the reputation acquired by the Ambassador, was even more brilliant than before. At Nuremberg, besides the present of wine and fish, very welcome in a country where food was scarce, the city magnates took him to see their Stadthaus; and after showing him the collection of pictures, presented him

¹ Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15970, f. 56. (To Mr Petty at Rome or Florence.)

² *Ibid.* f. 54. (To Mr Petty at Rome.)

with two portraits by Dürer, those of the painter himself, and of his father.

On the 14th November Arundel and his large party left Nuremberg, with a convoy of a hundred musketeers, for Würzburg. Here similar entertainments awaited them; with the usual presents of food and wine, but the gift that chiefly delighted Lord Arundel's heart, as will shortly be seen in his further letters to Petty, was that of a Madonna by Dürer, given to him by the Bishop of Würzburg. It was on the morning of November 17th, when all was ready for the Ambassador's party to ride out of the town accompanied by a fresh armed escort, that the prelate arrived with his precious offering. His appearance can have savoured little of the episcopal, for he wore "the habit of a country gentleman, setting aside his Order, which is an enamelled Cross, hanging on a black ribbon about his necke." But doubtless the "Picture of our Ladie, done by Albertus Durerus, being one of his best pieces," would have made him welcome in any garb.

Bandits, ruined villages, starving population, all the piteous conditions met with on the way out, were repeated as the party travelled homewards. Once more they found themselves at Frankfurt and at Mainz; and journeying softly down the great water-way to the north. At Coblenz a churlish governor had succeeded the former friendly commander of the Imperial troops. Notwithstanding the Emperor's pass and special orders, Arundel was kept hanging about for three days. With much trouble, he succeeded in rescuing his trumpeter and skipper, who had been seized by the Imperial general when on their return from the French commander at Ehrenbreitstein, from whom it was necessary to obtain a pass similar to that given by the Emperor. In sharp contrast to the hostility displayed by the Imperialists, the French were all courtesy, and sent his Excellency, as a present, "a very faire ancient picture."

At Cologne another great civic reception awaited him, and an agreeable offering of twenty-four flagons of Rhine wine. Here the party embarked, on the 4th December, in larger boats, passing Düsseldorf next day. The hospitable Duke of Neuberg would again have constrained them to stay; but seeing Arundel was anxious to press on, he loaded his friend with honours and gifts—amongst the latter were five pictures—and sent him on his way rejoicing.

In Holland some danger was incurred from the ice on the river, which necessitated leaving the boats and having recourse to sleighs. At last the Hague was reached. A halt of a week was now made, in order to discuss with the Queen of Bohemia the results of the em-

bassy. Notwithstanding failure to achieve the objects desired, Elizabeth's letters show her amply satisfied with Arundel's conduct of the negotiations. If he had gained nothing, which after all she had not expected, he had also conceded nothing. The fear of a patched-up compromise, which had haunted her at his departure, had proved groundless.

"The Lord Marshal," writes the Queen to Sir Thomas Roe, "is come from Ratisbon full of discontent. . . . What he has done, Roe knows as well as she. She has written to her son to use him with all kind of affection and acknowledgement of his good service. The mind he is in is much adverse to the Spanish faction." "The Earl Marshal has carried himself very nobly, and like a right English Earl," wrote Roe somewhat later to William, Earl of Exeter.

On Christmas Eve, Lord Arundel and his staff found themselves once more at Helvoets Sluis, where the "Garland" lay in readiness to convey them back to England. After a rough passage, they landed at Deal on the 27th December, sleeping that night at Sittingbourne. On the following morning they embarked on the Thames at Gravesend, for the final stage of their long journey. On their way up the river they were met by Lady Arundel, coming in gala array to welcome back her husband. Arundel transhipped to her barge, where she had prepared a sumptuous feast to celebrate the occasion. The next day, the 29th, they betook themselves to Hampton Court, where the King was eagerly expecting the Ambassador's report.

The following letters were written by Lord Arundel on his journey home. A few passages have been omitted to avoid repetition.

The Earl of Arundel to the Rev. William Petty.

Good Mr Pettye

I have heere at Franckford received y^{rs} 8th November, from Rome, and am very gladde to understande of y^r good health, together wth y^e newes that y^u have bought the *Statua*, in w^{ch} I doubt not but y^u will have a greate care both in gettinge it free to Livorne, and in consideringe well of the safest way of transportinge it, it beinge so greate a jewell.

You doe very well to be carefull of gettinge somethinge of Titian for His M^{tie}, as my sonne writes to y^u; but for bying thinges for the kinge wthout order, and creditte for mony given firste, I should not advise it, for His M^{tie} knowes best what he hath *gusto* in, and I knowe well that in the other way, one may both stay longe for his mony, from them that should pay it, and be esteemed officious in steade of serviceable; and y^u may remember what a noyse rose of y^r speakinge to Mr Killegrewe, and he misunderstandinge y^u. Therefore my advise is to doe faithfully and carefully what y^u are comanded but let com[and]mentes and orders for

mony precede byinge, and talk not of thinges before for that raises the scandall...

The Dogge and *Torzo* I ever understood had gone wth the figure; the *Humanum Sacrificiam* y^u ever writte for Arundel House; and the *torso* at Gaddis, and Vitellescoes *Statua*, I desire alsoe.

The Bishop of Wirtzberge on Thursday last gave me a fine Madonna, originall of A , worth all the trash I have bought in this countrie.

Soe wth my best wishes I rest

Y^r assured frende

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Frankfort, Monday $\frac{2}{3}$ November, 1636¹.

Good Mr Pettye

The Same to the Same.

Though I wrote unto y^u since I came hither, yet I cannot upon the Poastes goinge, but salute y^u agayne, and saye I wish y^u sawe the Picture of a Madonna of A w^{ch} the Bishoppe of Wirtzberge gave me last weeke as I passed by that way; and though it were painted at first upon an uneven board, and is vernished, yet it is more worth then all the toyes I have gotten in Germanye, and for such I esteeme it, havinge ever carried it in my owne Coach since I had it; and howe then doe y^u thinke I should vawe thinges of Leonardo, Raphaell, Corregio, and such like!

I hope Francesco and y^u will meete shortly, and by him y^u will understand all. I desire very greate care be had of sending o^r designes, etc. into Englande, w^{ch} I desire shoulde be by lande, as I have told Francesco, if the comodity serve. I hope Mr Price will be with y^u ere longe, not entendinge to stay at Ratisbone much after the Coronacion of the King of Romans, if that be at the appointed time.

Farnese Designes would nowe be well copyed, beinge [in the] Handes of the Housekeep[er]....

I pray faile not to write weekly into Englande, and be carefull not to engage y^r selfe to buy anythinge for others but o^r family, whoe trust y^u, but upon direction and order for mony first given, and this rule observed will procure y^u most thankes and least trouble. Soe God preserve y^u.

Y^r assured frende

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Frankforte, 5^o December, 1636 st^o n^o2.

Good Mr Pettye

The Same to the Same.

Meetinge this bearer, Jhon Boe...betweene Collen and Frankforte, wth a number of dogges towards me, I thought fitte to ease him of his burthen, and send him to y^u into Italye, to attende our Designes, or such other thinges of ours, as y^u and Francesco, and Mr Price, shall thinke fitte for safety, to be transported unto us over lande, for w^{ch} a safe occasion must be taken in sendinge thinges of importance.

¹ Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15970, f. 58. (To Mr Petty at Rome.)

² *Ibid.* f. 60. (To Mr William Pettie at Rome.)

Dr Hervey told me heere yesternight, that he is confidente one thousande poundes sterlinge would buy all Bartholomeo della Nave[s] collection. I doubte his memory is quicker heere upon the water then it was on the lande, and his fancye outrunnes his desire of buyinge, especially good thinges, havinge made only such an unknowne collection as y^u mencion at Rome, whither he went with such a desire to buy some excellent thinges, and had creditte at will. But nowe he layes all upon wante of seeinge the collection of Lodovisio, and that he could find nothinge good to be sold. . . .

I pray write often into England, for God willinge I goe straight thither, without stayinge by the way. . . .

I pray doe y^u helpe me wth thinges of Leonardo, Raphaell, Corregio, and such like. Soe wth my best wishes unto y^u, I remayne,

y^r very assured frende

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Sunday, 7^o December, 1636. St^o N^o. From aboard o^r Boate at Mogantia (Mayence)¹.

¹ Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15970, f. 62. (Address half-sheet gone; much worn.)

The reference on p. 378 to the proposed powder-mill at Albury recalls the fact that, from the time of the Stuarts down to the present day there has always been a powder factory in this village, and moreover it has been claimed that there existed a manufactory for powder in the same spot in the time of Elizabeth. In any case, the powder factory at Albury is certainly the oldest in England, and it is only in this present year (1920) that the manufacture of powder in that village is being relinquished, on account of labour difficulties, and by reason of the severe competition with other countries. [*Ed.*]

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE MISSION FROM THE VATICAN. MORE PICTURES AND BOOKS FOR THE COLLECTIONS. THE WAR WITH SCOTLAND.

1637—1639.

THE aftermath of the Diet of Ratisbon was not long revealing itself. The Spanish ambassador in London, presently asked an audience of the King, in order to announce the election of the King of Hungary as King of the Romans. The Duke of Bavaria had recorded his vote as an elector of the Empire, and, as such, had stepped into the shoes of the Prince Palatine. As for Arundel, the mist which for so many years had veiled his perception of Spanish wiles, had been rudely swept from before his eyes. His only thought now was punishment of the false friends whose intrigues had robbed the negotiations of success. He warmly advocated an alliance with France. He further suggested that, as King Charles could not put an army in the field, a fleet should be fitted out and sent to the West Indies to harass the Spaniards in those prized possessions. Charles was perfectly willing to contribute a considerable contingent of ships for this purpose, provided the English nobility showed themselves really in earnest over the project, and disposed to do their part. The young Elector was of course all fire, but his uncle, the King, was half-hearted about declaring open war upon Spain, and the plan, like other ambitious schemes, ended in smoke.

If public affairs offered little that was attractive to Lord Arundel at this juncture, private events were not uninteresting. Once more it is through the letters of Italian envoys in England—this time those of the Papal see—that we are able to catch some glimpses of Lord and Lady Arundel in their more intimate surroundings.

Gregorio Panzani, an Oratorian, had been sent to England by Pope Urban VIII ostensibly to compose certain differences that had arisen between some sections of English Roman Catholics: in reality, to pave the way for the diplomatic representation of the Holy See at the court of Henrietta Maria.

Panzani arrived in this country in December, 1634. Much of his time was taken up in discussion with Secretary Windebank, respecting a possible re-union between the Churches of England and Rome. But in addition to this, his mission required that he should

make himself popular socially, and become well acquainted with the various currents of thought and opinion then prevailing. At Court he was readily welcomed; the King addressing him by his Christian name. With Lord and Lady Arundel, also, he was on friendly terms, and Arundel personally led him through the apartments of Arundel House, and showed him pictures and marbles. Panzani had been the means of bringing many valuable paintings into England, nominally as offerings to the Queen, but doubtless with an eye to the well-known tastes of the King. He had also himself given works of art to Windesbank, which Arundel had seen and admired. Panzani's mission terminated in the latter part of 1636. His negotiations, and the tacit approval given by the King to the appointment of a semi-official representative of the Vatican at the Queen's Court, had stirred many hopes, and much gossip, in English Roman Catholic circles. Before leaving, he paid a farewell visit to Lady Arundel.

Her Excellency asked me in confidence (so writes Panzani to Cardinal Francesco Barberini), whether there was any hope of the conversion of the King? I said that it was much desired, but that her Excellency well knew how much foundation there was for such hopes¹.

Lady Arundel was, as we know, a devout Catholic, but it is scarcely credible that she should have put such a question to the Papal agent, except for the purpose of sounding him.

Panzani did not leave England without having accomplished his principal aim. Already in the previous month of July, his successor, George Conn, had arrived in England as the accredited agent of the Pope at the Queen's Court. Conn, a Scotchman by birth, but of cosmopolitan upbringing and experience, had attained a considerable position in the ecclesiastical ranks of Rome. Amongst other offices, he had acted as Secretary to the Pope's nephew, Cardinal Francesco Barberini; who was his especial patron, and to whom both he and Panzani addressed the letters which are our source of information here. Barberini had been invoked to obtain the permits necessary for the removal of certain works of art purchased in Rome for Lord Arundel by Mr Petty. This was not always an easy matter, as portions of the following correspondence will show. For the rest, Conn possessed conspicuous personal charm, and a highly cultivated mind, which quickly ingratiated him with the King, who took considerable pleasure in his society. At Arundel House, too, he was a welcome

¹ Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15389, f. 328, b. Original in Italian (Father Pollen's transcripts).

guest; bringing with him, no doubt, a whiff of that Italian air always so keenly appreciated by its possessors.

*Extracts from the letters of George Conn, Papal agent in England to Cardinal Francesco Barberini at Rome*¹.

January 5th, 1637.

The Earl of Arundel, on his return, sent to tell me he was most anxious to see me, and I, directly he arrived in London went to call upon him; and, not finding him at home, played at chess with the Countess till he came in. My visit to him was passed in compliments and hopes that we should often meet. He assured me of the satisfaction of the King; and of his own wish to be a good instrument in what relates to the service of Catholics in this country. With the authority he has, he could, no doubt, do something; but he is as far removed from these negotiations as he is given up to pictures and statues, around which he would like us to pass all our time, while I am no good for these objects, unless to dust them. The wife is most charming, but such a partisan of the Prince Palatine that it is a shame.

(Undated.)

Last Thursday the Earl of Arundel arrived at Court, and was received with much favour by their Majesties. In bringing home his silver, a very large part of it was stolen from the boat, as well as a little writing-case of amber sent by the Princess Palatine to the Countess, which she regrets more than all the rest.

With the Earl there returned that Doctor [Harvey] who at Rome received so many favours from your Eminence, for whose kindness he declares himself eternally obliged. Their Majesties came to London on Tuesday, and stayed one night *incognito*, without admitting anyone. The King went privately to the house of the Earl of Arundel, to see the pictures he has brought from Germany.

January 22nd, 1637.

The Earl of Arundel shows me much kindness, and professes special confidence in me. I have discoursed to him once or twice on the disadvantage his not being a Catholic has been to the King, at which he showed some excitement. I will not repeat my arguments here, as they are known to your Eminence, being your own. We joined the other day in inviting the Prince Palatine to go to Rome, the Earl promising to bear him company, and I to serve him; he displayed the greatest readiness, being of an excellent disposition.

The Earl told me he had bought, at the recommendation of your Eminence, the drawings of Gaddi, and that he is now negotiating for the Adonis, or Meleager, as he calls it, of Pichini. He says that your Eminence

¹ These letters are all to be found at the British Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15390, ranging between ff. 31 and 458. I have used the transcripts kindly lent to me by Father Pollen, in the original Italian, translating them myself, and making occasional reference to the translations which accompanied them.

had commanded Petty to find something worthy to be sent to England, for which your Eminence would procure the licence. I replied that the statue of Pichini was held in strict trust, and would require more than a licence to free it. He begs and prays, and has had me spoken to about the Queen, to whom I have promised to write; giving however, little hope, and representing the very great difficulties. But it will be a warning to your Eminence in regard to promising things to people who take words of courtesy as a binding obligation, without, however, submitting themselves to the same law. I told the Earl that it was Pichini's business to obtain the consent of the Roman people, as it was not suitable that your Eminence should appear in such a thing.

February 9th, 1637.

The Earl of Arundel tells me that Petty has bought a Giulia at Rome; and hopes for your Eminence's accustomed kindness, both regarding this, and the Adonis of Pichini, promising not to trouble you again in similar matters.

February 12th, 1637.

The Spanish Ambassador has been to call on the Earl and Countess of Arundel, having first sent to explain certain things said in his name against the Earl while the latter was in Germany. The Earl has returned the visit of the Ambassador, merely as a ceremony. . . .

The Countess, catholic in all but outward profession, has had long conversations with me on the Oath, and other subjects which might give satisfaction to the King. The argument lasted four good hours, and in the end she confessed to me that the Oath could not be taken in its present form¹.

February 23rd, 1637.

Her Majesty the Queen showed me in her favourite Cabinet, the pictures your Eminence sent her from Italy, placing them amongst the best things she has. Afterwards we all went to the Arundel Palace, which almost touches that of the Queen. Here there arose the most lively discussion between the King and the Earl, from whose hands there are no means of extracting anything. His Majesty said he would narrate to me a miracle of the Earl; which was that he had sent a picture by Holbein as a present to the Grand Duke². I replied that the Earl could perform twenty similar miracles, because he had in one room more than thirty pieces by that same painter. The Earl hereupon vehemently denied having this power, while I besought him to remember the true doctrine of free will. He protested that he was most ready to support that doctrine in everything except in the matter of giving away pictures.

We looked at all the statues and paintings. When we came to the Gallery, the Countess spoke to me of wishing to give to the Queen a most beautiful altarpiece by the hand of Dürer. A controversy followed between her and her husband. The Queen at first made difficulties, saying it would

¹ The possibility of modifying certain clauses to which Catholics objected in the Oath of Allegiance to the King, was being much discussed.

² Probably the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

be a pity to deprive people of what they seemed so much to delight in; but I assured her Majesty that it would be a work of charity to remove any occasion of dissension between husband and wife. The visit ended in a splendid collation for her Majesty and the ladies, before the return to Somerset House.

If the Altarpiece by Dürer was that presented to Lord Arundel by the Bishop of Würzburg, which had caused him such vivid satisfaction, Lady Arundel's jest was rather cruel. Conn's story leaves it uncertain whether the Queen accepted the gift thus curiously debated in her presence. In the inventory of 1655, there are two entries of "A Madonna" by Dürer's hand. One is described as a drawing. There remains the second, as to which, in the paucity of the description, no opinion can be formed. But it is at least permissible to hope that Lord Arundel was not thus summarily deprived of the treasure he had "carried in his own Coach" through the devastated lands of Germany.

Henrietta Maria appears to have valued pictures almost exclusively for their religious contents. She was disappointed when a splendid gift arrived from Cardinal Barberini, rich with some of the greatest names of the Renaissance, that there were no pious subjects. Of art, as art, she seems to have had no idea. Any other picture, therefore, provided it satisfied her on the religious side, would have been as welcome to her as the splendid altarpiece by Dürer.

Two further extracts from Conn's letters to Cardinal Francesco Barberini may here find a place.

March 9th, 1637.

I believe I am to dine today at Arundel House, where the birthday is being celebrated of Lord Maltravers, eldest son of the Earl. He and the Countess, not content with the favours they daily show me, conducted me the day before yesterday, by river, to the Casino where they work the marbles, where they had prepared for me a noble repast. There joined us Prince Rupert, the nephew of the King. Yesterday the Countess invited me to dine with her at another Casino she has at Whitehall, where, amongst others who came, was Secretary Windebank. Today I shall have to go, if invited, to the Persian banquet; if not, to the Earl and Countess. These Lenten entertainments are too frequent, as your Eminence can imagine; but they do not make me miss the sermons which are preached before her Majesty the Queen.

March 16th, 1637.

Last Thursday I accepted the invitation of the Persian Ambassador, conveyed to me most nobly by the Earl of Arundel. After dinner a comedy was acted, in the middle of which a splendid collation, in the Italian fashion, was brought for the ladies, with goblets of silver, filled with various beverages. The comedy ended with dances of much grace. The

Earl desires to possess something of Persia, and to this end has persuaded his Majesty the King to send with the Ambassador a young painter, to make drawings of everything rare, whether in the matter of buildings or antiquities, and other curiosities. Meanwhile, he incessantly recalls to the kindness of your Eminence, the Adonis; saying that he will never trouble you again on a similar occasion, and declaring that it was your Eminence who gave him courage to acquire it, by telling Petty to think of some worthy object.

Thus vividly writes Conn; who, Scotchman though he was, seems to have acquired the gift of lively and picturesque narrative which distinguishes the letters of nearly all the Italian envoys at this period. Perhaps it may be read between the lines that he found the society of Lady Arundel more congenial than that of her husband. But the aims of the Englishman and the Italian differed very widely. Lord Arundel had conceived some hope that the Pope might be induced to use his influence in favour of the restoration of the Palatinate. He would therefore be doubly anxious to show every civility to the papal representative. It may seem a strange idea to persuade a Pontiff to act on behalf of a Protestant prince, against one who was a Catholic. Here other factors came into consideration. The despatch of a Papal agent to the Court of Henrietta Maria, was to Urban VIII no doubt, as to the vast majority of English Catholics, the thin end of the wedge which was to bring about the conversion of the King, the collapse of the Church of England, and the ultimate return of the country to the obedience of the Holy See. These were large stakes to play for, and would justify some sacrifice. Hence the willingness of Conn to undertake a journey to Rome in the company of Lord Arundel and the Prince Palatine, to promote the interests of the latter. Plunged into schemes for advancing Catholicism in England, Conn may have felt that a bribe offered by the Holy Father on the subject of the Palatinate, known to be so near the heart of King Charles, might go far to promote his designs. Arundel's aims, on the other hand, were concentrated on the restoration to the Palatine family of their lost honours, while dealing, if possible, a shrewd blow to the opponents of that object. Of course the Roman plan never came off. Meanwhile Conn was disappointed to find Arundel quite cold in the matter of Catholic propaganda in England. How indeed could it be otherwise, when he had joined the Church of England, of which he was a loyal son, through dislike of Roman intrigue? With Lady Arundel the case was different. She was, and remained, a Catholic; and had in her much of that love of secret diplomacy to which many women are prone. Conn's energies, while

in England, were chiefly engaged in the task of bringing converts to the Roman fold: and in this work he doubtless found in Lady Arundel a ready and sympathetic listener; perhaps even a secret abettor. In it all she too was undeviatingly loyal to the cause of the Palatine family; and never allowed her constancy to her creed to interfere with her sincerity towards her friends.

A letter written by Lord Arundel at about this time, throws further light on the negotiations concerning works of art which were proceeding at Rome.

The Earl of Arundel to the Rev. William Petty.

Good Mr Pettye

I am very gladde to heare you are so well. For o^r businesse at Rome, I hope ere this that of the *Fide Commissa* is done, Mr Conne havinge assured me these three or four weekes he hath earnestly written aboute it, and restes assured I shall not wante all favourable proceedinge there.

For the Agulia (Giulia) His Mat^{ie} thanks y^u for y^r care in it, but desires I should take it, sayinge he hath much more minde to some good picture, and meanes to employ y^u to buy for him that of Bronzino w^{ch} y^u mencioned; but hath ordered Mr Secretary Windebanke to write unto Sir Will: Hamilton to sollicite any thinge for y^e Aglulia or Statua for me, as if it were for him selfe.

Mr Conne is much y^r frende. He hath given y^e kinge a fine antike vaso of Aggatte, w^{ch} he says he gotte of y^e Duke of Brasciano, in exchange for other things. I desire much such things. He sayes, Cavaliere Pozzo is y^e only man to help y^u in that kinde. He sayes Cardinal Francesco is very free to give away excellent things to his frendes.

I have gotte heere the rarest little picture done by Parmensius, that ever I sawe. I doe entende, God willinge, all o^r Designes in Italy, wth little paintings, shall come by land, wth the Venetian Ambassador that comes into Hollande.

I pray send me y^r picture of Tinelly¹ for o^r Rome [room] for Designes must have y^u in *pittura* and marble. God keepe y^u.

Y^r assured frende

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Whithall,

3^o Febr: 1636 (1637)².

It was not only in Rome that Lord Arundel was seeking to add to his collections. As usual, he had his irons in the fire in many

¹ Tinelli was an Italian portrait-painter, born in 1586, died in 1638. See Bryan's *Dict.* where Ridolfi is quoted for further details. Needless to say "y^r picture" is here used for "y^r portrait," as usual at this period. "Of Tinelly" likewise signifies "by Tinelly"; Lord Arundel frequently using the preposition "of" as an equivalent to the Italian "di."

² Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15970, f. 63. Addressed to Mr William Petty at Rome.

different directions, as the following letters show. Walter, Lord Aston¹, had in 1635 been appointed by Charles I to a second spell of office as English Ambassador at Madrid; and it is to him that Arundel now addresses himself.

The Earl of Arundel to Lord Aston, Ambassador at Madrid.

Noble Lord

I had forgotten in my letter unto y^u to entreate y^u that if y^u meete wth a collection of matters of Arte w^{ch} were of Antonio Perez, y^u would be pleased to deale wth them for me, accordinge to what I recommended unto y^r lo^p formerly, concerninge any matter of Arte; for w^{ch} I will willingly lay out mony. I remember an office book wth many pictures of limninges in it, w^{ch} both my lo: Cottington and Mr Hopton had longe in theyre handes for me, but did not buy it. If it may be had for a small matter I shoulde be gladde to have it, or any of y^e like nature. I beseech y^u be mindfull of Don Jhon: de Spinas booke, if his foolish humor change. Soe with my best wishes to y^r lo^p I remayne

Y^r lo^{ps} faithfull frende to comāde

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Hampton Court

19 January 1636, Old Stile (1637).

To the Right Hon^{ble} my very good lord Aston, Ambassador for his Ma^{tie} of greate Britaine these, Madrid in Spayne².

Another letter to the same correspondent shows how keenly Arundel had felt the part played by Spain at the Diet of Ratisbon. He looked upon it as the counterpart of the deceptions practised towards King Charles, when, as Prince, he sought the hand of the Infanta. The Mr Fanshawe mentioned, was Richard Fanshawe (a son of Sir Henry Fanshawe) of Ware, who, knighted later, became the famous royalist of the civil wars. He was at present acting as secretary to Lord Aston at Madrid. The Fanshawes of Ware counted, as we know, amongst Lord Arundel's old acquaintances.

The Same to the Same.

My very good lord

Since I wrote unto y^r lo^p by Mr Fanshawe, understandinge by a stranger come hither that there are many Peeces of Antiques in marble, whole statuaes and lesse peeces, in a house in Madrid w^{ch} belonged to the old Duke of Lerma, w^{ch} might nowe be had at very easy rates, I thought good to entreate y^r lo^p that they might be seene by some, and the lowest prices

¹ Walter Baron Aston of Forfar, was born in 1584, and was the son of Sir Edward Aston, of Tixall, Staffordshire. Walter Aston was successively made Knight of the Bath and baronet; Ambassador in Spain 1620-1625; Lord Aston of Forfar 1627; again Ambassador in Spain 1635-1638; died in 1639.

² Public Record Office, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic.*

gotten that, if they might be easily come by, they might be bought for me. I conceive by what I heare of Spayne, that the lesse y^r lo^p appeare in it the better, but worke by secondarye meanes.

I beseech y^r lo^p agayne to comend my service to the Conde Duke, and let him be assured that never any man found himselfe more deceived, in the proceedinges of all y^e Spanish ministers in Germany, then I did; for I was most prompte to have, with all sincerity, layed groundes of y^e frendshippe betwixte y^e twoe Crownes, as the King my master coffanded; but I confesse I was as little in love wth y^e old Conde Ognata there, as most have bin where he hath treated. If they dislike o^r proceedinges heere, or o^r Prince Electors protestation, they must stoppe it in time, wth reall effectes, and not make this the second parte of o^r Kinges beinge in Spayne.

Soe God keepe y^r lo^p is wished by

Y^r lo^{ps} most affectionate frend to coffand

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Hampton Courte,

24 January, 1636 Old Stile (1637)¹.

A glance at the cost of the expedition to Germany is not without interest. On the 4th February, 1637, a Treasury warrant was issued, to pay to Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, "£7262, the balance remaining of £19,262, being his extraordinary expenses on his late embassy to the Emperour of Germany, over and above his allowance of £6 a day." This larger sum seems to have included £67 advanced to Mr Taylor, and £1500 "delivered to the Governor of *Havon*²." The final word is probably a misreading for Hanau. A Scotchman, Sir John Ramsay, was at this time Governor of that city, which he had successfully held for a year and a half against the Imperial forces. Since Lord Arundel's outward journey, Hanau had been relieved by the ally of the Queen of Bohemia, the Landgrave of Hesse; and, on his way home, the Ambassador had deflected his course in order to visit Ramsay, who came out to meet him with a troop of horse.

The following letters from Mytens to Lord Arundel's Secretary, Edward Walker, show that Holland, too, was being called upon to contribute its share to the collections.

Daniel Mytens to Edward Walker.

Mr Walker

Firste my humble duetie remembred to my honnorable good Lord, and comendations to yo^r good selfe.


You shall understand that I have received yours dated the 12/22 of January laste paste, and that Mr Everard hath bene at Dorte to see the peece that was said to be of Lionardo, but found it to be onely a Coppie

¹ P.R.O., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic.*

² *Ibid.* 1636-1637, p. 421 4th Feb., 1637.

after Mabuse, as Mr Everard wil wryte at large to my Lord. Also I have bene at Amsterdam aboute the Cabinet wood, w^{ch} I have boughte for 70 gilders, and shalbe sente per firste, by Mr Fletcher.

Concerning the six bookes, I durste not buy them absolutlie, for that they cannot be had under 500 gilders, w^{ch} is the leaste I could drawe them to. I will firste expecte annswere there uppon.

Since I have received yours dated the 19/29, I will per firste goe wth Mr Everard to Amsterdam for the pictures of  and Holbeen, and of Raphael, to see and cheapen them, and then advise you of all. And thus comitting you in God's holy protection, I reste


Your assured frend

Hage 18th feb. 1637, st: no:¹

D. MYTENS.

The Same to the Same.

Good Mr Walker

My service remembred to your sweete selfe. Some fewe dayes since I have written unto you that Mr Everard and I had bene att Dort, and hath sente his lres with a catalogue Stephen Lespeare, and his opinion concerning the things there². Since w^{ch} tyme wee have received yours dated the 12/2 february, and have bene at Amsterdam wth Mr Everard for the things of  and the others at Jochum ferasort (?) and brought them to the loweste pryce: a woman's picture to the knee (of Andre del Sarto as they saye, but wee hould it to be of Titciano) at 600 gild. A man's picture of Holbeen, a foot high, 300 gild. A madona of Albert Dürer, aboute the same highte, at 150 gild. A dead man of Albert Dürer, in water cullors, at 120 gild. A picture of Raphael w^{ch} is held to be of his hand, but wee hold it not so to be, and is held at 60 gild. Six bookes, as I have written before, at 500 gild: amounteth in all to 1730 gild.

Concerning the Auxion or outcry of John Basse(?) at Amsterdam, is paste and begon the 9th of this presente, and there was greate store of printes and drawings. Mr Everard solde by smale parcells, but verie fewe pictures, not for my Lordes turne.

Concerning the twoe pictures of Sir Willyam w^{ch} I have here, I pray speake wth him and know what I shall doe wth them; and sende me worde of my Lord's pleasure and orders about these things, w^{ch} I will expecte per firste. And so comitting you in the protection of the Almightye God, I reste

Yours to be comanded

Hage, 12th Marche 1637, St: novo:³

D. MYTENS.

Of special interest is the following extract from a letter written a little later in the year by Lord Maltravers, on his father's behalf, to Mr Petty. It is a pity we do not know how much, if any, of the splendid Holbein harvest, here described, was reaped for England.

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 375.

² Portions of this letter are so involved that the meaning can only be guessed at; but it must be remembered that Mytens was writing in a language foreign to him.

³ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 376. Both letters are addressed to Walker at Arundel House.

The "rare dead Christ" is of course that which is now in the Basle Museum.

Lord Maltravers to the Rev. William Petty.

Good Mr Petty

The last weeke after the letters were written, wee received yours of the 22nd and 24th June, from Piacensa, and 10th July from Vennice, and this weeke one of 18th July from Vennice; by all which your continuall and earnest endeavors appeare, which my Lord is very sensible of; and he now exceedingly desires to see you at home, bringing your labours along with you. What should hinder you now I know not, beeing you have donne your utmost for the Adonis; and if any thing bee to bee donne more, in your absence, you may leave direction, for all hath beene donne from hence that was possible, and I hope it is cleere by this time.

I hope you will not loose this fayre occasion of comming with the Ambassador and goods home, as my Lord desires; and, in case you doe not, my Lord hath written to y^e S^r Vercellini and Mr Price, to get a co-adjutor to come along with Mr Price. . . .

My lord desires that you should endeavor in and about Bassill to gette things of Holben, especially in a house which beelonged to Amor Bacchus; there beeing a rare dead Christ at length, in oyle, with diverse heads and drawings of Holben and other masters, all now to bee sould. My lord desires y^t y^u would buy them and bring them away, or at least the drawings and thinkes it were good y^t Henry V. D. Bergh, or somebody, went afore y^u came, to enquire in y^t Country for rarytyes against y^u come; and for such things as your creditte will not reach to buy, to give earneste for; and in case you should not goe, hee desires that Sig^r Fran. Vercellini would doe those things at Bassill, and though you come, hee would be gladd he should assist y^u.

I am gladd you have gotte that famous booke at Parma. What you send to my custody, shall be carefully looked to till y^r arrivall, and when I heare they are imbarked, I will ensure them. My Lady thanks you for the seeds you gotte at Roome (Rome), which came the other day. I am glad Sig^r Neeces (Nys') jewells, and the forty drawings, proove so well. There hath been made over to Sig^r Vercellini by Ryehaus £150 and £200. I now send you creditte for £200 more. My lord desires y^t y^u should speake with Sig^r Vercellini, and order all those monnyes as you thinke best, by givinge what you thinke fitte to Mr Price and to Henry the Painter, or to employe it as y^u thinke fittest for my Lords service, or by making over some of it to other places to assiste you in your journeye. My Lord will presently give order to have creditte to meete y^u and Sig^r Vercellini at Bassill. My lord hath written to y^e Lord Fieldinge, as you desired, the which Mr Walker will send you. I beelieve you may come home to see the sale of Frisells pictures, for they sticke long at his prices. So wishing you all happinesse I rest

Your ever assured frend

H. MALTRAVERS.

Lotheberry, 4 Aug: 1637.

This is the duplicate of my letter the last weeke¹.

¹ Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15970, f. 65.

Social events in England were meanwhile running their course. On the 5th August, the Duke of Lennox, brother of Lady Maltravers was married to Lady Mary Villiers, daughter of the deceased Duke of Buckingham. Lord Arundel and his family were of course present at the function, which took place at Lambeth; Archbishop Laud performing the service, while the King gave away the bride. The wedding feast followed at York House, where the King and Queen were present.

Hardly had the marriage bells rung out their peal, when the family at Arundel House were plunged into very real grief by the death of the young Lord Stafford, Lord Arundel's kinsman and ward. Henry, Lord Stafford, was the lineal descendant and heir of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, attainted and executed in 1523, in the reign of Henry VIII. The boy had showed unusual promise. He had now been "educated," as the term was, for some years at Arundel House, and had deeply attached himself to his guardian. He saw in Lord Arundel the embodiment of all knightly virtues, and had conceived for him an enthusiastic affection. The Arundels, on their part, fully reciprocated this feeling. They mourned his loss, indeed, as though he had been a child of their own.

George Conn to Cardinal Francesco Barberini.

11 August, 1637.

Monday morning I went to condole with the mother of Lord Stafford, a boy of fifteen, and the last of the famous house of the Dukes of Buckingham. He was a Catholic, and met death like an angel, leaving his mother overwhelmed with grief, and a sister ill. The deceased was the ward of the Earl of Arundel, who, together with the Countess his wife, has displayed a sorrow worthy of his generous nature, not yielding to that of the mother herself, and accepting condolences as though for a personal loss¹.

By the death of Lord Stafford, his inheritance passed to his sister Mary. The succession to the peerage was claimed, and legitimately so, by a cousin, Roger Stafford. The King quashed this pretension at once, on the ground that Roger Stafford was entirely impecunious, and therefore incapable of supporting the dignity of a peerage. Awarding a life-annuity to the heir, who was elderly and unmarried, Charles conferred the whole of the honours on William Howard, who meanwhile had become the husband of Mary Stafford. Once more, we must invoke the aid of Conn's ready pen, to tell us how this marriage came about.

¹ Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15390, f. 378, b. Original in Italian.

The Same to the Same.

18th September, 1637.

A marriage has been arranged between Sir William Howard, second son of the Earl of Arundel, and the sister, a Catholic, of the deceased Lord Stafford. I have already settled with the Countess that they shall be married by a priest, without the knowledge of the Earl: and I hope that from this union will result particular consolation to the Lady Countess of Arundel, to whom I am obliged to act as confessor, although unable to give her absolution¹.

23rd October, 1637.

The Knight, son of the Earl of Arundel, was privately married yesterday, by a Priest, to Madam Stafford. This was done while the Earl was out of London; and I am preparing to meet his wrath, for already rumour attributes the fault to me².

These letters must ring unpleasantly on the ears, even of those most friendly to the Countess. They grate on our ideas of straightforwardness, and come at an ominous turn in the Howard fortunes. From the time of his marriage, William seems to have taken a line in Roman Catholicism more stiff and unbending than before, and of this it would not surprise one to find the back door manœuvre was in its way the cause.

Of the details we know no more. That Lord Arundel expressed displeasure, as Conn expected, cannot be doubted, but there is no reason to suspect that so very advantageous a marriage was, itself, distasteful. It was the Priest, whoever it was, that so annoyed him, as Conn's manuscript tells us, especially as Lord Arundel himself had so solemnly declared for an opposite policy. There was certainly, however, no breach of affection between him and his wife. Perhaps experience had perforce bred philosophy in this naturally irascible Englishman, whose uncompromising love of truth—that "huge honesty" of which Lord Stafford himself speaks, in the Life of his father—must often have been put to severe tests of endurance³.

It may be that Lady Arundel was getting more and more drawn into the Catholic vortex. A letter written from Hatfield, during Lord Arundel's absence in Germany, describes how on a certain Friday morning, Lord Cottington and other guests rode out on horseback to see Mrs Porter, who expected to dinner at her father's "Lord Boteler's house, the Countess of Arundel, Sir John North, and Sir Toby Mathew, who that morning came from Wrest."

¹ Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15390, f. 410.

² *Ibid.* f. 458. Originals in Italian.

³ See note on p. 415.



Photo Emery Walker, Ltd.

Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. By Rubens

Circa 1638 (?)

Mrs Porter was the wife of Endymion Porter, and was "the soul of the proselytising movement¹."

To complete the story of William Howard's marriage, it may here be added that henceforth he ranked as a devoted adherent of the Papacy, and his mother's chosen companion. In 1640, the King raised him and his wife to the peerage as Baron and Baroness Stafford; advancing them two months later to the dignity of a viscounty.

The political horizon meanwhile was gradually clouding over. The question respecting the legality of ship-money, the conflict between the English Church, beneath the sway of Laud, and Puritanism; the determined resistance of the Scottish Covenanters to ecclesiastical forms imposed upon them from England; furnished but a few of the multitudinous topics which divided men into opposite camps, and boded ill for the future. It is not proposed here to dwell upon the familiar facts of history, except in so far as they influenced Arundel's career, or serve to illustrate his character and opinions. Even where the records are silent, it may be taken for certain that his ardent spirit reflected every vicissitude of his country's weal or woe. He was a keen member of the Committee of the Council of War, appointed to provide arms and other material for the Army of the North. Public business, indeed, took up nearly all his time, leaving little over for correspondence connected with the collections. A few letters, addressed by himself and his eldest son, to Mr Petty, in the early half of 1638, have, however, been preserved.

The Earl of Arundel to the Rev. William Petty.

Good Mr Pettye

I received a fewe poastes since, y^r twoe letters, the one of the 5th, the other of the 19th of Febr: by the latter I understande of y^r agreement wth Mr Neece (Nys) about y^e Cabinette, and thinke y^u have taken the best course as thinges stande. I write nowe the rather, though I have little layzüre, becaust my poore sonne Maltravers is nowe in greate payne of the stone, but I trust in o^r Lord it will passe well ere longe.

For y^r businesse of Wemme, I will doe what I can, but if the six monthes elapse, I must needes eyther trust the Bishop, or some other Chaplayne whoe may deceive me if he will, and therefore I hope y^u will use all safe expedicion hoame.

For Francescon I will have all care. Soe wth my best wishes I rest ever,

Y^r assured frende

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Aru: House, 2^o March, 1638².

¹ Gardiner, *Hist. England*, Vol. VIII, p. 238.

² Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15970, f. 70.

Lord Maltravers to the Rev. William Petty.

Good Mr Petty

The last letter my lord received from you was from Verona, and now wee heare that my Lord Fieldinge is at Turin, and so consequently you are with him. My lord desires much to see you at home, so it may be with your safety. According as my lord sees heere, that my lord Fielding will come soone for England or not, so hee will send or not send, some boddy to accompany you from Turin.

My lord hath sent to the Bisshope of Coventrye and Lichfield, whoe hath promised to reserve Wemme for you, in case it fall in lapse to him by your absence. So I rest alwayes

your most assured true frinde

H. MALTRAVERS.

From Whitehall, 13 April, 1638¹.

The Earl of Arundel to the Rev. William Petty.

Good Mr Petty

I hope in God y^u have longe since seene Verrano, whome I sent on purpose to accompany y^u, and am the lesse troubled for not havinge heard from him in soe longe a time as since the 20 of May last (but only from Paris once), because by the relation of this honest gentleman, Mr Fitton, and other travellers, I heare the way is not dangerous from Paris to Turine. . . .

Since my lo: Ambassador is to stay at Turine, I am sure he will give his best furtherance to come, and safely, hoame. . . .

Whitehall, 28 June, 1638².

The cabinet of Daniel Nys, alluded to in Lord Arundel's letter of the 2nd March, 1638, acquired widespread celebrity in the art-dealings of the time. It seems to have consisted of a carefully chosen collection representing many branches of art and "curiosity." Important pictures, as well as *objets de vertu*, and costly stones, were among its contents. Originally the King had intended to buy it. Subsequently, however, his Majesty withdrew, and Lord Arundel became its possessor. This had been arranged since 1637; but it took some time to settle the demands of a French merchant, who had some claim upon it, as security for a debt owed to him by Nys. Lord Arundel gave for it no less than £10,000. So valuable was it considered that, at a later period, when litigation arose between Stafford and his nephews on the subject of the inheritance, Henry Howard and his brothers agreed to accept this cabinet in lieu of all other claim to the goods and personal estate, in Holland, of Aletheia, Countess of Arundel, at the time of her death³.

In the month of May, the little Prince Charles, afterwards King Charles II, was made a Knight of the Garter at Windsor, with all

¹ Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15970, f. 67.

² *Ibid.* f. 75.

³ Howard Papers, Norfolk House.

the usual ceremonies and festivities. Instead of the customary fees, the Earl Marshal received the Prince's horse and furniture: other officials being rewarded in a similar manner.

Another event, which at least afforded the poor little Queen great happiness, however embarrassing and unwelcome to the King and the country, was the arrival in England, on a visit of indefinite duration, of the Queen-Mother, Maria de Medici.

For Arundel by far the most important and engrossing interest of the year, were the preparations, now steadily going forward, for war with Scotland. In November it was already known, though the actual appointment had not yet taken place, that it was the King's intention to place the Lord Marshal at the head of the forces being raised for that purpose. The army was to consist of 10,000 foot, and 2000 horse. The command of the latter was to be entrusted to Essex; while the veteran Sir Jacob Astley was to act as Sergeant-Major-General. A little later, the incompetent Holland was substituted for Essex as General of the cavalry, it was said, through the queen's influence; while Essex received the appointment of Lt-General of the Forces, under Arundel. Both Arundel and Essex were annoyed at the change, and not without reason. Early in February Arundel received his definite commission as Commander-in-Chief. The number of the army had now it was said, swollen to 24,000 foot, and 6000 horse. The Earl of Northumberland, writing to Conway, wondered how the King would find money to feed so large a host?

On the 30th March the King arrived at York, the rendezvous of the forces. How anxious Arundel felt, is shown by a letter he addressed to Windebank, from that city, on the following day. Windebank had remained in London to transact necessary business, Coke being the Secretary of State deputed to attend the King on the campaign. Sir Henry Vane, now Treasurer of the Household, was a prominent personage, to say nothing of his position in the north, as owner of Battle Abbey. For the rest, we meet again many old friends in the royal camp. Edward Norgate, as clerk of the signet, was attached to the King's retinue; and to him we owe some vivid descriptions of the state of affairs in the north. Thomas Windebank, son of the State Secretary, held a minor office about the King's person. Sir John Borough, Garter King at Arms, acted as official Secretary. Edward Walker was private secretary to the Lord General.

The Earl of Arundel to Secretary Windebank.

Good Mr Secretary

All I can write from here is that (God be thanked) the Kinge and

all his servantes are in good health. If the Covenanters sweepe all before them in Scotland, wth a most high strayne of disobedience, wee hope my lo: of Essex his goinge, and Sir Jacob Astleyes, will prevente theyre entringe Barwicke, w^{ch} God Graunte.

We are heere, in private be it spoken, w^{thout} Sir William Udale¹, or soe much as one penny of mony till he come: howe much then, God knowes, whome I beseech to order all for y^e beste; and send y^u all happines as is wished by

Y^r Honors most faithfull frende

ARUNDELL & SURREY. .

Yorke 31 Aprill (sic) 1639.

To the right hon^{ble} my very good frend Mr Secretary Windebank these. London².

The fear was lest the expedition undertaken to reduce Scotland to obedience should be reversed, and result in an invasion of England by Scotland. For months past, Arundel had been making strenuous efforts to collect a competent force to carry into effect the King's wishes; and to supply that force with the needful sinews of war. The army raised by levies all over the country, proved, however, to be little better than an undisciplined rabble; brave men, indeed, but ill equipped, and wholly ignorant of the arts of war. The local leaders were as incompetent as their followers, whom they had not only neglected to train as soldiers, but had left totally unprovided with all that was needed for the prosecution of a successful campaign. Arundel saw with consternation that the army he was called upon to command, was in no way fitted to cope with the Scottish forces opposed to them. Superior in numbers as well as discipline, and led by men who had gained military experience abroad, under Gustavus Adolphus and other commanders, the Scotchmen were likely to prove formidable adversaries to the raw English levies. Arundel did not even then lose heart. At the council-table, he had given his vote strongly in favour of war. In the field, he, almost alone amongst the lukewarm English nobles, advocated a vigorous prosecution of hostilities³. The news from Scotland, indeed, was far from encouraging. There the leaders loyal to the King, had surrendered to the Covenanters without a blow. Edinburgh Castle was in the hands of the enemy. Much anxiety was felt about Berwick. The Border was threatened.

Meanwhile the Court and headquarters lingered on at York, inactive and despondent. "God sende us to doe well," wrote the Lord General to Windebank on the 4th April, "for wee have much

¹ Sir William Uredale was Treasurer of the Forces.

² Public Record Office, *State Papers, Domestic*, Vol. ccccxv, f. 79.

³ Gardiner, *Hist. England*, Vol. ix, p. 12.

to doe and little helpe¹." At last, early in May, the King made a move forward to Newcastle. Arundel's spirits rose correspondingly.

The Same to the Same.

Good Mr Secretary

I thanke y^u most hartily for all y^r favors. All I can say from heere is, shortly, wee are in very good heart. If the Kinge will keepe his owne groundes, my lo: Hamilton² beinge well in the Frith, wee shall doe o^r parte, I hope, at land, soe as Scottish Bragges shall not carry it. But as English Covenanters shall not fright us, soe I wish Scottish Counsailors that way enclined, may not vent y^e Covenanters bragges heere of theyre huge forces, w^{ch} are as false as some of their professions to y^e Kinge I doubt.

God keepe y^u and all y^{rs}, and esteeme me ever

Y^r Ho^{rs} most faithfull frende

ARUNDEL & SURREY.

Newcastle 10 May 1639.

To the right hon^{ble} Sr Francis Windebanke Kt. Principall Secretary of State, these, London³.

On the Sunday following the arrival at Newcastle, a proclamation recently issued by the King, had been read in Church, in the presence, says Norgate, of the Lord General, Earls of Essex and Holland, and other lords and commanders. The proclamation, in marked contrast to the tone of a previous edict, was highly conciliatory in character. It was intended, if possible, to bring about an understanding with the enemy, and avert the need for further hostilities. In the same letter, we get a picturesque glimpse of Arundel in his rôle of Commander-in-Chief.

Yesterday marched through this town about seven or eight companies of foot, with some horse, before whom rode the Lord General, gallantly mounted, and vested *a la Soldado*, with his scarf and *panache*, with many brave attendants, who brought the foot to their first quarter a few miles hence. The Earl of Holland, and the horse troops, have gone forward two days since; and this day the gross of the army, yet behind, pass on to their fellows. . . . At Durham the Bishop feasted the Lord General, the Lord Chamberlain (Pembroke), and other grand seigniors,

an invitation in which Norgate himself was, it appears, included.

Before the end of the month, the army had moved on to Berwick. The conditions encountered, however, were such as to fill with dismay the stoutest hearts. At Belfort, Norgate came across "Mr Murray,

¹ Public Record Office, *State Papers, Domestic*, 1639, Vol. ccccxvii, f. 29.

² Commander of the Fleet.

³ P.R.O., *State Papers, Domestic*, Vol. cccxxx, f. 132.

one of the cupbearers to his Majesty," who described to him the quarters that he, "with fourscore other gentlemen of quality, a horse troop," had occupied the night before. Coming to a little village after a long and weary march, they

found no other accomodation than a dark and rainy night, in all the town not one loaf of bread nor quart of beer, not a lock of hay nor peck of oats, and little shelter for horse or man; only a few hens they roasted and ate without bread, but not without water. Their horses had nothing. He told me I should find the army in little better condition, the foot companies having stood in water up to the ankles, by reason of the rain; that in forty-eight hours they had no bread, nor other lodging but on the wet ground, the camp being low near the sea-side, nor any shelter but the fair heavens. After dinner I rode to the army. . . . There I found the cause of the late want was for lack of carriages to bring bread to the army, but now they were better accomodated. . . . The King was in his tent, about which some of the Lords had pitched theirs. I think none who love him, but must wish the army ten times doubled, and those ten fifteen times better accomodated. . . the inexperience of officers, rather than want of honesty, in this new business of the war, so long discontinued, may justly bear the blame. . . .¹

Subsequently Norgate was shown such masses of supplies for men and beasts, as filled him with amazement; the failure having laid in the total absence of transport in the country traversed, which made it impossible to bring them where they were needed. "The fault of the confusion," he adds in a subsequent letter, "is imputed to the inferior captains and officers, and not to the principals, who cannot descend into every office²."

On the 2nd June, the Lord General, accompanied by Lord Holland, Colonel Goring, and other commanders, and escorted by a good strength of horse, promulgated the King's proclamation of pardon in the small town of Dunse. At first (says Norgate) they found only women on their knees in the highway crying for mercy and grace. But when they received the General's "courteous and noble language assuring them of their safety," a change came over the proceedings. Men began to show, and actually victuals were freely produced in return for the payment offered by the English.

On the 11th June six Covenanters were invited by Secretary Coke to Lord Arundel's tent, there to discuss the questions at variance with the English Commissioners, the Lord General, the Earls of Essex, Salisbury, Holland, and Berkshire, Sir Henry Vane and Coke.

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, 1639, p. 249. Edward Norgate to Sec. Windebank, Berwick, 28-29 May, 1639.

² *Ibid.* p. 270. Ed. Norgate to his cousin Robt. Read, Berwick, 3rd June, 1639.

Suddenly before business had begun, the King appeared on the scene not a little to the discomfiture of the Scotchmen. His Majesty told them he had often been informed that they complained that they could not be heard concerning their grievances and that now he had come in person to hear from themselves what they wished to say.

After prolonged arguments the King returned to his pavilion, and the Scottish delegates having first been "feasted" by the Lord General took their departure¹. On the 18th June, following further negotiations, the first Bishop's War ended with the Pacification of Berwick².

Hardly was peace concluded when the English army was disbanded and the commanders scattered. On the 7th of July Coke wrote from Berwick to Windebank that the Lord Marshal was starting thence to London "the following morning³." Another letter dated from Westminster on 10th July states that "the Lord General is on his way hither and will be here this week⁴."

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, 1639, pp. 304-305. Sir John Borough to Sec. Windebank, Berwick, 12th June, 1639.

² *Ibid.* pp. 323-334, etc.

³ *Ibid.* p. 375.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 383. Edward Nicholas to Sir John Pennington from Westminster.

NOTE.

Certain sentences of Miss Hervey's ms. relative to page 408 have been modified by me. She appears to have misconceived the import of the documents to which she referred and so to have gone too far in her deductions. The chapter was written at the time when Miss Hervey was seriously ill, and did not receive the customary attention or correction at her hands. I am confident that had she lived she would have noticed her mistake and made her statement one of historical accuracy. I have taken the advice of an able historian whom she also had consulted, and have obtained the opinion of a paleographer respecting the documents in question, and I have, I think, made the statement more in accordance with fact than it was. (*Ed.*)

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE MADAGASCAR SCHEME. THE SHORT PARLIAMENT. TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF STRAFFORD.

1639.

WITH the termination of the Scotch Campaign the clash of arms abruptly ceases. By one of those startling transitions which arise when the connecting links of history are wanting, we find Lord Arundel plunged, immediately on his return to London, into an atmosphere as remote as possible from that of the troubles and difficulties at home. The project which now filled his thoughts was nothing less than the Colonisation of Madagascar, which, with the full sanction and approval of the King, he intended to undertake in person.

We must go back a short distance upon our path in order to grasp the circumstances which gave rise to this romantic plan. Early in 1636 the gallant Prince Rupert had followed his brother Prince Charles Louis, the young Elector, to England. There he had conceived the idea of going himself to colonise Madagascar. By whom the project was inspired is unknown, but subsequent events, and the known affection of Lord Arundel for the chivalrous Prince seem to point the direction from which it arose. King Charles, prompted perhaps by Arundel, gave cordial support to his nephew's scheme. The Queen of Bohemia on the other hand regarded it as "a thing neither feasible, safe, nor honourable for him." In a letter to Roe she tells him of having written in this sense to Prince Rupert and begs him "to putt such windmills out of the Prince's head." The Queen further says she has had a letter from one whose name she leaves blank:

Who writes of it as a fine thing which I cannot enough wonder at. I answered him plainly I did not like of it; I thought it not fit or safe to send him, the second brother on such an enterprize when there was work enough for him to do in Europe...¹

The King, meanwhile, anxious to investigate the truth of his sister's objections, made enquiries of the East India Company as to

¹ Quoted by Mrs Everett Green, *Life of Elizabeth of Bohemia*, p. 325, who suggests that the name left blank might be that of Sir Henry Vane. It is far more likely to have been that of Lord Arundel.

the advantages of Madagascar. In reply, the Company excused itself on the score of poverty from taking part in the enterprise, but esteemed it wholly honourable and desirable. On the 8th May, 1637, Sir Thomas Roe was able, however, to tell the Queen of Bohemia that the "dream of Madagascar" was, he thought, "vanished"; a "blunt merchant" having delivered the opinion that, "though a gallant design, it was not such wherein he would send his younger son."

From this time we hear no more of Madagascar till the project was revived by Lord Arundel himself after the Scottish Campaign. The political and financial advantages of the scheme were thought to be great, and excited general attention. The climate, too, of the island was believed to be excellent. Never blind to these qualities, in Arundel's mind another aspect was always combined with them. Most people have probably felt, at least in childhood, the stirring effect upon the imagination of distant scenes glowing with the vivid hues of the tropics. What dreamlands are these, they ask themselves, scattered, palm-fringed, on the deep blue heart of far-off oceans? By whom are they inhabited? What prospects of delight may they not hold for those whose feet are weary of the beaten tracks of convention, who long to try their fortune in paths fresh and undeveloped? If, in the present day, when the world is old and most of its fertile regions are mapped out and appropriated, such thoughts still exercise a dazzling influence on many minds, how much more was this the case in Arundel's time, when huge tracts of the earth's surface still lay unexplored! Did he dream of terraces climbing lovely slopes, where the beautiful marbles he had acquired in Greece and Italy would stand up white and radiant against a cloudless sky?

Wanting in the imaginative power which flung a poetic halo about all her husband's projects, Lady Arundel fully shared his love of travel and adventure. Moreover, in the beginning of the Madagascar scheme we may suspect her to have had a large share, since it was mixed up with a design (for which we may be sure Arundel was not responsible) to convert Prince Rupert. This aspect of the affair had caused the Queen of Bohemia much consternation. Endymion Porter was to have acted as the Prince's Squire in the great undertaking, and it is easy to see which way that indication points. Therefore, when Lord Arundel adopted the abandoned scheme on his own account, his wife was well prepared to take it up. Secure upon this point, he was able to go forward with his preparations. On the 8th of October orders were issued that H.M.'s ship

“Convertive” be made ready to go to sea with “rigging and ship stores of that kind, both for the boatswain and the carpenter, as is accustomed for six months; and so be sent to the Earl Marshal of England¹.” This is no doubt the ship alluded to in an Italian despatch of the 11th Nov. which states that the King, in testimony of his affection, has presented to the Earl of Arundel for his Madagascar enterprise, a well armed ship². Charles was indeed delighted that the scheme was at last, as it seemed, to attain fruition³. There was no doubt that it was popular. Five other large ships were being victualled by Arundel’s orders, and a great number of volunteers had offered themselves to accompany “this most difficult expedition⁴.”

What caused the sudden collapse of a so eagerly devised and carefully constructed plan? Of that we are left in complete ignorance. From the moment when the note of busy preparation drops out of the records, the affair of Madagascar is shrouded in complete silence. The most probable explanation appears to lie in Lord Arundel’s health which was at this time particularly fragile. Some supervening attack of illness may have made so laborious an undertaking impossible.

One enduring memorial, however, remains to testify to his dream of the far-off island. In the last portrait painted of him by Van Dyck, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, is seen seated with his wife before a large globe, on which the island of Madagascar, conspicuously marked, is pointed to by the Earl Marshal with his staff. The picture is known, and rightly so, as the “Madagascar Portrait,” and exists in several examples. The date at which this portrait was produced must be between the second half of the year 1639, which saw the rise and fall of the Madagascar scheme so far as Lord Arundel was concerned, and September, 1640, when Van Dyck left England to spend some time on the Continent. He returned, it is true, in May, 1641. But Arundel was himself absent that autumn; and Van Dyck died in December of the same year. The appearance of Lord Arundel in this picture, his scanty hair and somewhat shrunken physique, is that of a much older man than is seen in any previous portrait of him by Van Dyck. Lady Arundel, too, has the look of a decidedly elderly woman; but, no other portrait being known to exist of her in advancing years, comparison is difficult. A main point is that the

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1639-1640*, p. 19. Thomas Smith to Robert Reade (Windebank’s secretary), 8th Oct., 1639.

² Public Record Office, *Venetian Transcripts*, Vol. xxii. Giovanni Giustiniani to the Doge of Venice. London, 11th Nov., 1639.

³ See Appendix VIII, p. 508.

⁴ Public Record Office, *Venetian Transcripts*, Vol. xxii. Giov. Giustiniani to the Doge of Venice. London, 14th Oct., 1639.



Photo Donald Macbeth

Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, Aletheia his wife and Francis Junius the Librarian. By Van Dyck

Circa 1639 (?)

figures of Thomas and Aletheia are the same as those which reappear in the drawing of Fruytiers of Lord and Lady Arundel and their grandchildren, executed at Antwerp in 1643. This drawing was made, as is well known, from a design by Van Dyck for a large family picture in the style of that executed for Lord Pembroke at Wilton; but the painter did not live to complete his task. It would seem, therefore, that the Madagascar portrait was at once a foretaste of the great family group which must have been occupying the thoughts of the artist in the final period of his life; and the last authentic representation of Thomas and Aletheia, Earl and Countess of Arundel. In the latter sense, the family themselves seem to have regarded it, since these are the portraits selected for insertion, as miniature copies, in the family tree, once the property of Lord Arundel's grandson, Cardinal Howard¹. There is also evidence that some version of the original picture was taken to Holland, as it appears in the view of the Interior of a Gallery by Gonzales Coques at the Royal Gallery of the Hague². Several versions of the original seem to have issued from Van Dyck's studio, and to bear more than usual signs of the hand of the assistant. In at least one example the figure of Francis Junius, Lord Arundel's librarian, is introduced into the background³.

Hardly had the Madagascar plan been abandoned when preparations were set on foot for a probable new campaign in Scotland. It has often been regarded as a proof of disfavour on the part of the King that he did not again offer Arundel the post of Commander-in-Chief. But an examination of the original documents affords convincing proof that Charles acted in the kindest and most considerate manner towards his old servant. Arundel had begged on the previous occasion, in 1639, to be excused from accepting the honour offered to him. Only the King's insistence prevailed with him at last to consent⁴. Since that time, he had been fervently engaged upon a project which, had it come to pass, would have carried him far indeed from his native shores; and which entirely exculpated the King from any obligation to reappoint him as Generalissimo. But more than this, his health appears to have suffered a bad breakdown in the autumn of 1639, perhaps as the result of the hardships of the northern campaign. Such a breakdown rendered him wholly unfit for the responsibilities of command. Arundel himself would

¹ Now at Norfolk House, London. See illustration.

² Musée Royale de la Haye. Catalogue Raisonné, 1914, p. 59.

³ See illustration, where, through the kindness of Lord Sackville, the Knole version is reproduced. Other examples are at Arundel Castle, Costessy Park, etc.

⁴ See Appendix III, p. 462, Lord Stafford's historical account of his father.

doubtless have refused the post. In these circumstances Charles took every step possible to make it clear that only the kindest motives actuated him in his dealing with the Earl Marshal. The allusion, in the official letter below, to Arundel's health, was obviously no mere excuse, since it must have been the real cause also of the collapse of the Madagascar plan, which is otherwise unaccountable. On the 31st December, Secretary Windebank addressed to Arundel the following communication by order of the King.

Secretary Windebank to the Earl of Arundel.

My Lord

His Mat^y hath bene pleased to comānde me to acquaint yo^r L^p. that because the timely declaring of a Generall of such forces as His M: intendes to employ this yeare, wilbe of greate consideration and moment to his service, & His M: observing of late that yo^r L^p by reason of yo^r often indispositions, is becom lesse hable than in former times to undergoe so greate and painfull a charge, hath therupon made choice of the Er: of Northumberlande to be Generall of his Army to be sett out this yeare. And further I am comāded to lett yo^r L^p know, that for the better ordering of these greate affaires, His Ma^{t^y} hath thought fitt to appoint a Counsell of Warre, of w^{ch} His M: hath not yet named yo^r L^p: not knowing whether yo^u wilbe hable to give that constant and frequent attendance w^{ch} so important a businesse requires, besides that His M: having for the reason aforesaid named another Generall, cannot tell whether yo^r L^p wilbe contented to sitt there or noe. This His M: in favor to yo^r L^p hath expressly comāded me to signify to yo^u, not doubting but that howsoever yo^u shall dispose of yo^r selfe, yo^u will contribute what yo^u may to this extraordinary service, both in the quality of an eminent Counsellor, & Er: Marshall of Englande, and according to the interest w^{ch} in both these capacities yo^r L^p hath in the State and in the publike Government
31 Dec: 1639

To the Er: Marshall: by His M: comādemēt: and seene by His M:¹

Arundel responded warmly to the King's consideration in consulting his wishes before appointing him to an inferior post. His generous nature was not one to decline to serve his King and country in an emergency, because he was debarred from doing so in the most exalted position. At the meeting of the Council of War which took place a few days after the foregoing letter was written, Secretary Windebank delivered to the Lords' His Majesty's pleasure that the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Earl Marshal of England, should be added to their number².

It is true that tongues found some cause to wag in the fact that

¹ Public Record Office, *State Papers, Domestic*, Vol. cccccxxvi, No. 53. Draft or copy, as it is unsigned.

² *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1639-1640, p. 301. 4th Jan. Whitehall.

Essex and Holland were also superseded. A letter written at this time to Sir Thomas Roe, giving the names of the new Commanders, states that "the Earls Marshal, Essex and Holland are much discontented¹." But it does not follow that such emanations of gossip were necessarily correct. It was natural that Northumberland, the new Commander-in-Chief, should desire to have some choice in the men who would occupy the chief posts in his army. This would at once be interpreted by the vulgar mind as a blow aimed at the former Generalissimo. There is no doubt that there were some who were only too ready to place such a construction on the new arrangements. Arundel's enemies were increasing in numbers. They allowed no opportunity to pass of doing him injury. Thus we see the two currents for a time flowing side by side—the King's favour on the one hand, the attacks of his opponents on the other.

The Short Parliament met on the 13th April, 1640. On this occasion the King, as a token of his appreciation of Arundel's services, made him Lord Steward of the Royal Household. Part of the duties involved by this post was to administer the oath to the Members of the new House of Commons. In addition to this, and to the seat on the War Council, Arundel was appointed General of the Forces South of the Trent. Some notes by Windebank, dated from Arundel House, show the extent of the responsibility which the Council had bestowed on the Earl Marshal. Not only was it Arundel's duty to call the Lord Mayor of London to raise the necessary forces for the protection of the City and of the Queen and royal children, but further to summon the Lord Lieutenant of every county within his jurisdiction, to place in readiness on receiving his orders the local levies required to meet the invasion of the Scots. He was also to have included in his commission a command over ships and vessels at sea for His Majesty's service². It is clear that such responsibilities would not have been conferred upon any man whom the Council distrusted and who was thought to have done less than well in his former military service. He was practically given the whole charge of the defence of the country south of the Trent.

Meanwhile, at the seat of civil power, forces of another kind had long been at work. Clouds, thick with rebellion, were gathering on the horizon, and the turbulence of general discontent, becoming concentrated upon one individual, was about to burst over his devoted head. Lord Strafford was destined to be the first victim of the popular

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1639-1640*, p. 321. Sir Richard Cave to [Sir Thomas Roe], Westminster, 10th Jan. 1640.

² *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1640*, pp. 633-634.

fury. Sequestered from Parliament and confined to the Tower in November, 1640¹, a few months sufficed for his enemies to accumulate the twenty-eight charges they brought against him and in March, 1641, the celebrated trial of Lord Strafford took place. It fell to Lord Arundel as Lord High Steward to preside over the Commission appointed to declare the Royal Assent to the Bill of Attainder against the unfortunate nobleman. The history of that too celebrated trial is well known. The conspicuous setting of the scene in Westminster Hall where, in the presence of the King and Queen, to give solemnity to the importance of the trial, the Committee of both Houses sat, the one as accusers, the other as judges. The conduct by Lord Arundel as President of the proceedings, in a matter so difficult and so momentous in its consequences, won the approbation of even Strafford's warmest friends. The trial lasted two months. But it was a foregone conclusion. There is no occasion to go over again such well-worn ground, or to recapitulate the subterfuges of the accusers, or the paltry tricks with which they tried to bolster up the charges brought against the victim of their bloodthirsty fanaticism. When all these have been considered and relegated to the bar of history for a just verdict, there stands out in letters of fire against the lurid background the message of Strafford to his Royal Master whose hand had been forced to sign his death warrant:

To a willing man there is no injury;

and in scarcely less glowing characters the life-long repentance of King Charles:

"I never met," the King writes, "with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, than in the businesse of that unfortunate Earl: when between My own unsatisfiednesse in conscience, and a necessity (as some told Mee) of satisfying the importunities of some people; I was perswaded by those, that I think wished Mee well to chuse rather what was safe than what seemed just; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdom with Men before that inward exactnesse of conscience before GOD.

"And indeed I am so far from excusing or denying that compliance on My part (for plenary consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in My judgement, I thought not by any clear Law guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of conscience with greater regret: which as a signe of My repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to GOD and Men, as an act of so sinful frailty, that it discovered more a fear of Men, than of GOD whose name and place on Earth no man is worthy to bear who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of so high injustice, as no publick convenience can expiate or compensate²."

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1640-1641, p. 256.

² *Eikon Basilike II*, Upon the Earl of Strafford's Death, *Reliquie Sacrae Carolinae*, p. 6, Samuel Brown, 1648 ed.

These words, penned seven years later in the Captivity of Carisbrook, did not probably represent the attitude of the King's mind at the time, when he no doubt hoped that having himself addressed the Lords in terms of earnest pleading for the life of his faithful servant, before passing the Bill of Attainder, and, after the fatal signature, having sent the Prince of Wales in person the day following to the House of Lords to ask, on the ground of his Royal Prerogative, for a reprieve, he had suggested to the Commission a means by which the vengeance of his persecutors might be satisfied and the final catastrophe averted. Perhaps in this latest feeling he found an excuse for a conscience as sorely troubled as his was at this juncture. This would explain the reason why, subsequently, the King could only give a half-hearted reception to the petition signed by 18 Peers for the restoration of the Dukedom of Norfolk to Lord Arundel, forfeited by his ancestor for loyalty to the unhappy Mary Queen of Scots, and more than due to himself in recognition of his life-long service to the State. The petition was refused, but King Charles was careful to balance the disappointment by other distinguished marks of royal favour.

CHAPTER XXX.

LORD ARUNDEL ESCORTS QUEEN MARIA DE MEDICI TO HOLLAND. FINAL DEPARTURE FROM ENGLAND IN ATTENDANCE ON QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA AND PRINCESS MARY.

1641.

NEVERTHELESS Lord Arundel, deeply hurt, resigned his position of Lord High Steward and asked leave to travel. His health was breaking and he needed the change. King Charles availed himself of this pretext to appoint him in attendance on Maria de Medici who was leaving England and, together with the Countess of Arundel, he was ordered to escort her abroad.

In the State Papers for that year, the following entry appears:

The King to Sir John Pennington. Warrant to make provision for the transportation of the Queen Mother beyond the seas according to the directions he shall receive from the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, in his own ship and whatever he disburses shall be speedily repaid by special order¹.

And another entry shows that preparations were immediately set on foot for her departure:

Thomas Smith to Sir John Pennington.

I perceive by yours of the 30th ult. to his Lordship (Algernon Earl of Northumberland) what six ships you have appointed for transporting the Queen Mother, and what remain in the Downs; wherewith his Lordship was very well contented. But now one of them must be altered, for yesterday morning his Majesty called me to him and told me it was his pleasure the "Bonaventure," whereof Captain Murray is captain, and one pinnace, be forthwith commanded to the Firth in Scotland, there to remain during His Majesty's stay in those parts. Of this my Lord Admiral desires you to take notice and give present order accordingly. For the pinnace he leaves it to your choice, but thinks the "Greyhound" will be the fittest as it can take most victuals: which victuals he would have supplied out of some ship of the fleet that can best spare them, and the Victualer has already orders to restore it.

Concerning the Queen Mother's coming down it is uncertain, and in regard of her many weaknesses a doubt whether she will come at all. Nevertheless Monday is the day appointed for her journey. The Lord Steward [of the Household] told me you should have order to provide

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1641-1643, p. 74.*

lodging and diet for her Majesty and thirty persons more, during the time of their being aboard; and that it should be allowed you on account; but of this you will have more particular discourse with him at Canterbury, where they intend to stay eight days, and where His Lordship expects to see you either on the night of their arrival or the next morning betimes; and then you shall also have a list of her Majesty's retinue.

P.S. His Majesty being pleased that the standard of England shall be borne on your ship during the time the Queen Mother shall be on board, The Lord Admiral has ordered the principal officers of the Navy to send the same to you whereof he would have you make use accordingly. My Lord Steward has made choice of the "Victory" to go in, and therefore it were fit Captain Percy had notice thereof. This should have come away last night but was hindered by an accident. Mr Treasurer Vane went northward last night at 5 o'clock¹.

There at first seemed every prospect of this important matter being brought to a speedy conclusion and the Venetian Ambassador makes the hopeful statement in his despatch to Secretary Windebank to the effect that:

[*Translation.*]

The Queen Mother is to take her departure this day for the town of Greenwich. She will be accompanied by The Queen her daughter one day's further journey to the Palace of the Duke of Richmond.

The Lord High Steward together with the Lady Countess his wife who is ordered to accompany him in the service of her Majesty up to the point of her disembarkation in Holland, although I believe that My Lady Countess desires to find herself at The Hague in order to visit the Royal Highness the Princess Palatine and perhaps stay with her some time on account of the mania that she has for travelling. August 23, 1641².

In spite of the elaborate preparations owing partly to the indecisions of the Queen Mother, the departure was so long delayed that the Countess of Arundel's patience was at length exhausted. She would no longer wait for the Queen's arrival, but embarked on her own account for Holland, intending to spend the winter there and continue her journey to Italy in the spring.

She was accompanied by her second son, Viscount Stafford, and his wife, and the three children of her eldest son.

Meanwhile Lord Arundel writes to Sir John Pennington:

My wife who resolved to have wayted upon Ye Q: Mother for Collen finding such delays and uncertainties and again a faire gale, sett saile on Thursday last for Holland and passing by ye Hague may perhaps goe for Collen and expect the Q. Mother there.

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1641-1643, pp. 75-76, 6th Aug., 1641-1643.

² Extract from despatch of Salvetti to the Secretary. *Brit. Museum, Add. MSS.* 27962, f. 280 b.

Other letters to the same correspondent enable us to follow Lord Arundel's progress from London via Sittingbourne:

Wher^{as} the Queene Mother is thus far advanced on her journey towards you and that if her health permits she wilbee to-morrow night at Canterbury and thence the day followinge advance either to Deale or Sandwich according to such Intimidation as I shall receive from you which of these places may best sute for her conveniency of Repose until that fresh Victual and other necessaries may be provided fitt for Embarqueinge the day following and if yo^r affaires will permitt I should gladly see you at Canterbury so biddinge you heartily farewellle I remayne

Y^r very affectionate friend

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Sittingbourne 15 August 1641.

I desire that y^u would doe me the courtesy as to give such notice to the Commander of y^e Victory where I intend to enbarque myself and my wife and sonne Stafford as all goods may be received there when they come.

[Endorsed] From y^e Earle of Arundell
of the 15th August 1641¹.

They came to a halt at Canterbury for, as a further letter shows,

The Queene will not depart hence till Satterday so that if provision bee made for her embarqueinge on Monday it wilbee time enough if any alteration shall happen in the Interim I will give you notice of it. I am sorry to hear of the death of Captain Percy but seeing it is so I am absolutely resolved to goe in Captaine Stradling's shippe the Lyon which I pray lett him know I havinge already given order for my provision to be layed in her; so not haveing els to write at this present I remaine

Y^r very affectionate frende

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Canturbury 18. August
6 at night

Addressed for His Ma^{ties} most especiall Affairs—

To my very worthy Friend Sir John Pennington
Kn^t Admirall at sea in the Downes these—

Endorsed From y^e Earle Marshall
of the 18th August 1641².

Finally they reached Dover:

My attendance uppon Y^e Queene Mother occasioned my remove from London on Thursday last was a fortnight and after many halts made by y^e way by reason of Her Ma^{ties} indisposition I arrived here on Saturday last

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1641-1643*, p. 90.

² *Ibid.* p. 96.

was a seven night: where with a greate deale of patience I lye expecting her resolutions for her embarqueing: At her coming from London shee pretended for Holland, where according to y^e information I received y^e Prince of Orange had taken a greate care for her reception either in Holland or Zeeland, and for her accomodacon in y^e passage upp y^e Rhyne to Collen: notwithstanding that greate respect of his shee hath waved y^e resolucon and now intends to pass for Flaunders, y^e distrust wth Faberoni hath conceived of his owne security having put her uppou this issue shee now expects y^e returne of a Gent: of y^e Spanish Ambassad^{rs} dispatched hence at her instance on Friday last in one of y^e Kinges Shippes, wth a safe conduct under my hande, for Dunkerque at whose returne shee is resolved to move hence, but my opinion is that though hee come p^{ro}vided wth passes & safe conducts from y^e P: Cardinall both for her reception at Dunkerque and passage thorow Flaunders yet y^e difficulties wilbee very great y^e french Armie beeing about Lisle, and said to besiege it:

Y^e Countrey heere beginnes both to bee weary of her longer aboade and alsoe to grow jealous y^t shee intends not to leave it soe soon but I am very confident shee will not retarde longe after a dispatch from Dunkerque...

I remaine,

Y^r Lo^{es} faithfull frende,

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Dover 29^o Aug. 1641¹.

The correspondence continues in the following interesting letters:

Addressed: For my Lord Ambassadour
S^r Thomas Row.

Endorsed: From y^e Earle of Arundell
29^o Aug. 1641.

S. Jhon Pennington, just nowe Count Fabroni, & President Cognewe [Coigne] are come unto me from Q: Mother, to entreate very earnestly, that the gentleman cominge alonge wth this called Don Martino Dugaldi may instantly passe to Dunkerke for her M^{ties} especiall service w^{ch} depends soe much upon it as upon his retorne or any others sent before by y^e Packette Boate Her M^{tie} is resolved to embarque for Dunkerke therefore I doe entreate y^u to take y^e best order y^e may for his transportation sodainely, in what shippe soe it be safe & speedy it is not importante they desire he should retorne wth y^e (sic) same convenience soe recommendinge this to yo^r wonted care & dexterity

I remaine

Y^r Assured Friend

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Dover Friday
27 Aug: 1641.

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1641-1643, pp. 107-108.*

[Addressed] To my very worthy frend
S. Thos. Pennington
Admirall of His M^{ties}
Fleets at sea.

[Endorsed] From y^e Earle Marshall
of the 27th August 1641.

[The Seal of the Earl Marshall.]¹

Good Sir John Pennington,

The Queene Mother hath received such orders from Flaunders by the Pacquett boate y^t came from Dunkerque this day that shee intends not to expect the returne of y^e Spanish Ambassada^s gent, though shee may hope for a fuller returne by him: and therefore is resolved now to embarque for Dunkerque wth all possible expedition, I acquainted her Ma^{tie} y^t during this tempestuous weather there was noe possibility of bringing his Ma^{ts} Shippes againe into this roade wthout a greate deale of hazard. And therefore I pray as soone as it proves calme & seasonable, use all diligence in y^e buisnesse, y^t soe y^e Q: Mother may receive all y^e satisfaction it lyeth in our powers to give her And soe for y^e pnt I remaine

Y^r very assured frend

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

Dover

31^o Augusti 1641².

Poster.

The Q: Mother resolucon is to carry along wth her noe more goods but what shalbe necessary for her pson and therefore entends to send all y^e rest directly for Collen by y^e way of Holland: & soe I conceave expects a Convoe for to go along wth them. I finde her resolved not to embarque in any other place then this.

[Endorsed] From Y^e Earle Marshall
of y^e last August 1641.

Good S^r John Pennington,

I thanke yo very kindly for your good advertisement and am gladd to heare that yours, and y^e rest of his Mats. Shippes have escaped y^e danger and are safly come to an Anchor in y^e Downs. I have given y^e Q: Mother an accompt both of y^e hazard yo runne, and of y^e necessity for prevention of leaving this Roade and shall as soone as I receive her further resiliucons for her embarqueing w^{ch} now depend uppon y^e returne of y^t Gent. of y^e Spanish Embassadors give you timely notice y^t soe yo^u may make y^r provisions accordingly.

I remain,

Y^r very assured frend

Dover 29 Aug^{tri} 1641.

ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

[Endorsed] From y^e Earle Marshall
of y^e 30 of August 1641³.

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1641-1643*, p. 105.

² *Ibid.* p. 111.

³ *Ibid.* p. 110.

Yet still Her Majesty continued her "long stay" at Dover till, as we gather from Lord Arundel's letter to Mr Pym, "a sudden resolution on her part brought the weary waiting to a close."

The True Coppy of a Letter sent from Thomas Earle of Arundell, Lord Marshall, from Middleborough in Zealand, to Mr Pym. And read before the Committee the 18. of September, 1641.

Good Mr Pym,

I thought it fit and agreeing with the trust put into my hands by the House of Commons and according to the order which you left with mee to give this accompt.

That upon her Majesties Arrivall at Flushing and a receipt under her hand and Seale, I delivered unto her the foure Bills of Exchange for seven thousand pounds, as I was directed by the House.

That after her Majesty had made a long stay at Dover, and resolved to passe by Dunkirke; on Friday morning last, Sir John Pennington comming a shoare and bringing with him Captaine Vernon, which was sent on purpose from Flushing, and but then arrived, bringing with him a Letter from the Brotheroad, [sic] who attended her Majesties comming to Flushing by command of the Prince of Orange, and the States, with great devotion, her Majestie changed her resolution from Dunkirke to Flushing, and instantly rose took boate and embarqued her selfe in the shipe; The winde held faire and wee hoyst up Sayle, and with a prosperous and happy successe, next day at 10. of the clocke in the morning, wee landed at Flushing, being arrived, the Count Brotheroad attended her Majestie and will doe to the Confines of the State Provinces; her charges, and the charges of all her retinues are wholly defrayed by him, and great acknowledgment made to her both of old and new obligations, her Majestie acknowledging this way, farre to exceed that of Brabant and Flanders, both in safety and speed, wherein I proved a true Prophet unto her Majestie.

The Prince of Orange past the day before with his Army of 20,000 men, from Ramkyns to Philippin Sconce, in a thousand Shallops and Barques, where he will fall, is yet very uncertaine, but this is certaine, that Flanders at this time must needs be in many great and hard straights, it having in it three Armies, on foot, and the Cardinall being sicke.

Sir, I am your affectionate friend,

ARUNDELL AND SURREY,

Marshall.

Middelborough. Sept. 11. 1641.

Before embarking with the Queen Mother, Lord Arundel, it seems, made his will (given in full in the Appendix) at Dover on the third of September, 1641¹.

An entry in Evelyn's *Diary*, September 16, 1641, gives the next clue to their movements:

¹ See Appendix II.

I took a waggon for Dort to be present at the reception of the Queen Mother, Marie de Medicis Dowager of France Widoe of Henry the Great, Mother to the French King Louis XIII, and the Queen of England whence she newly arrived, tossed to and fro by the various fortune of her life. From this city she designed for Cologne, conducted by the Earl of Arundel and the Herr Van Bredrod.

At this interview I saw the Princess of Orange and the Lady her daughter afterwards married to the House of Brandenburg. There was little remarkable in this reception befitting the greatness of her person but an universal discontent, which accompanied that unlucky woman wherever she went¹.

Sept. 10th.

In less than a month Lord Arundel appears to have discharged a task as tedious as it was uncongenial to a man of his habits and tastes, for the entry of October 7 in the same *Diary* relates how Evelyn, availed himself, through the courtesy of Sir Henry de Vic, His Majesty's agent at Brussels, of the coach and six horses which "carried me from Brussels to Ghent where it was to meet my Lord of Arundel, Earl Marshal of England who requested me when I was at Antwerp to send it for him if I went not thither myself²."

His return journey appears to have been made in company with Lord Arundel:

I passed by a boat to Bruges taking in at a redoubt a convoy of fourteen musketeers, because the other side of the river being Contribution Land was subject to the inroads and depredations of the bordering States. This river was cut by the famous Marquis Spinda and is in my judgment a wonderful piece of public work, being in some places forced through the main rock to an incredible depth, for thirty miles.

At the end of each mile is built a small redoubt which communicates a line to the next and so the whole way, from whence we received many volleys of shot, in compliment to my Lord Marshal who was in our vessel a passenger with us. At five that evening we were met by the Magistrates of Bruges who came out to convey My Lord to his lodgings at whose cost he was entertained that night³.

The next morning was spent in exploring Bruges, and on the 9th they went on to Ostend—thence to Dunkerque, and on 10th October they went on board the Packet boat,

a pretty frigate of six guns which embarked us for England about three in the afternoon. At our going off the fort against which our pinnace anchored saluted my Lord Marshal with twelve great guns which we answered with three. Not having the wind favourable we anchored that night before Calais.

¹ *Diary of John Evelyn*, Vol. I, p. 28, see also p. 22, Bray edit. 1850, in which Evelyn refers "to the Bust of Marie de Medicis supported by four Royal Diadems in the Senate House at Amsterdam."

² *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 35.

³ *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 36.

On October the 12th they landed at Dover, thence by post retracing the route by Sittingbourne, Rochester and Greenwich.

From hence after we had a little refreshed ourselves at the College (by reason of the contagion then in London we balked the Inns, we came to London, landing at Arundel Stairs. Here I took leave of his Lordship and retired to my lodgings in the Middle Temple, being about two in the morning the 16th of October¹.

Lord Arundel having now returned to London, as we learn from this contemporary narrative, had to take in hand immediately the fulfilment of the duties of another Commission. This time it was the turn of youth to claim the service which had been so gallantly rendered to age. He had attended the Queen Mother to the last point of her exit from the great stage of European politics in which she had played no insignificant if not a specially satisfactory part. It was now his business to usher in the entrance of the young Princess into a connection with the Family of Orange. The marriage was attended with important consequences to the Kingdom she was leaving behind, for eventually she became the mother of William III of England.

The Commission now in hand had been appointed at the beginning of the year² to execute the Marriage contract between Prince William, son of Henry Frederick, Prince of Orange, and the Princess Mary of Great Britain. The members chosen for this office were: The Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Bishop Juxon of London, the Marquess of Hamilton, Phillip, Earl of Pembroke, Edward, Earl of Dorset, Henry, Earl of Holland, and Mr Secretary Vane³. Their instructions were to treat with the Ambassadors from Holland concerning the projected marriage.

On March 15, the King gave his Warrant to the English Lords Commissioners to sign the Marriage Contract. The first article of the Contract states that the marriage between the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of His Majesty of Great Britain and Prince William son of His Highness of Orange shall take place in their own persons in good and lawful form, after the said Prince shall have arrived in England but the transport of the Princess to the Low Countries shall not take place before she has reached the age of 12 years.

The Princess shall then be brought to Holland as soon as possible and shall be conducted at His Majesty's expense as far as Rotterdam where she shall be consigned to those whom His Royal Highness shall appoint for the purpose; and from Rotterdam to her place of Residence the

¹ *Diary of John Evelyn*, Vol. I, p. 37.

² Jan. 7, 1640-1641.

³ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1640-1641, pp. 500, 501.

Princess' expenses shall be defrayed by His Highness, the whole being done on both sides suitably to the dignity of a Princess of the House of Great Britain¹.

Salvetti loses no time in communicating such important news to headquarters:

"It is confidently expected," he writes, "That the first wind favourable will bring over the young Prince of Orange so that preparations are being made for his reception in the Palace of Lord Arundel Earl Marshal of the Kingdom.

As to his taking the young Princess back to Holland with him it is rumoured that he will not be allowed to do this at present, although the States Ambassadors make a great point of it, but that they will give the assurance of his wishes being complied with in about a year's time. April 12, 1641²."

In the following fortnight we learn from Evelyn's memoirs that:

On the 26th of April came out of Holland the young Prince of Orange with splendid equipage to make love to His Majesty's daughter the new Princess Royal. The Courtship had proceeded from Arundel House where the Prince was a guest³.

The wedding took place on 7th May, 1641, and the Prince returned alone to Holland, according to the stipulations in the Marriage contract.

It may easily be imagined that the splendour of the hospitality at Arundel House shown on this occasion to the Princely Bridegroom would not have fallen short of the "splendid equipage" described by Evelyn, but only one rather curious indication of it has found its way into the domestic records of the State:

June 18, 1641.

Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery to Sir William Uvedale Treasurer of His Majesty's Chamber. Warrent to pay Robert Inkersall an officer of His Majesty's removing Wardrobe of beds, the sum of 14^l for the washing of 280 pairs of sheets for the use of the Young Prince of Orange and suite during his stay at Arundel House from April 18 to May 24 at the accustomed charge of twelve Pence a pair⁴.

The prescribed interval of time had barely elapsed when King Charles received an urgent entreaty for the fulfilment of the Contract from Prince William of Nassau and Orange.

"Sire," the Prince wrote, "though Ambassador Joachimi promised to give your Majesty again assurances of my humble service, I cannot but add these lines, by which I humbly beg your Majesty always to continue

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1640-1641*, pp. 499, 500, 501.

² *Salvetti's Despatches*, Add. 27962, f. 211. ³ *Evelyn's Diary*, Vol. I, p. 15.

⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1641-1643*, p. 17.

to me the honour of your kindness, and particularly to show it in what Joachimi has orders to represent to you on the subject of the transportation of The Princess [Mary], which I desire with such impatience. I pray God inspire you soon with that good intention and me with the power to testify to you how much I am your humble and obedient servant."

Addressed "Au Roy," and endorsed "Received Jan 8 1641-2¹."

The favour was evidently granted with royal speed, for another letter followed, bearing date Jan. 20 from the Hague, this time from Henry, Prince of Orange, to the King:

I am delighted to hear that you have given your consent to the Princess Mary crossing over in the Spring... You may be assured that the Princess will be received and entertained in this country with all the honour and respect which to a Princess of such high and eminent birth... Endorsed "Received Feb. 4 1641-2²."

It now remained with the Commission to see that the final clauses of the Marriage contract were completed and due arrangements made to further the departure of the bride to her future home.

First in order is the warrant of the King to Sir John Pennington:

To take up sufficient vessels for the transporting into Holland provisions and baggage besides horses and coaches for the use of the Queen and Princess Mary their servants and followers.

Feb. 13, 1642. Our Court at
Canterbury³.

Then follows a letter from the Earl of Northumberland to Sir John:

Though I have no other directions concerning the Queen's transportation than what I have already given you, yet seeing the three ships royal are declined, 'tis not to be doubted but that Her Majesty will go in the Lion and therefore you must have her in readiness to attend that service. Helvoet-Sluis is, most probably the place of landing, and therefore you must provide pilots accordingly but for your better satisfaction in that as also for her train, diet and place of embarkation you must attend Her Majesty at Canterbury to-morrow, by reason of my indisposition, and receive her commands which you are required punctually to observe. I have given orders to hasten away to you the Standard pendants barge and ketch⁴.

This is followed by a letter from Secretary Nicholas to Sir John Pennington:

His Majesty has commanded me to signify to you his will that after the accommodation of The Queen, the Princess Mary and their suits have

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1641-1643, p. 249.

² *Ibid.* p. 250.

³ *Ibid.* p. 283.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 283-4.

been provided for, you appoint a good ship for The transportation of the Earl Marshal, and to take care that he is accommodated as befits a person of his dignity¹.

That same day, 14th February, Lord Arundel wrote himself to Sir John Pennington:

I shall earnestly entreate y^u to accomodate me wth a good & strong shippe to transporte me & myne as I know it is the will of His Ma^{tie} & such an one, as I may put my Goodes in to & I hope to see it myselfe shortly since I am much weaker since I saw y^u laste and am confident of y^r wonted kindnes to me w^{ch} y^u coulede never better shewe then in the time of my present weakness my best wishes.

I rest

Y^r very assured frend

ARUNDEL SURREY.

Sent Monday 14 Feb. 1642.

[Addressed] To my worthy frend

S^r John Pennington Knight

Admiral of His Mat^s Fleete at Sea.

Thus, it having been arranged by the King, and evidently intended as a special mark of royal favour that the Earl Marshal was to be the Commissioner chosen to attend the Queen and Princess Mary to Holland, Lord Arundel proceeded with arrangements which he intended to be final before leaving England for good. Most of his business appointments he transferred to his son Lord Maltravers, called by the King to the Upper House in his father's Barony of Mowbray, no doubt in order to preserve the continuity of the family interest in the House of Lords during the absence of Lord Arundel. Clearly therefore it was with the King's consent and approval that Lord Arundel prepared to bid farewell to England. He had no longer the strength needed for the ardours of a campaign. He left therefore to represent him in the prime of life his son who threw down his stake for the King on many a hard-fought field; and Arundel in his retired life abroad, raised from his slender means no less a sum than £54,000 as a contribution to the royal cause.

Then the moment for departure arrived, but on 19th February the Queen and Princess having reached Dover, a sudden resolution was taken by the Queen to set sail without further delay, upon the States and Prince of Orange's "extraordinary instances" for the Princess to be immediately sent over, to see her daughter well settled in those parts.

On the 22nd of February they embarked, Lord and Lady Arundel in attendance.

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1641-1643, p. 284.*



Thomas and Aletheia, Earl and Countess of Arundel, with six of their grand-children and a dwarf servant. On vellum by Fruytiers after a design by Van Dyck. *Circa 1643*

As the shores of England receded in view, Arundel leaning over the gunwale of the ship was heard to exclaim:

May it never have need of me.

A life-long service in the vigour of manhood and these the last efforts of failing strength, were two years later recognised in tardy and inadequate fashion by the Royal Patent creating him Earl of Norfolk, as the lineal descendant of Thomas de Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, a younger son of Edward IV¹.

It was a poor exchange for the Dukedom of Norfolk, for the restoration of which he had petitioned in the previous year, and to which, on the ground of past service, his ancestor having risked and lost everything, including his life, for Mary Queen of Scots; and for his own unswerving fealty to King Charles, he had a double claim.

¹ Dated at Oxford, 6th June, 1644.

CHAPTER XXXI.

LORD ARUNDEL'S SOJOURN IN HOLLAND. DEPARTURE OF LORD ARUNDEL FOR ITALY. LAST YEARS OF HIS LIFE. HIS "REMEMBRANCES" FOR JOHN EVELYN. DEATH OF LORD ARUNDEL.

1642—1646.

THE veteran statesman watched the white cliffs of England fading into the distance, and as the darkness gathered over the receding shores he had only too good reason to fear that it was symbolical of the chaos which would soon be the condition of his much loved country.

There it was evident that things were rapidly going from bad to worse. The somewhat mild statement of Clarendon that the King and Queen were at a "disadvantage" scarcely covers the acute position in which they found themselves when, by a resolution passed in the Commons, it was concluded:

That the Queen should take the opportunity of her daughter the Princess Mary's journey into Holland (who had been before married to the young Prince of Orange, and was now solemnly desired by the States Ambassadors to come into that country) to transport herself into Holland patiently to expect an amendment of the affairs of England; and that the King should retire into the North and reside at York and deny all particulars till the whole alteration should be framed.

The first part only was published, the concluding paragraph concerning the King was known to very few.

This impudent resolution was probably due to some letters from Lord Digby to the Queen which had been intercepted, seized and brought into the Commons. The tenour of the letter was to urge the Queen to persuade:

His Majesty to put himself in some secure place, excusing his departure as not having fled from justice, but from the hands of traitors; and withal that he may have a character (cipher) to write in, not daring to commit anything to writing in an usual hand¹.

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1641-1643*, p. 286. Captain Robert Fox to Sir John Pennington.



The Lady CATHARINA HOWARD, Gran-childe to
the right honourable Thomas Earle of Arundell etc. Etat: 13. A. 1646

debitæ Observantiae signum. Hollar sic ad vivum delin: et aqua forti æri incisus/it.

Photo Donald Macbeth

Lady Catherine Howard (after the portrait by Hollar)

Meanwhile we learn from a letter of Secretary Nicholas to Sir T. Rowe¹ that:

Feb. 19. Dover.

The Queen and Princess Mary are here ready to embark for Holland on Tuesday next to which purpose their goods and baggage are now shipping. This sudden resolution was taken by the Queen, upon the States and Prince of Orange's extraordinary instances for the Princess to be immediately sent over, to see her daughter well settled in those parts from whence Her Majesty purposes to return in a fortnight at the furthest.

The King, who had accompanied the Queen and the Princess to Dover, refusing to be pressed to an immediate decision and to the outrageous demands of the House of Commons, made reply:

That his dearest Consort The Queen and his dear daughter The Princess Mary being then upon their departure for Holland, he could not have so good time to consider the particular answer for a matter of so great weight as that was; therefore he would respite the same till his return².

Riding along the cliffs, he kept the vessel with his wife and child on board in view as long as he could, and then took his way back to Greenwich, "where the Prince was to arrive on Monday and the Household to attend His Majesty's coming."

The fleet of thirteen ships assigned for the transportation of the Queen had put out to sea and set sail for Holland, "the eleventh the 'Mary Rose' being the one which the Earl of Arundel as Earl Marshal was to have." The voyage was not without incident, as we learn from a letter of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, to Sir Thomas Rowe³. She describes the arrival of the royal convoy.

March 17. 1642.

The Queen came hither to-morrow it will be a seven-night. She was received as well as the short warning they had could permit. She used me and my children extremely well both for her civility and kindness. . . .

The Earl of Arundel and Lord Goring are come over. The Earl of Dorset, they say, will follow. There are not many with the Queen, of Ladies none, but the Duchess of Richmond; Ladies Denbigh, Roxburgh, Kinalmeaky and the maids. The last named have lost all their clothes; their baggage ship sprung a leak and sank. Goring and Sir Thomas Hopton have lost both money and clothes. The Queen has brought but four priests Father Philips being one; she has lost in the ship that sunk all her vessels for the Chapel.

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1641-1643, p. 287.

² Clarendon, *Hist. Rebellion*, Vol. I, Book IV, p. 559. (1816 ed.)

³ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1641-1643, pp. 295-95.

Then with an allusion to the state of affairs in England where she says "all goes ill enough." The letter ends:

All this makes me so dull as I know not what to write but this I know that nothing can change me from being your constant and affectionate friend.

P.S. The Queen has brought back Rupert with her.

A previous letter from Sir William Boswell to Sir Thomas Rowe¹ announces

that Saturday last was seven-night. The Princess Mary was delivered by Her Majesty to the Prince of Orange who conducted her with his son to her quarter in their own Court where she is in good health and certainly as well and safe as may be. But hitherto the establishment and provision that should be made for her dowry, maintenance, household etc. by treaty is to be done; all and only such things as the States and Prince's ambassadors asked in England being done, but, on our (side) nothing, except a great *renvoy*, as I hear, to the Queen of Bohemia about the marriage treaty which Her Majesty now upon this place rightly considering has written to the King for a commission on that behalf to be directed to the Earl of Arundel, Lord Goring and myself under the Great Seal, without which, though I profess before God my heart goes as much and as sincerely with the marriage as any other's can, yet I will in no measure or kind have to do in the business, because I have been so unnaturally passed over all this while, being the King's public minister upon the place and much more for the quality of the business itself. . . .

The seas in England go very high. God in His mercy appease all! These States are presently despatching an extraordinary Ambassador under colour of thanks for Queen (Henrietta Marie) and Princess (Mary's) coming over, but withal to mediate an atonement between His Majesty [the King of England] and Parliament. Sir John Pennington came hither on Saturday, and returns this day to Helvoetsluis, where he has been since Her Majesty's arrival there, and so to the Downs leaving only two of the King's ships for Her Majesty's service.

It was no doubt the extension of his commission for this special purpose that made it necessary for Lord Arundel to take up his residence at Antwerp where, to judge by the correspondence in the Costessy Papers, he must have made a considerable sojourn.

Here, at all events, was still a direct way of serving his country, and for the time it must have made up to him, somewhat, for having to leave England at such a critical moment in her history.

Debarred by failing health from offering any longer his personal service, he had depleted his coffers even to the extent of reducing himself and his Countess to pawn their jewels and plate for their own personal subsistence.

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1641-1643*, p. 296.

The sum of £54,000 which he had raised with some difficulty had been made over to the royal cause to enable his son Lord Maltravers to maintain the family honour on the field of battle, also to purchase arms and ammunition for King Charles's army and to procure intelligence for the direction of the royal movements.

It was, therefore, but a poor remnant of their great fortune that Lord and Lady Arundel brought with them to the Continent where, eventually, Lord Arundel hoped to pursue in quiet retirement those studies which, even amid the cares of statesmanship, had been the relaxation of his accomplished taste. Together, they made the sacrifice which was imperative on behalf of their country, just as, together, in their days of prosperity they stand out vividly on the page of history, glowing with the colours of Rubens and Van Dyck, as they move with hereditary dignity through those troubled times.

Nor is it alone the commanding vigour of the man, nor yet the grace and beauty of the woman, but a special personality, derived from the quiet power of art, which looks out from the canvas and tells of life-long study of the beautiful side of creation, whether in the larger aspects of painting and sculpture or in the minor categories of gems, porcelains and treasures of every description, last but not least, in the development and enjoyment of the fascinating secrets of nature.

On this account they remain as monuments of England at the greatest period of her artistic history, before beauty and art had been shouldered aside for the inferior claims of utility and material comfort.

Living monuments, moreover, they stand always, and as such are proof against the destruction of the ignorant fanatic or the ruthless iconoclast in the havoc which they made of treasures never to be replaced throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Their collections may be dispersed. Their architectural buildings may be destroyed, and the once magnificent Arundel House, with terraces to the river, and its statuary, be represented by one commonplace street, but their name will be for ever associated with art in its widest acceptance and in its noblest forms.

It has been already stated in the Preface that the chief sources of information respecting this last period of the life of Lord Arundel are supplied by the Costessy Papers and the *Diary* of John Evelyn.

Following the respective dates of these sources, we begin by examining the Costessy Papers, of which the first bears date April 2, 1642, and is written by William Howard Lord Stafford to his mother, the Countess of Arundel.

April 2, 1642.

May it please your La^{ship}.

My Lord, God be thanked, hath his health very well, and is desiruse to have your La^{ship} come heather; my Lady Levisteine (who I have seene but once since I came) hath discovered that your La^{ship} is here, but conceales yourselfe for some reasons, but I doe not heare that shee discovered the reasons. Our Queene seemes to bee very well pleased that so many Lords are gone to the Kinge, and hopes it will bee very advantagious to him. My Lord of Bristol hath made a very longe speeach in the Parlyment, for an accomodation which some hope may take a good effecte. Thus humbly craving your blessinge I remaine ever

Your La^{ships}

most obedient sonne

STAFFORD.

Hague

Sunday morninge

The Princesse Elizabeth enquires often when your La^{ship} will bee here and shewes greate affection to your La^{ship}.

End: To the Right Hon^{ble} my very good Lady and Mother, the Countesse of Arundell and Surrey at Utrech¹.

A gap of a few months occurs in the correspondence from April to August, the next letter is dated August 27, and is written by Lord Stafford from Antwerp to his father at Mechlin, and contains news from England far from reassuring.

From William Howard, Lord Stafford, to his Father, Thomas, Earl of Arundel.

From Antwerp, Aug: 27: 1642.

May it please your Lo^{ship}

The letters of Englande came not tyll this morninge, which mee thinks by the printed papers, are not much for the Kings advantage. I have received only one letter in which there is a statement that the ssouldiers went to Mr John Penneducks house at King berry and ransaked it totally, not leaving so much as the Cloke nor any thinge that coulde bee carryed away. I humbly thanke your Lo^{ship} for beeing pleased to sende Hance to us who at this time will bee very usefull to us with his language, We find a little difficulty so that we are not remooved but hope to remove tomorrow. I am very glad to heare that your Lo^{ship} shinne is so well recovered. I hope you woulde find much good of this Ayre here. My wife

¹ For the Historical Account of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, by his son, William Howard, Lord Stafford, with letter from the latter enclosing the Historical Account to his mother the Countess of Arundel, see Appendix III.

presents her humble duty to your Lo^{ship}. She is not very well, her little one is very well and merry.

So humbly craving your blessinge for us all I remaine ever

Your Lo^{ships} most obedient sonne

STAFFORD.

Antwarpe Aug: 27: 1642

Wensday two of the Cloke

End: To the Right Honble my very good Lord and Father the Earle of Arundell and Surrey Earle Marschall of Englande
at Mecleine

From this letter it is evident that Lord Arundel was returning to Antwerp.

The same to the same. Antwerp Sept. 1. 1642.

May it please your Lo^{ship}

I am very glade that your Lo^{ship} is so well recovered, and that you will bee heare soone. Your Lo^{ship} canot come in to the house which you would have tyll Wensday next, but if you will bee pleased to accepte such lodginge as my wife can provide for your Lo^{ship} i hope you will finde no troble at all, onely not so convenient a lodginge as wee wish it weare, which wee shall bee exceedinge glad if you please to make use of as longe or as little as your Lo^{ship} please. My wife presente her humble duty to your Lo^{ship}, her Girle and shee are very well. So. humbly craving your blessinge for us, I remaine

Your Lo^{ships} most obedient sonne

STAFFORD.

Antwerpe, Sept. 1. 1642 Monday aboute three.

(End: as above.)

After this Lord Arundel seems still to have remained at Antwerp for some time, probably casting wistful glances towards England hoping for better news. There, to return to the Queen of Bohemia's expression, "all goes ill enough" as is proved by the letter written from Oxford by Lord Maltravers, Nov. 29, 1643, for it shows no light in the ever-darkening horizon.

"I fear," he writes, "the business here is like to prove a lasting business, although we expect that Plymouth will soon be taken, and then those Western forces may be drawn towards London. However, this is like to be a most miserably wasted Kingdom."

¹Henry Frederick Lord Mowbray and Maltravers to his Father Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey. From Oxford. The same to his mother Aletheia Countess of Arundel and Surrey "at Antwerp."

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1641-1643*, p. 502, Nos. 64, 65.

Henry Frederick, second son of Lord Arundel. Summoned to House of Peers as Baron Mowbray, fought in the Royalist cause. Was present at his father's deathbed at Padua, 1646.

I am sorry these distracted times which we hoped would have ended long since, have kept me so long from waiting upon you. Those hopes which we had of a peace by the means of the French Ambassador, who is now at London are almost vanished, because we hear they are as obstinate at London as ever, and I doubt there is little hope of it. I am very glad to understand of your good health.

The next entry in the papers shows that public disasters have been succeeded by interference in Lord Arundel's private family affairs.

Die Martis: 19: Marty 1643.

It is this day ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament y^t y^e Jewells of the Earle of Arundell now deposited in the Custody of Thomas Woodhouse be forthwith sent up to this House, and that y^e consideration of the prop^{ty} of those Jewells Be referred to the Comitty of the Westernne Govt to examine unto whome they propley belong, and out of the proceeds therefore they shall prove sequestrable and to belong to the state that the Armyes engaged for S^r Arthur Haslerigg be payed out of it. Henry Ellinge Cler: Par & Dom: Com (Modern endorsement: 7 August 1643 List of the Earl of Arundells Jewells to be brought before the House to ascertain to whom they belonged, and if liable to sequestration, to sell them for the benefit of the state to pay the army under Sir Arthur Haslerigg).

Then follows the list:

7 August, 1643: A note of my Lord of Arundells Jewells and other things taken by Capt. VerMuyden, at *Kening Hall*.

Imp^s: two branches of Currall, one great, tho^r small.

26 rich Jewells wth precious stones in a brown paper sealed up.

One watch case of Mother of Pearle.

A looking glasse set in Gould & silver.

One Christall spoone wth a Gold handle.

Two blow stones with small pearles.

A little Iron Chest inlayed wth gold wth severall rings & Jewells.

A guilt box set wth small cural and pearls wth severall small things in it in browne paper.

26 Cornelian & gold rings some wth stones in them.

A little silver wire trunk.

A Christall Cupp in a red leather case.

15 stone rings in a little green box of foure bookes.

A guilt knob, a silver tobacco box, a Casting bottle in silver.

A Lyons head Currall set in golde, a long cornelian box.

A little blow spoone wth a Pearle at the ende.

A pap^r wth 18 or 19 small pieces of silver and Amber.

A paire of silver gold waights. An Amber Girdle.

A little silver round box.

B. Vermuyden.

Nich. Aldred.

Copia vera

Another letter follows from Lord Stafford to his mother the Countess of Arundel. From Amsterdam, Sept. 1643.

May it please your La^{ship}

This week I have heard nothing from Your La^p but expects by the next poust, tyll when I will stay here. I am very sorry that I have not order aboute the Cabinette I wrought of, I did what I could to stay the sayle of it, but the owner sayed he shoulde loose his opportunitie, so he hath soule it. I will not say any more of it, only I wish your La^{ship} had seene it. Here all things are excessive deare, and porcelaine every day dearer then other. I have seene some loose dymonds and other stones, but not that I think you would like, all the principall jewelry being gone to Zelande. for now the East Indian comodities are soule there, there is 47000 peeces of purcelaine which will be bought there to sende in to France. I have scarce bought any thinge for my selfe but an Indian Brew-house for tee, which hath beene very good Black Lack worke, but it is all spoyled and rased and yett I payed exceeding deare for it. Thus humbly craving your blessing I remain

Your La^{ships}

most obedient sonne

STAFFORD.

Amsterdame¹

Sept: 24: 1643

Thursday

I have just now undone my selfe with bying an Indian warme gowne.

End: For your La^{ship}

The next information is derived from letters dated respectively June 4, and June 24, addressed by Lord Arundel, still at Antwerp, to Sir Richard Browne¹, His Majesty's resident at Paris.

To my worthy friend Sir Richard Browne Resident for his Matie att Paris.

From My Ld of Arundell 3 June, 1644.

Good Sir Richard Browne I thanke you heartily for your letter of this weeke and the occurrincces of those parts. For the French Armies

¹ Sir Richard Browne, diplomatist, b. 1605, d. 1683; educated at Merton College, Oxford; made Clerk of the Council to King Charles I, 27th January, 1640-1; sent on two diplomatic missions to the Queen of Bohemia and the Elector Palatine, afterwards to Henry Frederick, Prince of Orange; appointed, 1641, King's resident at the Court of France, an office which he held nineteen years. A staunch Royalist, his greatest service was his maintenance of the public service and liturgy of the Church of England during the exile of the English King. In his large house in Paris he erected a chapel much frequented by English divines. John Evelyn attended a service there Trinity Sunday, 1640, and there also he was married to Mary, daughter of Sir Richard Browne, 27th January, 1647. Sir Richard Browne corresponded on important matters with Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, February, 1652, to August, 1659. At the Restoration the King's resident returned to England 4th June, 1666. Continued to hold office as Clerk of the Council till 1671-2. Died 12th February, 1683, at Sayes Court, Deptford. Buried in the churchyard of S. Nicholas, Deptford.

which lye upon these frontiers, it is not to be believed that uncertain news we have of their proceedings being so neare, some saying they have be-seiged one place, and others the contrary, but certainly, Gravelinge, St Omer, and Duynkirke prepare the best they can for a seige and those places about, Grabelin having lately taken in a 1000 men more. For Picolomini it was reported he would not have gone that way but that the 4 Members of Flanders have recalled him, were very importunate with him, and hereuppon some 3 or 4 days since hee departed from Bruxells thitherwards, and they of Flanders are raising 6 or 8000 men which they will maintaine themselves. This Country is still flattering themselves that they shall bee able to defend it well enough against the French; which is a hard taske, the French having so great Armies, and these so many Townes of importance which will straiten them if any one of them bee lost, besides the Holland Army which is like to move on the other side. The difference between the Count of Harcourt and the Duke of St Simon which you mention about a gallope, would have been an odde quarrell. From England wee have nothing to ground uppon, onely wee pray for a speedy and happy peace so to end those miserable distractions. So God keep you in all happines, & [? I] remaine

Yr most affectionate frende

ARUNDELL [AND SURREY] [HOWARD?]¹.

Addressed: Letter To my very worthy friend.

Sir Richard Browne, Resident for his Matie at Paris.

From my Lord of Arundell, Antwerpe, 24 June, 1644.

The answer to this first letter is not forthcoming, but we gather something of its tenour from Lord Arundel's reply.

Good Sir Richard Browne I thanke you heartily for your letter of this weeke; and the occurrencyes of that place, and also for your printed paper which mentions the taking of the fort of St Philip which is very true, and the Towne Conceaved to bee in a great deale of danger. It is reported here that 1500 men made a sally lately out of Graveling and tooke the battery raised by the French against it between that and the fort of St Philip, and they demolished it, killed some French and tooke 400 prisoners, which they carried together with some peices of ordnance with them into Graveling, but though this bee very confidently reported, I give no entire credit to any thing till it bee well confirmed, soe many uncertaine tales comming every day from thence, one day bringing security and no feare of Graveling, and another day feare that it will not long hold it, for my part I rather encline to believe that France setting up so great fort to winne it and continuall beating of it, not caring to loose many men rather then they will not goe through to winne so important a place being the very key of this Country, will at last carry it, unlesse Picolomini, of whom the people have an infinite opinion, and who certainly is using the best means hee can to releeve it, doe prayayle, but the successes of warre are

¹ More or less illegible, especially the signature, which may end in Howard or in Surrey.

so uncertaine, as no body can prasume upon them, but a little time will shew the event. The Holland fleet at sea wee say doth much advance the Frenches taking of the fort of St Philip, and it is sayd that a body of their horse putting on the Flemish Colours, and having a Counterfeit passe of Count Aremburgh ! (who is appointed to attend the Holland Army) had almost surprized Bruges, if the orange tawny colours of one of them had not casually been discovered by a gardner, who presently ran into the Towne and made the gate bee shutt, when they were within muskett shott. Amongst all the distractions in these parts I am very sorry that wee yet heare of so little hope of a present accomodation in England, which God of his mercy send to the comfort of the publike and private, so with my best wishes unto your selfe I remaine

Y^r most affectionate frend

ARUNDEL AND SURREY.

Antwerpe

June 24, 1644. St^o. N^o.¹

Alas! for Lord Arundel's aspirations, from the paper which follows next in order.

The prospect of either "publike or private comfort" seemed farther off than ever, although Lord Arundel must have derived a certain amount of satisfaction from the fact that his claims had been supported by the Lords in Parliament.

(No. 384.)

Die Sabbathi 31: Augusti 1644.

Whereas the Lords in Parlam^t upon the humble peticon of William March gent servant to the Earle of Arundell and Surrey and imployed in his estate, did order on the 15th of June last upon complaint in the said peticon of some pticulers herein menconed that neither they nor any other psons whatsoever should cutt fell or carry away the said Earles woods or timber in or neere Arundell in Sussex nor in any other places in that county. Nor that his Lo^{ps}. Parkes chases or fforrests should be destroyed or wasted, either by the killinge of the deere in those Parkes or pullinge downe of the pales belonginge to those Parkes chases or fforrests or any of them And that the said pticulaer psons complayned of as aforesaid should upon sight of the said order appeare before the Lords in Parliament to Answere the complaint of the said Mr March, As alsoe that the Militia in those ptes should be aydinge and assistinge in the execucon thereof as doth at large appeare by the said order Nevertheles the house was this day certainly informed that contrary to the said order and in disobedience to the expresse pleasure of this house, One James Hines of Arundell aforesaid hath since the servinge of the said order sold great quantities of the Earles woods and timber and conveyed the proffitts thereof to his owne use, And likewise that Henry Howell and James Pinfold have carried

¹ Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS.* 15970, ff. 82-83.

away to their owne houses great store of the said Earles woods And that Richard Stamper of Arundell, aforesaid doth threaten to beat and pillage, Daniell Howes, a servant of the said Earles and collector of his Revenew in Sussex aforesaid because he served him with the said order, It is therefore ordered by the Lords in Parlam^t that the said Hines Howell and Pinford shall not onely by themselves and all others by them appointed forbear to cutt fell or carry any the woods or timber of the said Earle of Arundell But shall make restitution and satisfaction to the Earles Agents for all such as they have already disposed of accordinge to the full valew And also that he the said Richard Stamper shall from henceforth forbear to use any Menacies or threates against the said Daniell Howes or against any pson or psons whatsoever that is, or shalbee employed in the service of the said Earle as he will answere the contrary at his (peril) And hereof if the said Hines Howell Pinford and Stamper or any of them shall faile in the pformance of those pticulers enioyned them by this order they shall appeare before the Lords in Parliament to show cause why they obey not the same. And lastly it is ordred that all comannders Colonells Captaines Soldiers and other officers under his Excellency the Earle of Essex and all Captaines of traynd bands and other officers under them bee Ayding and assisting in the execucon of this order

JO: BROWNE Cleric Parliamentary.

Wem.

Die Sabbathi 31: Aug: 1644.

Upon the readinge of the humble peticon of Willim March gent servant to the right hon^{ble} the Earle of Arundell and Surrey and employed by his Lopp. in his estate complayninge that the comittee at Wem in the county of Salop have by imprisonment forced the tennants of the said Earle to pay sevrall somes of money out of their Rents for his Lops. 20th and 50th ptes, And that the said comittee doe cause the woods and timber of the said Earle to be cutt downe and disposed of without giuinge any satisfaction for the same, there beinge great quantities of the said woods formerly taken for the garrison, w^{ch} proceedings the Lords in Parliament cannot but much disprove of first for that the said Earle of Arundell beinge onely assessable by the Lords in Parliament and by none other pson or psons whatsoever, hath bin assessed by their Lopps and hath paid his 20th and 50th ptes accordingly. And secondly for their cuttinge of his woods and timber and disposinge of it without giuinge satisfaction for the same It is therefore ordred by the Lords in Parliament assembled that the said comittee at Wem shall not henceforth receive any more of the Rents of the said Earle, and for soe much as they have received shall make full restitucon upon sight of this order to his Servants or Agents As alsoe that they forbear to cutt or dispose of any the woods or timber of his Lopp. but such as shalbe ymediately paid for to the valew, and that which hath bene heretofore disposed off without satisfaccon given shalbe accepted and paid for to the said Earles Agents And that if any wood or timber be cutt and remaine upon the prmises that it be left to the Agents of the said Earle to dispose of it wholly to the use of their said Lord, And lastly it is ordred that in case the said comittee at Wem or any of

them or any others shall not yield his or their obedience to this order and every particular Clause therein conteyned upon notice thereof given to whome it may concerne he or they shall appeare before the Lords in Parliament to shew cause why they obey not the same, which if shall refuse to doe it wilbe taken for a contempt done to this house.

JO. BROWNE Cleric Parliamentory.

From this point there is nothing more to be gained from the Costessy Papers except the statement in the *Historical Account* of his father by William Viscount Stafford that: "Hee continued some yeares in Holland and Brabant; then hee went in to Italy¹."

So at last we reach that period of the career of the "Father of Vertue" when his lifelong study of art was to receive its final ripening under the fair skies of Italy and upon her classic soil. Here we have the happy contemporary touch of Evelyn to give life and vivacity, and one point of extraordinary interest to the closing scenes of Lord Arundel's life.

The name of John Evelyn stands foremost among the many people associated with Lord Arundel in his ardent pursuit of art, often, as we have seen, the companion of his travels, frequently at Arundel House, where he sat for his picture, he tells us, to an excellent painter Vanderborcht², brought out of Germany when the Earl returned from Vienna. He was in the middle of the Grand Tour when he arrived at Padua from Venice, 30th July, 1645. Two days afterwards we find the following entry in his diary:

This morning the Earl Arundel, now in this city a famous collector of paintings and antiquities invited me to go with him to see the garden of Mantua, where, as one enters stands a huge colosse of Hercules. From hence to a place where was a room covered with a noble cupola, built purposely for music; the fillings up, or cove, betwixt the walls were of urns and earthen pots, for the better sounding; it was also well painted. After dinner we walked to the Palace of Foscarini all' Arena, there remaining yet some appearances of an ancient Theatre though serving now for a court only before the house. There were now kept in it two Eagles, a crane, a Mauritanian sheep, a stag, and sundry fowls, as in a vivary³.

This little contemporary paragraph suggests a period of happy relaxation, when, released from the cares and responsibilities of his high office in the company of his intimate friend, Lord Arundel was able to enjoy at his leisure the interesting charm of those northern

¹ See Appendix III, p. 469.

² Vanderborcht, the younger son of the Brussels painter, Henry Vanderborcht, was both painter and engraver. He drew many of the Arundelian curiosities.

³ *Evelyn's Diary and Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 211-212.

towns of Italy, each with its own peculiar feature of interest, and we can fancy his stately English figure moving about amongst them.

The favourable circumstances in which Lord Arundel now found himself produced such an improvement in his condition that he even contemplated a return to England. Unhappily in the following month an unexpected event occurred in his family which cast the last shadow over his life, ruined his enjoyment, and seriously affected his scarcely regained health.

Through a letter to Lady Arundel the news reached him that his grandson Philip¹ had at length joined the Dominican Order.

The letter was as follows :

John Burbery to the Countess of Arundel
From Dinant, Aug. 17, 1645.

May it please your Excellency.

Yesterday I received a letter with order to give your E. an account of what I know of Mr Phillip's affections and dealings with the Dominicans, and namely with one Father John Hacquett, an Irishman, and Regent of their studies at Millan. In obedience to your E.'s commands I have written all that I know, which is, that in the last holy weeke Mr Philip was very inquisitive after some Confessor against Easterday, and he having made choyce of me to waite on him for that purpose to the Zoccolanti², where it was sayd that there was an Irish Father, who being then out of town, and wee demanding if there were no other, they answered yes, and sent us to the Dominicans, where wee lighted on Father John Hacquett, who at the very first sight of Mr Philip was in love with him. On Easterday, after that Mr Philip had communicated, hee carryed us into his chamber, and gave Mr Philip eggs, wine and bisquitt, and truly did strive very much to make Mr Philip wellcome. Afterwards hee gave Mr Philip a booke of the discription of Italy and other Parts, and gave him medalls and other things, and was very desirous to give him a diamond ring, which Mr Philip refused. While also my L^d stayed in Millan, Father John Hacquett carryed Mr Philip into the Castell and he being the Governours Confessor, wee had free entrance and saw what was there. Hee carryed Mr Philip likewise to other Places, as churches, which deserved to bee seene, and in all his discourses did seek to draw Mr Philip to their order telling him how many brave Saints had been of it, and how many Cardinalls, and such like things. Hee told Mr Philip likewise that hee had been Professor of Divinity at Paris, Rome, Naples and Salamanca, and was to go to teach divinity at Padova, and should have three Crownes a yeare of the Venetians,

¹ For the correspondence that passed between Philip (known as Brother Thomas) and Lord and Lady Arundel, together with letters from Henry Howard his brother and Sir Kenelm Digby regarding this important step, see the *Life of Cardinal Howard*, by Father Raymund Palmer, O.P., 1867, pp. 78-92. Be it also noted that Lord Arundel's, children and grandchildren, appear to have all been brought up and educated as Catholics. (*Ed.*)

² Zoccolanti are Franciscans. (*Ed.*)

two of which he would give Mr Philip, and have such a Particular care of him that hee would teach him himselfe, and that if Mr Philip should desire to go to Rome, hee would gett leave to goe live there for his sake, or at Antwerpe, or at any other place which Mr Philip should like. Hee told Mr Philip also that hee hoped to see him a Cardinall and said to him, you being the third brother, what can you expect?—which sayings of Father John Hacquett, as I thought, Mr Philip did only lett in and out of his eares; so I could not but bee much amazed when I had read in Fr Rectours letter that Mr Philip had taken the habit of Saint Dominick in the Convent of Cremona.

Madame, I have acquainted yr. Honour with what I know concerning Mr Philip and F. John Hackett.

Your Excellencys most humble and Most devoted Servant,

JOHN BURBERY.

Dinant, Thursday

August 17. 1645 (no endorsement).

Lord Arundel was not in a condition of health sufficient to withstand the shock of tidings such as these, even though for long, as contemporary information proves, he had expected them. An alarming illness ensued, so that when Evelyn paid his old friend a second visit in the following spring he found him strangely altered for the worse.

“It was Easter Monday,” he writes, “that I was invited to breakfast at the Earl of Arundel’s. I took my leave of him in bed, where I left that great and excellent man in teares on some private discourse of crosses that had befallen his illustrious family, particularly the unhappiness of his grandson Philip’s turning Dominican Friar (since Cardinal of Norfolk), and the misery of his country now embroiled in civil war. He caused his gentleman to give me directions, all written with his own hand what curiosities I should inquire after in my journey; and so enjoining me to write sometimes to him I departed.

“There stayed below, Mr Henry Howard afterwards Duke of Norfolk. Mr J. Digby, son of Sir Kenelm Digby and other gentlemen who conducted me to the coach¹.”

These remarkable “Remembrances,” written throughout in Lord Arundel’s own hand, divide themselves into two parts.

1. *The Remembrances in England*, of which Evelyn was to be the bearer, containing two letters.

(i) To that noble Countess of Peterborough.

(ii) To my worthy friend Sir Richard Onslowe and various instructions to several retainers.

2. The Remembrance of things worth seeing in Italy, given to John Evelyn, 25th April, 1646.

¹ *Evelyn’s Diary*, Vol. I, p. 218.

We give them here in full—Memoriall for Mr Jhon Evelinge. In the Earl of Arundel's own writing.

Docketed later:—"From Thomas Earle of Arundell and Lord Mareshall of England: Grandfather to y^e Duke of Norfolck":

Remembrances in England, for my good frend mr. Jhon Evelinge, w^{ch} he is intreated by me to cast his eye upon in England, and let me understand from him accordingly.

That he will deliver my letter to that most noble ladye the Countess of Peterborough, to whome I have the happines not only to be of consanguinity, but also of neyborhod in our comon beloved County of Surrye, where I hope to have y^e happines to kisse her handes, before I dye.

That he will deliver my letter to my worthy frend Sr. Rich: Onslowe & as he doth of all that concernes me soe I desire him to have a particular care of o^r poore Cottage at Alleberrye¹ where I hope to be ere longe & ende my dayes there.

That he let Daniell Howse knowe that I would have him deliver unto yⁿ that little Diamond ringe w^{ch} is in his handes, that I gave o^r unhappy Tom: to weare, that yⁿ may transport it unto me. that yⁿ will renewe that comandmente unto Daniell Howse w^{ch} I gave before, that if Tom: or Phillippe² shall send for any thinge thither, nothinge be delivered unto them, the one beinge soe ill natured & frentike as I see him wth huge affliction. the other followinge the directione of a base Irish rascall a Dominican, wth such obstinacy, as I blotte him out of my memory and from my House, I resolvinge whilst I live only to thinke of his huge unnaturall ingratitude towards me wth detestacion.

I desire that Daniell House give me a particular accounte howe my water & all thinges are at Alberry, & that he will have greate care that agaynst the Gallery & House, store of Roses Chesimine wodbines & y^e like sweetes be plantes.

I desire that yⁿ will remember me kindly to all my good frendes in Surrey that yⁿ see and that I may heare of poore Birstyes health and that Jhon Coxe ought to remember his duty soe much as sometimes to write.

I desire yⁿ would take paynes to visite my twoe kichinge Gardens, over agaynst Arundell House & to let me knowe in what estate they are.

That yⁿ comend me most kindly to good mr. Jerome Lanieri, & that yⁿ will be earnest wth W: March, to use all meanes to procure the little booke for me designed by the one eyed sculptor as I wrote.

Remembrances at Vicenza.

The prime things to bee seene are the buildings ordered by Andrea Palladio the great Architect borne there, of wch, the prime are the Teatro with the Scene, which is the finest in Italy of that kinde.

¹ This is Albury in Surrey, close to Evelyn's home at Wotton. (*Ed.*)

² "This is Phillipp who is turned Dominican at Milan; since a Cardinal."

Philip was the third son of Henry Frederick, Baron Mowbray. He entered the Church of Rome, as stated by Evelyn, and afterwards rose to the dignity of Cardinal, and became Lord Almoner to Catherine, Consort of Charles II. He died in 1694. Note to *Evelyn's Diary*, p. 219 (note p. 405).

The additions made of building to the Sala on the Piazza & the like.

Of private pallaces many are excellently begun, but few or none finished, that belonging to Conte Teine wanting the least, wch. stands within the City neare the gate by wch. the Coaches passe usually to Verona, the great garden of Conte Valmarano being just without the wall.

The Pallace called the Rotonda a mile out of the towne being finished & belonging to the Conte Martio Capra, wch. is best worth y^e seeing.

An apothecary called Sig^{re} Angelo Angelico hath some pretty collection of paintings wch. hee will readily shew.

Sig^{re} Alvisi Zorzi my good friend also will willingly give therein the best assistance hee can.

At Verona.

The best things to bee seene are the antique Amphitheater called the Arena, wch. is the most intire in Italy, & the garden of Conte Giusti, besides the seate & country about it wch. is counted the best in Italy.

For private Collections of paintings & matters of art there are many, amongst which Doctor Corbone a civill lawyer hath one of ye best, & amongst them one of Raphael of Santa Dorothea is esteemed ye prime, Dr Mosello a Civilian also hath many excellent designes, especially of Parmensis, & some excellent pictures also. The sepulture also of Scala is worth seeing.

At Milan.

There are many excellent things worth ye seeing & very good pieces of Architecture both of churches, monasteryes, Colledges & private Palaces.

The Domo the prime church is of an infinite charge & will hardly ever bee finish'd, but it hath misfortune to bee done on an ill designe of Gothick Architecture, it's worth ones paines of going up to the top of ye church to see the infinite charge of adorning with carvings & other figures, & to consider not onely the figures & carvings are of marble but the whole church inside, outside, paving, & the church covered with planks of marble, within the church in a vault is kept the body of Saint Carlo Borromao in a vaso of christall, but it's hardly to bee seen without it bee by favour, or some extraordinary occasion.

The church of Saint Celso is not great but a delicate peice done by the designe of that great Architect Bramante, & the Carvinge of the facciata are of marble made by that rare Sculptor Hannibale Fontana, whom they esteeme there beyond all Sculptors, in a roome on the left side of ye church without the square where those that have care of the church doe meet, is kept a Madonna of marble much bigger then the life done by the sayd Hannibale Fontana, wch. they will not expose to the aire least it might weare of the goodnes.

There are also two Sacristias belonging to that church, in the first is a rare Madonna of Leonardo de Vinci, in the 2d. is a rare Madonna done by Raphael D'Urbino, & in that roome are kept the plate & jewells & other ornaments, which are shewed to strangers that desire it. The Hospitall is a goodly thing, & well worth the seeing, there are divers Colledges built by St Carlo, & his nephew the last Cardenall Frederico, for severall uses, but not finished, well worth the seeing.

The Pallace of the Bishopp hath one Court built by the designe of Theobaldi a great Architect, who designed much for Philip the 2d. in the escuriall, the same Architect hath been much employed in Millan both in publique & private buildings. At the Monastery of Madonna della gratia in the refectory is to beeseen that famous Cena Domini painted by Leonardo da Vinci, wch. covers the whole end wall, with which that great king Francis the first of France & a huge lover & patrone of all arts, was so much pleas'd as hee consulted how to have removed that whole wall intire bound with timbers and irons together, & have carried it into France for love of that picture, being the rarest thing that ever Leonardo did, who serving of him long, being extreame old and weake dy'd in the armes of the sayd King att Paris when hee came once to visitt him: But now it's wholly destroyed.

The Libreria Ambrosiana is very well worth the seeing Cardinall Frederico Borrhomaeo having spent much money uppón it, both in building & furnishing it, fitt for all that would either study or learne to designe, in one of wch. roomes are many rare paintings & designes, amongst wch. are many of the painting of Hans Breughell, in the same roome. Cavaliere Galeazzo Arconato hath made a glorious inscription to value his owne gift to that library of many bookes of the designe of Leonardo that hee gave, all but one being little ones, & that being a huge one in foglio of 4 hundred leaves, all full of scratches of Indians & such like, but whereas hee writes that our King had offered so much for them, the truth is one that had treated to buy them of the sayd Cavaliere had entreated the King that his name might bee used to the Duke of Feria who was then Governour to make the bargain as in his name it being more efficacious, but the party since seeing them sees his owne folly. In the great roome where the bookes are kept uppón the right hand of the doore as you enter is a little place made of wanscote, wherein are kept manuscripts of most note amongst ye wch. are two originall letters of the grand sigre. sent unto two popes, one of wch. I take it was Alexander the 6th. Borghia, in one of those hee mentions the top of the lance, with wch. our Saviours side was peirced on the Crosse wch. hee sends as a present to the Pope, it were good to have coppys of them in respect of the mention hee made by him of our blessed Saviour, & the old prete that keeps them will easily give them, for they are already translated into Italian.

The Castle is worth ye seeing, & out of towne one may take a Coach, & dine abroad & easily see two houses of villa wch. are the best thereabouts, the one of the Conte Visconte called Lina, the other of Cavaliere Galiazzo Arconato before mentioned, called as I remember Castellaocchio.

The first called Lina hath but an ordenary house, but that wch. is most memorable in it is that the Court is divided from the Orchard by a row of building wch. goes crosse, wch. are onely ground roomes for the summer, in the midst is a large fountaine roome through which you see into the orchard, the roomes on either side halfe looke toward the Orchard, halfe toward ye Court, & their walls are all covered with a grotescho made of peble stones of severall colours, designed by one of the excellent painters called Procaccini, many fountaines there are, the water being all

forced up into a little turrett from whence it comes & excellent good fruites there are in summer, but that wch. makes it famous is that quarto of low roomes, the like of wch. I doe not remember to have scene in Italy.

Att Castellacchio Cavaliere Arconato hath made himsefe a little house in his walkes wch. hee pratends to retyre to for devotion, in his roomes where hee lyes hee hath a number of diverse square peices of marble sett into ye wall full of little figures curiously done, of the wch. many of the heads are broken of, they are sayd to have been made for ye sepulture of Gastone De Foix, I have seen some others of ye same in Millan & other places, hee hath in a little gallery above some designes hanging where are the heads of our Saviour & his Apostles in colours, but with creon or water-worke, wch. Leonardo made for ye Caena Domini, in some of which are two heads, they are but slightly done, & as I take it of the same biggnesse that the picture of ye wall was, there is also in the same roome a designe of a woman a half figure, but the face & hands as bigge as the life done by Leonardo, but onely in black & white, wch. they say at Rome & Fontaine Bleau where the same pictures are, is of Queene Joane of Naples, but hee gives it another name, this designe with those of our Saviour & the Apostles I was told hee was desirous to sell, but did not enquire of the price, I would bee glad by some meanes to have the lowest price knowne, hee hath good paintings of Parmensis & Titian in some other roomes, I thinke hee will sell any thing being old & having but one daughter wch. is married.

In ye way to Pavia is ye famous monastery of the Certosini called las Certosa de Pavia, it's well worth ye seeing for ye fairnesse of ye monastery & church, though I heare of late they have left their Hospitality of giving lodging & dyet to strangers.

In Pavia itselfe, as I remember are two famous Colledges one as I thinke built by some Pope, the other by Saint Carlo, wch. is an excellent building, done by the designe as I thinke of Peregrine Theobaldo.

These Remembrances being written by the old Earle of Arundell's own hands, hee gave me at my taking leave of him at Padua: 25th April. 1646¹.

[*Handwriting of John Evelyn.*]

The Earl of Arundels Remembrances of things worth seeing in Italy given to my Grandfather John Evelyn 25th April 1646.

Thus furnished with these unique "Remembrances." John Evelyn set out on his return journey, 26th April, 1646. He reached Vicenza that night—and, keeping in close touch with the Italian "Remembrance," he saw the great works of Palladio, visited "the pretty collection of paintings" belonging to the ingenious apothecary Angelo Angelico—and regretted that want of time prevented him from visiting the Rotonda; the next day he dined at an inn called

¹ Indexed in Arundel Autographs:

Remembrances from Thos. Earl of Arundel to John Evelyn purchased by Hy. Ch. Duke of Norfolk in 1847. (See on p. 455.)

“Cavalli,” near Peschiera, and saw the forty mile length of the Laga di Garda.

Highly spoken of by my Lord Arundel to me as the most pleasant spot in Italy for which reason I observed it the more diligently alighting out of my coach and going up to a grove of cypresses growing about a gentleman’s house from whence it presents a most surprising aspect.

At Milan, one of the most princely cities in Europe, he visited in turn the great sights indicated by Lord Arundel, concluding the days wanderings at the monastery of madonna delle Grazie and in the Refectory admired that celebrated Cæna Domini by Lionardo da Vinci. . .¹.

The passage relating to it in the “Remembrance” Evelyn here reproduces word for word in his *Diary*.

Nor did he forget “the Drawings in the Library.”

Early next morning came the learned Dr Ferrarius to visit us, and took us in his coach to see the Ambrosian Library, where Cardinal Fred Borromeo has expended so vast a sum upon this building, and in furnishing with curiosities, especially paintings and drawings of inestimable value among painters. It is a school fit to make the ablest artists. There are many things of Hans Breugel and amongst them the Four Elements. In this room stands the glorious (boasting) inscription of Cavaliero Galeazzo Arconati, valuing his gift to the library of several drawings by Da Vinci? but these we could not see, the keeper of them being out of town and he always carrying the keys with him; *but my Lord Marshal who had seen them told me all but one book are small, that a huge folio contained 400 leaves full of scratches of Indians etc. But whereas the inscription pretends that our King Charles had offered £1000 for them—the truth is and my Lord himself told me, that it was he who treated with Galeazzo for himself in the name and by permission of the King, and that the Duke of Feria who was then Governour should make the bargain; but my Lord having seen them since, did not think them of so much worth*².

Thence, leaving Italy behind him, Evelyn was making his way to England to fulfil the injunctions contained in the first “Remembrance,” when he was taken seriously ill, and could not proceed till October.

In the preceding month the great Earl of Arundel had passed to his rest overcome, it is stated, with anxiety concerning his beloved country. Lord Stafford tells us

hee went in to Italy, where hee had not beene long before it pleased God to send him a burning feaver, of which, after twenty dayes sicknesse, hee left this worlde full of miserys to enioy a Glorious crowne in heaven, with exterordinary greate pyety and edifycation to all that weare with him,

¹ *Evelyn’s Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 226–227.

² *Ibid.* p. 226.

leaving behinde him his memory as much honored as ever any one did, for one that was as full of honour as ever man was.

On the 24th of September, 1646, in the sixty-second year of his age, he laid down a life, of many sides, far-reaching abilities, singular power, and richly endowed with rare and excellent gifts.

Ceaselessly tossed on the storms of fate, he had at length reached "the haven where he would be." Following his last instructions¹, his mortal remains were to be brought back to Arundel for burial²—but it was in that "pleasant country" where he died that he gave

his pure soul unto his Captain Christ
Under whose colours he had fought so long³.

¹ See Appendix II.

² Note from *Evelyn's Diary*, Vol. I, p. 218.

Lassells, who travelled a short time after Evelyn, says "that the Earl died here (at Padua) and that his bowels are buried under a black marble stone, inscribed 'Interiora Thomæ Howard Comititis Arondelis.'"

³ *Richard II.* Act IV, Scene i.

NOTE.

While these pages are passing through the press Mr R. C. Wilton, the Duke of Norfolk's librarian, has discovered a letter from Charlotte Duchess of Norfolk, wife of Henry Charles 13th Duke, dated Jan. 24, 1848, to "Dearest Minna," describing the purchase of the very documents alluded to on page 449. The Duchess writes: "The Duke has made a most interesting purchase of some autograph letters of the 'greate Earl of Arundel' as his contemporaries called him, sent to him by a bookseller who bought them. They are the very directions as to what he advised Evelyn to see in Italy mentioned in the extract I enclose from E.'s journal; also a letter or list of things for him to do for L^d A. in England." The Duchess adds that Daniel Howse (see p. 450) was "Lord Arundel's Steward" and she had "his account books at Arundel Castle."

Minna, to whom the letter was addressed, was then Lady Arundel and was later on, Duchess of Norfolk. She was the sister of the late Lord Lyons and mother to the late Duke of Norfolk. Duchess Charlotte was a daughter of the 1st Duke of Sutherland and a Protestant; Duchess Minna became a Catholic. (*Ed.*)

APPENDIX I.

HOWARD RELICS OF FLODDENFIELD.

Some confusion, which appears to have originated with the historian, Lingard, has arisen with regard to the relics of Floddenfield preserved in the Howard family. It seems clear, from the documents printed below, that there were two sets of relics traditionally associated with that memorable day:

I. The Sword worn at that battle by Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey (later Duke of Norfolk), with which he slew James IV, King of Scotland.

II. The Ring, Sword and Dagger afterwards taken from the body of the Scottish King by Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey.

Lingard (and following him, Causton, *Howard Papers*, pp. 102-3, note), rolls these two sets of relics into one: but they are obviously quite distinct. William, Viscount Stafford, states definitely in his letter to the Countess of Arundel, that the Sword in his possession "had always been much esteemed" by his father (Thomas, Earl of Arundel); and this is confirmed by its appearance in the Fruÿtiers family picture, where it figures as a trophy in conjunction with the Shield that had belonged to the "Poet Earl" of Surrey.

On the other hand, the Ring, Sword and Dagger sent by Henry, Duke of Norfolk, to the College of Arms—where they may still be seen—and stated to have been taken from the body of James IV, came to him from a totally different source, and accompanied by a distinct tradition of their own. Charles Howard, third and last Earl of Nottingham, youngest son of the hero of the Armada, died without children in April, 1681; when he left these much prized family relics to his kinsman, Henry Howard, sixth Duke of Norfolk. Up to that time, they had remained in the possession of the branch of the Howard family represented by the Earls of Nottingham.

These facts are made clear by a perusal of the documents which follow:

I. Letter addressed by William, Viscount Stafford, a few days before his execution (29th December, 1680), to his great-niece, the Countess of Arundel¹.

Madam

I beseech God preserve you, and make you happy. I pray let yo^r Lord know that I do count myselve very much obliged unto him, and wish him as well as may be. I pray let him know that I have the sword that was our great ancestors att the Battle of Floddenfield, with w^{ch} we have

¹ Printed by Lingard "from the original in the possession of Henry Howard, Esqre, of Corby Castle." Reprinted by Causton, *loc. cit.*

a tradition in our ffamily hee killed the king of Scotland. This sword was always much esteemed by my father. I do now give it unto y^{or} Lord, my nephew. I have taken order it shall be brought unto him. I give it upon this condition and no other, that he leave it to the heirs males of himself, w^{ch} I hope will be many, and their heirs males: for want of such, unto my nephew Thomas, his brother, and for want of his heirs males, to return unto my heirs.

God bless you all! I am near my death, and with that will aver my innocence, that am

Your Lad^{ps} ffaithfull humble Serv^t and Unkle,

WILLIAM HOWARD.

For my Lady

The Countesse of Arundell.

II. Copy of Deed recording the Loan, by Henry Howard, Duke of Norfolk, of the Ring, Sword and Dagger, taken from the body of James IV on Floddenfield, to the College of Arms (30th June, 1682)¹.

To all to whom these presents shall come HENRY DUKE of Norfolk and Earl Marshall of England, Earl of Arundell etc Sendeth greeting. Whereas I the said Duke have Received at the Hands of Richard Thorne Esqre one of his Majesties Sergeants at Arms by direction of Charles late Earl of Nottingham my neer kinsman deceds a certain *Gold Ring* adorned with a Turkey Stone, as also a *Sword* and *Dagger* all which were taken from the Body of James IV sometime King of Scotland, Slain at Floddenfield in the 4th year of King Henry VIII by the most Noble and Valiant Thomas Earl of Surry (afterwards Duke of Norfolk) being then General of the English Army which Ring Sword and Dagger have ever since been carefully preserved by some of the Descendents of that Victorious General my Ancestor in Memory of his prosperous Conduct of that Army in the said Battell KNOW ye now that I the said Duke for the better preservation of the said Ring Sword and Dagger Considering that in Respect of my Office of Earl Marshall of England I am sole Superintendent of the College of Arms and Society of Kings Heralds and Pursuivants of Armes and that the said Office of Earl Marshall is by his present Majesty King Charles II. by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of England entailed upon the Heirs male of my Family, have by these presents thought fitt to declare that the said Ring Sword and Dagger shall henceforth remain in the Library of the said College of Armes there to be safe kept forever PROVIDED that at any time upon Request made by my heirs and Successors or any of them [they shall be delivered up etc.]

(signed) NORFOLK E. MARSHALL.

One further point bears witness to the entire independence of the two sets of relics. Henry, sixth Duke of Norfolk, who sent Nottingham's legacy to the College of Arms, was the same Henry Howard, grandson of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, whose irreconcilable quarrel with William,

¹ Archives at Norfolk House, London.

Viscount Stafford, over the inheritance, has been recorded. It can well be imagined that nothing would have induced Lord Stafford to give or leave any valued object to the nephew with whom he stood in such deadly feud. But that nephew's son was another matter: and we accordingly see Stafford sending Surrey's sword to his great-nephew, another Henry (known as Earl of Arundel during his father's life-time); addressing his wife who, before her marriage had been Lady Mary Mordaunt, the daughter of the Earl of Peterborough. Thus, not merely were these gifts sent by different donors, but to different recipients and at different dates.

APPENDIX II.

WILL, EPITAPH AND LAST WISHES OF THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF ARUNDEL¹.

THE WILL OF THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF ARUNDEL.

“In the name of God Amen I Thomas Howard by Gods Grace beeing in perfect memory but imperfect health remembering the certeynety of death, but incerteynety of the time, doe make my Last Will and Testament in forme following. My Soule I doe with all zeale and humility of spirit beseech Almighty God to receive, and beeing purifyed by the precious Blood and pafsion of Our blefsted Saviour from my great and manifold sinnes to vouchsafe it out of his infinite mercy a place to glorify him for ever amongst the blefsted. For my Body I bequeath it to the earth of which it is a part, to be buried at Arundell without all ffunerall Pompe, to have a convenient Tombe of a sitting Figure of white Marble with such an Inscription in Latine as I have acquainted Junius withall, to bee designed by Seigneur Francesco Vanelli if it may bee. ffor my worldly fortune I dispose it thus, that first my Debts may bee payd by sale of Lands and otherwise as my deare wife and I, with my Sonne Mowbray have given Orders. And I beseech his Ma^{tie} even for Gods sake, and for the memory of his Grand Mother Queene Mary, ffather King James of blefsted memory, to have a tender and Princely care of the great losses of my Family, and of the helping it to subsist in honour, I calling God to witnesse that iust Monarchy never had a more faithfull Servant to the vtmost of my power. For my Goods I give them all to my Deare wife by whome God hath blefsted mee with so hopefull a Posterity, beeing afsured that as I did by the Knowledge of my blefsted Mother before the Act of Parliament made Arundell Castle and Arundell House with the Lands belonging to Arundell in the Act, to her for Ioynture, so shee will bee carefull according to the power in the Act to entayle all the Principall of them to those Houses. And as I am most afsured shee will prove ever a kind Mother to my Sonne Mowbray, so I doubt not his memory of such a Parent who brings to our poore ffamily the best meanes of subsistance, and hath beene with him both in his travailes abroad, and in all his sicknesses and distreses with so much tenderesse will shew a Duty and love answerable which will bee his greatest happynesse and praise before God and man. I give to my Two Sonnes and their wives with every One of Our Deare Grand Children now alive One Hundred pounds a peece for some peece of Plate to remember mee. I make my right Noble Cosens and freinds the Earles of Bath and Dorsett the Executors of this my last Will and Testament giving unto either of them a Cup of Gold weighing 100^{ls} sterling.

¹ *Harl. MSS.* 6272, f. 165 b (Brit. Museum).

I revoke all other Wills, and prostrate before God beseech him to blesse all my Family and give it strength and virtuous subsistence, And to have mercy on my sinnfull Soule Amen.

ARUNDELL & SURREY.

Dover 3 Septemb:
1641.

Attested by { ARNOLD BREAMES.
{ JOHN MILLINGTON.”

MY EPITAPHE.

Thomas Howardus Howardorum primus natus anno Gratiae MDLXXXV, ex parentibus sanctis Philippo Howardo et Anna Dacreâ, dvota vxore Alatheâ Talbotia, singularis exempli fœmina, feliciterq, ex ea suscepta sobole magnæ spei: totaq, adeo vitâ, non modo Prima natiuitate, verum etiam reliquo vitæ suæ tempore mirâ quadam atq, inusitatâ Divinæ providentiæ misericordia, ex Plurimus maximisq, periculis ereptus; multiplices deniq, vtriusq, fortunæ extremitates, tam in familiâ sua, quam in scipso jugiter expertus, ac longo iustq, mundanarum rerum. fastidio satis superq, lasatus, Cælestia tandem spiritu exultans quæsivit.

I desire that the place of my enterrment may bee Arundell without any ffuneral Pompe.

That my Tombe bee my owne Figure (of white Marble or Brasfe designed by Sign^r Francesco Fanelli) sitting and looking vpwards (according to the last Clause of the Epitaphe) leaning vpon a Lyon holding an Escochion vpon which the Epitaph to bee engraven, and at the feete the Marshalls Staffe with a Cornett or the like.

I doe desire also that a Figure of Marble might bee made for my eldest and dearest Sonne James Howard with some short Latine Epitaph testifying the truth of him, that God never gave to any of Our ffamily of so tender yeares a greater proportion of virtue, learning, witt, and courage then to him.

I desire an onely Sister who is buried there might have some memory of her great virtue. And if my Grand Mother of Norfolkes Body could bee found in S^t Clements Church, I desire it might bee caryed to Arundell, and there have somè memory of her, for I desire Persons of our Family beeing of so eminent virtues as these Three were, and dyed all about the age of ffifteene, might have record left worthy of them.

I desire also that some House might bee built vpon Our ground neere the Churchyard at Alebury, where Six honest vnmarried men might bee honestly and well fedd and cladd, and have good Comoditie of Bookes to study with, and convenient roomes to make all Distillations, phisickes, and Surgerie, to bee given for ever to the poore for Charitie, and no money to bee taken for it, for the number of Six I name in gratitude to Almighty God, who gave Six Sonnes to my deare wife and mee, and I desire either the Parsonage of Finchingfield in Essex where I was borne may bee employed to that vse, or some other Land worth at least 200^{li} per annum may bee afsured to that vse, for I would by no meanes have

them live vpon Pensions. I would have all their Cloathes Ash Coloured. As also I could wish (if it might bee) those of my Family might mourne for mee only in Ash Colour, in respect it is the Colour of Ashes into which my flesh is to Difsolve.

I desire also Howards Chappell at Lambeth may have some little Cost bestowed vpon it, and kept still for Our ffamily, both to heare Sermons there when they shall think good, and to deposite the dead Bodyes of such of Our ffamily as shall bee caryed to Alebury, and so to Arundell; and if I had beene able I would have built a new Church at Alebury, and a litle Chappell to deposite dead bodyes as is sayd before.

I desire great care to bee had for Collecting all the Materialls for an History to bee written of my Noble Auncesto^{rs} whereby their good memory may bee p^rserved, and those that shall succede may bee invited to bee virtuous, or at least ashamed to bee vitious.

APPENDIX III.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF ARUNDEL, BY HIS SON, WILLIAM HOWARD, LORD STAFFORD, with Letter from the latter, enclosing the Historical Account to his Mother, the Countess of Arundel.

From Lord Stafford to his Mother,

May it please your La^{ty}

I most humbly besich you not to beleve that I offer this to your La^{ty} as entending to putt you in minde of those rare and most excellent parts which weare in my Father that is a glorious S^t [Saint] in heaven, and which I know to be perpetually in your memory, neyther do I offer it as beleiving that heere in is contained all that can or is fitt to be sayd to shew how extordinary a man he was; but I most humbly offer it to your La^{ty} besiching you to beleve that there is nothing in the world that I should so much esteeme as to be able any way to shew the duty and reverence I will ever pay his memory, who was not onely the best man, but the best Father and friend to his children that [ever] lived. When I consider how above other men hee was, I can not chuse but be ashamed of my selfe, that I have nothing in mee worthy of such a Father. And I have nothing to comforte my selfe so much as the assurance I can give my selfe, that in my whole Life I never committed one act of willful and obstinate disobedience to him, though too many other offences, which oute of his goodnesse hee was allways pleased to pardonne.

I doe besich your La^{ty} also to accept of this as a ground worke on which an able pen may most fittly be employed, and with truth may wright such a story as will at least equal any of Plutarcks Lives.

Madame, I know that I can doe nothing that will be so acceptable to him that lookes out of heaven on us, as by paying your La^{ty} the obedience which by all tyes I owe you, to whome he hath left as great testimonys of his love and esteeme, as possibly any man could. And I am sure I shall ever shew the obedience I woulde pay to him, by continuing so long as it shall please God to give mee Life

Your La^{ty}s

most dutifully obedient Sonne

STAFFORD.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF ARUNDEL, BY HIS SON, WILLIAM, VISCOUNT STAFFORD.

(32 pages; 13, 14, 15, 16 missing.)

Thomas Howard the last Duke of Norfolke maryed to his first wife, the second daughter of Henry FitsAllen, the last Earle of Arrundell of that name, by which wife he had onely one Sonne called Phillipe. His

second wife was the daughter and Heire of the Lord Audley, by whome hee had two Sonnes, Thomas and William, and one daughter, Margarett, Hee had also a third wife, who was the Widdow of the Lord Dacres, after whose death hee was marryed by proxie to the Queene of Scots, for the which hee was attainted, and beheaded, Queene Elizabeth pretending that it was done not onely with oute her consent, but against her Commande. Not longe after his death, the Lady Lumley, who was elder Sister to his first wife, dying with oute issue, his eldest sonne Phillippe was Earle of Arrundell, in right of his Mother. Hee had not beene so longe but hee was likewise attainted, for endeavoring to goe beyond the Seas, with oute the Queenes consent, and for things concerning his Religion, hee professing him selfe a Roman Catholicke. Hee was not executed, but lived divers yeares a prisoner in the Tower where hee dyed. Hee marryed Ann daughter and Coe heire to the Lord Dacres; her Mother being, as is sayed, his Fathers thurd wife.

Hee left behinde him one sonne named Thomas, and one daughter Elizabeth, who dyed younge. During the Life of Queene Elizabeth, the Mother of these two was used very hardly, all her estate beinge taken from her, and a very small allowance allowed her, hardly enough to kepe her selfe and children, much lesse to bee able to give her sonne such breedinge, as was fitte for a personne of his qualety, duringe the Queenes rayne. After her death and that Kinge James came to the Crowne, this younge noble man who went by the name of Lord Matravers, a title antiently belonginge to the Earle of Arrundell eldest sonne, helde it fitte to offer his service to the Kinge. Hee was now growne a man, and might iustly expect a recompence from his Maiesty, answerable to the damage his Grandfather had suffered, onely for the greate desire hee had to serve the Kings Mother.

Before I proceede any farder, I will briefely sette downe, what of right hee ought to have beene, what condition hee was in, what reason hee had to expecte advancement, and likewise what hinderances hee mett with.

First, hee was borne unquestionable heire to the Dukedome of Northfolke, Earldomes of Arrundell and Surry, and to a great number of as antient Barronys as any weare. Hee ought likewise to have beene Hereditary Earle Marschall of England, an honour that had beene many ages in his famely, and if hee had enjoyed all the estate his Father had (who was restored to most of the Dukes estate by the Queene), and what hee shoulde have had from his Grandmother of Northfolke, I beleeve noe subjects estate in Christendome would have exceded it, so that for birth and estate hee was to yeilde to none but great free Princes.

Of all thes landes and honours which rightly belonged to him hee had onely the bare title of Lord Matravers, which was onely given him of curtesy. Tis true that a parte of the Antient Lands belonginge to the FitsAllens in Sussex, was so entailed that it could not bee forfeited, was to come to him after his Mother, who had it in ioynture; but at the present hee had not one foote of Lande, all falling to the Crowne by the last attainter, but that in Sussex. Certainly hee had reason to expect that the Kinge comminge to so rich a crowne, so soone as hee had leysure to

thinke on perticulars, woulde have restored him to all the dignetys, and lands, that remained in the Crowne, and weare forfeited by the Duke, onely for the affection hee bore to the Queene of Scots, and her service.

But in case the Kinge shoulde not have thought of it so soone, yett sure hee might expect that the Lord Harry Howard, the last Dukes Brother, his greate uncle, and the Lord Thomas Howard, his one uncle, who weare both in greate favour with the King, would have putte him in minde of the sadd condition there nephew was, and have beene humble sutors in his behalfe.

As probably thes things might much have advanced him, so it will not bee unprobable to beleeve that the greate and famous services done by his ancestors to thyre Soverains against the Scots, might hinder him from receaving any favour from a King that was a Scotsman; and his uncles weare so farre from advancing him that they begged in a manner all his estate that was in the Crowne, they having made theyre way with the Kinge before the death of the Queene; and the Earle of Nottingame, one of his owne famely, begged his house in London. It is easely to be beleved that they that thus soone had gotten his estate, would use theyre power to keepe in as low a Condition as they could, one that they had thus used, so that all things putt to geather, no body coulde come in to a court with more disadvantages, divers persons that weare powerfull having thus used him. Yett his exterordinary greate and able parts, ioined with a huge honesty, made him breake through thes greate (and to any other impossible) obstacles, and gayne him selfe great favour with the King, and great esteeme both at home and abroad, for a faithfull servant to his Master, and an exterordinary Lover of his Country.

After the King had beene a short time in Englande hee went as hee was bound to kisse his hands, and to offer him his service; but not soo soon but his uncles had sooner gotten his estate, so that then it was not in the Kings power to have given it him if hee would, neyther was it likely hee woulde give him much other ways, having many country men of his owne to reward, for longe service done him in Scotland wher hee was not so well able to reward them, as now hee was come to be master of a plentyfull kingdome; yett in a very shorte time hee founde him so able, that hee restored him to the Earledomes of Arrundell and Surry, and called him to sitt in Parlyment before hee was of age, or restored in bludde, an example that never was before nor since, nor certainly would not have beene allowed to him, but that it was apparent how able a man hee was like to proove.

Not long after this, hee marryed the Lady Alathea Talbot, daughter and coe heire to the Earle of Shrewsbery, by whome hee had six sonnes. The eldest, James, dyed aboute the sixteenth yeare of his age; Gilbert, Thomas and Charles, dyed younge; the other two, Henry and William, the seconde and fift, are yet living; God make them imitators of their Fathers virtues.

Hee continued waiting on the King by whome hee was so well esteemed that soone after hee made him Knight of the Garter; an honour that had never beene given to any whatsoever excepte the Kings children, that

weare not of many yeares more then hee was then. And to conferre it with the more honour hee did it the same time when hee made the Duke of Yorke.

Hee was most particularly favored by Prince Harry that then lived, and upon all occasions hee chose him to waite on him. It pleased God that a little before the death of the Prince, the Earl of Arundel grew to bee in a Consumption, for which the phisitions helde it fitte that hee should goe in to Italy, for the recovery of his health; therefore hee asked the Kings leave to goe theather, which hee gave him. When hee (went) to take his leave of the Prince, hee, wishing him a good recovery of his health, commanded him to returne as soone as hee coulde. Soone after the Prince lying on his death bed, would divers times say that hee prayed to God to send back Arrundell with perfect health, which was a greate expression how much hee valeded that person, that at such a time, (though absent) was so much in his memory; and it is a very great evidence of what great parts hee was that was so esteemed by that Prince, that was knowne to valed none but extraordinary persons.

At his being in Italy, hee recovered his health resonably well, which the King hearing of sent to commande him home, which he obeyed, and immediately on his returne the King chose him for his Ambassador in to Germany, and to conduct his daughter in to the Palatinate, who was then newly married to the Elector Palatin which iourney hee performed so well that hee gotte him selfe a great deale of honour both at home and abroad, and, at his returne, receaved thanks for his good performance from the Kinge.

When hee had waited on the Electresse, now Queene of Bohemia, to Heidelberge, and had stayed there so long as hee had order, and was goaing from thence, both shee and the Elector gave him greate thanks and assurances how well they weare satisfied with his carryage in theyre service.

From thence hee wente againe in to Italy to perfecte the recovery of his health, wher hee stayed not longe before hee returned back in to Englande. Presently hee was sworne a prive councillor, and made Earle Marschall of Englande; so that exceptinge the Dukedome of Northfolke hee was restored to allmost all the honours that belonged to him.

Shortly after the King went in to Scotlande, wheather hee waited on him, and was likewise sworne a prive councillor of that Kingdome. From thence the King sent him with a large comission in to Ireland, to remedy such things as hee shoulde finde to bee amiese there. The King had so much confidence in him that hee gave him this commission, and power, notwithstandinge the Lord Deputy that then was ther, was a most worthy and able gentleman. At his coming theather hee was sworne a councillor there, where hee carryed him selfe with so much and so greate iudgment that the Deputy (who surely could not like to have a younge man come with a superintendent commission over him) was extreemely well satisfied with him, and so was the whole kingdome; and so well that there never was the least complaynt made of him for any thing hee did there, which probably would not have beene wanting if hee had given any occasion.

At his returne to the Court hee gave the King so perticular an account both of the country and his employment that hee would often say that hee knew more of his Kingdom of Ireland by having employed the Earle of Arrundell theather, then by all other ways whatsoever. It is very remarquable that so many employments of so great trust shoulde bee conferred on one man, notwithstanding so many obstacles, and all when hee was but aboute thirty yeares oulde; which must necessarily bee a sine of how able parts hee was, and so esteemed, else it had been impossible for him to have given so good satisfaction in them all as hee did.

Shortly after his returne in to Englande the Kinge called a Parlyment, which Parlyment was one of the first that begane to looke more narrowly in to...

(ff. 13, 14, 15 and 16 wanting.)

...both at the councell table, and other places speake his minde more freely, then one that ment to bee a good courtier, and advance him selfe that way should have done; and though hee very well knew the disadvantage it would bee to him, yett hee resolved to doe what an honest man, a faithfull Councillour, and a good Patriotte ought to doe; this made him so ill lyked at Court that his actions weare all most narrowly looked in to, that some cause might bee found how hee might tolerably bee kept from the Councell table and court, and even from sitting in Parlyment, where it was beleevd hee would noe ways advance those desines which hee conceived to bee, and weare, so preiudiciall to the whole kingdom; as since too sad experience hath shewen them to bee. But how narrowly soever his actions weare looked in to, yett nothing could bee found by which his enemys could obtaine that which they desired against him; tyll at length a coullour was taken to endevoire to disgrace him, but with how much reason will bee noe hard matter to judge. His eldest sonne the Lord Matravers fell in love with the Duke of Lenox his daughter, and privately marryed her; which, when hee had acquainted his Father with it, who imediately tould the Kinge of it, this occasion was taken to have him first banished the courte, then sent prisoner to the Tower, wher he remayned some [time]. Then hee was released from that imprisonment but confyned to Horsley, where his Mother then lived. Hee had not beene longe there but hee had leave to returne to the Parlyment, for this was in Parlyment¹. Hee had not beene longe there befor it was dissolved, and hee reconfyned to Horsley, which lasted in all aboute a yeare². But in meane time, hee had leave divers times to come to London; then hee was absolutely freed, but had not leave to come to the Courte, which hee never asked. During this time of his absencs from thence and the Councell table, ther was founde greate wante of him; therefore diverse of his friends weare dealt with to perswade him to bee a sutor for his returne theather; but they could not prevale with him. Then the King absolutely commanded his service, which command hee obeyed; and at his returne to the courte hee was in very good favour with the King.

A few yeares after, the King of Bohemia dyed; then the King resolved to send for his Sister, now a widdow, to come out of Holland to live in

¹ During the parliamentary session.

² Two yeares.

England, for which end hee resolved to send an Ambassadour to invite and conducte her theather; and for this employment hee made choise of the Earle of Arrundell, and commanded him to begin his journey with in eyght dayes, which hee did. At his arrivall in Holland hee waited on the Queene of Bohemia, and acquainted her with what commission hee had; but shee excused her selfe from accepting her Brothers offer with some reasons that shee gave. Hee had likewise order to treat with the States Generall which when hee had done hee returned, and satisfied the King in having punctually obeyed his commands.

Aboute two yeares after, the Prince Elector Palatine came in to England, then the sayd Earle was commanded to goe from the King and meete him, which hee did at Gravesende. Soone after, the Elector representing to the King in what Condition his affayres weare in Germany, the King found it fitt to sende an Embassador to the Emperour, to treat aboute the restoring his nephew to the Palatinate. This was a businesse which did not onely very much in many respects concerne England alone, but [was] of great concernement to all Christendome; therefore it was very necessary to sende one that knew very well how to carry him selfe in so weighty an affayre. Therefore the King, knowing how fitt the Earle of Arrundell was for this businesse, made choise of him. Hee, knowing very well how many difficultys weare in that negotiation and how many able men that weare formerly employed in it weare all come back with oute doing any thing in it, or gaying ther selves any honour, was a sutor to the King to spare him from that journey. But hee could not obtaine his sute, and had but fourteene dayes time given him to prepare him selfe for so longe and dangerous a journey. At the time approved, hee begane his long journey, which hee performed in ten monthes, in which journey hee gott him selfe a very greate deale of honour: and at his returne in to Englande, though hee returned withoute effecting what hee went for, yett hee gave so good an account of his treating that the King was very well pleased with what hee had done. And the Queene of Bohemia and her sonne weare so well satisfied with what hee had done, that I have often heard them say, that they did not beleeve any body could have obtained so good conditions for them as hee had done, though they held it not fitt at that time to accepte of them.

Hee had not beene long returned from that journey but that the Scots begane in many things to oppose the Kinge, which soone grew so hie that hee held it fitt to rays an army to oppose them, and so bring them to their obedience. The King very well knowing how much it concerned him the well governing of this army, uppon the successe of which depended the wellfare of all his dominions, was very carefull on whome hee conferred so greate a trust as to bee Generall of that army; and knowing by experience how faithfull the Earle of Arrundell had allways beene to him, and of how greate abilletys hee was in all kinds, made choise of him for that office; who, foreseeing how many and greate diffecultys weare in that employment, most humbly besiched the King that hee would give him leave not to accept of that charge; and did it so earenestly that the King tould him hee would take some time to consider of it. The next

day hee tould him that hee (had) well thought of it, and that, in respect of his health, hee was willing to spare him; but that having noe other subiect on whome hee would willingly conferre that charge, did not onely commande him, but desired him to accepte of it, which hee did: and was immediately declared sole Generall of all Englande. From that time, hee prepared him selfe to bee in a readynesse against the army should be raysed, which was not long adoeinge. In the meane time hee gave out Commissions, and chose his officers, and gave order for all things requisite. Then he went in to the north, and tooke possession of the army, which was gathered together there. It was as gallant an army both of horse and foote for the number, as ever was seene, and in all probabilitie would have given as good an account of them selves as ever any army did, if ever they had come to fighting. But the King prevented that by making a pacification with the Scots, upon which the army was disbanded and the Generall gave up his Commission; which whilst hee kept, hee used so that hee gained the love of all that weare under his Commande.

Soone after the King called a Parlyment which was presently dissolved, which caused many distractions, so that hee soone called an other, at the beginning of which the Earle of Strafford was accused of hie treason by the house of Commons; upon which accusation hee was to bee tried by his Peeres in Parlyment, to which ende a Hie Stuard was to be Chosen by them, and they held none so fitt for that office as the Earle of Arrundell, who was named, upon which hee desired to bee excused, and that they would name an other. But for all that hee could say, they would never thinke of any other, but all with one consent voted him Hie Stuard; by which, as they conferred as much honour on him as they could, so they sette him in a place of as much danger as coulde bee for many respects. The tryall was in Westminster hall, where the whole Peearage satte Judges; the house of Commons by, as Spectators and accusers, the judges of the Common Law by, as assistants; besides an infinite number both men and woemen of the best qualety, and the King and Queene both playnely to bee seene there, though they pretended not to bee seene. This was the most Solemne Convention that was ever seene in Englande, and where every ones actions weare very exactly looked in to, espetially of those that weare the Judges, and most perticularly hee that satte in the Cheife place, who had the dyrection of what was to bee done there, none of the Peeres being to speake there but him selfe. This tryall lasted some weekes. As hee was in a place of very greate danger and troble, so hee discharged him selfe with that satisfaction to all sides that it was hard to beleeve it was possible to bee done; and I may truly say that the greatest enemy hee had could not say that hee carryed him selfe partially eyther to the one side or the other, but with so much honour, justice and Wisdome as was with the admyration of all that weare present. This one example is enough to shew of what extraordinary parts hee was.

Not longe after this, Queene Mother was to go oute of Englande. Then the King commanded him to waite on her over, which hee did, and on that journey served her so well, that shee promysed shee would wright to the King to restore him to the Duchey of Northfolk.

After his returne in to Englande, hee founde the differences betweene the King and Parlyment growne so hie, and likely every day to bee worse, that there was no probability of remedying it, Wherefore hee helde it to [be] the wisest course to retire him selfe. Therefore with the Kings Leave, and consent of Parlyment, hee waited on the Queene in to Holland, wheather shee went to carry her daughter, not long before married to the younge Prince of Orange. When hee was there hee resolved to keepe him selfe beyond the seas with oute disobliging eyther King or Parlyment; and in so doing, by the opinion of all men, hee did most wisely and discretely. Hee continued some yeares in Holland and Brabant; then hee went in to Italy, where hee had not beene long before it pleased God to send him a burning feaver, of which, after twenty dayes sicknesse, hee left this worlde full of miserys to enjoy a Glorious crowne in heaven, with exterordinary greate pyety and edification to all that weare with him, leaving behinde him his memory as much honored as ever any one did, for one that was as full of honour as ever man was.

Hee was one that Loved and favored all artes and artists in a greate measure, and was the bringer of them in to Englande. I finde that hee had more and greater employments in severall kinds then any one in his time, and that hee passed through them all gayning him selfe as much honour in every one, as any other could doe that had onely one employment, and studyed to gayne honour in that one. Hee had in all his time but two accidents which looked lyke disgraces, they weare his two commitments to the Tower. But hee that takes in to consideration the Causes of them, will clearely finde that they weare very much to his honour. For the first, it was onely for opposing a factious party that then begane those things, that since have proved the ruine of the Kingdome. For the second, hee was committed for his sonnes marryage (I can not say faute); for in all reason the King should rather have thanked him then have beene angry with him. It is an unanswerable argument that hee carryed him selfe with oute exceptions, that being so narrowly looked in to, first by the parlyment, then by the court, nothing could bee found against him; but hee allways carryed him selfe according to the rules of honour and justice; and though the times changed yett hee did not, but keptt allways to those rules.

It is impossible for any man to please all men, yett I am sure the worst thing the greateste enemy hee had could say of him was that hee was not so carefull to leave so greate an estate behinde him as hee might have done. Yett certainly, taking what hee left behind of his owne, and what his wife brought to it, noe estate in Englande is equall to what hee hath left to his eldest sonne and famely.

(Here the manuscript abruptly ends: whether it is incomplete or not, I do not know. M. H.)

APPENDIX IV.

LETTER FROM ALETHEIA, COUNTESS OF ARUNDEL, TO LORD ANDOVER. (14TH SEPT. 1648.)

My Lord

I have received your letter from Dover castle, dated 22 July; and I give you many thanks for the expressions you make of your favour and affection to me, which upon all occasions I shall be ready to requite. As for the particulars of your letter, I have long since given a particular answer thereunto, and immediately sent it unto England, and now hearing that you are in the Hage, and that my answer is not come into your hands, I have thought good to send you a duplicate; and shall first say, in your owne words, that I care not who I displease after that I have candidly discharged my conscience.

First, you say that my sonne desires nothing of me, but what should preserve the fortune entire betweene us, wherein certainly his interest must be more then either my lord of Bathes, or my lord of Dorsetts. For this I may freely answer, that my sonne hath beene so farre from asking any thing of mee, that he hath used all meanes to take my due from mee, not suffering mee quietly to possesse any thing that he conceaves may any way be disputable, though it be my inheritance: and, for his interest being more then my lord of Baths, or my lord of Dorsets, it is no way questioned; neither had they ever had any, but that they were held persons fitt to be entrusted, and were so, by my deare lord that is in heaven, to whose memory I will ever pay all the respect that so extraordinary a person deserved. And they being so^o trusted by him, in his will, (beside the honour they are knowen to have) is sufficient warrant for me to rely on; for I hope I shall never be so impious as any way to make question of any thing that he hath left under his hand, but shall ever performe what was his desire, to the uttermost of my power.

Next, you say that Mr Tailler, Junius, and Philipps, are like vermine, that engender in the destruction of the noblest creatures¹. As for Mr Tailler, he was employed by my Lord to fetch my grandchild into Italy; and, for Junius, he had the care of my sonne Stafford first, next was chosen by my lord for the teaching of my grandchildren, and afterwards putt by him to my lo. of Oxford; for Mr Philipps he was likewise entrusted by my lord in following what concerned my lord of Oxford; so that your Lo^P sees how carefull I have beene to imploy those that were so much trusted

¹ Note by Tierney, *Hist. Arundel*, p. 506: "Of Theodoric Taylor I know nothing, except that, in addition to what the countess says of him, he was employed as her principal agent in England, after the death of her husband (Account 24). With Francis Junius all the world is acquainted. Phillips was the nephew of Milton (Evelyn, *Diary*, i, 365, 493), and, with Junius and Taylor, was engaged in the service of the countess, in opposition to her son...."

by my lord, as you see they all three were: and, as you charge them wth no particulars, so I can give you no particular answer: and if, at any time, I shall find that they doe not what is fitting, according to my commaund, I shall take care to remedy it. In the meane time, I may have reason enough to beleeeve that they doe as they ought, since I only heare them charged wth generalities, w^{ch} I thinke every ratiõnall body knows is impossible to be answered.

Next, you are pleased to say that I brought a vast addition to the family. I must ever say, that the estate I brought is most inconsiderable, in respect of the person to whom it was brought; else I am no way ashamed of it. You say, no inconsiderable fortune hath beene spent belonging to the family, whereof my sonne never saw the least mite. As for that, I am sure the estate hath not binne spent by me, w^{ch} will plainly appeare, if the accõmpts might be cast upp, w^{ch} I have often desired, but could never have it done. But, because your lor^p speakes of the debts, and that I am desirous you should know how the debts came, I shall particularly give you an accõmpt of it. At the beginning of King James his comming into England, all the ancient estate belonging to the family, was given away by the king, so that my lord was left w^{thout} any of the ancient patrimony; and being very desirous to regaine as much of it as he could, tooke up great summes of money to buy part of it, w^{ch} putt him into so great a debt, with interest dayly increasing, that it was very hard to gett out of it; and those servants, he then employed, representing to him how prejudiciall it would be to his estate to lett the debt daily increase, he comãdũed them to thinke of some wayes for raysing of money to pay it, w^{ch} they very carefully did diverse wayes, in particular by leasing my lands, some for lives, and some for yeares, by w^{ch} meanes very great summes [were] rayseed, so that they hoped the debt would soone have beene payed. This was about the end of king James his reigne. Imẽdiatly upon this king's comming to the crowne, he put my lord into the tower, confined my sonne and his wife to one place, and me to another, and likewise tooke from him that w^{ch} king James had given him for many yeares faithfull service, w^{ch}, at that time, by reason of some particular accidents, would have raised a great deale; so that I very well remember Dyx told me, that, if that money had not beene taken away into the exchequer, adding it to the fines, it would in a manner have payd the debts; so that I hope now you will plainly see both how the debt beganne, and the reason why it is unpayed.

Your Lor^p pleaseth to tell me, that my sonne disputeth nothing wth me. I am sure I have never begunne to question any thing of his: I have beene so farre from it, that, since the greatest misfortune befell me that can happen to me in this world, I have never received one penny, directly or indirectly, either of joynture or thirds. And, for what you say of sacrificing his support and prosperity to others pleasure, give me leave to say that that expression is so strange, that I know not well what construction to make of it; and I know myselfe [so] free from ever having given occasion to any honest man to beleeeve that I ever had any such desire, as I need make no answer to it. But I conceive it to be mentioned by you, only out of your not understanding what I have done.

LETTER FROM LADY ARUNDEL

This account I have given you in answer to your letter, and because I know the love you beare to the family in generall, and in particular the respect you beare to him that is wth God, who, as your Lord^p sayes most truly, hath left no fellow behind him to equall him both in honour and vertue; and I shall dayly pray that all his may make him their example.

Concerning my sonnes letter, w^{ch}, you say, you had from him to me, I am sure you expect no answer, being that I never received it: so, wishing your Lord^p all happinesse, I rest

Your humble servant,

A. ARUNDELL AND SURREY.

1648, 14 Sept^{ber} 1.

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle. Endorsed (doubtless by Lord Stafford): "Holland, Sept^{ber}, 1648. My mother to y^e lord Andover."

APPENDIX V.

THE ARUNDEL INVENTORY (OF PICTURES, ETC.) OF 1655.

A copy of this Inventory found by Miss Mary Cox amongst the Delegates Processes in the Public Record Office, was published, practically verbatim, with explanatory text by herself and Mr Lionel Cust, in the *Burlington Magazine* for August and September, 1911. The original was drawn up at Amsterdam, presumably in 1655, after the death of Aletheia, Countess of Arundel, the previous year. Her only surviving son, William Viscount Stafford, claimed a noncupative will in his favour, with regard to this property. This was disputed by his nephew, Henry, son of the deceased Henry Frederick, Earl of Arundel. The Inventory was the offspring of the litigation which arose from this situation.

The larger part of the pictures, drawings and *objets de vertu* collected by Thomas and Aletheia, Earl and Countess of Arundel, followed them to the Netherlands when they finally left England in 1641. It is this collection which forms the bulk of the following Inventory, though the omission of many items known to have been owned by Thomas, Earl of Arundel, shows that the list cannot claim to be by any means exhaustive. Nevertheless, it is of very great value. The original appears to have perished (perhaps in the fire at Worksop Manor, in 1722). In any case, it cannot now be found. The copy is, therefore, the only existing document which gives any idea of the wealth of Lord Arundel's collection of paintings and drawings.

The Inventory appears to have been hastily put together; the repetitions which occur, suggesting the idea that several catalogues were hurriedly combined into one. The transcriber was probably ill acquainted with the Italian language, in which it is drawn up: the orthography is very faulty, and shows northern influence. Neither is there any attempt at order or method of construction, a fact which makes it difficult to use the document, in the form in which it was found, for purposes of study and investigation.

To make it more easily available for these objects, I have translated it into English, and brought the whole under methodical headings. Thus classified, it falls into four divisions:

1. Alphabetical list of artists, with the works attributed to them.
2. Portraits to which no artists' names are appended.
3. Subjects to which no artists' names are appended.
4. Various objects of art, being a list, exactly translated, of decorative and other objects, appended to the Inventory of Paintings.

I have also numbered consecutively the whole Inventory, to facilitate reference. The carelessness with which it was originally compiled makes it often impossible to tell whether certain items are distinct works, or repetitions of a former entry. I am inclined to believe the latter hypothesis more generally correct. In such cases I have simply drawn attention to

previous entries of the same subject: unless, of course, the picture is one of those constantly repeated sacred subjects as to which speculation would be useless. Other difficulties arise when the marginal names of painters are not placed accurately opposite the items to which they presumably refer; when it becomes puzzling to decide which works it was intended to assign to a given name. Where doubt arises of this nature, I have placed a point of interrogation before the title of the uncertain picture. It should be clearly understood that the query is not intended to dispute the attribution apparently meant, but to draw attention to the fact that the attribution is not distinctly indicated.

Bearing in mind that a translation should adhere as closely as possible to the original, the painters' names have been rendered in the forms given by the Inventory: e.g. "Correggio" is retained instead of "Antonio Allegri"; "Julio Romano" in the place of "Giulio Romano"; "Carratio" instead of "Carracci"; etc. It is to be regretted that where several artists shared the same patronymic, as in the case of the "Carracci," the "Bassano," the Inventory does not always indicate which of the family is meant.

It must, of course, be remembered that even in Arundel's day, copies were becoming confused with originals, and that not every celebrated picture, corresponding in subject and author with some work mentioned in this Inventory, is the identical painting he owned. But when all due allowance is made for these difficulties, the number of master-pieces contained in the Arundel Collection as to which little reasonable doubt can be entertained, is astonishing. Some suggestions have been inserted as to the present home of certain works which formed part of the collection. This is a path which, with careful research, could probably be pursued much further: especially by Directors of Galleries, who have at command all available information respecting the pedigrees of the pictures under their care. It is hoped that, in this direction, the form now given to the Inventory will be found helpful.

A few works of divergent type, such as a bronze *basso relievo*, etc. which are included in the Inventory of paintings, have been allowed to retain their place there; not being sufficiently numerous or important to call for a separate category.

I. ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ARTISTS, WITH THE WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO THEM.

ALDEGREVE.
1. Portrait of a Man.

ALTDORFER.
2. St Jerome.
3. Another St Jerome.

ANDREA DEL SARTO.
4. Mary Magdalene.
5. Portrait of a Lady.
6. A Woman's Head.

7. A Musician.
8. Nativity of the Virgin.

ANTONELLO DA MESSINA.

9. St Sebastian.

A. VAN AVENNE.

10. Humorous subjects in *chiaroscuro*.

VAN BALEN.

11. Venus, Ceres and Bacchus.

BALTENS, PIETRO.

12. A Bordello.

BARATIO (BAROCCIO).

13. Head of a laughing *Puttino*.

14. Head of a Woman.

15. Madonna (*after Correggio*).

FRA BARTOLOMMEO.

16. Christ bearing the Cross.

BASSANO.

17. St Jerome and St Augustine, sketches.

18. Moses guarding the Flocks.

19. Christ crowned with Thorns.

20. Portrait of a Gentleman of the Ursino (Orsini) Family.

21. St Jerome.

See No. 17.

22. Christ crowned with Thorns.

See No. 19.

23. A Madonna.

24. The Angel appearing to the Shepherds.

25. A Madonna.

See No. 23.

26. The Journey of the Patriarch Jacob.

27. Susanna.

28. Moses striking the Rock.

29. Journey of the Patriarch Jacob.

See No. 26.

30. Christ driving the Merchants from the Temple.

BEHAM, HANS SEBALD (and the monogram H.S.B.).

31. Head of a Woman.

32. Portraits of three Children.

BELLINO (BELLINI).

33. Portrait of a Man, in a gold frame.

34. Head of Christ.

(It is doubtful to which of the above-mentioned pictures the name of Bellini is affixed.)

35. Christ with the two Disciples at Emmaus.

BLOCKLANDT.

36. Nativity of our Lord.

BLOMMAERT.

37. The Four Evangelists, in four separate pictures.
 38. A small picture, containing Heads of Sheep, and other things.
 39. Head of an Old Woman.
 40. St Peter in Prison.

BOL, HANS.

41. A framed drawing.

BORDONE, PARIS.

42. Two Gentlemen playing at Chess. *cf. Berlin M. 169*

BOS, JERONIMO.

43. A small picture.
 44. The Hay Cart.

BOSCHAERT.

45. Vase with Flowers.

OLD BREUGHEL.

46. A Squabble at Carnival. Water-colour.
 47. Six Heads.
 48. A Madonna.

BREUGHEL.

(Not specified whether Pieter or Jan.)

49. Landscape.
 See p. 301.
 50. *Chiaroscuro* in four pieces.
 51. Peasants merry-making. Design in water-colour.
 52. Six small round landscapes. *Jan*
 See p. 301.
 53. Vase with Flowers. *Jan*
 54. A Shepherd fleeing. Water-colour. *with Peter*
 55. A Barber's Shop. Water-colour. *- -*
 56. Peasants fighting. *- -*
 57. A Picture with Assassins. *- -*
 58. A Fair or Festival of Peasants.
 59. Peasants dancing.
 60. A small picture.
 61. Peasants merry-making.
 See also No. 51.

BRILL, PAOLO.

62. Landscape.

BRONZINO.

63. Head of a Man. Drawing.
 64. Head of a Youth. Drawing.

BURCKMAYER THE ELDER.

65. Six *basso relievi* of the Passion. Bronze.

CAMPAGNOLA.

66. Landscape.

CARPI, HUGO DA.

67. Madonna.

CARRATIO.

(No indication of which of the Carracci is meant.)

68. Landscape.
 69. Virgin and Child, St Margaret and St Augustine. Drawing.
 70. Pietà.
 71. Virgin and Child, St Margaret and St Augustine. Drawing.
 See above, No. 69.

72. Ecce Homo.

73. Angels (after Correggio).

SOTTO CLEEF.

74. Bacchanalia of Children.

75. Silenus. *Chiaroscuro*.

CLEVE, HENRY VAN.

76. Heads of a Man and Woman. Two pieces.

CLEVE, MARTEN VAN.

77. Landscape.

CLEVE, VAN.

(No definition given.)

78. Twelve circular paintings.

CORONA, LIONARDO, DA MURANO.

79. A Madonna.

CORREGGIO.

80. A Madonna, with other figures. Water-colour.
 81. Veronica.
 82. Midas, with four other figures. In the painter's first manner. Drawing.
 83. Head of a *Puttino*.
 84. St Sebastian. First manner.
 85. Madonna.
 86. Head of a Madonna.
 87. Christ in the Garden.
 88. Christ in the Garden.
 See preceding entry.
 89. Three Nymphs bathing.
 90. Madonna.
 91. St Jerome.

COSIN (COUSIN) JEAN.

92. The Last Judgment. Drawing.
 (Study for the picture in the Louvre?)

CRANACH, LUCAS.

- 93. Philip Melancton.
- 94. St Augustine.
- 95. The Virgin and Child.
- 96. An Angel.
- 97. Heads of St John and St Jerome.
- 98. Our Lord amongst the Children.
- 99. St Laurence.

DOSSO DA FERRARA.

- 100. Adoration of the Magi.

DÜRER, ALBERT.

(Including those catalogued as **EH** and **A**.)

- 101. Frater Mathias. Water-colour.
- 102. A Woman's Head. (Drawing.)
- 103. Portrait of a Bishop of Bamberg.
- 104. Two Portraits of Women. Water-colour.
- 105. Two Portraits drawn in black chalk.
- 106. Our Saviour crowned with Thorns.
- 107. A Woman's Head. (Drawing.)
- 108. A Man's Head. (Drawing.)
- 109. A Madonna. (Drawing.)
- 110. Portrait of Albert Dürer.

See p. 392.

- 111. Henry Morley. Water-colour.

This portrait is found in the Lumley Inventory of 1590: it is now in the British Museum.

- 112. Christ bearing the Cross; many figures.
- 113. Two Coats of Arms.
- 114. A Landscape.
- 115. Veronica.
- 116. A Madonna.

VAN DYCK.

- 117. Eleven Sketches.
- 118. Eight Portrait-sketches.
- 119. Portrait of the Earl of Arundel with his grandson.
Original now at Arundel Castle. For further details see pp. 353-355 and 391.
- 120. Two Sketches.
- 121. Thirty-two Portraits in *chiaroscuro*.
- 122. Portrait of the Earl and Countess of Arundel.

No doubt, the "Madagascar" portrait, of which several versions exist. One is at Arundel Castle, another at Costessy, another, with the Librarian, Junius (here reproduced) at Knole, another at Vienna. The last is perhaps the original. The Fruytiers family group (see Nos. 136-137, and p. 419) reproduces this portrait of Lord and Lady Arundel; it is also seen in a large picture of the Interior of a Gallery, painted after Lord Arundel's death, now at the Mauritshuis at the Hague. Many painters collaborated in this last-named work, the principal being Gonzales Coques. These reproductions prove that this picture was a considerable time in the Netherlands.

- 123. Portrait of the King and Queen.
- 124. Portrait of a Painter (copy from Van Dyck).

ELSHEIMER, ADAM.

125. Landscape. Design.
126. Latona.

VAN EYCK, JAN.

127. Portrait of a Man in profile. (Drawing.)
128. Head of an Old Woman.
129. Portrait of the Painter, by himself.

PAULO FIAMENGHO.

130. The Four Seasons, in four pieces.

PAULO FIAMENGHO AND SCHIAVONE.

131. Gilt leather painted.

FLORIS, FRANCESCO.

132. Head of a Man.
133. *Chiaroscuro*.

FRANCK, THE YOUNGER.

134. The Seven Liberal Arts.

FRUÏTIERS.

135. Christ bearing the Cross. Miniature.
136. Portrait of the Earl and Countess of Arundel with their Grandchildren.

This water-colour on vellum, after a design by Van Dyck, exists in at least two versions, of which that at Costessy Park, Norwich, is probably the original. There is another edition at Buckingham Palace (see p. 419 for further details).

137. A copy of the same.

No doubt one of the two versions mentioned above.

GELDORP THE ELDER.

138. Head of Diana.

GIORGIONE.

139. Head of a Man in a cap.
140. Landscape with a Knight and a Lady, and men holding the horses.
141. A Man on horseback.
142. The Judgment of Solomon.
143. Women bathing.

Could this be the "Concert" of the Louvre?

144. The Resurrection of Lazarus.
145. A Lady holding a small Death's-head.

This sounds uncommonly like the picture formerly owned by Louisa, Lady Ashburton, for long held to be a Lady, and by Giorgione. Modern criticism recognises it as the portrait of a Youth, and assigns it to Bernardino Licinio.

146. Hercules and Achilles.
147. Orpheus.

There is a small picture of this subject in the Bergamo Gallery, attributed to Giorgione by Sir Herbert Cook, Bart.

148. The Judgment of Paris.

149. A Youth with a Flute.

Nos. 148 and 149 are not placed in the Inventory opposite the name of Giorgione, which occurs almost immediately above, opposite the "Hercules and Achilles."

Both subjects are, however, so intimately connected with the painter's name, that it is probably safe to assume this attribution was intended. Of the "Judgment of Paris," several versions exist, supposed to be derived from a lost original by Giorgione. The "Youth with a Flute" is probably the picture now at Hampton Court.

150. David with the Head of Goliath.

This picture, owned successively by the Patriarch of Aquileia (Vasari), Lord Arundel, and the Archduke Leopold, came with the collection of the latter to Vienna where it now is. Many critics regard it as a copy from Giorgione: others, however, consider it to be the original, rendered hard and stiff by a mask of re-paint.

151. The Flight into Egypt.

152. Orpheus.

See No. 147.

153. Christ in the Garden.

154. A Man, and a Woman with a head in her hand.

Is this a picture of the Daughter of Herodias with the Head of St John the Baptist?

155. Christ bearing the Cross.

This celebrated picture, formerly in the Casa Loschi at Vicenza, is now the property of Mrs Gardner, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

GUERCINO DA CENTO.

156. St Jerome.

157. Head of a Man.

HOLBEIN.

158. Portrait of Sir . . . Wyat.

The Italian title is: *Ritratto del Cavaglier Wyat*. It is impossible to say which of the three knighted Wyats is here intended: Sir Henry, whose portrait by Holbein is now in the Louvre; his son, Sir Thomas, of whom there is a drawing by Holbein in the Windsor Collection; or his grandson, Sir Thomas the younger, of whom portraits exist of uncertain Holbein derivation. In favour of Sir Henry is the fact that the Cologne collector, Jabach, bought from William, Viscount Stafford, certain works which had belonged to Lord Arundel, and which later passed into the Louvre. In favour of the son or grandson is the opposing fact that both these personages—Sir Thomas the elder and younger—figure in the Lumley Inventory of 1590, but do not reappear in the Lumley sale-catalogues of 1785 or 1807. Presumably, therefore, these portraits remained in the south, and one or other was acquired by Lord Arundel, as was the case with other items of the Fitzalan Collection¹.

159. Portrait of a Lady with clasped hands, and an agate brooch attached to her cap.

160. ? Portrait of an Old Man wearing a gold chain, holding in his hands a cross hanging from the chain.

¹ See Mr Arthur Chamberlain's *Hans Holbein the Younger*, Vol. I, p. 335, and Vol. II, pp. 79-82. Also Mr Cust, *Burlington Magazine*, Dec. 1909, and the present writer's article in Vol. VI of the *Walpole Society*, p. 39.

161. Portrait of Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton.

There is a well-known portrait of this nobleman in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge; presumably a copy from the original by Holbein, destroyed in the fire at Cowdray.

162. Portrait of Sir Edward Gage.

163. Design for an ornamental Chimney-piece.

164. Two Portraits in one picture, with the name of Thomas Godsalve.

This double-portrait of the two Godsalves is now in the Dresden Gallery.

165. Portrait of Cromwell.

The original of several versions of this portrait is (or was) at Tittenhanger.

166. Portrait of a Man in a black cap.

167. Jane Seymour.

The original of this portrait, probably that owned by Lord Arundel, is at Vienna.

168. The Arms of England. Water-colour.

169. Portrait of the Earl of Surrey, life-size.

Probably the much discussed full-length portrait in a painted architectural setting, now at Arundel. (Not by Holbein.)

170. The Triumph of Riches.

171. The Triumph of Poverty.

See pp. 257-258 for Sandrart's mention of these paintings at Arundel House.

172. Sir Thomas More with his Family.

It is not known which version of this celebrated picture was owned by Lord Arundel.

173. The Queen of Sheba. Miniature in *chiaroscuro*.

Now in the Royal collection at Windsor.

174. Erasmus.

Lord Arundel possessed two portraits of Erasmus by Holbein: (1) that now owned by Lord Radnor at Longford Castle; (2) a smaller portrait formerly at Greystoke, sold 1909 to Mr Pierpont Morgan, now in the Metropolitan Museum at New York. This was probably the portrait recorded in the Lumley Inventory of 1590¹. See for the second Erasmus, No. 428 of this catalogue.

175. Portrait of a Man in a small black cap.

See No. 166.

176. Derichius a Born.

Now at Windsor Castle.

177. Doctor John Chambers.

Now in the Vienna Gallery.

178. The Son of Sir Thomas More.

There is a drawing in the Windsor collection of John More, Sir Thomas More's son, but no finished picture appears now to exist.

179. Portrait of a Lady forty years old, with the inscription: *In all things Lord thy wilbe fulfilled.*

180. Portrait of a Musician.

This is probably the "Portrait of a Musician" now owned by Sir John Ramsden (Bulstrode Park), and published by Dr Ganz in the Burlington Magazine, Oct. 1911. I am, however, unable to agree with the interesting suggestion made by

¹ Chamberlain, *Holbein*, Vol. 1, pp. 178-179.

Dr Ganz, that Jean de Dinteville is here represented. The eyes of the "Musician" are said to be conspicuously blue; those of the Bailly of Troyes are a brilliant reddish-brown. The countenance of the "Musician," with the sharply pointed nose, also differs considerably from that of Dinteville, who has a heavy, broadly-tipped nose. Traditionally, the "Musician" was supposed to represent Nicholas, Lord Vaux, an attribution which appears to be equally uncertain.

181. Portrait of Sir . . . Pointz.

Probably Sir Nicholas Poyntz (Ital. "Cavaglier"), whose portrait exists to-day in several versions, one of which is owned by the Marquess of Bristol. Mr Chamberlain thinks the original is that in the possession of the Earl of Harrowby (*Holbein*, Vol. II, p. 342).

182. Portrait of Anne of Cleves.

Now in the Louvre.

183. Portrait of Holbein's Wife.

Generally considered to be the "Portrait of a Young Woman," now at the Hague.

184. A Portrait

185. Portrait of Sir Henry Guldford.

Royal Collection, Windsor.

186. Portrait of his Wife (Lady Guldford).

Vanderbilt Collection, New York.

187. Portrait of a goldsmith, Hans von Zurich.

Engraved by Hollar; the original is lost.

188. Edward VI, King of England.

Either the picture at Brunswick, or that owned by the Earl of Yarborough.

189. Portrait of a Man. Water-colour.

190. The Earl of Southampton, Fitzwilliam.

See No. 161.

191. A small picture of various figures, players, etc.

192. Portrait of a Mathematician.

Probably the portrait of the astronomer, Nicolas Kratzer, now in the Louvre.

193. The Duchess of Loraine, life-size.

The celebrated portrait now in the National Gallery. It was part of the Fitzalan collection, and figures in the Lumley Inventory of 1590.

194. Edward VI, King of England.

See No. 188.

195. Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Almost certainly the portrait now in the Louvre.

196. Portrait of Sir Henry Guldford, small size.

197. Portrait of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey.

198. Portrait of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. }

These two portraits, bracketed together in the Inventory, are undoubtedly those seen hanging on the wall, in the family picture by Fruÿtiers, No. 136 of this list. The original portrait of Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, now forms part of the Royal collection; a good version is at Arundel. That of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, as seen in the Fruÿtiers work, is of special interest, the original being lost.

199. Portrait of a Man in armour.

This portrait is not, as it would be tempting to believe, that of Sir Nicholas

Carew (now at Dalkeith Palace), which appears both in the Lumley inventory of 1590, and in the Lumley sale catalogue of 1783, showing that the picture remained in the north throughout that interval.

200. A Death's-head with (? cross-)bones.

201. Old and New Laws.

HONDER COUTER.

202. A Landscape.

INNOCENTIO D'IMOLA.

203. A Madonna.

JORDAENS (copy after).

204. Nymphs and Satyrs.

JULIO ROMANO.

205. Hylas drawn from the water by three nymphs.

206. St Catherine.

207. The Resurrection of our Lord.

208. Mars and Venus.

209. Christ at the Column.

210. A Madonna.

LIGOTIO (Ligozzi).

211. Coronation of the Virgin. Drawing.

LIONARDO DA VINCI.

212. Leda.

213. The decapitated St John.

See p. 300.

214. St Catherine. Water-colour.

215. Portrait of a Man holding a flower in his hand.

216. Group of horses.

LIVENS.

217. A Head. Drawing.

LUCA D'HOLLANDA (Lucas van Leyden).

218. St Sebastian.

219. St Christopher.

220. Virgin and Child and St Bernard.

221. SS. Cosmo and Damiano.

222. Portrait of a Man.

223. Temptation of St Anthony.

224. Adoration of the Magi.

225. Portrait. (Copy.)

226. Mary Magdalen. (In the manner of Lucas van Leyden.)

MABUGE.

227. Three Children.

Doubtless a replica of the picture in the Royal collection, perhaps that now at Wilton.

228. A Man praying.

MANTEGNA.

229. Apollo in his Car. Water-colour.
230. St Augustine.

MATSYS, QUINTIN.

231. Virgin and Child.

MECCARINO (BECCAFUMI).

232. Resurrection of Lazarus.

MICHELANGELO.

233. Jupiter and Ganymede.
234. Head of a Woman with a Serpent.
235. Portrait of Michelangelo.

Probably not attributed to the hand of the painter, the wording of the inventory leaves this doubtful.

236. Design by (see under Sebastiano del Piombo).

MOMPER.

237. Radicofano. Spoiled.

Radicofani, a town of Tuscany at the foot of a volcano of the same name, 65 kil. S.E. of Siena. I am indebted for this information to the kindness of Mr Van de Put of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

238. Landscape.
239. Landscape.

MOSTARD.

240. Birth of Adonis. *Chiaroscuro*.
241. Five circular pictures, humorous.

MYTENS.

242. Don Carolo Colonna.

NICCOLO DA MODENA (L'ABATE).

243. Portrait of a Boy.
244. St George. Water-colour.

ISAAC OLIVER.

245. Small picture, portrait of Viscount Montague with his three brothers.
"In mano del Cavalier Wallcker." (In the hands of Sir Edward Walker.)

Probably the one now at Burghley House.

PALMA VECCHIO.

246. Head of a Woman.
247. Head of a Saint.
248. The Virgin.
249. The Virgin, with St James, who is reading.
250. Three Ladies making Music.
251. The Virgin.

See No. 248.

PALMA.

(Without indication whether Palma Vecchio or Giovane.)

252. St Andrew placed upon the Cross.

253. ? Virgin and Child, with St John and St Catherine.

It is impossible to say which of the foregoing numbers is referred to the name of Palma.

254. St Sebastian.

PAOLO FIAMENGHO.

(See Fiamengho.)

PARMEGIANO.

255. Portrait of Giovanni della Casa. *without Salviati, in no. 61a*

256. Portrait of a Youth.

257. Venus and Cupid.

258. St John with the Lamb and a dog.

259. Judith.

260. A Boy. Water-colour.

261. St Bridget. Water-colour.

262. A small Pallas.

263. A Boy bearing the Globe. Painted on glass.

264. St Jerome.

265. A Boy.

266. The Dead Christ.

267. A small picture with Vessels.

268. Portrait of a Man in a small black cap.

269. Portrait of Paul III with his Nephew.

270. The Nativity.

271. The Virgin, with various other figures.

272. The Dead Christ.

See No. 266.

273. The Virgin.

274. The Saviour.

275. The Nativity.

See No. 270.

276. St Francis.

277. Portrait of a Man.

278. Three Landscapes.

279. Portrait of a Lady.

280. The Three Maries.

PARIS BORDONE.

(See Bordone.)

PASSEROTTO.

281. The Crucifixion, a large design with many figures.

PIERFACINO.

282. Christ bearing the Cross.

POLIDORO.

283. Christ bearing the Cross. Worked with gold.

PORCELIS.

284. A Sea piece.

PORDENONE.

285. A Lady with a Boy.
 286. Susanna and the Elders.
 287. Portrait of a Man.
 288. A View in Perspective.
 289. Two Flying Angels with Trumps in their hands.
 290. The Good Shepherd.
 291. The Judgment of Solomon.
 292. Sampson.
 293. Portrait of an Old Woman.

PORTMAN.

294. A small Landscape.

RAPHAEL.

295. Portrait of a Flemish Painter.
 296. Portrait of Ferrico Carondelet, Byzantine Archdeacon, with his Secretary, Guicciardini, and another. In the painter's best manner, and in good preservation.

This celebrated picture, now owned by the Duke of Grafton, is recognised by modern critics as the work of Sebastiano del Piombo.

297. St Catherine.
 298. Five small pictures, scenes from the Life of St George.
 299. Portrait of a Man.
 300. Small Landscapes.
 301. Mount Tabor. Drawing.
 302. Drawing of a Woman. Chalk.
 303. Virgin and Child and St John.
 304. Portrait of a Man. Chalk.
 305. Madonna and Child, St John and St Joseph.

Although prefixed by the name of Raphael, that of Dosso follows this entry. Perhaps it may be inferred that it was a copy by Dosso after Raphael, or held to be such. (See p. 300.)

306. Portrait of Aretino. Drawing.
 307. Virgin and Child and St John. Copy after Raphael.

REINIER D'ANJOU, KING OF SICILY.

308. Adoration of the Magi.

RENI, GUIDO.

309. St Cecilia.

ROSSO.

310. The Three Fates.

*vol. dei Tre Vezzi in Pal. Pitti, di mano Rossa
 (di Muskhart, Cio. I. fig. 1. 27)*

ROTTENHAMMER.

311. Coronation of the Virgin.

312. Victory.
- Chiaroscuro.*

313. The Marriage in Cana of Galilee. Design in colours.

*in Rosso heridren, atyl. di
 Ross 1. 27 (di Sabriati)*

RUBENS.

314. Portrait. Drawing.
 315. Portrait of the Countess of Arundell.

Doubtless that executed at Antwerp in 1620. See Chapter XIV for further details. It will be observed that there is here no mention of a portrait of Lord Arundel being included in this picture, which had now been in existence thirty-five years.

RYNBRANDT (REMBRANDT).

316. Small Head of a Man.
 317. An Old Man. Drawing.

SALVIATI.

318. A Madonna.
 319. Decapitation of St John the Baptist.

SCAMOZZI, VINCENZO.

320. *Cassoni* decorated with designs, amongst which are two chests with architectural designs by Vincenzo Scamozzi. (*In the margin: 12, and 2 chests.*)

SCHIAVONE, ANDREA.

321. Europa.
 322. Christ in the Garden with the Angel.
 323. The Dead Christ. On Panel.
 324. Christ in the Garden.

See above, No. 322.

325. The Circumcision.
 326. Three small pictures.
 327. The Last Supper.
 328. The Virgin.
 329. The Nativity.
 330. Gilt leather painted.

With Paolo Fiamengho. See No. 131.

SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO.

331. Christ bearing the Cross.
 332. Venus and Cupid, larger than life.
 Design by Michelangelo, executed by the hand of Fra Sebastiano.
 333. Portrait of Prince Doria.
 334. A Madonna.

SEGERS [*sic.*].

335. A Virgin with a garland of flowers painted by Segers.
 It does not seem quite clear whether the whole picture or only the flowers were painted by Seghers [*sic.*].

SODOMA.

336. Mary Magdalene.
 337. Christ bearing the Cross.

SPRANGHER.

338. St John the Baptist with two Apostles.

STEENWYCK (the Elder).

339. View in Perspective.

STEENWYCK (the Younger).

- 339*a*. View in Perspective.

It seems uncertain whether these are two separate pictures, or if a confusion has been made in describing the painter.

TENIERS, DAVID.

340. Two humorous pieces.

TINTORETTO.

341. Mutius Scaevola.

342. Portrait of Alessandro Vittoria.

343. Roman Woman carrying water in the sieve.

Tuccia, a vestal virgin, under an accusation appealed to the goddess to prove her innocence, and had power given her to carry a sieve full of water from the Tiber to the temple¹.

344. St Peter.

345. The Patriarch Isaac blessing Jacob.

346. Portrait of Bassano.

347. St George.

348. Faith.

359. Portrait of a Venetian Nobleman.

350. Descent from the Cross.

See page 300.

TINTORETTO GIOVANE.

351. A Glory, with many figures.

TITIAN.

352. Head of our Lord.

353. The Sleeping Venus. Life-size.

"Titian, Venus, very rare," was amongst the pictures bought by Carleton for the Earl of Somerset, and which passed into Lord Arundel's hands on the disgrace of the favourite (Sainsbury, p. 274).

354. Venus and Cupid.

355. Portrait of a Lady with a cap in her hand.

356. The Flaying of Marsyas.

357. St Catherine.

358. Diana bathing.

359. The Woman taken in Adultery.

360. St Sebastian. Life-size.

¹ *Donna Romana che porta acqua a la crivia*. The clever interpretation of this apparently insoluble riddle, has been furnished by Mr E. R. D. Maclagan, of the Dept. of Architecture and Sculpture, Victoria and Albert Museum, and kindly communicated to me by Mr Van de Put.

- 361. Head of St James.
- 362. Head of St John.
- 363. Head of St John [Baptist] in a Charger.
- 364. Bathing subject. Unfinished.
- 365. Alessandro Farnese.
- 366. Venetian Gentleman.
- 367. Ecce Homo.
- 368. Portrait of Aretino.
- 369. Concert.
- 370. Portrait of a Lady.
- 371. Portrait of Bourbon.
- 372. The Entombment.
- 373. Martyrdom of St Laurence.
- 374. Concert.

See No. 369.

- 375. The Annunciation.
- 376. Virgin and Child, St John and St Catherine.
- 377. Concert.

See Nos. 369 and 374.

- 378. Ecce Homo.

See No. 367.

- 379. Philippo del Rio.
- 380. Portrait of the Duke of Urbino.
- 381. Venus and Adonis.

Marked "No. 20," presumably in reference to some catalogue used by the compiler.

- 382. Mars and Venus.

Marked "No. 21."

- 383. Venus and Cupid.

See No. 354.

- 384. Christ among the [blank]
- 385. A Shepherd with a Girl and three *putti*.

The Three Ages of Man, at Bridgewater House?

- 386. A Virgin, with three other figures. ("Manner of Titian".)
- 387. Nativity. ("Flemish manner. Design by Titian.")
- 388. St Mary. ("Copy after Titian by Veronese.")

PIERINO DEL VAGA.

- 389. Madonna and Child, St John and St Anna.
- 390. A Dance of *putti*.
- 391. Two cartoons, arabesques with a Girl.
- 392. Acis and Galatea. *Chiaroscuro*.
- 393. Five cartoons in water-colours, the [blank] of Jove.

VALCKENBORCH, MARTEN VAN.

- 394. A Church. Water-colour.
- 395. A small Landscape.

VERONESE, PAOLO.

- 396. Portrait of a Lady.
- 397. Another Portrait of a Lady.
- 398. The Ascension of our Lord.
- 399. St Helena.
- 400. The Annunciation.
- 401. Portrait of a Gentleman.
- 402. Birth of Hercules.
- 403. The Four Seasons. Four pieces.
- 404. The Magi.
- 405. Iola and Hercules.
- 406. Virtue and Vice.
- 407. Portrait of Paolo Veronese.
- 408. Venus and Cupid.
- 409. Five Designs for Tapestry.
- 410. The Great Centurion.
- 411. The Small Centurion.
- 412. St Mary ("Copied by Veronese from Titian").
See No. 388.
- 413. Portrait of Paolo Veronese.
See No. 407.

VAN VIANEN, PAULO.

- 414. A small picture of Gipsies.
- 415. A small St Jerome.
- 416. A picture with three Vases. The design by Vianen.

WTENWAAL, JOCHIM.

- 417. Feast of the Gods. Design.

II. PORTRAITS TO WHICH NO ARTISTS' NAMES ARE APPENDED.

- 418. Ariosto crowned with laurel.
- 419. Portrait of the Countess of Arundel, mother of the "old Earl."
This appears to be a portrait of Lady Ann Percy, daughter of Henry, fourth Earl of Northumberland, and mother of Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, often known as the "old Earl."
- 420. Portrait of the Countess of Arundel, wife of Philip, Earl of Arundel.
Anne Dacre, mother of Thomas, Earl of Arundel.
- 421. Portrait of Philip, Earl of Arundel.
Son of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, and father of Thomas, Earl of Arundel.
- 422. Portrait of the Earl of Arundel at the age of two years.
There is nothing to show which Earl this is.
- 423. Charles V.
See p. 165 for a portrait of Charles V bought by Lord Arundel in Spain.
- 424. Portrait of John Cowpland.

- 424a. Portrait of Willem Cowpland.
 425. The Poet Dante, with various figures.
 426. Edward IV, King of England.
 427. Portrait of Queen Elizabeth in tapestry.
 428. Portrait of Erasmus of Rotterdam.

See under Holbein, No. 174.

429. Portrait of Mr Gage.

Doubtless the portrait of George Gage, frequently referred to in these pages, who, with his friend, Toby Mathew, negotiated many matters of art. Lord Arundel liked to surround himself with the portraits of those who served him.

430. Henry VIII.
 431. Portrait of Mr Edward Howard.
 432. Portrait of the Infanta.
 433. Portrait of the Infanta Eugenia Clara.

Regent of the Spanish Netherlands.

434. Portrait of Stephen Laughton.
 435. Portrait of Antoine de Leve.
 436. Margaret of Parma.
 437. The Duchess of Norfolk.

No doubt Mary Fitzalan, Duchess of Norfolk, wife of the fourth Duke, and grandmother of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel.

438. Portrait of William, Prince of Orange.
 439. Philip II.
 440. Philip II. In lead, painted.
 441. Philip II. In the costume of Duke of Brabant
 442. Titian, Pordenone and Tintoretto, three portraits in one picture.
 443. Portrait of Conrad Weyss, Patrician of Augsburg. *Amberg? of. Min 1410 Martin?*

Unnamed Portraits.

444. Portrait of a Woman holding a glass of wine in her hand. ("Flemish manner.")
 445. Two pieces: Portraits of Husband and Wife in chalk.
 446. Head of an Old Man. Water-colour.
 447. Portrait of a Man wearing a small red cap.
 448. Portrait of a Woman, in profile.
 449. Portrait of a Man.
 450. Portrait of a Man praying.

See No. 228.

451. Portrait of a Man in a black cap.

See No. 166.

452. Portrait of a Woman in a small black cap with a white plume.
 453. Portrait of a Venetian Gentleman.
 454. Portrait of a Man holding in his hand a letter on which is written:
 "1508 I was in the Holy Land." (1508 *fui in terra santa.*)

It would be interesting to know whether the original inscription was in Italian, or translated into that language by the compiler.

455. A Little Girl with a dog.
 456. Another, with a needle and thread.

457. A Lady in a cap and plume.

See No. 452.

458. Portrait of an Old Man.

459. Portraits of Two Sculptors.

460. Portrait of a Man writing.

461. Portrait of a Man.

462. Portrait of a Musician.

463. Another of an Architect.

464. Three Portraits on round panels.

465. Portraits of a Man and Woman. Two pieces.

466. Portrait of a Man holding a wreath in his hand.

467. A Doge of Venice.

III. SUBJECTS TO WHICH NO ARTISTS' NAMES ARE APPENDED.

A. *Sacred Subjects.*

468. Our Lord with St John.

469. A Madonna and Child.

470. The Child Christ holding the Globe in His Hand.

471. Virgin and Child and St Joseph. "By a Flemish hand."

472. Heads of our Lord and the Madonna.

473. The Last Supper. Small *chiaroscuro*.

474. An Angel.

See under Lucas Cranach, No. 96.

475. The Crucifixion. *Chiaroscuro*.

476. St Sebastian. Painted on copper.

477. Pietà. Water-colour.

478. St Mary and St Elizabeth. *Chiaroscuro*.

479. David and Goliath.

See under Giorgione, No. 150.

480. A small picture with various Saints.

481. St Christopher. ("German manner.")

482. Temptation of St Anthony.

483. St John.

484. Drawings of various Saints.

485. The Angel appearing to the Shepherds.

See under Bassano, No. 24.

486. The Crucifixion.

487. Christ on the Cross, three other figures. A large cartoon.

488. A Madonna and Child.

489. A Madonna and Child with St John, St Anna and St Elizabeth.

490. St Luke painting the Virgin.

491. A Madonna and Child with St John and St Joseph.

See under Raphael, No. 305.

492. Madonna and Child. Water-colour.

493. The Dead Christ, with the Virgin, St John and St Francis.

494. Ecce Homo.
 495. The Sacrifice of Cain and Abel
 496. An Angel.
 See Nos. 96 and 474.
 497. St John reading.
 498. St Ambrose.
 499. St Augustine.
 500. Head of St Bernard.
 501. The Madonna weeping.
 502. Christ with the Woman of Samaria. *Chiaroscuro*.
 503. Five kneeling figures.
 504. Head of St Francis.
 505. Six Angels, a small picture.
 506. Tobias and the Angel.
 507. Virgin and Child, St Peter and A Bishop.
 508. The Dead Christ.

With subjects that are often repeated, it is impossible to say whether they are independent versions, or should be referred back to previous entries (see No. 493).

509. Virgin and Child, St John, St Mary Magdalene and St Joseph.
 510. A Madonna in a landscape.
 511. St John holding a Book.
 512. The Nativity.
 513. The Dead Christ.

See No. 508.

514. Virgin and Child, St James and St John.
 515. Death of the Virgin.
 516. St Francis.
 517. The Angel appearing to the Shepherds.

See Nos. 24 and 485.

518. St Elizabeth of Hungary.
 519. Birth of our Saviour, in silver, with two pictures, the Annunciation, and the Resurrection.

Does this mean a Triptych, framed in silver, of which the central subject was the Nativity, and the wings showed the Annunciation and the Resurrection?

520. The Young St John the Baptist with the Lamb.
 521. A Madonna with a garland of fruit, etc.
 522. Nativity of our Lord. Miniature in a frame of amethyst.

This is placed in the Inventory immediately below the Holbein, No. 173, but there is nothing to show whether it was intended to refer this miniature also to that painter.

523. A Madonna.
 524. Nativity of our Lord. "By an early hand."
 525. Mary Magdalene.
 526. A small Madonna.
 527. Martyrdom of the eleven thousand Virgins.
 528. Ecce Homo.
 529. The Flagellation.

530. St Margaret.
 531. Legends of St Paul at Malta.
 532. A small picture of our Lord with the symbols of the Four Evangelists.
 533. Christ in the Garden.
 534. David and Goliath.
 See under Giorgione, No. 150.
 535. The Good Shepherd.

B. Mythological Subjects.

536. Women fighting (? Amazons). Water-colour.
 537. Venus sleeping, with two *putti*.
 538. The Judgment of Paris.
 See under Giorgione (doubtfully ascribed), No. 148.
 539. Juno in Hell.
 540. Orpheus in Hell.
 See under Giorgione, Nos. 147 and 152.
 541. Venus and Cupid.
 This often-repeated subject will also be found under Titian, Sebastiano del Piombo, and Veronese.
 542. Atalanta and Meleager.
 543. Marsyas and Apollo.
 544. Venus and Cupid.
 See No. 541, etc.

C. Various Subjects.

545. Five small pieces, worked with gold. Miniature style.
 546. A picture with Vessels.
 547. A small picture of Vessels.
 548. A Partridge.
 549. A Cave where Iron is being worked.
 550. Five Heads placed together. Early style.
 551. A small picture with Vessels.
 552. Dancing *Putti*. Drawing.
 553. Picture of an Aurochs.
 A wild bull, or European bison.
 554. A Lunatic drinking, sitting on an egg.
 555. A Woman with a goat and a boy.
 556. Two Lobsters.
 557. A small picture with Vessels.
 See Nos. 547 and 551.
 558. Winter. A circular picture.
 559. A Bordello. Water-colour.
 560. A Laughing Man holding a glass in his hand.
 561. A small Landscape with an Inn.
 562. A small Vase of Flowers.
 563. A large Landscape, of small importance.

- 564. The Campagna from Hadrian's Villa.
- 565. Bathing scene. Painted upon copper.
- 566. In the Gallery. ("*Nella Galleria.*")

The meaning of this heading is somewhat obscure. But if it indicates a view of the Arundel Gallery, with part of its contents—whether at Arundel House, or as later gathered together in the Netherlands—the recovery of such a picture would indeed be of interest, and help to solve many problems of the Inventory.

- 567. A Nude Man.
- 568. Two Books painted on panel.
- 569. Winter. A circular picture.

See No. 558.

- 570. Small pictures with Vessels.

See Nos. 547, 551, 557.

- 571. A Woman praying.
- 572. Head of a Man decapitated.
- 573. Head of a Woman. German style.
- 574. A Hermit.
- 575. Head of a *Putto*. Chalk.
- 576. Small Head of a *Putto*.
- 577. Three small pieces with Priests attired in Greek fashion.
- 578. Ten Wooden Shields, painted, and worked with gold.
- 579. Two Shields of Iron, one having belonged to King Henry VIII.
- 580. Head of a Woman.
- 581. A small picture of Men Making Pins.
- 582. Two Iron Helmets.
- 583. Two small pictures with Vessels.
- 584. Six Kitchen scenes.
- 585. A Little Girl with a dog.

This suggests the Child of the Strozzi Family, by Titian, in the Berlin Gallery, of which Louisa, Lady Ashburton, had a replica, or good old copy.

- 586. Another (Little Girl) with a needle and thread.
- 587. A Banquet; various personages.
- 588. Fight between Soldiers and Peasants.
- 589. A Landscape; Iron-mines in the Mountains.
- 590. A picture with Fruit and Vegetables, and a Woman.
- 591. A Woman with a small cap and plume.

See No. 452.

- 592. Twins.
- 593. A Little Dog.
- 594. Small picture of Armed Men.
- 595. Two Vases with Flowers.
- 596. A Youth and a Girl.
- 597. Head of a Man. Gouache.
- 598. A Landscape with a Church, where they are giving alms to the poor.

IV. VARIOUS OBJECTS OF ART; BEING A LIST, EXACTLY TRANSLATED,
OF DECORATIVE AND OTHER OBJECTS, APPENDED TO THE
INVENTORY OF PAINTINGS¹.

599. Two bronze inkstands, with small figures.
600. Eight plates, Limoges enamel.
601. Three dishes.
602. Six salt-cellar.
603. A cup with a serpent at the foot.
604. A round piece with figures.
605. A beaker.
606. A branch of coral, with a figure.
607. A steel-mirror.
608. A spoon of heliotrope (bloodstone).
609. An ivory box.
610. A crystal with the figure of St Jerome.
611. A bowl of mother-of-pearl.
612. A cup of jade with a lid.
613. A piece of petrified wood.
614. A lamp.
615. A stone of porphyry for grinding colours². Broken.
616. Various small figures, portraits, etc. carved in stone³ and in wood.
617. Portrait of Stephen Brechel. Stone.
618. Eight pieces carved in stone, seven of which represent the Seven
Deadly Sins.
619. A nude man clothing himself. Wood.
620. A man carrying a weight. Wood.
621. Adam and Eve, carved in stone.
622. Cleopatra. Stone.
623. Pyramus and Thisbe.
624. A female savage.
625. Thirty-two pieces carved in wood for the game of chess.
626. Thirty-two portraits of lords dining and ladies. Or: of great lords
and ladies⁴.
627. Two figures in two boxes, a man and a woman.
628. The Landgrave of Hesse. Wood.

This entry is followed by the monogram of Albert Dürer. Although the 'D' enclosed in the large 'A' here resembles an 'O,' it is exactly similar to the monogram attached in the earlier part of the Inventory, to some of Dürer's drawings, etc., and its careless formation is probably due to the ignorance and haste of the transcriber.

¹ I have to express my indebtedness to Mr A. Van de Put, and some of his colleagues at the Victoria and Albert Museum, for most kindly furnishing me with translations or explanations of some of the more doubtful or obscure Italian terms used in the following list.

² "There are many kinds of stone for grinding colours...porphyry is the best of all...." Cennini, *Treatise on Painting*, translated by Mrs Merrifield, p. 20.

³ It should be understood that, throughout this list, when the word "stone" is used, one of the more rare and valuable kinds of stone is certainly meant, such as agate, onyx, alabaster, etc.

⁴ The Italian "*Ritratto di Signori grande e dame*" suggests irresistibly that the 'p' is a slip of the pen for 'g,' and that the item should read: "*Ritratto di Signori grandi*, etc." The two readings are given for choice.

629. Portrait of Ulrich Zwingli.
 630. A figure in silver.
 631. A cup of rhinoceros horn.
 632. A monument.

Followed by the monogram of Albert Dürer, as on No. 628.

633. The Seven Virtues, with a Lucretia, carved in stone.
 634. Venus and Cupid
 635. Woman with a lamb
 636. Woman praying
 637. *Puttino* with books
 638. A Woman's Head
 639. Gregorius Thurlke
 640. Arms on a winged ball
 641. Battle of cavalry
 642. The Duke of Richmond. Wood.
 643. St James, with a kneeling man. Wood.
 644. Portrait of a Man in Box¹.
 645. Sphinx
 646. Lioness
 647. Horse
 648. Dog
 649. A *Puttino* with a feather in one hand, and a weight attached to the other. Stone.

} Stone.

} Ivory.

The Italian description is here so corrupt, that it is impossible to be quite sure that the translation is correct.

650. Head of a lion. Stone.
 651. A male and female Satyr, with two *puttini*. Grotesque. Wood.
 652. Two sea-horses harnessed together.
 653. Coat of Arms. Stone.
 654. Pallas. Stone.
 655. Head of Mars. Stone.
 656. Woman with a book. An arm broken.
 657. A friar. One arm broken.
 658. A *Puttino*.
 659. Sampson with the Lion. Handle of a knife.
 660. Portrait of a man, in a box. Wood.
 661. A Turk.
 662. Hercules and Cacus. Stone.
 663. Head of a Woman.
 664. Portrait of Melchior Schedel.
 665. Bust of a Woman crowned with a wreath.
 666. Bust of Hercules.
 667. St Roch, in wood.
 668. Woman. One arm broken.

¹ It does not seem certain whether this means "in a box," or "in box-wood." As the word *scatola* is generally used in this list when "a box" (i.e. a receptacle) is meant, perhaps "box-wood" should here be preferred. The terminations of the transcriber are wholly unreliable.

669. Two *Capitelli*¹ carved in wood
 670. Sheath of a Knife. Wood.
 671. A Peasant. Stone.
 672. St Margaret. Stone.
 673. Mars (?). Stone.
 674. Mercury. Stone.
 675. A Boy holding fish and flowers in his hand. Wood.
 676. Woman with a paper. In a box. Stone.
 677. Lucretia. Stone.
 678. A Horse's head.
 679. A piece of broken ivory, with figures.
 680. A Madonna and Child. Ivory.
 681. A Hand. Wood.
 682. A box, with St Martin.
 683. A Woman holding a compass in her hand. Wood.
 684. *Puttino* with a bird in his hand. Stone.
 685. The Emperor Maximilian.
 686. Another of the Same.
 687. A Boy holding two Coats of Arms. Wood.
 688. Portrait of the Emperor Maximilian.
 689. Erasmus of Rotterdam.
 690. A wooden Ring.
 * The letters V. Z., in monogram, are attached to this entry.
 691. A stone in the mode (?) of Spain.
 692. Head of a Woman.
 693. Coronation of the Virgin.
 694. Sigismund, King of Poland.
 695. Jörg Kootzler.
 696. Andrea Doria.
 697. Lorent Schaw.
 698. Man in a small cap.
 699. Tartarugia.
 700. Old Man with a Boy.
 701. Paulus Kremer.
 702. Leonora, sister of Charles V.
 703. Portrait of Anna Fuchsin.
 704. Stephan Brechiel.
 See No. 617.
 705. Herman Bockman.
 706. Portrait without inscription.
 707. Two monks.
 708. Benedict Mulner.
 709. An Angel with a torch.
 710. Noah and his Wife, and four children.
 711. Coat of Arms.
 712. Head of a Youth.

¹ Various interpretations are offered for the word "Capitelli," but the meaning does not seem clear.

713. Heads of a Youth and Girl. Ivory.
 714. Joan Shorr, advocate.
 715. A Vase in a niche.
 716. Head of a Woman.
 717. Ceres and Bacchus. White stone.
 718. Portraits of a Man and Woman on one side; on the other, the Emperor Maximilian.
 719. Fürleger of Nuremberg.
 720. Luna carved in stone.
 721. Sol. . . stone.

The space is left blank in the original.

722. A Woman with wings, holding a mirror. Stone.
 723. Head of a Man in a small cap.
 724. Portrait of a Man, in box-wood.

See note to No. 644.

725. Portrait of a Man, with an inscription.
 726. An Apostle. Small size.
 727. A Man holding a roll of paper.
 728. God the Father.
 729. A Woman seated. Without arms.
 730. A Lunatic. With one arm.
 731. A Siren.
 732. A Woman. Arms and legs broken.
 733. A Woman. Arms broken.
 734. Charles V.
 735. Portrait of a Man.
 736. Portrait drawing.
 737. A Woman. . . .

The Italian runs: *Donna nelle copie con serratura a la bocca*. The text being obviously corrupt, a translation is impossible.

738. Bust of a Woman.
 739. Portrait of a Man.
 740. Head of a Turk.
 741. An Old Man with horns.
 742. A Man seated.
 743. A Lunatic.
 744. A small piece with foliage.
 745. A Saint with a church.
 746. A Boy on a dog's back.
 747. Portrait of a Man.
 748. Portrait of an Old Man with the inscription: *Semper laus ejus in ore meo*.
 749. Head of a Woman as Medusa. Stone.
 750. Sebastian Underholtz. Stone.
 751. Arabesque with a helmeted head in the centre.
 752. Head of a Man crowned with laurel.
 753. An unfinished portrait having a garland on the cap. Stone.
 754. Coat of Arms showing a Moor.
 755. Arms of Hesse and Saxony.

756. A festoon.
 757. Venus.
 758. A Lion.
 759. Portrait of a Duke of Saxony.
 760. Ishmaelites selling Joseph.
 761. A Woman to the waist.
 762. A Man in armour kneeling.
 763. A Hunter.
 764. The Emperor Frederick.
 765. Arabesque with the head of a Woman in the centre.
 766. Maximilian I. Wood.
 767. Portrait of a Gentleman wearing the Order of the Golden Fleece.
 768. Diana and her Nymphs. White Stone.
 769. Francis I. King of France. Wood.
 770. A Woman playing the Lute. Wood.
 771. Head of a Woman, sketched in wax.
 772. Head of a Boy, sketched in wax.
 773. A Lame Man. Wood.
 774. Two Heads, sketched in wax. Spoiled.
 775. Two Portraits, one of a Man, the other of a Woman, in a box. Wood.
 776. A Man resembling an Apostle. The arms broken.
 777. A Man and Woman.
 778. A Woman with a Sword.
 779. A Man, half arabesque.
 780. A small figure like a St John. Wood.
 781. Jonas in the Whale, knife and sheath.
 782. Portrait of Albert Dürer. Shell.
 783. An Angel. Wood.
 784. Head of a fat Man. Stone.
 785. An Ostrich.
 786. An Angel. Ivory.
 787. A "pew."¹
 No interpretation has been found for this word.
 788. *Plus ultra* cut in steel.
 "Plus ultra" was the motto of Charles V.
 789. Charles V; with most beautiful "*compertimento*" (?).
 790. Jacop Wolckenstein.
 791. Isabella, wife of Charles V.
 792. Six Heads carved in box-wood.
 793. A Madonna and Child with two Angels.
 A monogram formed of the letters H and S, follows this entry.
 794. A Palatine Bishop of Freisingen.
 795. The Dead Christ, with seven figures. Relief in ivory.
 796. A small female Satyr in bronze.
 797. Thirty-four Heads in *basso-relievo*. Wood.
 798. Bronze Candelabra, being a Man with extended arms.
 799. Anatomy of a Lioness. Bronze.

¹ Murray in the *New English Dict.* has "Pew" (O.F. *peu* var. of *pel*, pl. *peus*) = a pointed stake, a large stick shod with iron. A long handled pointed prong for handling fish, etc. (*Ed.*)

APPENDIX VI.

LETTER OF WILLIAM SMITH, AN ARTIST, TO THE EARL OF ARUNDEL, REQUESTING EMPLOYMENT (MARCH, 1616)¹.

Right honorable and my singuler good Lord

Rememberinge the great love and affection w^{ch} yo^r Honor beareth to the misterie of paintinge (w^{ch} I professe), appearinge unto me at yo^r Hon^{ors} being at Bruxells some five yeeres past, when I showed unto yo^r Hono^r the paintinges of the Duke of Askott, I make bould at this tyme, havinge seene the best workemanshippe in france, Germany and Italien, and beinge at this instante at Rome, with a purpose notwthstandinge to retorne for England shortelie, after my seaven yeeres travell for betteringe of my knowledge, to make tend^r of my selfe and service unto your L: as that noble personadge whom I most honor.

In that misterie, I am sure, I can doe somethinge, but of my self will say little, savinge that duringe my twoe yeeres continuance in France, I wroughte for many of the Princes, and for the Queene her self. Synce w^{ch} tyme, I have spent other two yeeres at Rome, where I shall remayne, meeting heere wth the best workes that ever my eies behelde, for surelie they exceed all other Nations, and are wthout compare. I have alsoe bene employed for the Cardinales, and other Princes of these parts, in workes after the China fashion w^{ch} is much affected heere.

All w^{ch} I make bould to yntimate at this tyme to this end onely, to let your Hono^r knowe some part of my Habilitie, and my desire to be accompted one of yo^r L: servantes, and that I will be readye if yo^r Hono^r have any occasion to use payntinge, or Statues in stone, or metall, to showe as well the readines of my affection, as the best of my skill. And did I but knowe that yo^r L: did affecte any speciall peeces that are to be had in these partes, I would procure the same (if I could), or a true coppie thereof. If yo^r good L: be pleased to signifye yo^r pleasure unto my good cosin, Mr Pag[e], one of the clerkes of his Ma^{ties} kitchen, I will not faile but give my attendance upon yo^r Honor at my first coming, ffor whom I wholie reserve my self, as one that desireth to be accompted

Yo^r L^{ps} most humble servant

WILLIAM SMITHE.

Rome this 12th March, 1616.

To the most honorab: singuler good L. Earle of Arundel.

¹ Judging by a reference to a Mr Smith at Rome, in a letter from Lord Maltravers to Mr H. Haggett, of 5th July, 1526 (see p. 255), this application was successful.

APPENDIX VII.

LETTER OF DAVID THOMSON TO THE EARL OF ARUNDEL (STATE OF NEW ENGLAND COLONIES) JULY, 1625.

NOTE.—I am indebted to the kindness of Colonel Dudley Mills, R.E., for the information on Indian place-names contained in the foot-notes.

David Thomson to the Earl of Arundel.

Right hon^{ble}: Lo:

desyring to ans^r yo^r honors expectaⁿ & performe my duetifull promise, I made bold to wrytt to yo^r ho: by the waye of Plymouth in England, and as I understand Mr Colmer brought the same for London, together wth an example of graye marble I found in this cuntry neere to Naemkeek¹ which is between Cape Anne and the Messachusets. But cannot learne if the same came to yo^r Lo: hande. I heare of farr better and of greater diversities about Poconoakit² which is to the west of Cape Codd. I have seene a Tobacco pype of a transparent stone lykest in my simple judgem^t to pure whyte Alabaster, I enquiryed the Salvage that had it, where he had it, he told me at Poconoakit, and that there was much of that sorte. I must acknowledge I could never have the convenience of seing the other syde of Cape Codd. Amongst other thinges yo^r Lo: desyred me to acquaint you with what places in the Countrey Vynes would thrive; I formerlie wrotte, to the west of the Cape. But nowe experience this last autume has taught us that noe man neede expect any better place then the Messachusets. The few planters that are seated in that Baye did usuallie in an howre or thereabouts make 5 or 6 gallons of wyne lyke to heighe Countrey Frenche Wyne. And though one man did it, yett 3 or 4 would make an end of it almost as speedilie as it was in doing. And their providence was such that they never saved any for Wint^r, noe, not soe much as to make Verius one beverage. And though they had store of Codd within the bay amongst the Islands at their doores, herrings driven on shoare at their doores, Mackerell, Basse and Eelles in abundance, yet not any of them saved any for the winter. But the supabundance of fowlle supplied their defects and neglecte. And where two families by their owne acknowledgem^t in 10 dayes might have killed 120 deere or above, they were soe pitifull as to lett all goe but 6. Since my arrivall to this Countrey that place of Messachusets has cast foorthe two plantaⁿs the one being of about 60 p^{so}nes, the second not much inferior, the third upon yeelding his last breathe, the fourthe hopefull. The place it self is the onlie and sole

¹ Naumkeag—the "Fishing Place"—of the natives who inhabited round about what is now Salem, south of Cape Ann, north of Boston.

² Pokanoket—a "clearing"—derivation uncertain. It is a place near Bristol (Rhode Island), where Massasoit and King Philip had headquarters.

place of the land woorthie praise, I meane of all wee yett knowe to the east of Cape Codd. The soylle wonderfullie fruitfull, cleere & deepe mould. The woods in many places gone; sufficient cleered ground for 10,000 people. Neither can any place wee yett know compare w^h it, all advantages considered. And where it has bene proposed by some to yo^r Lo: that a publick planta^on be settled about Kinnabeck¹, be assured it comes farr short of the Messachusets. If his Ma^{tie} and the Ryt Ho: his Ma^{ties} most ho: Privie Counsell were truelie informed of the state of the Southe Colonie, the difficultie of ever bringing the same to any goodnes, something by reasonne of the unhealthfulnes of the Clyme, the distemperature of the Ayre there, the enemie of the Salvages, the want of fishe for the maintenance of the people, which yeerly they come to fetch from this Countrie and Newfoundland, I am verely p^suaded his Ma^{tie} would goe neere to remove all & settle them heere. There are soe many pregnable reasons to sollicit the same. Butt wee fowr that are here should be unwilling of their Companie, it being a bodie composed of some few good people, many bade, amongst whome reignes excessif pryde in Apparell, the lyke never hard of in Europe. Excessive drunkennes when they can have it, how deere soever; other vices I dare not name. Yett dare I not excuse ourselfs of infinit abuses and vile enormities by promiscuous trading as well unfree as free, r^unagates that comes only & staves to trade w^h the Salvages, spoylling the trade in sort that what the last yeere wee were wont to have for one thousand Beads wee must now give 6. Besydes the shippes that comes a fishing, where they frequent have cleene overthrowen all. They give an old pennie for a newe, which is to them great gaine, for the most part of what manie of them trades are victualls, imbezelled from their owners. The manifold inconveniences that insues heerupon are infinit. Their Company when Victualls drawes short, gives over going to Sea. The owners looses, and are discouradged from further adventuring, little plate brought home as formerlie. The planters having for the present noe other hopes to mainteine themselves with necessities, as apparell, pouders, shott, and noe meanes to transport cattell & more people, all I saye [are] utterly lyke to be overthrowen by the same, as lykeweyes by their continuall bartering & trading with the Salvages peeces from 4 foote long in the barroll to six foote, pistolls, swords, pouders & shott, notwithstanding his Ma^{ties} proclamãñ. I speake no untruthe to yo^r Hono^r for I have taken peeces from some of them, and told them his Ma^{tie} wills them to use their Bowes and not our peeces. They are growen soe expert as that they exceed most of the Englishe. And to leave them and come to our selfs, the planters, wee are lyke a bodie without a head, none to rule us, none to minister justice, infinit greevances amongst us, none to redresse, especiallie amongst the Brownists of Newplym^t. I have often called to mynd the speeches used in yo^r ho: chamber, speaking of the Southe Colonie: A Sword put in a madmans hand, a Chylde hand or a foolles hand is dangerous. What can be expected that a rude ignorant mechanicke can doe w^h a sharpe sword of justice. The Complaints amongst them are soe many that to p^ticularise would be tedious to yo^r ho: upon

¹ Kennebeck. The river in Maine, some hundred miles north of Boston.

Cōmmand it shalbe done. Only my humble and hartie prayer to yo^r ho: is you would be pleased to acquaint his Ma^{tie} or his Ma^{ties} most ho: privie Counsell and procure some cōmiseraⁿ to be taken off us. Also that wee maye knowe his Ma^{ties} pleasure of the continuance of us heere, which is impossible without more people. For the Salvages increases dayelie, wee diminish rather then otherwayes. Wee daylie discover in the countrie greater and greater multitudes of Salvages, also they beginne to growe verie arrogant and insult over some. Wee are dispersed 16 leagues, 15 leagues, 12 leagues, 7 leagues and 2 leagues asunder. And soe none of us is either able to adverteise one an oth^r or succo^r one an other, if need should requyre. If his Ma^{tie} intend not that planta^{ns} shall p̄ceed, and that some good people be not sent speedilie oute, for Gods sake most ho: Lo: let us receive soe much honor favor & happines as to knowe it, that wee maye either relinquishe all or use some meanes to prevent our utter destrucⁿ and overthrowe.

The onlie beneficiall places of trade are to the East about Kinnabecke, Amilcagen¹, Pemmaquid², Penobscot, and soe east to the river of Cannada, whiche the frenche yeerlie pulles from our mouthes; & none will adventure to drive them from it, for whosoever shall doe it shall but beate the bushe and others shall afterwards catche the birds. Also to the west of Cape Codd from Narrohgansett³ to Delawarre Baye the Dutche frequent and have a plantaⁿ about Hudsons river, under the name of New Netherlands, where they have a forthe [fort] of stone, divers peeces of ordnanne. . . . The trucke they have p̄cured rather throughe feare then love. Whilles the shippes staves some goes in pinnaces trading, the loades aboard in the shippes hold an earthe in maunds upon their shoulders (?). This relation has bene confirmed by many and severall Salvages. Divers Salvages have also assured me of a plantaⁿ at Mohigan where is a man or two amongst others makes swords, hatchets, arrowheads, for truck with long knives. Neither is it farr in likelihood from the place I dwell in, over to the river of Canada; for the great lacke which is in the frenche mapps called lac de Champlaine is but a daye and a halfe journeying from my house. I intend God willing to see it a moneth hence. It is soe long and large that whoe lives on the one syde cannot see the shoare on the other. There are divers great Ilands in the same. The River of Merameck⁴ comes from thence; the plentifullest river wee yett knowe, of Salmō, Sturgeon, Basse & Mullet, in their season. All the Salvages that are travellers constantly affirme this Countrie to be an Iland.

I presume yo^r ho: will not imput it to indiscretion or too much boldnes to show yo^r lo: that in my opinion it were most necessarie that all the Land planta^{ns} in the Countrie should be forced to drawe together to live in the Messachusets. That they might have one gñall [general] gouvernor, that none despached abroad should live under 40 50 or 60 in Companie,

¹ Probably Androscoggin (formerly Amariscoggin), a river flowing into the Kennebeck near its mouth.

² Pemmaquid is the name of a peninsula.

³ Narragansett Bay, in Rhode Island.

⁴ Merrimack. This river flows into the sea at the north boundary of Massachusetts, about forty miles north of Boston.

I meane of the fishermen—the carelessest people of all the rest, aptest to quarrell with the Salvages & to stealle their great kettles, skinnes, deeres suett & suchlyke, from them, as this yeere they have done. (But those Brownists of New Plym^t to continue where they are, for as they desyre the Societie of none but such as are of their owne p^fession, soe I am assured non regards them or their fellowship.) Only it were fitt some discreete man sent from his Ma^{tie} should oversee them. Capⁿ Jhon Mason in Foster Lane, formerly gouvernor of a plantaⁿ in Newfoundland, & now as I understand in England, were a fitt instrum^t to this effect, for it is more then necessarie that whoesoever shall undergoe such a charge should be experienced heerine. The work of undiscreet gouvernors and unskilfull, is lyke amongst us to undoe all, even in privat families.

Thus comitting o^r necessities to yo^r ho: noble generous & pious consideraⁿ, my boldnes to yo^r honors clemencie, my tediousnes to yo^r Lo: wonted pacience, and yo^r ho: to Gods protection, I humblie rest

Yo^r Lo: most duetifull Ser^t

DAVID THOMSON.

Plymesland in New England
the first of Julie 1625.

I had omitted to insert how that this yeere there hardlie escaped great murder & bloodshed, at Cape Anne for stage roome. 16 or 17 muskateers came from Newplym^t, bothe p^ties seemed not only resolute but desperat. By good fortune I was there accidently, and used many argum^{ts} on bothe sydes to dissuade such ungodlie, violent & unanswerable p^rceedings. The daye & tyme, yea place, appointed to fight, on shoare. Barricades & Bulw^{kes} made. Shippes readie, not to faylle to playe their p^{ts}. These are the fruits of unrulie multitudes. The last yeere they scoft the gouvernor & his authoritie becaus he wanted power¹.

¹ Autograph Letters, Arundel Castle, No. 275.

APPENDIX VIII.

THE MADAGASCAR SCHEME.

*Coppy of the Earle of Arundells Declaraçõn concerning Madagascar
6th Sept. 1639.*

(Public Record Office, Colonial East Indies, C.O. 77. f. 69.)

I Thomas Earle of Arundell and Surrey Earle Marshall of England having by a long and serious inquisiçõn informed my selfe of what necessary Consequence y^e Island of Maddagascar by our Naçõn inhabited wilbe to this Kingdome by the propogaçõn of Christian Religion and prosecuçõn of the Easterne Trafficque, and knowing wthall what inconvenience would arise to this kingdome if it should bee planted by others; have undertaken wth the leave, favo^r and assistance of his Ma^{tie} the Plantaçõn of this Island wth those adjacent. And being Certainly informed by the relaçõn of all that have been there of the riches and plenty of those places, doe not doubt, but I shall find many willing Adventure^{rs} to advance this my enterprize for the good of my Countrey. And I have a believing hope that my Credit wth the world will disabuse such as shall thinke this a vayne & ayrye undertaking, seconded wth this that I am resolved to goe my selfe in p^{er}son, and Adventure soe great s^{ome}s of Money that I should not bee apt to hazard unlesse I had powerfull inducements of hono^r and profit both to my Countrey and perticuler. And that all may know that this undertaking is both valued and seconded by the best and most knowing of this kingdome. His Ma^{tie} upon a due Consideraçõn of the fruitfull Consequence may arise to him and all of us from this Accõn, is graciously pleased to give mee leave to retyre from my im^{me}diate attendance, and to assist mee with one of his best shippes.

Now those Gent^l or other persons who are desirous to become Adventure^{rs} wth mee in this soe worthy a designe must bee required by the 20th of December to putt in such Som^e or Som^{es} of Money into the Mayne Stocke as hee shalbe willing to Adventure, for w^{ch} hee shall have his full and ratable proporçõn in the proffitts of the voyage as my selfe or any other Adventure^r hath for the p^{ro}porçõn of the said Stocke by him putt in. The Accompt whereof shalbe duly kept by a fitt person appoynted for that purpose. And I have made Choise of Sr Abraham Dawes to bee the Treas^r for this accõn both to receive and disburse all Money, and hee shall give an Acquittance to the Adventure^{rs} for y^e receipt thereof And if those Gent^l or other persons shall thinke fitt both to putt their Monie into the Mayne Stocke, and likewise to Adventure their persons, such Adventure^{rs} shalbe Considered aswell for y^e Adventure of their Persons as for the proporçõn of Monies they putt into the stocke, and shall have hono^r, advancement and employment according to their quality and the merritt of their persons.

Likewise such Gent^l and others who shall not bee able to putt into the stocke any Sum^e whereby hee may bee admitted a Stocke Adventure^r in

the Mayne, yet if hee shall pay into the Stocke 20^l hee shall be transported for y^e same wth all necessaries fitt for him, and hee shalbe a personall Adventure⁹ and a freeman, and shall enjoy all such priviledges, ymmunities and possessions in the said Islands in such proporçõn as other psonall Adventure^{9s} and freemen doe usually enjoy, and shall have advancement^t and employment according to the quality of his person and merritt as well as a Stocke Adventure⁹.

Likewise such Gent^l, Artifice^{9s}, tradesmen and others who are not able to putt any Adventure into the mayne Stocke, nor yet to make themselves ffreemen and psonall Adventure^{9s} by paying in 20^l as aforesaid, shall yet nevertheless bee entertayned by mee as servants for ffoure yeares, After the expiraçõn of w^{ch} tyme they shalbee made ffreemen and personall Adventure^{9s} and enjoy all the benefitts and ymmunities, advantages, and possessions of ffreemen in as ample manne^{9s} as any other Adventurer doth and have advancement and p^rferment, according to their merritts & abilities.

And I doe further give notice that if any such person shalbe either an Artificer, seaman or other Tradesmen or Artist whereby hee may bee more usefull and servieable then other ordinary servants are hee shall have p^rsent Allowance either by wages or otherwise, according as hee and I shall agree.

And that this undertaking may appeare to the world to bee serious and reall, I thinke it fitt that I and all Adventure^{9s} shall oblige ourselves reciprocally by our hands and seales to bee Answearable and Accountable for all such Monies as wee shall underwrite. And the [said] following words to be the forme of our Obligaçõn vizt^t

Wee whose Names are underwritten desirous to become Adventure^{9s} and partakers of soe great soe hono^{ble} and soe profitable an enterprize, doe hereby publish to y^e world our readines and desire to Contribute our Assistance and furtherance to soe worthy an Accõn And to that purpose wee doe hereby promise and bynd ourselves our heyres Executo^{9s} and Administrato^{9s} each of us for himselfe respectively, that wee will well and truly pay into the hands of S^r Abraham Dawes K^t Trea⁹ for this designe, at or in his nowe dwelling house in Marke Lane London, all such Som^e or som^{es} of Money as any of us for him selfe respectively shall herein underwrite for the advancement of the said designe on or before the 20th day of December next ensuing the date hereof. And in regard the tyme of the yeare is nowe at hand for making ready of shipping and providing of all provisions and necessaries for the Voyage, the putting in hand whereof will require great som^{es} of Money to bee forthwith expended, w^{ch} must for the present bee disbursed by mee Thomas Earle of Arundell and the said Treasure⁹, wee doe hereby wth one full Consent, p^rmise, agree, Covenant and bynd our selves each of us for himselfe respectively, that if any pson whatsoever whose Name is hereunder written shall fayle in the payment of the som^e soe by him underwritten at the tyme and place abovesaid, that then wee hereby bynd ourselves each of us for himselfe respectively our heyres Executo^{9s}

and Assignes, that the person soe failing shall pay or cause to bee paid unto the said Treasure⁹ double the some soe by him underwritten as aforesaid to bee forfeited Nomine penæ to the use of mee the said Earle of Arundell and the rest of the Adventurrs that shall pforme and pay the some or somēs by them underwritten as abovesaid. And that it shalbe lawfull for the said Treasure⁹ by any lawfull meanes to recover and take y^e same to the use aforesaid, And also to Compell and force by suit of Lawe or otherwise (if I the said Earle of Arundell and the rest of the Adventure⁹s or the more part of them shall soe thinke fitt) the person soe failing as aforesaid to pay also the whole Somē soe by him as aforesaid underwritten, notwithstanding hee hath paid the forfeiture or Nomine penæ In Witness where we have hereunto subscribed our hand and sett to our seales wthin the tyme lymitted for payment of our Monies.

The place appoynted for this busines is at my house in Loathbury betwene the houres of 8 and 11^{ea} in the fflorenoon Tuesdayes & ffrydaies weekly.

C.O. 17.

Petition from Lord Arundel to the King. [Sept. 6, 1639]

With reference to his intention of founding a colony in the Indies, he begs that His Majesty will appoint a committee of the Council to hear and report upon his proposals. (¾ p.)

[*Annexed*] His Majesty's order thereon, dated as above. The King regrets the loss of the Earl Marshal's services, though he approves his generous intentions: He refers the consideration of this matter to the Marquess of Hamilton, the Lord Admiral, and Secretary Windebank, on whose report he will show how much he values both the undertaker and the undertaking. (½ p.) f. 67.

Memorandum by Lord Arundel [1639]

To desire Secretary Windebank to give the Attorney-General a warrant to draw the Earl's commissions for Madagascar and the parts adjacent as soon as possible; also to pass in grant from the King the other islands not inhabited, viz. St Helena, England's Forest, and the rest within 200 leagues of Madagascar. (¾ p.) f. 68.

APPENDIX IX.

SOME EXTRACTS FROM THE LANSDOWNE MSS. CONCERNING ARUNDELL HOUSE.

Lansdowne MS. 45. No. 82.

*Account of the houses, lands, and possessions of Philip Howard,
Earl of Arundel.*

Exact copy of the abbreviated Latin :—

f. 201. No. 82 “Parcell^o terr^o et possessionū nup̄ Philippi nup̄ Comi^{ts}
Arundell ”

“Com^o Midd^o.” “Messuag^o siue domus manorial^{is}
“Capitale messuag^o vocat^e Arundell house cum vno
vocat^e Arundell atrio in primo introitu duob^z gar-
house.” diū vn pomar divers^z ambu^z acras
vn le bowling Alley Necnon divers^z
edific^o ad xxx^{ti} p̄ Ann^o v̄iz. a festo = cxx^{ti}”
Mich^{is} 1588 Anno Regni R^{ne} Eliz.
xxx^o vsq^z festum Mich^{is} 1592
Anno Suz^e ma^{ts} xxxiii^{to} v̄iz. p̄
spat^o quatuor Annorū Attingen ad

(Translation.) “Particulars of the lands and
possessions of the late Philip late
Earl of Arundel.”

County Middlesex. “Message or Manorial House
Chief message called Arundell House with a Hall
called Arundell at the first entrance, 2 gardens, one
House orchard, various appurtenances
Acres , a bowling alley also
various buildings amounting to
£30 a year viz. from Michaelmas
1588 in the 30th year of the reign
of Queen Elizabeth to Michael-
mas 1592 in the 34th year of her
Majesty that is for the space of 4
years amounting to = £120.”

Copy continued which is now in English :—

“Memor^d the aforesaid house was
used by the Lady Arrundell as I
understand from Michelmas 1588 = lx^{ti}”

anno 30 untill after Michelmas
1590 a^o 32 for which tyme the
rent risith unto

¹⁵⁹⁰
“And in December Anno xxxiiij^{to}
particulars were delivered to thuse
of the Right honorable L^d Cham-
berlen for lease, If then the same
were graunted unto him, ther will = lx^{ti}”
fall out to be due by his L^dp.

¹⁵⁹⁰
from michelmas a^o xxxij^{do} untill
¹⁵⁹²
michelmas a^o xxxiiij^{to} of her Ma^{ts}
Reigne by the space of two Yeeres

folio 203. No. 82

“Comⁿ. Midd.”

“Parceſt terr^o et possessionū Philippi nup
Comi^{ts} Arundell.”

“Capitale messuag^o
vocat^e Arundell
House.”

“Messuag^o siue domus mannoriat^o
vocat^e Arundell house cum vno = xxx^{ti} charged
atrio in primo introitu duob; gar- ¹⁵⁸⁸
diū vn pomar divers^o ambuſ acras from Michelmas
vn le bowling Alley Necnon divers^o Anno xxx of the
edific^o ad xxx^{ti} p Annū vīz. a festo Queenes Ma^{ts}
Michis 1588 Anno Regni R^{ne} Eliz. Reigne untill
xxx^o vsq; festum Michis ¹⁵⁹⁰ 1592 Michelmas Anno
Anno Suæ ma^{ts} xxxiiij^{to} vīz. p xxxij viz. for 3
spatm^o quatuor Annorū Attingen ^{xx}
ad yeeres iiijx^{ti}” [sic]

This folio 203.
No. 82 indorsed:

“Comⁿ. Midd. The Rents of Arundell house And of
divers tenements adioyning to the same.”

f. 203. No. 82.

“from Michelmas ¹⁵⁸⁸ anno xxx^o untill
¹⁵⁹⁰
after michelmas anno xxxij when
the house was vsed so farr as I = lx^{ti}”
understand by the—Lady Arundell,
for which tyme the rent risith unto

To be answered

viz.

¹⁵⁹⁰
“And in December Anno xxxiiij^{to}
ptickers were delivered to th use of = xxx^{ti} The Lady
the Right honorable L^d Chamber- Arundell bearing
lain for lease, If then the same soch proportion-
were graunted unto him, ther will able p^{te} as thoes
fall out to be due by his L^dp. for roomes in her oc-
¹⁵⁹⁰ that yeere from Michelmas anno cupaçon shall re-
quire.”

xxxij^{do} untill Michelmas anno
xxxij^{to} of her ma^{ts} Reigne ”

“ Diversa tenement^o eidem domui
adiaceⁿ dimiss divers^o pson p In-
dentur^o ad divers^o annos valor^o at-
tingent in simul p annu^o ad ”

= xxxiiij^{ti} xviijsⁱⁱⁱ d^o
“duly answered
ever since
1588
Michelmas Anno
xxx^o.”

(Translation of above
Latin passage)

Divers Tenements adjacent to the
said house demised by Indenture
to divers persons for divers terms
of years amounting altogether in
annual value to £34. 18s. 4d.

MS.
Lansdowne 45.
f. 197^b. No. 82.

Further particulars of Arundel House.

“Com. Midd.”

“A Copy of those particulers of Arundell house
(in pencil)
[1585].

“The lady of Arundells lodging conteyning 3
ground Romes, and 3 chambers over them, And three
lobbies and the rooffe over them all, which lie on the
west syde of the great Court./

A little passage from the East side of the North
end of the said ladyes said lodgings Estward to the
great old decayed house called the storehouse, with
the ground lyeing betwene the said ladyes lodgings
and the west end of the said storehouse./

The said storehouse from the said passage and
peece of ground extending Eastward to the Porters
lodg conteyning 4 ground roomes and 3 upper roomes
now in great decay, which is ment to be employed for
a kitchen and other necessary offices for the said Lady./

The staires at the Eastend of the said Storehouse
leading over part of the porters lodg to a chamber
over the Middle gate. And the same chamber./

Sixe Roomes from the East syde of the same gate
leading Eastward to the barne containing 3 Roomes
below, and 3 above with a very small seller under one
of the same Roomes./

A garden with the bowling Alley lieing on the West
syde of the said ladies lodging./

The free passage to the comon Watergate, And free
Egresse and Regresse to the places before mentioned
and to the house of office./

A Quill to be taken out of the mayne pype for
water to serve the Ladyes Kitchen./

By writing under the hand of George Cottyte gent. Solicitor to the right honorable L^d Chamberleyn it apperith, that his L^p is content the said Lady Arundell and hir family shall inhabit and use all the pcells aforesayd by hir demanded, except the garden and bowling Alley, but not otherwise to assigne them unto eny. And yet his L^p is content, that for hir La: own recreaçon, hir children and such like, she shall have a key in hir own custody to use the said garden, And also to take hir pleasure for recreacon in eny other gardens of the same house."/>

"Com. Midd."

MS.
Lansdowne 45.
f. 199. No. 82.

"Parceſſ terr^o et Possession^u nup^o Phi^o nup^o Comit^{is} Arundell."

Exact copy of Latin:--

"Capit^ule messuagi^u sive domus
vo^o Howard howse cum alijs edi-
ficijs, ortis pomar' et ab' s' ptmon^u
Howard Howse."
ad Lxvij^{ti} ix^s ij^d p^o ann^u viz a festo (L67. 9s. 2d.)
michis¹⁵⁸⁸ Anno Regni dñe nre = cclxix^{ti} xvj^s viij^d"
R^{ne} Eliz^o. xxx^o vsq; feste michis

[Not translated, for it is practically the same as that about Arundell House (p. 509) except the amount, which is translated in brackets.]
1592 Anno Regni suæ ma^{ts} xxxiiij^{to} (L269. 16s. 8d.)
p^o spat^u quatuor Annor^o, attingen^u

"M^d there is Answered by the
tennaunt of a litle tenement in = iiij^{ti}"
the backyard for the said 4 Yeeres

"And so Remyants yet due to the
Queenes ma^{tie}" = cclxv^{ti} xvj^s viij^d"
(L265. 16s. 8d.)

endorsed on f. 200

"Midd. Charterhouse Rents vnpaid."

APPENDIX X.

SOME EXTRACTS FROM VERTUE'S MSS. CONCERNING HOLBEIN, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO LORD ARUNDEL'S PICTURE.

Add. ms. 23,081. f. 9 etc. "George Vertue's ms. Collections."

"Hans Holbein." "bought of his Widow 1758"
"born at Basil in Switzerland An^o 1498 or as some say at Aus-
bourgh. 'tis true there was one of that name born there that
was a good painter. What parents he had or from whom he
learnt I could neuer hear; tis much to be wondered at where
he could have learnt so beautifull a manner differing from
the old manner, to one intirely new. I wrote to Basil haveing
[sic ? however] and enquired (tho' unluckily all the answer I
could get was) eight or ten years ago. from D^r Ammersbach
who is since dead. who was well acquainted with Historys and
Antiquities, he has as I was in formed collected accounts
relating to the works of Hans Holbein in Basil and in England
intending for his sake to publish it with a piece of his
painting. now in [sic] which he left in Basil [added over the
line] the power of his heir. from whom this answer I had.
that he could not without a great deal of trouble seek after
those things I enquired after and therefore he expected to
be well rewarded or well paid. I was surprised at this con-
sidering the little profit I was like to have. no other than
to show my Love to the Art. being inclined thereto not for
profit but that others might partake off it. and not for my
good only: his brethren and fellow Citizens should have pro-
moted this design. Hans Holbein at Basil has done many fine
pieces in their Town Hall or Senate house. in Several of
the Citizens houses, and in the fish markt. besides amongst
other things in the Councell house is very handsomely done
the Dance of Death. wherein all the estates of Mankind are
represented so well, 'twas wonderfull to behold. Some
Souldiers plac'd near death but without Courage pierced
thro'. where death snatcheth away from the mother her lovely
infant without any regard to the parents. in short nobody by
Death is left free. from the Pope to the Peasant or the rich to
the Poor. in the like manner it is published in a book of
wood cutts. that is very curiously done considering Holbein
never was in Italy: at Basil he became acquainted with that
learned Erasmus of Amsterdam. who discerning the excellency
of Holbeins Art as he had so much esteem for worthy Artists
so he was willing to promote and do all the good for him he

coud. wherefore he let Holbein paint his picture. whereat this Artist was well pleased and did it so well, that it could not be better, nor more like, it being done Erasmus wrote a recomendatory letter to S^r Tho. More his antient acquaintance and school fellow in England desiring that Holbein might be brought into the favour and Service of K. Henry 8th who was a great lover of the Art. he therefore let him take his picture with him to present to S^r Thomas. writting word that it was extreamly like. but that one which Albert Dure [*sic*] did paint, was not so like. this opportunity pleased Holbein much and readily embraced it. & likely he the more willingly left his Country because he was troubled with a peevish and obstinate wife that he was never at rest night nor day. Holbein came into England to S^r Tho. More who for his great learning was made L^d High Chancellor to the King. the Letter and picture he presented to him. besides his love to the Art. assured him that he was very welcome and well received him. being extreamly pleased with his Friends picture. that he kept Hans Holbein by him imployd him near three years. and did many pictures for him without letting the King know or see any of Holbeins works. apprehending that if he had at first brought Holbein to the King and he had seen his ^{noble} _{curious} [*sic*] works that he would have taken him to his use, and prevented him having those peices [*sic*] done for himself which he had a mind should be done: in this time Holbein had painted S^r Tho. More & Family. parents Friends & others. besides other curious works. which he did in his house. in so much that S^r Tho. had got his share of works done, & was fully satisfied. after that the Chancellor invited the King to a Noble Banquet at his house. letting the King see all the pictures that Holbein had done for him. the King who had never seen nor posed so good a Painter was exceedingly surprised. seeing before his Eyes severall persons whom he knew. not as if they were painted pictures. but living persons. S^r Tho. More seeing how pleasing they were to the King courteously offerd them to him saying they were at his Majestys Service. the King returned his thanks. asked him after the Artist that did those peices who it was & whether he was not to be obtained. to which More answerd yes & that he was likewise at his Majestys Service & ^{introduced} _{brought in} [*sic*] Holbein to the King. whereat the King rejoiced, returned the Chancellor all his pictures. saying now I have got the painter I can have what I fancy of him: the King Highly esteemed Holbein and was pleased to have such an Excellent Artist in his Service being in the Kings favour. he was much imployd by him and did many curious portraits of the King, & others. which are still to be seen in London. whereby he encreased the Kings

affection towards him. & confirmed it inseparably, that he became a lasting ornament to the Honour of Painting. for it happened once that an English Nobleman came to see Holbein requesting to see what works he was doing. he was painting then from the life something he had secretly to do. & of great Importance wherefore he very obligingly two or three times excused himself for the present. but in vain. desiring him to forbear for that he was about secret business. that could not be interrupted & that he desired him to come some other time. This courteous civility of Holbein signified nought. but forcing himself up the Stairs. thought that the Painters reverence due to his Honour would serve him. Holbein warned him to forbear but the Earl persevering. Holbein threw him from him down the stairs. falling he cryd Lord have mercy upon me. this Nobleman's Servants frightened & surprised at his fall. had enough to do to take care of their Lord while Holbein shoot too & fastned his doors. & made his escape above stairs out of a Trap door. & running with all speed to the King asking his pardon without mentioning the affair. which the King several times asked him the reason. the King promised his pardon provided he would tell him what he had been guilty off. which he openly & fully discover'd. tis like the King repented his promise saying he should not so easily forgive such offences. advising him not to go from him. but to abide in some of the Apartments till he had heard how it was with the Earl; who Soon after was brought in a sedan or litter to the King. Wounded or bruised & dressed but with a deplorable Countenance & mournfull tone of Voice complaining against the Painter. that had thus used him making the ^{cause} _{thing} [sic] out not truly but with wrathfullne[ss] & untruth, make it a great deal more ill natur'd to the prejudice of Holbein which the King well remark'd those reasons of complaint this Nobleman would have satisfied. desiring of his Majesty that due punishment be done according to the ill usage a person of his Honour had suffer'd. But this Nobleman observing in his application that the King was not passionately mov'd but enquir'd about the cause showing himself indifferent as if the King was inclined to think it happen'd thro his own fault. & gave him to understand that he was too spitefull. that he was to blame. for his rudeness. wherefore the King growing angry. looking disdainfully spoke exerting his Royal Authority, said you have nothing to do with Holbein, but with me. telling him to this purpose; do you think I have so little value for this man. I tell you Sr from seven persons (when I please I can make so many noblemen. but from seven Noblemen I can't make one Holbein, or such an Excellent Artist which words much Startled the Nobleman. who desir'd

the King to excuse him & promis'd for the time to come to be Obedient to His Majestys commands. so the King told him his pleasure was, that at no time hereafter or to come. he should do Holbein any harm or cause it to be done to him for this fact that happen'd. if he did. he ^{shoud} must expect to [*sic*] be punished in the same manner as if it was done. to himself. which put an end to this affair.

Concerning the work that Holbein did for the King he excellently painted the Kings picture as big as the life so very lively that every one was startled at it, as strong as the life it self. that the head & limbs seem'd to move. This is yet to be seen at white hall a work that his master ^{prized} praised [*sic*] much. & testifyd that he had gotten another Apelles. also in the same manner he did the pictures of his three children Edward Mary & Elizabeth when they were young. which are preserved in the same palace. Many Noblemen & Ladys from the life are done by his curious hand. or are still living likewise in London at the Surgeons Hall there is a fine Noble peice [*sic*] of his painting. where is represented the King Henry 8th in his throne a carpet under his feet [*giving* a charter¹] to the Master & company of Surgeons. who are kneeling to receive it—there be some that think that this work of Holbein is not wholly done by himself but that after his death, what was wanting somebody else finisht it. Howbeit if that be true, the compleater of Holbeins work (must treat them very judiciously) that could follow him. seeing that yet, no painters or skillfull artists has appeared to have his rare manner & sound Judgment.

There are in several Noblemens houses a great many excellent fine portraits of his hand so many that is surprising that in his life-time so much curious works are done by him. besides for Goldsmiths painters Engravers wood Cutters. Armorers. & others so neatly he has drawn for them. all which he has work'd curiously. in which he was very excellent. being ready to assist all men in their Art.

“probably
Lucas
Cornelii of
Lyden.”

he wrought in Oyl Colours water Colours & limning in each with an equal Skill. tho' before he came to the Kings service he had done nothing in Limning. but finding then in his Service one who wrought in that manner very well. whose name was Lucas...a famous Master with him he made a familiar friendship & acquaintance till he had learnt the Manner of those kind of works—whereby by his excellent drawing understanding & handling he soon excelled his Friend Lucas...as far above him as the light of the Sun is above the moon.

at London in the Hall of the Steel house or Easterling House are two noble pieces in water Colours on Cloth.

¹ These words in brackets have a line drawn through them as if to strike them out.

excellently painted & compos'd. one represents the triumph of Riches. the other the contrary being a representation of Poverty.

Riches is described by the God Pluto or Dis in the shape of an old baldheaded Man sitting on a beautiful golden Antient chariot, where being more riches than sufficient with one gripeing in a golden Coffe & with the other squandering the gold & silver monies about. nigh unto him is Fortune & Fame about him also on the chariot are many bags of money after the chariot the followers crowding together all catching at the Gold that is flung away. on both sides are represented the famous rich Princes. as Cresus Midas, & such like. The chariot is drawn by 4 Stately fine white horses. which are led by so many ladies whose names are written above or beneath each person, ^{representing the emblems} _{being images} of their assistances to riches. the naked hands face & feet are fleshy & all the drapery of Black & white the borders & ornaments were enrich'd with shell gold. the Point of the sight of these two peices is on the base line. so that all the figures are represented above the Eye with great judgement. the other peice representing poverty is in this manner depicted. Poverty is represented by a poor meagre hungry woman. sitting upon a bundle of Straw in an old rotten wagon under Covert of a Hutt [[?] Hatt] deck'd with a little old straw in a very deplorable condition. slightly & poorly clad with old tatter'd raggs. this charr was drawn by a poor ^{unhappy} _{hungry} horse. & ^{a wretched poor asse.} _{for his companion such a poor asse.} before the wagon goes a Man & woman. sickly meager & ragged. wringing their hands. sorrowfully lamenting their wants. the man has a Spade & a hammer. before in y^e carr. sits hope bewailing looking towards heaven. with many more circumstances which are there to be seen. but in short it is a fine Philosophical description. poetically, disposed & contriv'd. well order'd. finely drawn & well painted. these two peices when Frederico Zuchero was in England about the year 1574. with great diligence he with his own hand copy'd & with the pen worked. wittnessing those pictures were so good & well done. as if they had been of the hand of Raphael Urbin. notwithstanding these Italians give the ^{Honour} _{reputation} to their Country men. the same Frederico Zucharo acknowledged truly to Hen. Goltius when at Roome in his house. in their conversation in relation to Hans Holbein & his paintings in England. that they were in some equal if not better than those of Raphael Urbin. which is a free testimony of a competent judge & from one of great experience in the Art. so that if Italy was bereavd of Raphaels home & reputation & works. they would lose the most valuable jewel of the painters Crown. However such acknowledgements confirm the esteem that Holbein

merited the character of an Excellent ^{Master} ^{Artist} in our Art. Fr. Zucero was much surprizd & pleased with a picture at length [*sic*] of a Lady dres'd in black Satin. very curiously & excellently done by the ingenious Holbein. which was then in the house of the Lord Pembroke. there to be seen by skilfull Artists & Lovers of Arts. in an obligeing manner in which that Nobleman took much pleasure. he said—that in Rome the like he had not seen for neatness & beauty.

at London there was a great lover of our Art called Andrew de Loo. who bought up all the pictures of Holbein he could meet with. he had a great many wonderfull fine portraits of Holbeins. amongst others he had a half ^{body} ^{length} (as big as the life) on a Table whereon was painted the picture of Mr Nicolass astronomer to the King a Dutch man (or Netherlander who had ^{liv'd} ^{been} thirty years or more in England) besides many curious astronomical instruments. once the King joking with this Man. how it came to pass that he could speak no better English. he answer'd. pray your highness or Majesty forgive me. what English can a Man learn in thirty years only. at which answer the King & all the by standers laught heartily. this was a very good picture. & masterly done. also was there in poses of y^e aforesaid De loo. a portrait of the Lord Cromwell *above a foot & half long*. excellently well done. & likewise there was the picture of that great Man Erasmus Rotterdamus. so like him tis not to be express'd. with it was the picture of Arch Bp. of Canterbury. also the foresaid *liefhebber* had on a great Cloth of ^{Fresco} ^{water Colour} wherein is nobly represented as big as Nature the Learned & Famous S^r Tho. More with his wife sons & daughters. a piece most curious to behold which worthy peice formerly Holbein made as a proof of his Art. as be fore-related, is now lately bought by a Gentleman the Nephew of S^r Tho. More (after the Decease of the said Andrew De Loo.) whose name is More, & that of the Arch Bp. of Canterbury now one of the best Holbein ever did. is now got in y^e poses of a Mr Cope a great Lover of Art. who lives without London near Temple barrs. (beyond the lord Treasurers,) who has many curious pictures in his house; as well of Holbein as of other Masters.

“there is at Amsterdam in the Waermives Street. a very fine & curious picture by Holbein of a Queen of England that is most rarely painted. having on a ^{Tishue} ^{silver cloth} habit, so naturally done that it shines deceptively. I have seen two pictures of Holbeins face & done by himself. one a small round peice a limning very neatly & finely done. belonging to that curious Collector of Art. James Aezet, the other the face of him it is about as big as this palm of a hand excellently fleshy & lively painted. this was in the poses of Bartholomew

Ferreis. a curious Collector also. this most excellent painter had in all his works a fine manner of working. laying on his colours in a regular order. different from other painters. as for example. when he painted y^e hair or beard. he laid it broad in & flatt the plain Colour. with the Shadowes. & then over them. he made the beard or hair very natural. many other advantages he had by custom & practice. for he like the Antient Roman Knight Painter Turpilius painted with his left hand. yet no ways appeared to be a left handed painter. as a Testimony of his fine drawing (besides the Dance of Death) there is come out in Timber Cutts & printed y^e Bible Storyes which are printed in several Bibles. amongst these Figures are many rare Historys. well invented & represented. being well wrought the actions propper. particularly the Story of Anne Mother of Samuel & Eleaser her husband, also David. Uriahs last words & Testament where Abishag comes to him. & there Hiram mesenger brings a message to Salomon. Nobly & excellently above other moderns is his manner. there Salomon is sitting on his throne not with naked Arms or a blankett on. or the like after the Antient manner. but with rich Kingly Habits. upon this book to the praise of Holbein the Latin Poet Nicolaus Borborinus wrote an Ode in Latine. containing about 30 Verses or 60 lines. Ending with Holbein. as to the World & his Noble Art which he had long adorned. as men who live on the Earth. all the transitory things thereof vanish away & come to uncertain & unexpected end, so was it with Holbein in the midst of his great industry cutt off[f] by the Plague of which he died ano 1554 aged 56. his Fame & character amongst men will remain to latest posterity."

Finis."

Add. MS. 21,111. f. 23. Vertue's Collection MS. notes, 1713—1721.

"Paintings of Holbein. in most parts of Europe. in Number 60. pictures. or paintings of Historys or Portraits.

No. 16. The picture of H. Holbein wearing a red Hat or Cap & a white Garment trimmed with black. in the Library at Basil.

The earliest of his paintings that are dated is 1516.

The Picture of Charles 5. Emperor. which a painter of Amsterdam, Le Blond by name, sent by the Earl of Buckingham, in search of paintings over all the world, especially Holbeins. this purchased at Lyons for 100 Crowns.

The Picture of Erasmus bought at Basil by Le Blond for 100 ducats of Gold. which afterwards brought to Holland he caused to be engraved. full length by Vischer, so this picture was fastned with Iron. the Picture of John Frobenius the famous printer. to whom he presented them."

"Mr Patin." "I believe *I saw* these two in the Royal Repository at London in 1672."

"*mistake.* twas K. Hen. 7 & Queen & K. Hen. 8 & his Queen." "The Pictures of K. Henry 8th the Queen *his son prince Edward. Qu: Mary Qu: Elizabeth* upon the wall of Kings bed Chamber Whitehall.

at Arundel House were these pictures."

"Tho. Howard E. Norfolk. L^d hi. Admiral.

Vosterman Scup."

"a Maid in of Basil in Wedding cloaths."

"Anne of Cleve. W. Hollar. Scu. 1648.

"Archbishop of Canterbury an half Lenght as big as the life with double Cros & mitre & other ensigns of his dignity. on it inscrib'd A^o Dⁱ 1527 Æta. su. 70: in the French Kings Cabinet.

"also Nicolaus, Astronomer to K. Hen. 8th.

"Anne of Cleve.

"of Holbein's own pictures also

"at London. The Triumph of Plutus or Riches.

"Plutus sitting in a most magnificent Chariot followed by Cresus. Midas & others.

"The Triumph of poverty. A woman almost dead with Hunger. sitting in a chariot drawn by four starved Horses. followed by a vast number of poor people.

"Queen Mary at the House of D^r Patinus."

Add. MS. 21,111. 1713-1721. Vertue's Notes.

[old no.] p. 12 "Holbein's picture painted by himself in quozzo sold at M^r Motteux's sale bought by D^r Ciale of M^r Rawlinsons acquaintance Collmans."

"Holbein born 1498...died 1554."

[,,] p. 48 "The Earl of Arundell had several Gravers constantly at work with a design to make a large volume of prints of all his pictures drawings & other rarities which M^r Evelyn had collected all that were done & are now in possession of his Grandson. S^r John Evelyn. "Mr Evelyn drew & etched some few prints himself. "This Earl in y^e year 1645 or thereabouts seeing the troubles that attended the Kings favourits retir'd to Antwerp & carryd over the most valueable of his curious pictures & at several times the most indeed & sold some, afterwards 1648¹. he went to Italy & died at2 years¹ after."

"The Duke of Buckingham & the L^d Arundell then living livd very splendid & sometimes wanted money

¹ ? He died in 1646. [Ed.]

& pawn'd some of their pictures to Sr P. Lely were they remained & by this means, he got so many Capital pictures."

ibid.

[old no.] p. 49

"the mark on the Arundell Collection drawings a small star * about that bigness. those of the Kings a larger star * thus.

Van der Borche who grav'd many of the Arundell & Kings Collection. at Arundell house in year 1637."

[,] p. 57

"A Picture Painted by Vandyke of the Lord Arundell & Lady Talbot. about 1639. or 40. When King Charles was treating with several Merchants about making a Settlement in Madagascar. Vandyke has represented the Earl pointing to a Globe. just that part were Madagascar is apparent."

"this affair of the Earls proposing to the King took no effect."

[old no.] p. 61

"there was several Holbeins by name in England. about this time. but wether painters or not is no account. in the Wilks." [or] "Willes."

"H. Holbein father to the famous H. Holbein painter un [added] likely he was here in England. there being in the Royal Collection of limnings one picture of K. Henry 7th & another of Prince Arthur *Prince Henry* & *Margaret* their sister. *Margaret* about 3 years old."

[at edge] "doubtfull."

ibid.

[old no.] p. 87

"The whole lenght picture of King James the First in Black; painted by Vandyke from a limning a face only in possess of Mrs Rupert...Horis [? nearly effaced] a Mistress of Princè Ruperts."

"Walton."

Add. MS. 23,081. Vertue's Collection of MS. Notes 1722-35.

[old no.] p. 27

"Richard Symonds of Black Notley."

"Observations of Certain Old Paintings I have seen in England since my Return from Italy." "Rich: Symonds" "At Arundel House." 1653."

"in her Closett."

"Pictures in the Closett of the Lady Anne Mary Howard now in Arundell house. 1653."

"a large Madonna in a Guilt frame. Rafaels."

"this Mr Fox had."

"A Rittrato lesse than the Life by Al. Durer."

"Fox had it."

"A Rittrato of H. Holbein done by himself 1543. in oyle." "most sweet."

"2 Rittratos in Oyle on board of M. Angelo & Giulio." "Ramano. 2 Poeses of Dutch people very small & admirably fine."

"a fellow on horseback flying almost. with this cosi. desio. mi mena."

"The last Judgement in Oyl on brass by a Fleming very rare. 2 foot high."

CONCERNING HOLBEIN

“quēre. whether
these were done
by Holbein.
no. (done
in France.”

“a Madonna & the Putto in Miniature by E oliver.”

“a St Sebastian less than the life.”

“A book of divers *Ritrattos* in Miniatures flatt things
all.”

“Some flyes spiders & well painted.”

“A christo. bearing y^e Cross. head only.”

“Divers heads in Miniature.”

“A Deaths head. Natural tho’ Cutt in Wood.”

“In the long Gallery are divers *Ritrattos* & the Old
Earl Sitting, & his Gallery of Statues in prospect &
he pointing you to it.”



HER DEARE
 COVNTRESS OF
 WILLIAM HOWARD



Photo Dr G. C. Williamson

Sir William Howard's Astronomical Watch

APPENDIX XI.

THE SIR WM. HOWARD WATCH.

When Lord Arundel was abroad in February, 1613, his wife appears to have commissioned from Pierre Combret of Lyons, an exceedingly beautiful astronomical watch, which is alluded to in those records of the city which refer to the watchmakers of the Trade Guild. Pierre Combret, the elder of two watchmakers of the same name, both eminent in their profession in Lyons, seems to have been in his time the leading watch and clockmaker in France. His successor, who was living in 1592, and died in 1622, was an even more celebrated man, and is described in the various documents in terms of high distinction. He lived in the Rue de Flandres "au devant de l'escu Polongne."

The watch which this younger Combret, at that time the best known watchmaker in the district; was instructed to make, bears upon it an inscription "From Alethea, Countess of Arundel, for her deare son Sir William Howard, K.B., 1629." The watch was, however, certainly made in 1613, and it has that date upon it, so that it seems possible that when the commission for it was given, it was intended for the baby who was as yet unborn, and that it was retained and used by Lady Arundel for some years, and then presented to her fifth son William, who had been born on the 30th of November, 1614, just a little while after the watch had been obtained.

On the hinged side of the watch are represented the three Theological and the four Cardinal Virtues. In the centre are the three Theological Virtues, Faith, Hope and Charity; on the right, Justice with the sword and balance, and Fortitude with the helmet; on the left, Prudence with the serpent, and Temperance with the cup and flagon, from which she is turning away. On the opposite side are represented the seven Vices. In the centre, and in the background, is Avarice, seated on one coffer, and grasping another one, Violence or Anger holding the sword and shield, and Riches offering gifts with each hand, and standing on the Wheel of Fortune. On the right are Hypocrisy holding a mask, and Gluttony seated with a dish in his hand, on the left, Vanity with a mirror, and Pleasure as Venus. In the interior of the lid of the watch is a calendar, and upon it are two distinctive entries, one being an allusion to St Clarus (Clair), the patron saint of Vienne, Confessor, whose festival is kept at Lyons and in Burgundy on the 2nd of January, and which appears against that date on the calendar, the festival of this saint being kept at Vienne *only* on the 1st of January.

The other distinctive entry is that of St Claudius (Claude), Bishop, whose name appears against the date of the 6th of June, and who is a saint specially commemorated in Lyons and Besançon and throughout Burgundy, and whose festival is kept on that date. It seems probable that

the presentation inscription to which allusion has just been made was added in the year 1629, when Lady Arundel decided to pass over the watch to her son, who had been dubbed knight at the coronation of Charles I, 1st February 1625-6.

The watch has been a treasure in the family of its owners and has never left their hands. After Lord Stafford was beheaded, it passed to his wife, and then to her son, and now it belongs to the present Lord Stafford, and is regarded as a family heirloom. It marks an important epoch in the history of horology and is still in excellent preservation. The illustration of it is made by permission of its present owner. *(Editor.)*



From a photograph lent by the Editor

Group of Portrait-Miniatures of various members
of the Howard Family
(See Appendix XI)

APPENDIX XII.

THE GROUP OF HOWARD PORTRAITS.

There is a certain amount of controversy concerning the group of portraits at Norfolk House. It represents, as will be seen by the illustration, in the chief position, the "Cardinal of Norfolk," who was Almoner to the Queen, Catherine of Braganza, and who is described on the inscription as "Our illustrious Founder." His portrait is the point of attraction in the series of paintings, his relations, who are set round him, being introduced in order of their relationship to him, and styled on the inscriptions as his grandparents or parents, as the case may be.

The Cardinal is represented robed, wearing the cope and pectoral cross distinctive of his position, is seated in a chair, and has a document in his hand. Below him is emblazoned his heraldic achievement, surmounted by a ducal coronet and a Cardinal's hat. By his side is a portrait of his brother, the Duke of Norfolk, and on the other side are portraits of the two successive wives of the Duke. Above the Cardinal are portraits of his father and mother, and of his grandfather and grandmother, Lord and Lady Arundel, and below him is a portrait of Sir William Howard, their son, his uncle. Next to this, there is a blank space, in which it is evident there was a portrait of the wife of Sir William Howard, Viscountess and Baroness Stafford, as the inscription below the space testifies, but the portrait has been blackened over and entirely obscured, evidently by intention, and cannot now be seen. Adjacent to this, there are two other spaces, in which were, I believe, the portraits of two of the children of the Baroness Stafford, but, as there are no inscriptions below these spaces, or they have been obscured, it is not possible to determine whether this conjecture is right or not. If the blank space in this series of portraits had been that of Sir William Howard himself, who was attainted and executed on Tower Hill, and whose wife and children rested for a time under his attainder; I should not have been much surprised, but why his portrait was left, and that of his wife was blacked out, is not at all easy to say. The camera seems to show that there were portraits in the two blank spaces to which allusion has just been made, but whether they were of the two children, it is now impossible to state.

It is equally difficult to determine who painted this set of portraits. They have been attributed to Laurence Crosse, and to Flatman, but the handwriting of the inscriptions, having been compared with the caligraphy of each of these artists, reveals nothing whatever in connection with them. Moreover, both artists were members of the Church of England, Flatman an especially sound adherent of her doctrines, and therefore it is not very likely that they were responsible for the portraits. Other things being equal, it would seem likely that the work would have been executed by a Catholic artist, if there was one who was able to take the commission, and

the inscriptions certainly read as though they were the work of a member of the ancient faith, in full sympathy with the life of persons depicted. This argument must not, however, be forced, as it is quite possible that the inscriptions were arranged by the Dominicans, who, I take it, gave the commission for the work, and may have had nothing whatever to do with the artist who wrote them underneath the portraits. The only Catholic artist to whom I can attribute them is Richard Gibson, who was in high favour with Queen Henrietta Maria. He belonged to the family of Gibson of Corbridge in Northumberland, who settled in 1693 at Stone Croft near Hexham, a property which had been purchased from John, Lord Widdrington, and his family had always been distinguished for its unwavering attachment to the faith, and for the number of ecclesiastics which it had given to the service of the Church. The series of portraits must, however, have been painted after 1680, as the date upon one of them, that of the Duchess of Norfolk, shows, and probably, before January 11th, 1683-4, when the Duke of Norfolk died. At that time, Gibson was a man of advanced age, and it is therefore possible that the portraits were not his work, or not wholly painted by him, but that his daughter Penelope, afterwards Mrs Rose or Rosse, was responsible for them. As the works of the father and daughter so closely resemble each other nothing more definite than this can be stated. There is, however, a further theory with respect to these miniatures, which declares that they were the work of a Dominican nun at Bornhem, Elizabeth Howard (Sister Dominica), the elder daughter of Colonel Bernard Howard, who was brother to Viscount Stafford. This lady is known to have been very skilful in painting. She executed floral and arabesque decoration, and painted small scenes in the initials of ornamental letters of certain Books of Hours, and other works of devotion, but whether she ever attempted portraiture cannot be determined. She took the vows on February 10th, 1695, she was twice sub-prioress at Brussels, and also mistress of the novices. She died on December 17th, 1761, at a very great age, having been professed for some 66 years. It is possible that, being skilful in painting, and connected both by family and by faith with the subjects of these portraits, we may find in her the artist who painted them, but, if that was the case, they were done when she was young and before she was professed and moreover she must have been a far more talented artist than has hitherto been supposed, for these portraits were the work of a very skilful portrait painter, and one who was evidently thoroughly accustomed to such work. They certainly look as though they were executed by a professional miniature painter, rather than by an amateur artist.

The history of the portraits is not very clearly known. The Howards had been interested in the English Dominican province for a very long time. They helped its work with a bountiful hand, re-founded the Order in England and Scotland, and were closely connected with all its affairs. It is possible that at the dissolution of some house, this series of portraits was brought to England, and representing, as it does, several members of the family, there could be no more fitting resting-place for it than Norfolk House.

The late Duke had many of the family papers searched, in order to find out the history of the group, and I made some personal investigations both at Bornhem and at Brussels, but without any very important result. My own impression is, that all the work on this sheet of vellum is to be given to one of the Gibson family. It has always been stated that the Court influence saved Gibson's children from persecution, at a time when Catholics were being subjected to the utmost rigours of the law. Two of Gibson's children at least were said to have become portrait painters, and the artist himself instructed Princess Anne in drawing, and afterwards went to Holland to teach Princess Mary of Orange. There is no evidence on the vellum itself, either back or front, to say who executed the paintings.

The full inscriptions beneath the portraits are set out in the first volume of my *History of Portrait Miniatures* (1904, p. 56), where the set of portraits was for the first time illustrated. (Editor.)

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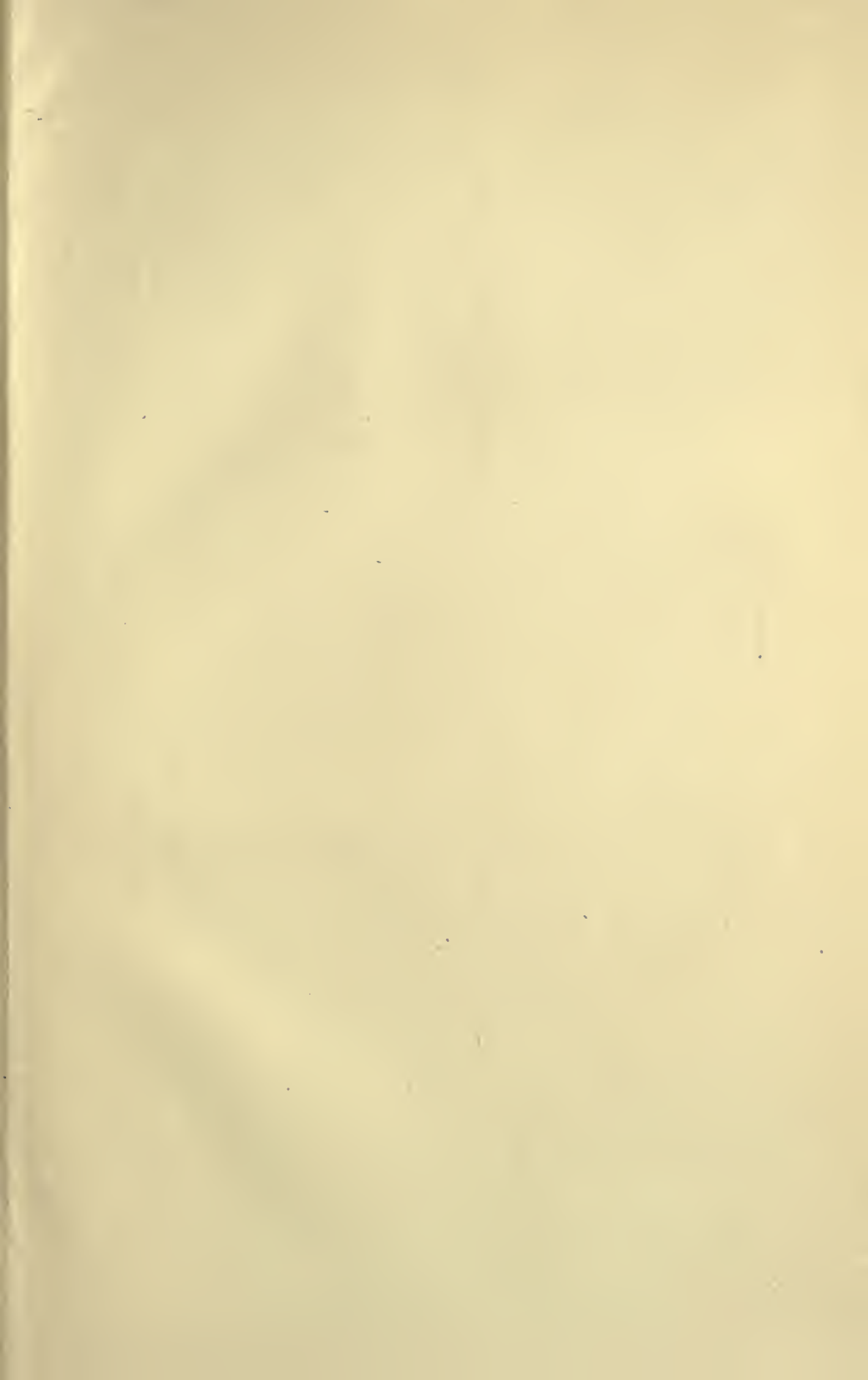
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