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THE

Henry Prince of Wales

Third Son of King James I.

Author of the Poem in the Third and

Fourth Parts of the Poem

By THOMAS BIRCH, D.D.

Secretary of the Royal Society

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Printed by J. Sturges, at the Press of the Royal Society

in the Strand, near the Royal Exchange

1704

AD 1704

Printed by J. Sturges in the Strand

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THE
L I F E

OF

Henry Prince of Wales,

Eldest Son of King James I.

Compiled chiefly from his own Papers, and
other Manuscripts, never before published.

By THOMAS BIRCH, D. D.

Secretary of the Royal Society.

*Quod enim præstabilius est, aut pulchrius Munus Deorum,
quam castus, et sanctus, et Diis simillimus Princeps?*

Plin. Panegyri.

L O N D O N,
Printed for A. MILLAR in the *Strand*.

MDCCLX.

L I F E

ROYAL HISTORIES

Henry Prince of Wales

Eldest son of King James I.

Compiled from his own papers, and
other Manuscripts never before published.

BY THOMAS BIRCH, D. D.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF
HENRY PRINCE OF WALES
ELDEST SON OF KING JAMES I.
AS HE WAS COLLECTED FROM HIS OWN PAPERS,
AND OTHER MANUSCRIPTS NEVER BEFORE
PUBLISHED.

LONDON

TO HIS

DA

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ROYAL HIGHNESS

GEORGE

Prince of Wales.

SIR,

THE subject of this work, which attempts to give as complete an account, as is possible at the distance of a century and an half, of one of the greatest of your Royal Highness's predecessors in the title, which you bear so much to the joy of the

A 2

whole

DEDICATION.

whole nation, would, if treated of in any manner correspondent to its dignity, give your Royal Highness the chief right to this address, both from the same elevation of rank, and the same amiableness of character. But conscious of my own defects in the composition, I cannot, without diffidence, approach your Royal Highness on this occasion; a diffidence abated only by your known candour and general benevolence, and by the hopes, that the variety and importance of the facts now first offered to the public, and the fidelity of the narration, will be considered as the best recommendation, as they are the most essential qualities, of an historical performance. In these respects I flatter myself, that my researches have enabled me to do justice in some degree to the memory
of

DEDICATION.

of a Prince, who has long been the object of a general admiration, by a detail of particulars not known to, or defectively related by, former historians. And it will be the highest satisfaction to me to have exhibited even an imperfect picture of so many, and such eminent virtues united in the Royal Youth; vigour and activity of mind applied to the acquisition of the most princely accomplishments; modesty and moderation in the second station of power and grandeur; a laudable ambition of qualifying himself in all the knowledge requisite for the administration of government, without the least impatience for the exercise of it, till he should be called to it in the course of nature; regularity of manners amidst the temptations of youth and a luxurious court;

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a love of truth and sincerity, unbiaſſed by flattery, and never violated by himſelf in the ſlighteſt, or (what is much more) the greateſt inſtances; generoſity enabled by oeconomy to encourage and promote all uſeful and public deſigns; and, above all, an habit of ſincere and unaffected piety, in which the revival of his example by your Royal Highneſs ought to have the proper effect of reſtoring credit in theſe unthinking and licentious times to the profeſſion and practice of religion, the foundation of public as well as private happineſs.

The exerciſe of theſe virtues was, unhappily for the laſt age, confined to the ſmall circle of eighteen years; when alas! the nation, which looked forward with pleaſure to that period,
when

DEDICATION.

when he should ascend the throne, saw their hopes blasted by the hand of death : a circumstance, which naturally recalls the memory of your Royal Highness's illustrious father, alike esteemed for the same public and private virtues, added to the most exemplary tenderness of conjugal and paternal affection ; and still more regretted from our longer experience of them.

But I am restrained from indulging the melancholy train of reflections, which such a subject must unavoidably occasion, by the consideration of the day, on which I am writing this address, distinguished by your Royal Highness's birth ; a day, which administers consolation arising, as it were, from the very source of our sorrows ; and

A 4 banishes

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banishes all the fears derived from the untimely loss of one inestimable link in the lineage of your Royal House.

That your Royal Highness, which hath already surpassed the age of Prince Henry, may inherit the years, as well as glories, of your Royal Grandfather, is the public wish, as it is the fervent prayer of,

S I R,

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS'S

Most Humble, Most Obedient,

And Most Devoted Servant,

London, June 4,

1759

THOMAS BIRCH.

P R E F A C E.

*T*HE character of the illustrious Prince, who is the subject of these memoirs; the vast expectations conceived of him in his own time, equal to those formed of Marcellus and Germanicus by the Roman people; and the universal admiration of him transmitted to the present age by the concurrent testimony of all the writers of the last: these considerations left me in no doubt, that a work, which could in any competent degree do justice to his memory, would be a present highly acceptable to the public.

Upon this view I undertook it, tempted by the perusal of no inconsiderable collection of original letters, written by him, or addressed to him, among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum; which letters once belonged to Sir Adam Newton Bart. the Prince's Tutor, and afterwards Secretary,

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cretary, and descended to his only son Sir Henry Newton Puckering, and were at last purchased by Robert Earl of Oxford, Lord Treasurer, of Mr. George Paul of Jesus College in Cambridge, and the learned Mr. Thomas Baker of St. John's College in the same University. But with the advantage even of this collection, I soon found it impossible to give so connected a detail of his Highness's life, as the form of a just history, or the dignity of the subject, would require. For though letters are the most solid foundation of history; yet if there be wanting a complete series of them, some chasms must be left, which can only be supplied by other authentic memorials. It was my case not to be sufficiently provided in either respect. Many of the Prince's papers, and probably those the most curious, were committed to the flames, in pursuance of his direction given just before his death; and the accounts of him, which have
been

P R E F A C E.

been published, want extent and particularity. That piece, which professes to be an account of the Life and Death of Prince Henry, though written by Sir Charles Cornwallis, whose situation in his Court, as Treasurer of his Household, might have enabled him fully to inform himself and posterity concerning his Royal Master, is a mere pamphlet; extremely superficial and unsatisfactory on almost every head; what relates to the Prince's life amounting to but a few pages, and the remainder containing only the circumstances of his last sickness and character; which last indeed, in that and another discourse by the same hand, is drawn with force and precision. It were to be wished, that this task had been executed by Sir Adam Newton, who was best qualified for it, both by his talents as a writer, and his intimate knowledge of the subject. But as he neglected to discharge this debt of gratitude, I have endeavoured to make the best

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best use in my power of the collection mentioned above, as left by him; and to incorporate such particulars, as I could select from them, with other scattered passages in print or manuscript, which my former reading and later researches would supply me with; and to digest the whole into as much order and connection, as the nature of such materials would admit. The difficulty of attaining, in a tolerable degree, the series juncturaque recommended by Horace, is scarce conceivable by any but those, the only proper judges on such an occasion, who have made some trial of this kind.

The result of my inquiries and labour is now offered to the intelligent reader, whose candour, it is hoped, will excuse the unavoidable defects of this essay, for the sake of many facts, which he will unquestionably be pleased to learn, and which I was unwilling to conceal any longer from the public view,

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view, relating both to the Prince himself, and several other eminent characters occasionally introduced. Nor will it be expected, that the history of a Prince, who lived but eighteen years and eight months, and never aimed at any share in the conduct of public affairs, should contain any very great actions, or great events. It will be sufficient, if it shall furnish the promises of the greatest, and unfold the gradual openings of a most exalted and accomplished mind, preparing itself for the duties of the highest station, and qualified to have exhibited an example to all succeeding Kings, if the awful dispensations of providence had not otherwise determined.

A D D I-

ADDITIONS and CORRECTIONS.

- Page 37. last line but six, for *Four* read *Faur*.
- Pag. 45. l. 11, 12. for *by the historians—hinting*, r. *by any of the historians of the last age, except Tbuanus, who* (l. 129. §. 15.) *but just hints at, &c.*
- Ibid. note (*u*) after *MSS.* insert *du*.
- Pag. 62. note (*g*) after *selektorum*, dele *Et*.
- Pag. 77. l. 10. place the reference to the note (*g*) at the word *religion*, and dele it l. 12. at the words *a letter*.
- Pag. 118. l. 7. for 1603-4. r. 1604-5.
- Pag. 215. note (*l*) line 5. for 1657. r. 1757.
- Pag. 402. l. 3. for [The negotiations with Spain on this point] r. [A marriage was then proposed by the court of Spain with a younger daughter; but the treaty was broken off by the English Ambassador upon a very extraordinary demand made by that court, that the Prince should qualify himself for the match, by changing his religion for that of Rome. These negotiations] will appear, *Et c.*
- Pag. 480. l. 8. from the bottom, for *cast*, r. *casted*, and dele *aside*.
- Pag. 496. l. 9. from the bottom, for *not*, r. *even*.

THE
L I F E
O F
H E N R Y
P R I N C E of W A L E S.

HENRY Prince of Wales, eldest son of King James, the sixth of Scotland and first of England, by his Queen, Anne, second daughter of Frederic II. and sister of Christiern IV. Kings of Denmark, was born above four years after their marriage^a, in the castle of Striveling or Sterling in Scotland, about three in the morning, on Tuesday the 19th of February, 1593-4^b. His baptism was deferred for above six months, the King

^a It was performed at Upslo, a port-town in Norway, November 23, 1589. *Roberti Johnstoni Hist. Rerum Britannic.* l. v. p. 141. edit. Amst. 1655. fol.

^b *Vita Petri Junii equ. aurati.* p. 28. printed in *Vitæ quorundam eruditissim. & illust. virorum: scriptore Thoma Smith, S. T. D. Londini 1707, 4to.* and *Life and death of Henry Prince of Wales: by Sir Charles Cornwallis, Knt. Treasurer of his Highness's Household,* p. 5. edit. London 1641, in 8vo. Which edition was republished in 1644, with some addition to the title page.

having thought proper to send Ambassadors to several foreign Princes and States, to invite them to send their Ambassadors to be present at that solemnity. Mr. Peter Young, who had been preceptor to his Majesty, in conjunction with George Buchanan, was sent to the King of Denmark, and to the Dukes of Brunswick and Mecklenburg^c, the latter of whom was great-grand-father to the young Prince by the mother's side^d. But these two Dukes were displeas'd, that they were not treated with so much respect, as to be thought each of them worthy of an express embassy.

The Laird of East Weems obtained the commission both to France and England, having occasion to go to the former of those kingdoms, being servant to Henry IV. of France; who neither made a present to him, nor sent any Ambassador to Scotland. Queen Elizabeth was once resolv'd to have done the same, till she was advertis'd by her own Ambassador in France^e, that Henry IV. was determin'd to send none to Scotland. This ne-

^c *Memoirs of Sir James Melvil, p. 202, 203. edit. London 1683, fol.*

^d *Thuani Histor. vol. v. lib. cix. 14. p. 376. edit. Lond. 1733.*

^e *Sir Robert Sidney, afterwards created Earl of Leicester, who was sent Ambassador to France, in December 1593, and returned to England towards the end of April 1594. Memoirs of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 135, 137, 146, 169, 170.*

glect of the French court induced the Queen to a new resolution, and determined her, though after a long delay, to appoint for her Ambassador, a man of very high rank, Robert Earl of Suffex^f, of the ancient and noble family of Radcliffe, in order to convince Scotland, that she would always be a ready friend to that kingdom, whenever France should shew any backwardness or reluctance^g.

Sir William Keith, of the King's bed-chamber, was sent with Captain Murray, Provost of St. Andrew's, to the States General, who nominated Walrave de Brederode, Baron de Vianen, and Jacob Valcke, treasurer general of Zealand, Ambassadors to Scotland, not only to be present at the Prince's Baptism, but likewise to endeavour to renew the ancient friendship between that kingdom and their own country, and to persuade the King to enter into a general alliance against Spain^h. The Ambassadors sent by the King of Denmark, and the Queen Dowager his mother, were Christiern Barnicow, and Steno de Bickilde; and Adam Crusius came in that capacity from Julius Duke of Brunswick, and Joachim Brassewitz from Ulric Duke of Mecklenburgⁱ.

^f Melvil, *ubi supra*, p. 203. Thuanus, *ubi supra*, is mistaken in saying *Robertus Ebroicus, Essexiæ Comes*, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex.

^g Melvil, p. 203.

^h Meteren, *Hist. des Pays Bas*. l. xvii. fol. 362 verso.

ⁱ Thuanus, *ubi supra*.

The nobility of Scotland were likewise invited to attend the Baptism, which was at first appointed for the 15th of August; but on account of rebuilding the chapel at Sterling, and the absence of the English Ambassador^k, it was put off till the 1st of September; on which day the banquet began at the castle of Sterling. However, the Earl of Suffex not arriving till the evening of the 4th, the Baptism was again

^k Mr. Robert Bowes, the Ambassador in ordinary from Queen Elizabeth, in Scotland, having by his letters from Edinburgh, of the 29th of August, given some occasion to the English court to doubt, whether the Baptism might not be solemnized on the Sunday following, though he had advertised the King on what day the Earl of Suffex began his journey; the Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer, wrote to that Earl a letter, the original of which is still extant in the Cotton library, *Calig. D. II.* dated from the court at Greenwich the 28th of August 1594, acquainting him, that if he should understand certainly, that the ceremony of Baptism was over, her Majesty's pleasure was, that he should not go into Scotland, nor suffer her present to be carried thither; but that he should, as of his own discretion, without seeming to have direction from the court, advertise Mr. Bowes, that he, the Earl, meant not to come into Scotland, considering, that his message was only to be present at the Baptism. "And so, adds Lord Burghley, you shall require Mr. Bowes to declare unto the King, that you will not presume to come into Scotland, considering the purpose of your journey is already determined and at an end. And yet you shall tarry at Berwick, untill you have further direction from hence upon such an answer, as you shall receive from the Ambassador: But, if the Christening be not so, but so deferred, as you may come to the same; then you shall continue your journey as before."

deferred till Friday the 6th¹; in the afternoon of which day it was performed with unusual magnificence.

The infant prince being brought from his own chamber to the Queen's chamber of presence, and laid in a stately bed, the Ambassadors entered into the chamber; and the Countess of Mar, accompanied with a number of Ladies, took up the Prince, and delivered him to Lodowick Duke of Lennox, who presented him to the Ambassadors. The Earl of Sussex, being first in rank, received him, and carried him in his arms to the chapel, the rest following in their proper order; after whom came the Ladies of honour, the chief nurse, and others of inferior quality. Before them went the Lord Home, carrying the ducal crown; Lord Levingston bearing the napkin, the Lord Seaton the bason, and the Lord Semple the laver. Over the English Ambassador was carried a canopy supported by the Lairds of Cessford, Buclugh, Duddope, and Traquaire; and the Prince's train was held up by the Lords Sinclair and Urquart. Such was the procession to the chapel, a guard of the youths of

¹ Memoirs of the affairs of Scotland; containing an impartial account of the most remarkable transactions in that kingdom, from King James the VIth's taking up the government in 1577, till his accession to the crown of England in 1603. By David Moyses, for many years an officer of the King's household, p. 229. 231. edit. Edinburgh, 1755, in 12mo.

Edinburgh, well dressed, standing on each side, and the trumpets sounding.

Upon their entrance into the chapel, the King rose from his seat, and received the Ambassadors at the door of the choir; who were conducted to their places, which were ordered in this manner^m.

Before his Majesty was placed a chair adorned with the arms of France. On the King's right hand was set the Earl of Suffex, Ambassador extraordinary from the Queen of England, with a pall of red taffety over his head; and next to him Mr. Robert Bowes, the ordinary Ambassador: then the Ambassador from the Duke of Brunswick; and last of all the two Dutch Ambassadors. Behind the Earl of Suffex stood the Lord Wharton and Sir Henry Bromley, Knt. no other Englishmen being admitted into the chapel. Upon the King's left hand sate the two Ambassadors from Denmark; and next to them the Ambassador from the Duke of Mecklenburg. Upon the entrance into the chapel, the Prince had been delivered by the Earl of Suffex to the Duke of Lennox, and by the Duke to the Countess of Mar, by whom the Prince was held till the time of baptismⁿ.

The

^m Archbishop Spotswood's History of the church of Scotland, p. 406.

ⁿ Manuscript account of the ceremonies of the baptism of

The ceremony began with a sermon preached in the Scottish tongue by Mr. Patrick Galloway, one of the King's ordinary ministers; which being finished, David Cunningham, Bishop of Aberdeen, discoursed in Latin upon the same text, in order that the subject of the sermon might be generally understood by the Ambassadors. After which the Bishop preparing to administer the sacrament of baptism, the Earl of Suffex arose, and followed the King, the rest proceeding in order towards the place where the Bishop stood; the Duke of Lennox carrying the Prince in his arms; and having delivered him again to the Earl of Suffex, the Bishop asked the King, if he did present that child to be baptised, and to be ingrafted into the mystical body of Christ. His Majesty answering yes, the Bishop then recited the creed in Latin; and having asked the name of the child, and the King replying *Frederick Henry*, and *Henry Frederick*, the Bishop baptised him in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, *Frederick Henry*, *Henry Frederick*, repeating the names three

of Prince Henry in the Cotton library, *Calig. D. II.* This paper, as well as the rest in that volume, had the misfortune of being much injured by the fire, which damaged that invaluable library, then at Ashburnham House, Oct. 23, 1731.

times; which were then proclaimed by the Heralds, with the found of trumpets.

This being done, the Lords, who had carried the laver, &c. retired out of the chapel orderly under the Prince's pall, supported in the manner mentioned above. After whose departure came in two gentlemen of England, with a basin, ewer, and napkin, and went up to the Earl of Suffex, who immediately arose in the presence of the King, and, in the words of the MS. in the Cotton library cited above, "did all to wash his hands, and sat down in his seat again: which was thought strange by the multitude and Nobility."

The Bishop then ascended the pulpit, and returned in Latin thanks to God for the benefit of the sacrament just administered, and to all the Ambassadors for their Assistance, beginning with the Earl of Suffex. After which they went back from the chapel in order to the Prince's chamber, where in their presence he was crown'd, and created Prince and Great Steward of Scotland, Duke of Rothesay, Earl of Carrick, Lord of the Isles, and Baron and Knight of Renfrew. A considerable number of Knights were then made^o, and silver and gold coins dispersed among the people from the window. The Ambassadors with their train and the noblemen present were royally feasted and entertained for several days with

^o Spotswood, *ubi supra*.

plays, running at tilt, and other such exercises^p.

At the close of the ceremony of the Baptism the Ambassadors made their presents. The Earl of Suffex's gift, in the name of the Queen his Mistress, was a cupboard of plate curiously wrought^q, and esteemed worth 3000 *l.* sterling^r. That of the King of Denmark was two gold chains, one to the Queen, and the other to the Prince. That of the Duke of Brunswick was two chains enriched with precious stones, one to her Majesty, and the other to his Highness; to whom the Ambassador of the Duke of Mecklenburg presented a beautiful table adorned with diamonds and other stones, and to the Queen a chain of gold enriched in the same manner^s. But the most valuable present of all was that of the Dutch Ambassadors, esteemed worth twelve thousand four hundred crowns^t, being two cups of fine gold, with a box of the same metal, all weighing about four hundred ounces, and in the box a present from the States General to the Prince, of an annual pension for his life of five thou-

^p Spotswood, *ubi supra*.

^q Moyfes, *p.* 232.

^r Cottonian MS. *ubi supra*.

^s The MS. contained a very particular description of these presents; but it is now defective in many parts, through the accident of the fire.

^t Moyfes, *ubi supra*, says pounds.

land florins, to be paid to the Conservator of the Scots nation at Campveer in Zealand^u.

The Prince was soon after, by the King's appointment, committed to the custody of John Erskine, Earl of Mar, son of that Earl, who had been chosen regent of Scotland in 1571, on the death of Matthew Earl of Lennox, and filled that important office but thirteen months, dying of grief on account of the difficulties, which he met with in the management of the public affairs, on the 28th of October 1572^v. The Earl, his son, had in 1582 joined the discontented nobility, who seized the King at Ruthven castle, and petitioned his Majesty to remove Captain James Stewart, who then stiled himself Earl of Arran, from his councils, as a person of evil fame, disaffected to the public peace of the kingdom, and an instrument of discontent between the King and his Nobility. But the manner of this enterprise being afterwards adjudged treasonable, the Earl was obliged to give up his command of Sterling castle, and transported himself into Ireland. Thence he came over into England, and joining the Lord Hamilton and others, who had been outlawed during the regency of the Earl of Morton, returned with

^u Meteren, *ubi supra*.

^v Peerage of Scotland by George Crawford, Esq; p. 302. *Edit. Edinburgh, 1716, fol.* Spotswood, p. 264, says, that the Earl died the 8th of October.

them in 1585, to Scotland, where he obtained the King's pardon, and was restored to his government of Sterling castle, received into a more than ordinary share of his Majesty's favour, which he never afterwards forfeited*, and was now honoured with the post of Governor to the Prince.

He was assisted in this charge by his mother Annabella, Countess Dowager of Mar, and daughter of William Murray of Tillibardin, paternal ancestor of his Grace the present Duke of Athol. This Lady was intrusted with the chief care of his Highness's person by his Majesty, to whom she had likewise been nurse: and though the severity of her temper, as well as the duty of her office, would not permit her to use any indulgence towards the Prince, he shewed no less affection than reverence for her; nor did he behave with less regard to the Earl of Mar, his Governor, whom he embraced with great tenderness and even tears, when his Lordship parted from him, upon his going to England†.

But the Queen in the year 1595, being influenced by some persons, who envied the Earl

* Crawford, *ubi supra*, p. 303, 304.

† MS. relation of Prince Henry's noble and virtuous disposition, and of sundry his witty and pleasant speeches; directed to the Right Hon. the Lord Lumley, and his Lady: *Harl. MSS.* No. 6391. This MS. must have been written before April 1609, since that nobleman died on the 11th of that month.

of Mar his credit and authority at the court, and ambitious herself of forming a party in the kingdom of her own creatures, endeavoured to strengthen it by procuring the Prince her son to be removed from the Earl's custody into her own. In this design she had engaged John Maitland, Lord Thirlestaine, who had been Chancellor of Scotland from the year 1585, together with several others of the council*. The King, then at Falkland, being informed of this intrigue, went to the Queen at Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh, where, having prohibited any of the council to come to him till he should send for them, he dealt so effectually with her Majesty, that he diverted her from the course, which she had resolved upon, and prevailed upon her to go and reside at Sterling. Immediately after her departure from Edinburgh, he sent for the Chancellor, and such others of the council, as were suspected of having encouraged her in her design; and expressing high indignation against them on that account, followed her to Sterling; where he did not stay long, but returned to Falkland, leaving with the Earl of Mar a warrant written with his own hand in these terms:

“ My
 * Mr. Thomas Lake, afterwards Secretary of State to King James I. in a letter to Sir Robert Sidney, dated at Nonsuch, October 1, 1595, printed among the letters of the Sidney family, Vol. I. p. 352, takes notice, that the
 King

“ My Lord of Mar,

“ **B**Ecause in the surety of my son consisteth
 “ my surety, and I have concredited unto
 “ you the charge of his keeping, upon the
 “ trust I have of your honesty; this I com-
 “ mand you out of my own mouth, being in
 “ the company of those I like otherwise, for
 “ any charge or necessity, that can come from
 “ me, you shall not deliver him. And in case
 “ God call me at any time, see that neither for
 “ the Queen nor Estates their pleasure you
 “ deliver him till he be eighteen years of age,
 “ and that he command you himself. Strive-
 “ ling the 24th of July 1595.”

The sense of the King's displeasure made so deep an impression on the Chancellor's mind, as threw him into a languishing disorder, which put an end to his life on the 3d of October following, though his Majesty wrote a letter with his own hand to him, to comfort him in his sickness; as he afterwards regretted his death, and honoured his memory with an epitaph in verse^a.

King of Scots resolutely opposed the design, of which the Queen and Chancellor were the heads, of taking the young Prince out of the custody of the Earl of Mar; his Majesty knowing, that his own life would thereby be at discretion. Mr. Lake adds, that most of those, that were the supporters of the device, were at the devotion of Spain, and the Chancellor himself; and that the same parties, that should be doers in that attempt, are all our borderers, as Hume, Cessford, &c.

^a Spotswood, p. 410, 411.

The Prince continued under the care of the Countess of Mar, till he was about five or six years of age, when the King thought proper to appoint him a Tutor, making choice for that purpose of Mr. Adam Newton^b, a native of Scotland, advanced to the Deanry of Durham in 1606; which dignity, though not in Orders^c, he held till 1620, when he resigned it, being in April that year created a Baronet. This gentleman was thoroughly qualified for the office assigned him, both by his genius^d, and his skill in the learned and other languages, and was distinguished by the neatness and perspicuity of his Latin style, shewn in his translation of King James's Discourse against

^b Cornwallis, p. 7.

^c Besides this, there are other instances in these times of ecclesiastical preferments, particularly deanries, held by laymen. Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, and Mr. John Wolley, Secretary to her Majesty for the Latin tongue, were successively Deans of Carlisle, and the latter likewise Prebendary of Wells: Dr. Valentine Dale, one of the Masters of the Requests and Ambassador to the court of France, was Dean of Wells; and one of Mr. Newton's own predecessors, in the Deanry of Durham, was Dr. Thomas Willson, Secretary of State to the same Queen. But the Act of Uniformity, passed in 1662, effectually provided against such preferments being given to Laymen, by enacting, that every person hereafter to be promoted to any Ecclesiastical benefice, shall read the Common Prayer, and declare his assent to it, within two months after induction.

^d Dr. Thomas Smith styles him *vir elegantissimi ingenii*. Vita Patricii Junii, p. 13. printed in *Vita quorundam eruditiss. & illust. virorum*. Lond. 1707, in 4to.

Conrade Vorstius*, and that of father Paul's *History of the Council of Trent*, the six first books of which were done by him, as the two last were by Mr. William Bedell, then Rector of Horninghearth near St. Edmund's Bury in Suffolk, afterwards Provost of Dublin College, and at last Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland. The Instructions of so able a Tutor were not lost upon his Royal Pupil, whose capacity and application soon gave him a relish for polite and useful knowledge, and enabled him to make a progress in it rarely equalled at his age.

Not long after the appointment of Mr. Newton, the Prince was taken from the charge of the women, and had assigned him by the King attendants of considerable rank, the principal of whom was the Earl of Mar; together with

* That Mr. Newton was the translator of this piece, appears from the following passage of an original letter to him, written by Dr. Tobie Matthew, Archbishop of York, from Bishoptorp, 10th of August, 1612. Harl. MSS. Vol. 7002. "Of all the kind friendships, that you ever did me, I acknowledge myself most beholden unto you, for the desire to receive mine opinion of your translation of that his Majesty's most excellent discourse against Vorstius; which albeit I had formerly read, both the one in English and the other in Latin, to mine especial good content; yet could I never be persuaded, that Monf. Casaubon was the translator, notwithstanding the common report thereof, finding both the word and phrase to be much more pure and elegant in my conceit, than were those other treatises by him published."

the first and only gentleman of his Highness's Bed-chamber, Sir David Murray, Knt. assisted by several Lords, Knights and Gentlemen^f.

The Prince had scarce reached his sixth year, when the King, in 1599, composed for his use the best perhaps of all his works, being, in the judgment of Lord Bacon^g, *excellently written*, and published some time after under the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, *or his Majesty's instructions to his dearest son Henry the Prince*. It is divided into three books; the first instructing the prince in his duty towards God; the second in his duty when he should be King; and the third informing him how to behave himself in indifferent things, which were neither right nor wrong, but according as they were rightly or wrong used; and yet would serve, according to his behaviour, to increase or lessen his reputation and authority among the people. His Majesty had drawn up this treatise, to use his own words^h, “ for exercise of
“ my own ingene, and instruction of him,
“ who, says he, is appointed by God, I hope,
“ to sit on my throne after me. For the pur-
“ pose and matter thereof being only fit for

^f Cornwallis, p. 7.

^g *The beginning of the History of Great Britain*, published in Dr. Rawley's *Resuscitatio*, p. 224, edit. London 1657, fol.

^h Preface to the edition printed at London in 1603, by Felix Kyngston, for John Norton, according to the copie printed at Edinburgh.

“ a King, as teaching him his office, and the
 “ person, whom-for it was ordained, a King’s
 “ heir, whose secret counsellor and faithfull
 “ admonisher it must be; I thought it no ways
 “ convenient nor comely, that either it should
 “ to all be proclaimed, which to one only ap-
 “ pertained (and especially being a messenger
 “ betwixt two so conjunct persons;) or yet
 “ that the mould, whereupon he should frame
 “ his future behaviour, when he comes both
 “ unto the perfection of his years and posses-
 “ sion of his inheritance, should beforehand
 “ be made common to the people, the subject
 “ of his future happy government. And
 “ therefore for the more secret and close keep-
 “ ing of them, I only permitted seven of them
 “ to be printed, the printer being first sworn
 “ for secrecy; and these seven I dispersed
 “ among some of my trustiest servants, to be
 “ kepted closely by them, lest in case by the
 “ iniquity or wearing of time any of them
 “ might have been lost; yet some of them
 “ might have remained after me, as witnesses
 “ to my son both of the honest integrity of
 “ my heart, and of my fatherly affection and
 “ natural care towards him. But since, con-
 “ trary to my intention and expectation, as I
 “ have already said, this book is now vented
 “ and set forth to the public view of the
 “ world, and consequently subject to every
 “ man’s censure, as the current of his affec-
 “ tion

" tion leads him; I am now forced, as well
 " for resisting to the malice of the children
 " of envy, who, like wasps, suck venom out
 " of every wholesome herb, as for the satis-
 " faction of the godly honest sort in any thing,
 " that they may mistake therein, both to publish
 " and spread the true copies thereof, for de-
 " facing of the false copies, that are already
 " spread, as I am informed; as likewise by
 " this preface to clear such parts thereof, as,
 " in respect of the concised shortness of my
 " style, may be misinterpreted therein."

The two main points of this preface were
 to explain some passages in his book, in which,
 on account of the severity of his expressions
 against the factious humour of puritans, he
 seemed to furnish grounds of *doubting his sin-*
cerity in that religion, which he had ever con-
stantly professed; and others, in which he was
 thought to nourish in his mind a vindictive re-
 solution against England, or at least some prin-
 cipal persons in that kingdom, on account of
 the proceedings against the Queen his Mother.

His advice to the Prince with respect to the
 Highlandsⁱ was founded on the experience of
 former, and has been justified by the policy of
 latter times, and deserves to be mentioned here
 for the sake of the present age, in which the
 writings of this Royal Author, so much the ob-
 ject of the admiration of his contemporaries,

are almost sunk in oblivion. Having remarked, that the Highlands comprehended two sorts of people, the one, who dwelt in the main land, and were for the most part barbarous, and yet mixed with some shew of civility; the other, who dwelt in the isles, and were all utterly barbarous, without any sort or shew of civility; he proceeds thus: "For the first sort, put
 "straitly to execution the laws made already by
 "me against the over-lords and the chiefs
 "of their clans; and it will be no difficulty
 "to danton them. As for the other sort,
 "follow forth the course, that I have intend-
 "ed, in planting colonies amongst them of
 "answerable inlands subjects, that within short
 "time may reform and civilize the best in-
 "clined amongst them; rooting out or tran-
 "sporting the barbarous and stubborn sort,
 "and planting civility in their rooms." But his caution to his son with regard to marriage was a condemnation of his own proceedings afterwards, both in the case of that Prince and of his brother Charles; to the latter of whom a want of attention to that rule was, perhaps, the chief cause of his misfortunes and even ruin. "I would, *says the King^k*, rathest
 "have you to marry one, that were fully of your
 "own religion, her rank and other qualities
 "being agreable to your estate. For although
 "that, to my great regret, the number of any

^k Page 78.

“Princes of power and account, professing
 “our religion, be but very small; and that
 “therefore this advice seems to be the more
 “strait and difficile; yet ye have deeply to
 “weigh and consider upon those doubts, how
 “ye and your wife can be of one flesh, and
 “keep unity betwixt you, being members of
 “two opposite churches. Disagreement in
 “religion bringeth ever with it disagreement
 “in manners; and the dissension betwixt your
 “preachers and her’s will breed and foster a
 “dissension among your subjects, taking their
 “example from your family; besides the peril
 “of the evil education of your children.
 “Neither pride you, that ye will be able to
 “frame and make her as ye please. That
 “deceived Solomon, the wisest King, that
 “ever was, the grace of perseverance not
 “being a flower, that groweth in our garden.”

In 1600, the Prince being now advanced to
 his seventh year, took the opportunity of a
 voyage of Sir David Murray into Holland, on
 account of some affairs of his deceased bro-
 ther, to send by him a letter in French to the
 States General, dated at Sterling on the first
 of September. In this letter¹, which he ob-
 serves to be *les primices de nostre main*, he ex-
 presses his great regard for the States, and gra-
 titude for the good opinion, which they had

¹ Harleian Collection of MSS. in the British Museum,
 Vol. 6986.

HENRY PRINCE OF WALES. 21

so early conceived of him, and of which he had received an account from several persons, and not long before from Col. Edmond. And though this opinion, he owned, was not merited, yet it was extremely agreeable to him; and as it arose from the friendship of their Lordships, he thought himself highly obliged to them; and desired them to make use of his interest with the King, his Lord and Father, or in any other respect, wherein they might have occasion for it, till time and age should render him worthy of their favour, and enable him to testify his good-will and affection for them.

The year following, 1601, he began to apply himself to, and take pleasure in, active and manly exercises, learning to ride, sing, dance, leap, shoot with the bow and gun, tofs the pike^m, &c. being instructed in the use of arms by Richard Preston, a gentleman of great accomplishments both of mind and bodyⁿ, and afterwards knighted, and at last advanced by the King to the dignity of Earl of Desmond in Ireland.

The Prince's early progress in learning appears from a Latin letter of his, written on his ninth birth-day to the King^o, in which he takes notice, that he had two years before begun to write to his Majesty, in order to make him a judge what proficiency he had then

^m Cornwallis, p. 8.

ⁿ Johnston, p. 383.

• See Appendix, No. I.

made in his studies, and what since; as well as to give him some testimony of his duty. That it was of little consequence to have begun well, if the end did not answer the beginning. That he hoped, if God should continue his favour to him, he should acquit himself in a proper manner; and wished his Majesty to entertain that opinion of him. That since the King's departure he had read over Terence's Hecyra, the third book of Phædrus's Fables, and two books of Cicero's Select Epistles; and he now thought himself capable of performing something in the commendatory kind of Epistles. But of this his Majesty would be the best judge upon his return.

Some months before the death of Queen Elizabeth, the Pope, Clement VIII. being desirous of having in his power so important a pledge as the Prince, wrote a letter to the King by Sir James Lindsey, offering, that if his Majesty would transfer the education of the Prince to his, the Pope's, appointment, he, Clement VIII. would largely assist the King with such sums of money, as might secure and establish him in the throne of England. The King thought proper to return the Pope an answer, but excused himself in that point, alledging, first, that it would be an unnatural thing for himself, whose education from his cradle had been always to the contrary, to deliver over the child of his body to be nourished in that doctrine,

doctrine, "whereof, *says he*, ourselves were
 "never yet persuaded. Secondly, that if we
 "would have assented to any such thing out
 "of any other private end; yet he was not
 "ours only, as a child of a natural father;
 "but as an heir apparent to our body politic,
 "in whom our estate and kingdoms are espe-
 "cially interested." This answer he sent by
 Sir James Lindsey, whose sickness, together
 with the death of Queen Elizabeth, and the
 King's journey to England, prevented him
 from going to Rome till the latter end of the
 year 1603^p.

Sir William Stewart, being dispatched to
 Denmark by the King about April 1603, the
 Prince sent by him to his grandmother, the
 Queen Dowager of that kingdom, a letter in
 Latin^q, the first which he wrote to her, dated
 at Sterling castle on the 26th of March. He
 tells her in his letter, that being sensible how
 nearly he stood related to her in blood, he was
 desirous of declaring, under his own hand, how
 much his own will and inclination concurred
 with the bonds of nature and the force of her
 virtues, in hightening his affection and reve-
 rence for her; and he requested her to make

^p MS. Letter of King James, of Oct. 30, 1603, to
 Sir Thomas Parry, Ambassador in France, in the copy
 book of Sir Thomas's letters, in the library of Magdalen
 College, Cambridge.

^q Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

the same duty and affection known to his great grandfather and her father, who was an ornament to the age, as well as to his own descendants, among whom the Prince justly considered it as the highest honour to be ranked.

Queen Elizabeth dying at Richmond, two days before the date of this letter, and an account of her decease, and the proclamation of King James as her successor to the crown of England, being brought to him at Edinburgh, on the 27th of March, by Sir Robert Cary, brother of the Lord Hunsdon, and confirmed soon after by Sir Charles Percy, brother to Henry Earl of Northumberland, and Sir Thomas Somerset, son of Edward Earl of Worcester, sent with a letter from the Lords of her late Majesty's Privy Council, the King immediately gave orders for his journey to England. But before he entered upon it, he wrote a letter to the Prince, which, excepting the alteration of the spelling, peculiar to both his country and himself, which would disfigure it, and render it almost unintelligible to a modern reader, was as follows.

* Moyse's Memoirs, p. 34.

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 6986,

My

“ My Son,

“ **T**HAT I see you not before my part-
 “ ing, impute it to this great occasion,
 “ wherein time is so precious; but that shall,
 “ by God’s Grace, be recompensed by your
 “ coming to me shortly, and continual resi-
 “ dence with me ever after. Let not this
 “ news make you proud or insolent; for a
 “ King’s son and heir was ye before, and no
 “ more are ye now. The augmentation, that
 “ is hereby like to fall unto you, is but in
 “ cares and heavy burthens. Be therefore
 “ merry, but not insolent: keep a greatness,
 “ but *sine fastu*: Be resolute, but not wilfull:
 “ keep your kindness, but in honorable sort.
 “ Choose none to be your play-fellows but
 “ them, that are well born; and, above all
 “ things, give never good countenance to any,
 “ but according as ye shall be informed, that
 “ they are in estimation with me. Look upon
 “ all Englishmen, that shall come to visit you,
 “ as your loving subjects, not with that cere-
 “ mony, as towards strangers, and yet such
 “ heartiness, as at this time they deserve. This
 “ gentleman, whom this bearer accompanies,
 “ is worthy and of good rank, and now my
 “ familiar servitor. Use him therefore in a
 “ more homely loving sorte nor others. I send
 “ you herewith my book lately printed. Study
 “ and profit in it, as ye would deserve my
 “ blessing;

“ blessing; and as there can happen nothing
 “ unto you, whereof ye will not find the ge-
 “ neral ground therein, if not the very particular
 “ point touched; so must ye level every man’s
 “ opinions or advices unto you, as ye find
 “ them agree or discord with the rules there
 “ set down; allowing and following their ad-
 “ vices, that agrees with the same; mistrust-
 “ ing and frowning upon them, that advises
 “ you to the contrary. Be diligent and earnest
 “ in your studies, that, at your meeting with
 “ me, I may praise you for your progress in
 “ learning. Be obedient to your master for
 “ your own weal, and to procure my thanks;
 “ for in reverencing him, ye obey me, and
 “ honour yourself. Farewell.

“ Your loving Father,

“ JAMES R.”

The Prince in his Latin letter of congratula-
 tion to the King upon this great event ob-
 served, that though he had entertained no doubt,
 but that the people of England would call his
 Majesty to the throne of it, from a due regard to
 his great merits with respect to that State, to
 the dignity of his family, and to the hereditary
 right of succession; yet he had received an in-
 credible satisfaction upon hearing, that this ho-

nour had been conferred on his Majesty with such zeal and unanimity of the whole nation. But that being apprehensive, lest this sudden event might prevent his Majesty from having any opportunity of seeing him, which the Prince could have much wished for, he thought it his duty to testify in writing his joy on this occasion. That if the weakness of his age would not permit him to do that service to his Majesty, which he desired; he would most willingly perform what was in his power, by daily praying to God to give success to his Majesty's government, and that he might administer it suitably to his own dignity and that of his ancestors, and to the expectations of all his countrymen; and he did not question, but that from this accession of dominion, himself should find an addition to his Majesty's former affection; which that he might deserve by all instances of duty and reverence, he would not cease to implore the Almighty, whom he besought to be the guide of his Majesty in his present journey, and his perpetual companion, protector, and support hereafter.

His Highness wrote at the same time the following letter to the Queen his mother".

Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

" Madame

Madame and most honoured Mother,

MY humble service remembered, having occasion to write to the King's Majesty my father by this accident, which has fallen out of late, I thought it became me of my duty by writ also to congratulate unto your Majesty the happy success of that great turn, almost above men's expectation; the which I beseech God to bless in the proceedings, as he has done the beginning, to the greater increase of your Majesty's honour and contentment. And seeing by his Majesty's departing I will lose that benefit, which I had by his frequent visitation, I must humbly request your Majesty to supply that inlack by your presence, which I have the more just cause to crave, that I have wanted it so long, to my great grief and displeasure; to the end that your Majesty by sight may have, as I hope, the greater matter to love me; and I likewise may be encouraged to go forward in well doing, and to honour your Majesty with all due reverence, as appertains to me, who is

Your Majesty's

Most obedient, and

Dutiful Son,

HENRY.

The King, before he set out for England, which he did on the 4th^w of April, 1603, appointed the Queen to follow him within about twenty days after, and the Prince to remain at Sterling. But her Majesty, impatient to have his Highness in her own power, went herself to Sterling, in order to bring him away from thence, and carry him with her to England. The friends of the house of Mar, (for the Earl himself attended the King to England,) refusing to deliver the Prince to her, she fell into such an agony of grief and indignation, as threw her into a fever, and occasioned her to miscarry of the child, with which she was pregnant. The King, being informed of this, ordered the Earl of Mar to return to Scotland, sending after him the Duke of Lennox with a warrant to receive the Prince, and deliver him to the Queen; which was accordingly done at Holyrood-house about the end of May. Her Majesty however, not satisfied with this, complained in very strong terms of the dishonour done to her; and by a letter to the King full of passion, which she gave her almoner, Mr. John Spotswood, soon after made Archbishop of Glasgow, to carry, she required a public reparation by the punishment of the Earl of Mar and his servants. The King, who knew his Lordship to be blameless, and desired not

* Spotswood, p. 476. Moyses, p. 311. say the 5th of April.

to be troubled with such business at that time, returned to her this answer; that she would act wisely to forget the resentment, which she nourished against the Earl, and thank God for the peaceable possession, which they had obtained of these kingdoms, which, next to God's goodness, he ascribed to the last negotiation of his Lordship in England. This being reported to the Queen by the messenger, who was commanded to represent it to her, she in great anger replied, that she could rather have wished never to see England, than to be obliged for it to the Earl. But upon her arrival with the Prince at Windsor on the last of June, having spent that whole month in their journey from Edinburgh, she was reconciled to the Earl, who by an act of council was declared to have done nothing in the affair at Sterling, that might affect her honour^x: and the King, on the 23d of June that year, gave his Lordship, under the great seal, an honourable discharge from his custody of the Prince^y, declaring, that himself had cause to allow of that great care, which the Earl had shewn in providing for the Prince's virtuous education: that his Lordship had observed his Majesty's directions in the Prince's delivery; who had been received in so good state of health and

^x Spotswood, p. 477.

^y Peerage of Scotland, by George Crawford, Esq;
p. 304.

constitution of body and mind, "that we
 " have, *says the King*, not only occasion to
 " take comfort in God's favour thereby so
 " confirmed to us, but do now testify and
 " declare, by virtue of these present letters,
 " that we discharge, acquit, and exonerate
 " against us, our heirs, and successors, the
 " Earl of Mar, concerning the education and
 " delivery of our son; and do notify to the
 " world, that we have received full and entire
 " satisfaction answerable to the trust reposed
 " in him, and are resolved to lay it up in
 " memory, as a record of his constant love
 " and duty towards us; and taking ourselves
 " bound, in the honour and gratitude of a
 " prince, not only to give him acquittance,
 " but to reward him in time coming for so
 " great and memorable a service." His Ma-
 " jesty had already honoured him with the gar-
 " ter, with which he was invested on the 23^d
 " of April; and he afterwards made him a grant
 " of several abbey and other church lands, and
 " raised him to the post of Lord High Treasurer
 " of Scotland, on the removal of his disgraced
 " favourite Robert Ker, Earl of Somerset, on
 " the 2^d of December, 1615, which the Earl of
 " Mar discharged till 1630, when he resigned it,
 " on account of his age and infirmities, and, re-
 " tiring to his seat in the country, died the 16th of
 " December, 1637, being seventy-nine years old².

² Peer. of Scotl. by George Crawford, Esq; p. 305.

The feast of St. George being celebrated at Windsor on the 2d of July 1603, the Prince was invested with the order of the garter^a; and after the ceremony was over, being in his robes presented to the Queen, Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, and the Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, highly commended him, in the hearing of Mr. Edmund Howes^b, our English chronicler of that age, for several of his *quick witty answers, princely carriage, and reverend obeisance at the altar*; all which appeared very strange to them and the rest of the spectators, considering his tender age, and his being, till then, altogether unacquainted with the matter and circumstances of that solemnity.

The plague then increasing obliged the Prince to remove from Windsor to Otlands, a royal palace near Weybridge in Surrey; where, by appointment of the King, he took house by himself, and had such a number of attendants allotted him in every office, as was suitable to his age^c.

One of the principal of these officers was Sir Thomas Chaloner, who appears to have

^a Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi, p. 2.

^b General Chronicle of England, begun by John Stow, continued by Edmund Howes, Gent. p. 826. edit. Lond. 1631, fol.

^c Cornwallis, p. 10.

been governor of the prince^d; a post peculiarly fit for him on account of his eminent abilities and extensive knowledge, acquired both in his own and foreign countries. He was son of Sir Thomas Chaloner, who died in 1565, and had been ambassador in France from King Edward VI. and to the Emperor Ferdinand from Queen Elizabeth, and was author of an elegant Latin poem, in ten books, *de republicâ Anglorum instaurandâ*, published several years after his death. The son distinguished himself likewise by his poetical talents while he was a student at Magdalen College in Oxford, which he left, without having taken a degree, in order to travel abroad, where he improved himself in all the qualities of an accomplished gentleman. He had the honour of knight-hood conferred upon him in 1591, and, on the accession of King James to the throne of

^d John Owen, the epigrammatist, in his second book, *epigr.* 36. p. 27. edit. *Amstelod.* 1647, addresses the following verses to Sir Thomas Chaloner, whom he stiles *præpositum domui principis*.

*Principis efformas tenerum sic pectus, ut olim
Non modo regnorum Rex sit, at ipse sui;
Quatuor hoc quintum regnis ut præferat unum,
Imperiumque sui quattuor Imperiis.*

Mr. (afterwards Sir) Isaac Wake, in his *Rex Platonicus, sive Musæ regnantes*, p. 67. edit. 4ta. Oxon. 1627, stiles him *Principi in disciplinarum omniumque Virtutum regiarum institutione honorarius Præfectus*. And Mr. Henry Peacham, in his *Complete Gentleman*, ch. 10. p. 93. edit. Lond. 1622, gives him the character of *truly honest and lover of all excellent parts*.

England, was appointed governor^e to the Prince, and became his chamberlain upon his Highness's being created Prince of Wales. Besides his skill in other branches of learning, he was no inconsiderable master of natural knowledge, very little cultivated in our country at that time; and published at London, in 1584, in 4to, a treatise on the *Virtue of Nitre, wherein is declared the sundry cures by the same effected*; and about the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign first discovered an alun-mine near Gisburgh in Yorkshire, where he had an estate: but, it being adjudged to be a mine-royal, little benefit arose from it to him or his family, till the parliament of 1640 voting it a monopoly, it was restored to the proprietors. He survived the Prince but three years, dying about the 17th of November, 1615, and was interred in the parish-church of Chiswick in Middlesex, near the body of his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of William Fleetwood, recorder of London; by which lady he had issue William, created a Baronet soon after his father's decease, Thomas, James, &c. which two last sat among the judges of King Charles I. His second wife was Judith, daughter of William Blount, of London; and by her he had several children.

* Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. Col. 398. says, by mistake, Tutor.

The establishment of the household for the Prince and his sister the Lady Elizabeth^f, at Otelands, by the first book signed by the King on the 20th of July, 1603, consisted of seventy servants, twenty-two of whom were to be above stairs, and forty-eight below. But his Majesty, some weeks after, enlarged their number to an hundred and four, fifty-one of whom were appointed for the chamber, and fifty-three for the house. They were still farther increased by him before the end of the same year, 1603, to one hundred and forty-one, fifty-six above stairs, and eighty-five below. But at Michaelmas term of that year the Prince was removed from Nonsuch^g in Surrey, whither he had gone from Otelands, to Hampton-court, where he resided chiefly till about Michaelmas of the year following, when he returned to house-keeping, his servants having in the interval been put to board-wages^h.

The new year's gift, which he sent to the King on the 1st of January, 1603-4, in his tenth year, was a short poem in Latin hexa-

^f She was born on the 19th of August, 1596.

^g He was there on the 23d of September, as appears from a letter of his to the Queen, to satisfy her, that the report of his indisposition was ill grounded.

^h Sir Thomas Chaloner's papers in the 167th volume of the manuscripts of Sir Julius Cæsar, chancellor of the Exchequer, afterwards master of the Rolls, which were sold by auction at London on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of December, 1757.

meter verse, the first of his offerings in that kind, inclosed in a very polite and modest letter in the same language¹.

It is not improbable, that his tutor, Mr. Newton, might have a considerable hand in this and other letters of the Prince, at least in correcting and giving the last touches to them. And that the King himself entertained such a notion, appears from the following letter of his Majesty; but the want of a date leaves us at a loss to what time to assign it, or to what letter of his Highness to apply it.

“ My Son,

“ I Am glad, that by your letter I may perceive, that ye make some progress in learning, although I suspect ye have rather written than dictated it; for, I confess, I long to receive a letter from you, that may be wholly yours, as well matter as form, as well formed by your mind as drawn by your fingers; for ye may remember, that in my book to you, I warn you to beware with that kind of wit, that may fly out at the end of your fingers: not that I commend not a fair hand-writing; *sed hoc facito, illud non omittito*; and the other is *multo magis præcipuum*. But nothing will be impossible for you, if ye will only remember two rules;

¹ Appendix, No. III.

“ the

“ the one; *aude semper* in all virtuous actions:
 “ trust a little more to your own strength;
 “ and away with childish bashfulness:

Audaces fortuna juvat, timidosque repellit.

“ The other is my old oft-repeated rule unto
 “ you; whatever ye are about, *hoc age*.

“ I am also glad of the discovery of yon little
 “ counterfeit wench. I pray God ye may be
 “ my heir in such discoveries. Ye have often
 “ heard me say, that most miracles now-a-days
 “ proves but illusions: you may see by this how
 “ wary judges should be in trusting accusations
 “ without an exact trial; and likewise how
 “ easily people are induced to trust wonders.
 “ Let her be kept fast till my coming: and
 “ thus God bless you, my son.

“ Your loving Father,

“ JAMES R.”

One of the books, which was put into the Prince's hands in the course of his studies, being the *Quatrains*, written in imitation of *Cato's* distichs by the celebrated Guy de Four de Pibrac, president of the parliament of Paris in the reign of Henry III. of France, his Highness writing an English letter to the Queen his mother on new year's day, 1604, enclosed in it one of those *Quatrains*, letting her Majesty

at the same time know, that, if this should prove acceptable to her, he hoped, before the end of that year, to learn by heart the *Quatrains* of the whole book. These *Quatrains* are stiled *admirable* by a polite French writer¹; and though chiefly designed for, and much taught formerly, the youth; yet, in the opinion of *Monf. Pasquier*^m, the great lawyer and antiquary of France, they deserved to be imprinted in the minds of men.

It being now thought proper to build a small vessel for the amusement of the Prince, and his instruction in the business of shipping and sailing, for which he afterwards shewed a strong inclination, the Lord High Admiral, Charles Howard Earl of Nottingham, sent orders to Mr. Phineas Pett, one of the King's shipwrights at Chatham, to prepare such a vessel, which was to be in length by the keel twenty-eight feet, and in breadth twelve feet, adorned with painting and carving, both within board and without. This was accordingly finished with all possible expedition, and launched on Tuesday the 6th of March 1603-4, and on the 14th of that month brought from Limehouse, to anchor right against the King's lodgings in the Tower, his Majesty being there be-

¹ *Mélanges d'Histoire & de Littérature, par M. de Vigneul-Marville. Tom. I. p. 60. Edit. Paris 1725.*

^m *Recherches de la France, L. vii. c. 7. Edit. Paris 1643. fol.*

fore his riding through London. The Prince coming thither with the Lord Admiral, and several other Noblemen, shewed great delight in viewing this ship, which was furnished with ensigns and pennants. It being brought up to anchor against the Privy Stairs at Whitehall, on the 18th of March, orders were sent to Mr. Pett on Thursday morning the 22d by the Lord Admiral, to be ready to receive the Prince on board that afternoon, who presently after dinner came, accompanied with his Lordship and the Earl of Worcester, and divers other noblemen. They immediately weighed, and fell down as far as Paul's Wharf, under both top-sails and foresail, and there coming to anchor, his Highness, in the usual form, baptised the ship with a great bowl of wine, giving her the name of *Disdain*.

The Lord Admiral then presented the builder of it, Mr. Pett, to the Prince in such terms of recommendation, that his Highness immediately received him into his service, in which capacity Mr. Pett was the next day sworn at St. James's House, where the Prince then residedⁿ.

His

ⁿ MS. *Life of Phineas Pett*, Harl. MSS. Vol. 6279. p. 16. This Mr. Pett, second son of Mr. Peter Pett of Deptford-strond in Kent, one of the shipwrights of Queen Elizabeth, was born there November 1, 1570, and educated at Emanuel College in the university of Cambridge. But after residing there four years, upon the death of his

His Highness's known relish for books, even of the most serious and important kind, now induced Robert Lord Spencer, who had entertained the Queen and Prince, at his seat at Althrope in Northamptonshire in their journey from Scotland to England^o, to send him a present of the Memoirs of Philip de Comines, with a letter^p dated the 24th of April 1604, which his Lordship began with taking notice, that it had pleased his Highness heretofore to accept of small things at his hands, as tokens of his duty, being matters merely of pleasure: "Which your gracious acceptance, *adds he,* "hath now imboldened me to present your "Highness with this book, wherein is both "profit and pleasure; not profit to enrich your "Highness's estate (whereof you have no "need) but to enrich your mind, the espedialest "thing to be regarded. The author was a "Counsellor to one of the politickest Kings, "that ever France bred^q, and to one of the "richest Dukes, that ever Burgundy had;

father and the imprudent marriage of his mother, he was obliged to leave the university about Christmas 1590, and to put himself apprentice to Mr. Richard Chapman, a shipwright at Deptford; and was afterwards made one of the shipwrights to King James I.

^o On Saturday the 25th of June 1603; on which occasion Ben. Jonson composed an entertainment, printed in his works, *Vol. V. p. 202. Edit. 1756.*

^p Harleian MSS. Vol. 7007.

^q Lewis XI.

“ whose

“ whose work sheweth, that he was employed
 “ by his masters in many several states, where-
 “ by he did know the secrets of many coun-
 “ tries. I have been bold, most gracious Prince,
 “ to line out certain places, that your High-
 “ ness may the more readily read them with-
 “ out the tedious perusing the whole chapter;
 “ for Princes must taste of every thing, and be
 “ cloyed with nothing. Pardon, I most hum-
 “ bly beseech your Highness, the boldness of
 “ a true affectionate heart, which shall ever
 “ most faithfully pray to God, for the con-
 “ tinuance of your happy proceeding in all
 “ virtue and honour.” This nobleman, who
 had been created Lord Spencer, Baron of
 Wormleighton, in the county of Warwick,
 soon after the King’s accession to the throne
 of England, was a man of excellent parts and
 great knowledge of men and business, and
 equally eminent for his public as his private
 virtues, a zealous encourager of learning and
 merit, and a constant friend in parliament to
 the liberties of his fellow subjects, till his
 death in 1627.

The Prince’s love of arms, which soon disco-
 vered itself, and his esteem for men eminent in
 that profession, recommended to his notice and
 regard, Colonel Clement Edmondess^r, a Scots
 officer

^r Mr. Henry Peacham in his *Complete Gentleman*, ch. i.
 p. 5. Edit. London 1622, 4to. after remarking, that
 “ the

officer in the service of the States General, who had advanced himself by his merit. The Colonel, who had been desired by his Highness to send him over from Holland some armour, having been prevented for some time from executing this commission, wrote to the Prince on the 13th of May, N. S. 1604, from the camp in the Low Countries, excusing this delay, and alledging, that he could never yet have time, on account of the continual exercise of the wars, to perform his promise with relation to the Prince's Corset; " Yet I
 " hope, *says he*, with God's grace, to tie my-
 " self fast upon your Grace's body; hoping in
 " God, that it shall be good handfell, and
 " that through the good hope, that it has
 " pleased the Lord to bestow upon your per-

" the truly valorous, or any way virtuous, are not
 " ashamed of their mean parentage, but rather glory in
 " themselves, that their merit hath advanced them above
 " so many thousands far better descended," adds the fol-
 " lowing reply of Col. Edmondès to a countryman of his
 " newly come out of Scotland: who desiring entertainment
 " of the Colonel, told him, that my Lord his father, and
 " such Knights and Gentlemen his cousins, were in good
 " health: upon which the Colonel said to his friends, who
 " were present, " Gentlemen, believe not a word, that he
 " says. My father is but a poor baker of Edinburgh,
 " and works hard for his living, whom this knave would
 " make a Lord, to curry favour with me, and make ye
 " believe I am a great man born." He was a different
 " person from Sir Clement Edmondès, the translator of
 " Cæsar's commentaries, Clerk of the Council.

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

" son,

“ son, that your Grace’s name begins already
 “ to be spread through the whole world. I
 “ hope in God, that you shall follow the
 “ footsteps of the Prince of Wales, King Ed-
 “ ward the third’s son, who not only did sub-
 “ due France, but also reduced the proud
 “ Spaniards in their own country. I shall
 “ bring with me also the book of Froissart,
 “ who will shew your Grace, how the wars
 “ were led in those days; and what just title
 “ and right your Grace’s father has beyond
 “ the seas.”

The Prince returned an answer to the Colo-
 nel from St. James’s on the 21st of May 1604,
 thanking him for the kind remembrance
 of his promise, the performance of which
 would be very acceptable; and assuring him,
 that whenever a fit opportunity should be offered
 him of repairing into England, he should find
 him, the Prince, willing to requite the Colonel’s
 affection. But Colonel Edmondes did not live
 long enough to receive much advantage from
 the Prince’s regard for him; for on the third
 of March 1606-7, N. S. his widow, who signs
 herself Agneta Berck, wrote a letter to his
 Highness from Utrecht, acquainting him with
 the death of her husband, who had procured
 a set of arms, which he had designed to have
 presented to the Prince in April following, and
 at the same time to have introduced his son to
 his Highness.

The Prince began now to be considered by men of learning, as a proper patron of their works, not only for his high rank, but likewise his relish for them. Nor were writings on religion thought unsuitable to his taste. For which reason the English translation, from the French original, of the discourse of Mons. de Mornay, Sieur de Pleffis, on the truth of the Christian religion, having been revised and corrected by Mr. Thomas Wilcocks, a clergyman, and reprinted at London this year 1604, in 4to, he addressed it to his Highness, in a dedication dated the 17th of May. This translation, which was first printed at London in 1587, had been begun by no less a man than Sir Philip Sidney himself, who undertook the task, on account of the importance of the subject and the character of the writer; and not having leisure to finish it, procured it to be done by Mr. Arthur Golding, an eminent translator of books in that age.

Another Divine, who about this time addressed one or more of his works to the Prince, was that great master of the Hebrew language and learning, Mr. Hugh Broughton, who had preached before his Highness on the Lord's prayer, at Otelands, in August 1603, and in 1605, inscribed to him a small piece in reply to Dr. Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, on a subject long agitated between them, the descent of Christ into Hades. He dedicated
likewise

likewise to the Prince his *Comment upon Cobeletb or Ecclesiastes*, and his translation of the Lamentations of Jeremiah; and sent to him a Latin letter^t, stiling him *Autoris presidium & dulce decus*, and accompanying his answer to an Hebrew Epistle of a learned Jew, Abraham Reuben, sent from Constantinople to England.

The Queen, whose inclinations to the church of Rome, as well as to the interests of Spain, were not known to, or at least not mentioned by, the historians of the last age, Thuanus himself (L. 129. §. 15.) but just hinting at the former, began now to practise upon and infuse her own prejudices into the Prince her son; though all her attempts of that kind proved unsuccessful. Mons. de Harlay, Count de Beaumont, Ambassador from Henry IV. of France in England, having discovered her Majesty's designs, informed that King in a letter the 7th of June 1604^u, that the Spaniards were persuaded, that they should be able by their intelligence with the Queen and her consent to alter the religion in England, if the crown should fall to the Prince during his minority; and that she endeavoured to prejudice him in favour of Spain, and against France, which, she said, she hoped he would one day conquer like Henry V. In another

^t Broughton's works, p. 959. edit. London, 1662, fol.

^u Lettres MSS. Comte de Beaumont, Vol. VI. p. 129. in the possession of the Right Honourable Philip Lord Viscount Royston.

letter of the 22d of October following, N. S.^w, the Ambassador, after taking notice of the Queen's immoderate ambition of governing, adds, that she used all her efforts to corrupt the mind of the Prince by flattering his passions, diverting him from his studies and exercises, representing to him, out of contempt of his father, that learning was inconsistent with the character of a great General and Conqueror, and proposing to him a marriage with the Infanta of Spain.

John Johnston, one of the King's Professors in the University of St. Andrews in Scotland, having composed in Latin historical Inscriptions of the Kings of Scotland from the foundation of the Monarchy to that time^x, sent his work to the Prince, with a letter in Latin^y, dated at St. Andrews the 1st of July 1604, in which he mentions his having added a new or rather renewed dedication to his Highness: and that he thought it an honour and happiness to himself, that he, who was the most inconsiderable of his servants, having first undertaken a work of that kind, should have the good fortune of consecrating it by his Highness's august

^w *Ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 205.

^x Printed at Amsterdam 1602, in 4to. with the following title, *Inscriptiones historicæ Regum Scotorum continuatâ annorum serie a Pergussio, primo Regni nostri Conditore, ad nostra tempora, Johanne Johnstono Abredonense Scoto Authore. Præfixus est Guthelus, sive de gentis origine, fragmentum An. Melvini. Additæ sunt icones omnium regum nobilis Familiæ Stuartorum in ære sculptæ.*

^y Appendix, No. IV.

name. He adds, that if he should find by any token, that his performance was acceptable to the Prince, he should be excited to publish soon some greater works under the auspices of his Highness's patronage.

The Professor's dedication did not pass unrewarded; for the Prince sent him a diamond; upon which the Professor addressed a *Carmen encomiasticum* to his Highness, and transmitted it with a letter, dated in November 1605, to Mr. Newton.

Sir Henry Wotton, going Ambassador from the King to Venice in July 1604, the Prince sent by him a letter in Latin to the Doge, dated at London the 12th of that month, returning thanks for two letters, which he had received from the Doge.

On the 24th of September following he wrote another letter in the same language, from Hampton-court to the Landgrave of Hesse, in answer to one from the Landgrave: as he did one from London on the 15th of December to the King of Denmark his uncle; another in French on the 12th of January 1604-5, to the Duke of Savoy, sent by the Marquis of Lullin; another in Latin to Frederick Ulrick, Duke of Brunswick, on the 7th of February; and another to Uladislaus, Prince of Poland, on the 13th of that month from Otelands. But from this time his letters written to foreign Princes, and received from them,

them, became too numerous to be particularised here.

The King having resolved to honour the university of Oxford with a visit, and to enter the Prince a member of it, went thither with the Queen and his Highness on the 27th of August, 1605, from Woodstock, where he had reposed himself for some days, after a progress through the counties of Essex, Huntington, Bedford, and Northampton. Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, Lord High Treasurer, was then Chancellor of Oxford; and the Vice-chancellor was Dr. George Abbot, Dean of Winchester, and Master of University College, and a few years after advanced, first to the see of London, and then to that of Canterbury.

His Majesty, being attended by most of the principal nobility and great officers of state, and received with great solemnity by the university, had lodgings provided for him and the Queen at Christ-church, of which Dr. John King, raised to the bishoprick of London in 1611, was Dean; who presented to their Majesties and to his Highness, in the name of the college, a volume of congratulatory verses. Magdalen College being prepared for the residence of the Prince, he was accompanied thither by the Earl of Worcester, Master of the horse to the King, the Lord Knollys, Treasurer of the household, the Earls of Oxford and Essex, Viscount Cranborne, son of the Earl of Salisbury,

bury, and other young noblemen. He was met at the entrance by Dr. Nicolas Bond, the President, and by the Fellows; one of whom, Mr. James Mabbe, made a speech to his Highness, to whose honour verses were affixed to the walls and gates of the college, of which he was admitted a member, and as such matriculated of the university, John Wilkinson, B.D. then Fellow, afterwards President, of the college, being appointed his tutor^y. The Prince being conducted to his lodgings in the president's apartments, was entertained there with disputations, in which Mr. William Seymour, second son of Edward Lord Beauchamp, and grandson of Edward Earl of Hertford, performed the part of respondent, and was opposed by Charles Somerset, sixth son of the Earl of Worcester, Edward Seymour, eldest son of the Lord Beauchamp, Mr. Robert Gorge, son of Sir Thomas Gorge by the Marchioness of Northampton, two sons of Sir Thomas Chaloner, who had himself been educated in this college, and Mr. William Burlacy, son of a Knight; all of whom gave his Highness so much satisfaction by the readiness of their wit, that, in testimony of it, he gave them his hand to kiss. He then returned to the King at Christ-church, where the evening concluded with a Latin comedy entitled *Vertumnus*, acted by the students of that college.

^y Wood Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. Col. 173.

The next day was employed in disputations in divinity and civil law in St. Mary's church, at which was present the King, with the Prince on his left hand, and on his right Christopher de Harlay, Count de Beaumont, Ambassador from the court of France, and Nicolo Molino, Ambassador from Venice. The two questions in divinity were, "Whether saints and angels know the thoughts of the heart?" and "Whether the pastors of churches are not obliged to visit the sick during the plague?" The respondent was Dr. John Aglionby, Principal of Edmund hall; and the opponents were Dr. John Holland, Regius-professor of Divinity, Dr. Thomson, Dean of Windsor, Dr. Field, Chaplain to his Majesty, and afterwards Dean of Gloucester, and author of the learned treatise *Of the Church*, Dr. Harding, Regius-professor of Hebrew, Dr. Rives, Warden of New college, Dr. Airay, Provost of Queen's college, and Dr. John Gordon, Dean of Salisbury, and related to the Royal family of Scotland. The two questions in civil law were these; "Whether a judge ought to give sentence according to the proofs alledged in the trial, against the truth known privately to himself?" and "Whether a stranger and enemy being detained in an hostile port by adverse winds, contrary to what had been before stipulated in a truce, may be justly killed by the

“the inhabitants of that place?” These questions were managed by Dr. Bird of All-souls college, Dr. Weston of Christ-church, Dr. Martin of New college, Dr. Huffey, Principal of Magdalen hall, Dr. Budden of Magdalen college, and Dr. Lloyd of All-souls college; Dr. Blencow, Provost of Queen’s college, being Respondent, and Dr. Albericus Gentilis, the King’s Professor of civil law, acting the part of Moderator. At night was exhibited the tragedy of *Ajax flagellifer*.

The disputations were continued on the third day, Aug. 29. One of the two medical questions was, “Whether children imbibe the temper with the milk of their nurses?”; and the other was concerning the use of tobacco, to which the King had so strong an aversion, as to employ his Royal pen in order to explode the use of it. The Respondent was Sir William Paddy, the King’s Physician; and the Opponents Dr. Warner, the King’s Professor of Physic, Dr. Antony Aylworth, and Dr. Gifford of New college, Dr. Matthew Gwynne of St. John’s college, Dr. Ashworth of Oriel, and Dr. Cheynell of Corpus-Christi.

The King, Queen, Prince, Nobility, and Ambassadors, having been entertained at dinner by the Earl of Dorset at New college, returned to St. Mary’s to a disputation in philosophy, in which Mr. Richard Andrews, of St. John’s college, was Respondent, and the Opponents Mr. Lapworth of Magdalen college, Mr. Baskerville

ville of Exeter, Mr. Clayton of Gloucester hall, Mr. Mocket of All-fouls, Mr. Pinke of New college, and Mr. Bolton of Brazen-nose. The questions were, "Whether gold can be made by art?" and "Whether the imagination can produce real effects?" These were followed by two positions in moral philosophy, given out by the King himself; one, that it is greater to defend than to enlarge the bounds of an empire; and the other, that just and unjust are not constituted by law only, but by nature. These were maintained by Mr. William Ballow of Christ-church, and opposed by Mr. John Barcham of Corpus-Christi college, Mr. Langton of Magdalen, Mr. King of Merton, Mr. Winniffe of Exeter, and Mr. Jucks and Mr. Thornton of Christ-church. His Majesty closed this disputation, as he had done all the former, with a determination of his own; and, having given his thanks to the university in a speech, was conducted back to Christ-church, whither the Prince having attended him, returned to his own college of Magdalen, where he was invited to sup. He sat alone in the midst of the upper table, the noblemen and courtiers in the middle of the hall, and the fellows and students in their habits on both sides of it, whom, with great civility, he obliged to put on their square caps; and, calling for a bowl of wine, drank to all their healths, professing his high regard for the college, and that

that he should always remember their kindness and hospitality. Mr. William Grey, son of Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, then presented to him, by the President's order, Pandulphus Colenucius's *Apologues*, a manuscript, elegantly bound, and adorned with gold and pearls, with a speech on the occasion. Another present was made by Mr. Edward Chaloner, son of Sir Thomas, and afterwards Chaplain to the King, and Principal of St. Alban's hall, who gave his Highness, in the name of the college, two pair of rich gloves; as Mr. Richard Worseyley did a book of verses in foreign languages, beautifully written.

The same night the Prince attended the King to St. John's college, where the members represented a comedy entitled *Vertumnus, sive Annus recurrens*, written by Dr. Matthew Gwynne, Professor of Physic in Gresham college, and Physician to the Tower; which comedy, though it had the same title with that acted two nights before, at Christ-church, was very different from it both in the plot and execution.

On the fourth day, August 30, the King visited the library lately founded by Sir Thomas Bodley, who, after having spent the former part of his life in public business, especially as a minister in foreign countries, and refused the post of Secretary of state, devoted his latter years to retirement, and the forming and endowing that library, one of the most

magnificent of the last or present age. His Majesty next viewed the divinity school, and that of arts, the colleges of Brazen-nose, All-souls, Magdalen, and Queen's; while many of the noblemen and persons of distinction were created Masters of art; and a tragedy-comedy, entitled *The Queen's Arcadia*, was presented to her Majesty and her ladies at Christ-church, written by Mr. Samuel Daniel, the poet and historian, who had been a commoner of Magdalen hall in Oxford, and was then one of the grooms of the Queen's privy chamber. After dinner, their Majesties and the Prince left the university, the King expressing how agreeable his four days residence there had been to him, and giving orders for augmenting the stipend of his Professor of Divinity, by annexing to that professorship the living of Ewelme and a prebend of Christ-church.

Mr. Isaac Wake, who had a share in this solemnity as public orator, and was afterwards knighted and employed in several embassies abroad, having drawn up an exact and elegant relation of this Royal visit to the university of Oxford, published it in 1607 in 4to, under the title of *Rex Platonicus, sive Musæ regnantes*, with a dedication to the Prince; in which the author remarked, that the university had seen so much of his Highness's temper and genius, during his stay there, as answered their most sanguine wishes.

Not long before the Prince went to Oxford, he received a letter from Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, then Lord Warden of the cinque-ports, and afterwards Lord Privy-Seal. This nobleman, who was much more eminent for his abilities than his integrity, having a great share of the King's favour, to whom he had been highly serviceable by his correspondence with the Earl of Mar, before his Majesty's accession to the throne of England, seemed now desirous of ingratiating himself with the Prince. His letter^z, which is full of that affectation of style, by which all his compositions, as well as too many others of that age, are distinguished, begins with the following compliment: "Though the time will not
 " be long, before that, to my comfort, I shall
 " behold your Highness as a bright and cheer-
 " ful star in this heaven; yet can I not forbear
 " to witness, by so fit a messenger, my duti-
 " ful acknowledgements of your gracious fa-
 " vour to your humble servant, who never
 " looks upon your eyes without an inward
 " sense of this island's happiness, that may
 " assure itself of so rare a heir apparent to suc-
 " ceed (*in plenitudine temporis*) so dear a sove-
 " reign. By the sweetness of your blossoms
 " I may easily apprehend the full perfection
 " of seasonable fruits, which the virtues of
 " your mind, and graces of your princely per-

^z Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

“ son, will afford to those, that hereafter, by
 “ the benefit of your golden days, shall find
 “ so great cause to bleis the memory of that
 “ stately Royal cedar, which leaves such a
 “ branch, of more than ordinary proof, to
 “ prosper and spread after him.” His Lord-
 ship then adds, “ that his Majesty, thanks be
 “ to God, enjoyed that perfect health, for
 “ which his loyal subjects prayed; and was
 “ greatly pleased, says he, to find, by that,
 “ which I received last from Sir Thomas
 “ Chaloner, that your Highness spent the
 “ time of your last being abroad with so great
 “ moderation in all degrees, matching Mer-
 “ cury with Diana, and study with exercise,
 “ with so good measure, as very few can keep,
 “ that are as far above your years in computa-
 “ tion, as short of your discretion in experience.
 “ His Majesty by this may see a lively image
 “ of his own Royal mind, that did ever mix
 “ *utile dulci*, and so far regard the preservation
 “ of health by exercise, as he never utterly
 “ neglected those parts contemplative, that
 “ made him rich *pro republicâ*.”

He next touched upon the design of enter-
 ing the Prince a member of the university of
 Oxford, when his Highness was to accompany
 the King thither. “ Oxford, says he, is very
 “ glad, and I am a little sorry^a, that it shall
 “ have

• His Lordship had been educated at King's college,
 and

“ have the first-fruits of your resort to the
 “ temple of the muses in that mount; although
 “ the justice of your princely mind, and the
 “ equity of your native disposition, give hope
 “ to Cambridge her sister also, that, according
 “ to the laws of copartionery in this land, like
 “ sisters, they shall equally be shared in the
 “ comfort of your gracious affection, if they
 “ deserve equally. In the mean time my
 “ prayer shall be for your preservation, and
 “ my study by all means to witness, that I
 “ will be ever, as in duty all men ought to be,
 “ your Highness’s most affectionate and hum-
 “ ble servant.”

The Prince being Duke of Cornwall, though
 not in actual possession of that dutchy, began
 now to be attentive to the interests of it. This
 appears from a letter to him from an officer
 of his, who resided there, Mr. Richard Con-
 nok^b, dated the 12th of September, 1605^c,
 who, in the beginning of it, observes, that he
 had not been more troubled in the doubtfulness
 of his mind about any thing for many years,
 than whether “ I, *says he*, that am your poor
 “ servant and officer, might presume to write
 “ unto you so worthy a Prince, and, for the
 and afterwards at Trinity-hall, in Cambridge, of which
 university, on the death of the Earl of Salisbury in 1612,
 he was chosen Chancellor.

^b Owen addresses an epigram, L. III. Ep. 27. *ad amicum suum Ricardum Connok.*

^c Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

“hope which is conceived of you, admired
 “by all men. But calling to mind, when I
 “did last kiss your hand, that your Highness
 “commanded me to write unto you of the
 “occurrences happening in this poor county
 “of Cornwall, I then made choice rather
 “thus, by writing, to hazard your gracious
 “censure of my errors, than by silence to
 “break your commandments.” He then
 proceeds to inform him, that the people in
 those western parts were infinitely comforted
 to hear of the excellent qualities, with which
 his Highness was endowed, and of the virtues
 of his noble mind; but chiefly, and above all,
 of his obedience, love, and duty towards their
 dread sovereign the King’s Majesty, his Royal
 father, and of his affection towards the council
 for the pains, which they took in the common-
 wealth to do his Majesty and his Highness
 service. That with regard to his affairs and
 business in Cornwall, all went on as his High-
 ness could wish, and would prove profitable
 to him against the time, that his Majesty should
 be pleased to deliver over that dutchy into his
 hands. But Mr. Connok feared, that Serjeant
 Heale would not live out the time, that the
 Prince should have a recovery against him:
 but what could not be done against him,
 might be performed against his heirs.

“My Lord of Salisbury, *continues he*, by his
 “voluntary yielding up of the lands, which
 “he

“he purchaseth, doth owe great furtherance
 “to your services here, and maketh the peo-
 “ple believe you have good right to all the
 “rest. *nov otau shrw of em behasmoo*”

“Touching your Highness's deanery of
 “Burian, which the King's Majesty and your
 “Highness are willing to bestow upon such a
 “one, as Mr. Newton shall recommend; so it
 “is, that, by Mr. Newton's consent and lik-
 “ing, I have sent up one Mr. Parker for the
 “same. He is both learned, and honest, a dis-
 “creet gentleman, and a bachelor of divinity,
 “of whom I have wished Mr. Newton to
 “make choice before others, because he is
 “this country-man, and well-beloved of all
 “forts of men, especially of the bishop of this
 “diocese^d; so as, in my opinion, he is the
 “meetest man, and best able to do you service
 “for settling and restoring that deanery to its
 “ancient jurisdiction, the same being yet
 “cumbered with one Gayer, a turbulent per-
 “son, who, though unjustly, claimeth the
 “same during his life. Howbeit, for the
 “allowance or disallowance of this choice of
 “Mr. Parker, we wholly refer the same to
 “your Highness's consideration.”

The Lady Arbella Stewart, daughter of
 Charles Earl of Lennox, younger brother of

^d Dr. William Cotton, consecrated to the See of
 Exeter, Nov. 12, 1598.

So she writes her name, and not *Arabella*.

Henry

Henry Lord Darnley, the King's father, was not less dear to the Prince for her near relation to him, than for the accomplishments of her mind both natural and acquired; and therefore he took all occasions of obliging her. In consequence of this, and of the success of her recommendation of a kinsman of hers to his Highness, she wrote him, on the 18th of October, 1605, the following letter^f, which is given intire, as one of the few remains of that illustrious but unfortunate lady.

“ S I R,

“ **M**Y intention to attend your Highness
 “ tomorrow, God willing, cannot stay
 “ me from acknowledging by these few lines,
 “ how infinitely I am bound to your Highness
 “ for that your gracious disposition towards
 “ me, which faileth not to shew itself upon
 “ every occasion, whether accidental or beg-
 “ ged by me, as this late high favour and
 “ grace it hath pleased your Highness to do
 “ my kinsman at my humble suit. I trust
 “ tomorrow to let your Highness understand
 “ such motives of that my presumption, as
 “ shall make it excuseable. For your High-
 “ ness shall perceive, I both understand with
 “ what extraordinary respects suits are to be
 “ presented to your Highness; and withall that

Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

“ your

“ your goodness doth so temper your greatness,
 “ as it encourageth both me and many others
 “ to hope, that we may taste the fruits of the
 “ one by means of the other.

“ The Almighty make your Highness every
 “ way such as I, Mr. Newton, and Sir David
 “ Murray, (the only intercessors I have used
 “ in my suit, or will in any I shall present to
 “ your Highness) wish you; and then shall
 “ you be even such as you are; and your
 “ growth in virtue and grace with God and
 “ men shall be the only alteration we will
 “ pray for.

“ And so in all humility I cease;

“ Your Highness's

“ most humble and dutiful

“ Arbella Stewart.”

The discovery of the plot for blowing up the parliament-house on the 5th of November, 1605, when the King, Queen, Prince, council, nobility, bishops, judges, and principal gentlemen should have been assembled in it at the opening of the parliament, made so strong an impression of religious gratitude upon the mind of his Highness, that, in memory of his deliverance, and in imitation of his Royal father's example, he would never after suffer himself to be prevented by any business from being present

present at the sermon appointed to be preached every Tuesday, the day of the week, on which the plot was intended to have been executed⁶.

The detection of this horrible design afforded subject to a very zealous protestant divine to write immediately a Latin letter to his Highness^h. This divine was Leonel Sharpe, D.D. who had been educated at King's college in Cambridge, and Chaplain to the Earl of Essex, whom he attended in the expedition against Cadiz in 1596, as he was afterwards to Prince Henry. He was minister of Tiverton in Devonshire, and rector of Malpas in Cheshire, and had the archdeaconry of Berkshire conferred upon him about the time of writing this letter to his Highness, which preferment he enjoyed till his death in 1630. He is affirmed, by the historian of the university of Oxfordⁱ, to have been concerned in the treasons of his first patron the Earl of Essex: and his zeal against the measures of King James's court exposed him to the jealousy of it; in consequence of which he was committed to the Tower in June, 1614, and confined there a whole year, upon a charge of having suggested to Mr. John

⁶ *Laudatio funebris Henrici Walliæ principis*, p. 9. by Francis Nethersole, Orator of the university of Cambridge, and Fellow of Trinity college there, printed in 4to. It is reprinted in Dr. William Bates's *Vitæ selectorum & aliquot Virorum*, London, 1681. in 4to. p. 405.

^h Appendix, No. V.

ⁱ Wood Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. Col. 211.

Hoskyns, afterwards Serjeant at law, and one of the Judges of Wales, an allusion to the *Sicilian Vesper*, which Mr. Hoskyns took occasion to introduce into a very free speech made by him in the House of Commons^k. Dr. Sharpe in his letter to the Prince, after speaking of the plot, as the most shocking, that had been contrived since the creation of mankind, exhorts him to draw from it this threefold doctrine, of humility, gratitude, and caution. Of humility, that, though he was the eldest son of a great King, he should think modestly of human happiness; since it might have been overthrown in a moment by human malice, if God had not prevented it. That the age was a very wicked one; and whoever dared to die himself, would venture to destroy another, and whoever despised his own life, was master of another's. The second use of the event was to excite gratitude, that he might serve God, who had preserved him, first by moving the mind of the traitor to discover (though obscurely) the treason by a letter; and then by suggesting to the King, that fire was meant by the letter. The last use was by way of caution, to beware of the Vipers, or, to speak freely, of the Jesuits, and their followers. Dr. Sharpe disavows any intention to make all papists odious to the Prince, some of whom he

^k Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 434, 435. 3d. edit. Lond. 1672. Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi, p. 10, 12.

believed

believed to be faithful subjects; but he meant those only, who were actuated by a jesuitical or rather diabolical spirit. He was persuaded, that some Jesuit was the incendiary on this occasion; the design being full of both envy and malice; of envy, which is tormented by the good of others, and of malice, which takes delight in their sufferings, and, what is more, in the sufferings of the public. He then runs a parallel between the newly-discovered conspiracy, and that of the Earl of Gowry, on the 5th of August 1600, representing the English as much more wicked than the Scots traitors.

Frederick, Count Palatine, then but in his tenth year¹, who afterwards married the Prince's sister Elizabeth, and accepted of the crown of Bohemia to the ruin of himself and his family, being at Sedan, probably on account of his studies, when the account of the gun-powder plot was brought thither, wrote from thence on the 10th of December in French to the Prince, to congratulate him on the detection of it^m. He remarked, that he should think himself void of all feeling, as well as wanting in all duty, if he were not sensible of the joy, which the whole world received from the miraculous deliverance,

¹ He was born the 16th of August 1596. *Memoires de la Vie de Loyse Juliane Electrice Palatine*, p. 51. *edit. Leyde*, 1645, 4to.

^m Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

which God had sent the Prince from Heaven, at the same time, that Hell and its instruments had conspired his destruction. That the same affection, which raised this joy in his heart, gave him likewise the boldness to testify it to the Prince by that letter; and to assure him of his sincere devotion to his service, which would one day, if it should please God, second him in maintaining and defending the truth against the assaults of the father of lies.

“ I find, *adds he*, that his agents do a great deal
 “ for us in shewing us so early the spirit, which
 “ possesses them, and the falshood, which
 “ they are sollicitous to establish; which ought
 “ to excite in us, throughout our whole lives,
 “ a detestation of what we have known from
 “ our infancy. Accept therefore, Sir, this
 “ hearty protestation of my zeal, as well for
 “ the true religion, as for your service; and
 “ honour with your good will him, who will
 “ for ever remain your most humble and
 “ most affectionate servant.”

The Lord Spencer likewise sent to the Prince from his seat at Althrope, in Northamptonshire, a letter, dated the 27th of the same month of December 1605, and with it a present of a sword and target, “ Instruments, *says he*,
 “ fit to be about you in these treacherous
 “ times; from the which, I trust, God will
 “ ever protect your most royal father, my dread

F
 “ Sove-

“ Sovereign Lord and Master, and your High-
 “ ness, as he hath hitherto done.”

The regard and gratitude, which the Prince had for his tutor, Mr. Newton, were deservedly such, that immediately upon the death of Dr. Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, in January 1605-6, which was likely to occasion a vacancy of the Deanry of Durham, that had been promised Mr. Newton by the King two years before, his Highness wrote the following letter to his Majesty to remind him of that promiseⁿ.

“ SIR,

“ YOUR Majesty commanded me to
 “ write to you, when any fit occasion
 “ were offered: and now hearing, that upon
 “ the death of the Archbishop of York, there
 “ are many suitors for preferment, I have taken
 “ the boldness to be a suitor also for my
 “ master. Not because I doubt, that your
 “ Majesty is unmindful of your promise made
 “ at Hampton-Court, that if he would stay so
 “ long, as till the Archbishop were dead, he
 “ should have the Deanry of Durham; but
 “ to shew the desire I have to do good to my
 “ master. I have learned, among other good
 “ lessons, this out of Pibrac:

Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

the Prince. By the instructions, dated si
 “ Tu

“ *Tu ne scaurois d'assez ample salaire*

“ *Recompenser celui, qui t'a soigné*

“ *En ton Enfance; & qui t'a enseigné*

“ *A bien parler, & sur tout a bien faire.*

“ And I know perfectly, that my master's
 “ hope these two years past hath rested alto-
 “ gether upon the expectation of this Deanry.
 “ And so hoping, that your Majesty will both
 “ accept of my humble suit, and excuse my
 “ boldness, I kiss your Majesty's hands.

“ Your Majesty's

“ Most dutiful, and

Richmond, Jan.

“ Obedient Son

23, 1605.

“ HENRY.”

This letter was attended with the desired success; for upon the advancement of Dr. William James, Dean of Durham, to the Bishopric, in the room of Dr. Toby Matthew, translated to the Archbishopric of York, that rich Deanry was given to Mr. Newton, who was installed in it on the 27th of September, 1606.

Henry IV. of France having in April 1606, appointed Antoine le Fevre de la Boderie his Ambassador in England, gave him directions to pay on all occasions a particular respect to the Prince. By the instructions, dated at

Rheims on the 15th of that month^o, that Ambassador was ordered to salute the Queen, the Prince, and the other children of King James, visiting them in the usual forms, in the name of Mary de Medicis, wife of Henry IV. and likewise to salute the Prince on the part of the Dauphin, afterwards Lewis XIII. and to inform him, that the latter cherished his friendship, and often spoke of him and of the pack of little dogs, which his Highness had sent him, and which, he was very sorry, that his Governess and Physician would not permit him to make use of; hoping and desiring to be able soon to make some returns for that testimony of friendship, in which the Prince had anticipated him; as he, the Dauphin, would do, when his age^p should render him more capable of choosing something worthy of the Prince, and of those virtuous exercises, which he not only pursued, but likewise excelled in. The Ambassador was informed^q, that he should find with the Prince Mons. St. Anthoine, the riding master, whom Henry IV. had presented to his Highness to instruct him in riding; and whom Mons. Boderie was to admonish to continue to do his duty in that office, assuring him, that

^o Ambassades de Mons. de la Boderie en Angleterre. *Tome I. p. 5, 6. edit. 1750.*

^p The Dauphin was then not above five years and a half old, being born the 27th of Sept. 1601. N. S.

^q Ambassades de la Boderie, *Tome I. p. 28.*

his Majesty, Henry IV. would be as highly pleased with it, as if he served his own person.

The Prince was present with the King at the first audience of Mons. de la Boderie, who having said to him what he had been instructed to do, on the part both of the King his Master and of the Dauphin, his Highness expressed himself well pleased with it, and answered the Ambassador very graciously and with great courtesy.

Mons. de la Boderie went soon after to see the Prince exercise himself in his riding school, being informed by Mons. St. Anthoine, that he could not do a greater pleasure to his Highness, who delighted in that exercise, and who was already a good master of it. The Ambassador told the Prince, that he had the particular commands of the King his master to acquaint him of the progress, which his Highness had made in that art. Upon this the Prince mounted two horses in the Ambassador's presence, who, in his letter to Mons. de Villeroy, Secretary of State in France, acknowledges, that his Highness acquitted himself extremely well: "And
 " as in truth, *says he*, he is a Prince, who
 " promises very much, and whose friendship
 " cannot but be one day of advantage, I think
 " it highly proper to cultivate it, and to manage it early by all means suitable to his age

• Ambassades de la Boderie, p. 41, 42. • Ibid. p. 59.

“and condition. The Dauphin may make
 “a return for the dogs lately sent him by the
 “Prince; for St. Anthoine tells me, that he
 “cannot gratify the Prince more, than by
 “sending him a suit of armour well gilt and
 “enamelled, together with pistols and a sword
 “of the same kind: and if he add to these
 “a couple of horses, one of which goes well,
 “and the other a barb, it will be a singular
 “favour done to the Prince.”

The Earl of Northampton, who, though secretly of the Roman Catholic Religion, in which he unquestionably died, had a considerable hand in the proceedings against the Traitors concerned in the Gun-powder Plot, and particularly against Garnet the Jesuit, convicted of being privy to it, and executed on the 3d of May 1606, having enlarged his speech, made at the trial of that Jesuit on the 28th of March preceding, and printed it in the *True and perfect relation of the whole proceedings, &c.* sent a printed copy of that relation to the Prince. In the letter^u accompanying it, he observes, that the first fruits of his labour being sent by him that morning to his Majesty, to whom by prerogative they were first due, he could not satisfy himself, till he had presented the next to his Highness, who was next in

^u Printed at London 1606, in 4to. by Robert Barker, printer to the King.

^v Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

place and worth. That by some letters, which had come of late from the other side, it appeared what false rumours and reports had been published in excuse (nay he might as truly say in justification) of Garnet's traitorous attempt, upon false principles laid in false colours. That the discourses now sent would open the whole mystery, to the honour of the King, the satisfaction of reasonable men, and the credit of the state, which rather proceeded upon demonstration than pursued out of humour. " It is a kind of pleasure, *continues*
 " *his Lordship*, to men, that have escaped fearful rocks, to look back with comfort upon the causes of just fear, and so to set the compass, as by running afterwards upon the like adventure, they suffer not the shipwreck by relapse, from which they have been once redeemed by God's favour. As your Highness should have had a part in the peril, if the powerful hand of God had not protected you; so were it fit, that you were likewise shared in the satisfaction, which particulars afford to judicious conceits, that record misfortunes past; *quia hæc olim meminisse juvabit.*
 " This book should have been set forth in a richer attire, if I had not been afraid, that somebody would have gained the start of my dutiful affection in presenting your Highness with some copy, while I set my
 " self

“ self on work with external flourishes, which
 “ cannot countervail the value of that internal
 “ worth, which is rather tasted *in medulla* than
 “ *in cortice*.

“ That, which is sufficiently performed by
 “ others, your Highness will accept: that,
 “ which is weakly and unperfectly added by
 “ myself, I hope you will oversee; and ever
 “ command the true affection and humble
 “ service of your Highness’s affectionate, and
 “ humble servant to be commanded.”

Christiern IV. King of Denmark, the
 Prince’s uncle, coming on a visit to England
 in July of this year 1606, and arriving at
 Gravesend on Thursday the 17th of that month,
 his Highness accompanied the King, his fa-
 ther, thither the next morning; and during
 the whole stay of the King of Denmark
 frequently attended him; and at that King’s
 departure on the 11th of August^w, was pre-
 sented by him with his Vice-Admiral and best
 fighting ship, worth with all her furniture not
 less than 2500 l. and a rapier and hanger va-
 lued at 2000 marks^x.

^w General Chronicle of England; begun by John
 Stow; continued by E. Howes, p. 885, 888.

^x MS. letter of Mr. John Pory to Sir Robert Cotton,
 in the Cottonian Library, *Julius C. III. fol. 45*.

The learned editor of Horace, Mr. John Bond, having about this time prepared his edition of that Poet^y with short but clear and elegant notes, thought, that he could not do a greater credit to his work, than by giving it the public under the patronage of the Prince, to whom he addressed it in a very polite dedication, in which he takes notice of the great progress, which his Highness had already made in learning. This excellent Philologist had been educated at Winchester school, and afterwards at New College in Oxford, the Warden and Fellows of which having appointed him master of the free school at Taunton in Somersetshire, his native country, he became very eminent in his profession, and not much less so in that of physic in the latter part of his life, dying on the 3d of August 1612, and leaving a posthumous commentary on Persius's Satires^r.

The States General of the United Provinces, on the 25th of August 1606, N. S. wrote a letter in French to the Prince^a, informing him, that they had for some time been considering what might be most proper to gratify his highness with, as a demonstration of their gratitude for the honour, which they had received from the King of assisting at his highness's baptism;

^r The preface of it is dated August 7, 1606.

^a Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. Col. 379.

^{ed} Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

and

and thinking, that nothing would be so agreeable to him, as what was the product and manufacture of their own country, they had charg'd Sir Noel Caron, their Ambassador, to present to his Highness in their name a set of table-linnen; and they humbly requested him to accept of it kindly, and to love and favour their state on all occasions; in return for which they should be always ready to shew their regard for him, and to do him all possible service, as Sir Noel was ordered more particularly to declare to him.

The Prince having received a letter from Henry IV. of France, by Mons. de la Boderie, wrote an answer in French, on the 26th of this month of August^b, acknowledging the truly paternal affection, which that King had several years before testified for him, and confirmed since from time to time by many obligations and courtesies; the sense of which had raised in his mind a singular respect and reverence for that King. But that these obligations were much heightened by his last letter, offering him under his royal hand his own friendship and that of the Dauphin.

While King James was making a progress in September and October this year, extremely out of humour with the sky for not raining, and thereby weakening the scent of his dogs^c,

^b Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

^c Ambassades de la Boderie, *Tome I.* p. 399.

the Prince resided at Richmond, where the French Ambassador, who had been obliged to quit London on account of the plague, and could not follow the King, because he made so little stay in any place, was a frequent attendant at his Highness's court^d. As soon as the Spanish Ambassador heard of this, he came likewise to Richmond to visit the Prince, and inform him of some horses, which were to be sent him from Spain. But this did not hinder his Highness from treating the French Ambassador with great civility, and waiting with much eagerness for those horses, which Tampot told him the Dauphin was sending over to him together with the present of armour. Mons. de Boderie in his letter to Mons. de Puisieux, of the 31st of October 1606, in which he mentions these circumstances, adds, that, as far as he could discover, his Highness's inclination was intirely towards France; and that it would be a great fault to neglect a Prince, who promised such great things. "None of his pleasures, *continues*
 " *the Ambassador*, favour the least of a child.
 " He is a particular lover of horses and what
 " belongs to them; but is not fond of hunting;
 " and when he goes to it, it is rather for the
 " pleasure of galloping, than that which the
 " dogs give him. He plays willingly enough
 " at Tennis, and at another Scots diver-
 " sion very like mall; but this always with

^d Ambassades de la Boderie, *Tome I.* p. 400. *ambott*

" persons

“ persons elder than himself, as if he de-
 “ spised those of his own age. He studies two
 “ hours a day, and employs the rest of his
 “ time in tossing the pike, or leaping, or
 “ shooting with the bow, or throwing the bar,
 “ or vaulting, or some other exercise of that
 “ kind; and he is never idle. He shews him-
 “ self likewise very good natured to his de-
 “ pendants, and supports their interests against
 “ any persons whatever; and pushes what
 “ he undertakes for them or others, with
 “ such zeal, as gives success to it. For be-
 “ sides his exerting his whole strength to com-
 “ pass what he desires, he is already feared by
 “ those, who have the management of affairs,
 “ and especially the Earl of Salisbury, who
 “ appears to be greatly apprehensive of the
 “ Prince’s ascendant; as the Prince, on the
 “ other hand, shews little esteem for his
 “ Lordship.”

Monf. de la Boderie then remarks, that four
 or five of the Prince’s court had formerly had
 expectations given them of pensions from
 France; which that Ambassador was of opi-
 nion ought to be granted them; since the
 young Prince suffered himself to be much in-
 fluenced by them, and would soon shew, that
 he had power. That his mother had not so
 much affection for him as for his brother the
 Duke of York^e, which the Prince seemed

^e Afterwards King Charles I.

to have discovered, and sometimes let fall expressions, that implied it: and that the King often shewed, that he was not pleased to see him advance so fast.

Sir Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermelyng^f, who had then been raised to the post of Chancellor of Scotland, on the 4th of March 1604, and was a good Latin Poet, as well as a great master of polite literature, but of suspected sincerity in the protestant religion, having written a^g letter to the Prince in Latin, his Highness on the 10th of February 1606-7, returned him, from St. James's, an answer in the same language^h. His Highness owned himself highly obliged to his Lordship for his very kind letter, in which he had given abundant

^f He was younger son of George Lord Seton, and educated in Italy, where he studied the laws, and became so eminent in his profession, that he, on his return home, was appointed the 12th of March 1585, one of the extraordinary Lords of the Session; in February 1587 one of the ordinary Senators of the college of Justice. He was created a Peer on the 3d of August 1591, by the title of Lord Urquhart, and had the grant of the rich Priory of Pluscarden in Murray, and on the 12th of May 1593, was made president of the Session, and in 1595, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury. On the 3d of March 1605, the year after his promotion to the Chancellorship, which he held eighteen years, he was created Earl of Dumfermelyng, and died the 16th of June 1622. Crawford, Peerage of Scotland, p. 111.

^g Staggering state of the Scots Statesmen, from 1550 to 1650. by Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, p. 16, 17. edit. Edinburgh, 1754.

^h Appendix No. VI.

testimony of his affection, though less of his judgment. For with respect to those accomplishments both of mind and body, which the Chancellor had attributed to the Prince, his Highness was so far from thinking, that they ought to be ascribed to himself, that he was of opinion, that an appeal might in this case justly lie from his Lordship, how eminent soever he was as a Lawyer and Judge, for having given a wrong judgment. “ But as I am convinced, “ *says the Prince*, that this judgement, what- “ ever it is, proceeded from affection; I could “ not but congratulate myself upon this good “ natured mistake, and acknowledge myself “ indebted to you for thanks on that very ac- “ count. I am not ignorant, that the com- “ mendations of persons, who, like your “ Lordship, preside in Senates and Courts of “ Justice, are to be considered as exhortations, “ to excite us to attempt every thing great “ and excellent. That I may some time or “ other do this, in order that your compli- “ ment may be thought to arise no less from “ judgement than affection, I shall sincerely “ pray the all-merciful God, to whom I “ heartily recommend the happy issue of my “ own concerns and the prosperity of your “ Lordship and of the state.”

The Chancellor of Scotland acknowledged the honour of this letter¹ in another likewise in

¹ In a letter to Mr. Newton from Edinburgh, of the 8th

in Latin, dated the 5th of April 1607^k, in which he said, that he might indeed seem to be too unmindful of the Prince's dignity, and of his own duty, by interrupting so frequently and so unseasonably with his letters the serious studies and thoughts of his Highness. But the sense of the late favour conferred upon him would not suffer him to be silent. Could it have been expected, that so great a Prince in the spring of his age, and amidst his daily exercises, should lay aside the ensigns of royalty, and employ his hand, which would hereafter (as the Chancellor wished and hoped) conquer nations, in the use of the pen? That his Highness had indeed by his writing let every one see, that he thought himself the true and proper shepherd of the people, who knew how to temper majesty with humanity. That the most certain argument of this persuasion of his was that singular affection, which he bore to his native country, and with which he adorned, improved, supported, and cherished it, while it sunk and almost expired under the want of the presence of his excellent

8th of April 1607, the Chancellor files this letter of the Prince *a most sweet, ornate and wise one*. His Lordship sent at the same time to Mr. Newton a copy of his answer to his Highness, desiring him to deliver that answer to him, when he, Newton, should think the time most fit; and to have the devotion of his service at all good occasions remembered unto his Highness.

^k Appendix No. VII.

father, and of himself. " I wish, *says he,* that
 " your eyes could penetrate into the breasts of
 " your countrymen. You would have seen
 " there not long ago, how great their joy,
 " how sincere their regard and veneration of
 " you was, when they were informed, that
 " you heard with indignation, and with a firm
 " and resolute countenance, voice, and mind,
 " condemned and silenced the calumnies of
 " those bad men, who rashly, and with the
 " highest intemperance of tongue, endeavour-
 " ed to wound the Scottish, that is, by the
 " nearest and most peculiar title, your own
 " nation. Go on, most serene Prince, as you
 " have begun, with this greatness of mind and
 " affection to your countrymen; and shew to
 " posterity, that there is no firmer support of
 " government than the mutual love of a
 " Prince and his subjects. By this means
 " you will procure and establish an everlasting
 " fame and glory to yourself, and a perpetual
 " enjoyment of peace and tranquillity to your
 " people."

The Invectives against the Scottish nation,
 mentioned in this letter, were undoubtedly
 those thrown out in the House of Commons,
 in the debate concerning the union of Eng-
 land and Scotland, by Sir Christopher Pigot,
 one of the Knights of the shire for the county
 of Buckingham, in February 1606-7, not long
 before this letter was written. This gentleman,
 who

who in the French Ambassador's letter from London of the 1st of March N. S¹. to Mons. de Puisieux is called *Pecquet*, is reported there to have fallen upon the Scots nation in such a manner, that the most barbarous and profligate people in the world could not be worse treated. That in his speech he expressed his astonishment, how any ear could be lent to such an union for joining a good and fertile country to one poor, and barren, and in a manner disgraced by nature; and for associating rich, frank and honest men with such, as were beggars, proud, and generally traitors and rebels to their Kings. In short, that there was as much difference between an English and a Scots man, as between a judge and a thief. This being reported to the Scots, they were thrown into the utmost rage; but no person daring to speak of it to the King that evening, Ramsay^m of his bed-chamber the next morning made his complaint of this outrage in the name of his countrymen. His Majesty upon this sent for the Earl of Salisbury, and blamed him, first for not having spoken of this affair the night before; and then because he and the rest of his privy council had shewn

¹ Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, *Tome II. p. 87.*

^m Mons. de la Boderie means probably Sir John Ramsay, who, in June 1606, was created a Viscount with a grant of land of 1000 l. a year to support the title. Winwood's Memorials, *Vol. II. p. 217.*

so much coolness and indifference, as to wait till his, the King's, return, to punish the insolent offender. This remonstrance of his Majesty was accompanied with such severe expressions of resentment, as struck the Earl with no small amazement and concern. At the same time the council was summoned, towards whom the King behaved with as little gentleness; and having told them, that he was a Scot himself, and that nothing could be applied to the nation in general, in which he had not his share, he added, that he would have them to know, that he not only loved the Scots, but that one of the most express commands, which he would give the Prince his son, who was then present, should be, to do the same; and that from that hour he would give him his curse, if he should fail in this point. The council having acknowledged in very strong terms the justice of the king's displeasure, and their own fault, began then to consult of the remedy; and at last it was unanimously agreed, that Sir Christopher Pigot should retract, in the same place, all that he had said relating to the Scots nation in general; that he should be expelled the House of Commons, and declared incapable of sitting there for the future, and be imprisoned till the end of the Parliament. This was executed the next day; for, after Sir Christopher had in his seat explained himself, and declared, that he had no intention to re-

flect

fect upon the whole Scots nation, which he acknowledged to be full of men of honour and probity, but only upon some low and scandalous fellows there, especially in the Isles, he was sent to the Tower; where he was, when the French Ambassador wrote his letter to Mons. de Puisieuxⁿ. But, according to his account, the King was not satisfied with this, being persuaded, that Sir Christopher Pigot would not have gone so far, but upon the instigation of some others, and those of the highest rank. However the Scots universally triumphed, as much, as if they had gained a victory^o; and a letter was soon after written to his Majesty in the name of all the states in Scotland, to thank him for the great zeal, which he had shewed in defence of their country^p; a zeal, which the Prince likewise testified on the same occasion.

The Royal Exchequer was now so exhausted, that the Prince had his share in the inconveniencies arising from the ill œconomy of the King or his Ministers. The officers and servants of his Majesty's household were so distressed for want of the payment of their arrears, that a considerable number of them stopped the Earl of Dorset, Lord High Trea-

ⁿ He was soon after set at liberty by the Parliament. *Parliamentary Hist. of England*, Vol. V. p. 181.

^o Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, *Vol. II. p. 87—90.*

^p *Ibid.* 139.

sur, in his coach in the open street, as he was returning to his house; and would not suffer him to pass on till he had promised them payment. And the Prince's Purveyors at the same time refused to continue furnishing him with provisions; which occasioned his Highness to send a peremptory message to the Lord Treasurer for money⁹.

The Prince, now in the fourteenth year of his age, began to discover a mature judgment in almost every thing; and as he was an attentive hearer of sermons, to distinguish such preachers, as deserved it^r, among others he took particular notice, in this year 1607, of the learned and eloquent Mr. Joseph Hall, then Rector of Halstead in Suffolk, afterwards Dean of Worcester, and successively Bishop of Exeter and Norwich. This Divine happening to be in London at the house of his patron Sir Robert Drury, and being told by Mr. Gurrey, Tutor to the young Earl of Essex, how much his book of *Meditations*^s was esteemed at the Prince's Court; and being pressed to preach to his Highness on the Sunday following at Richmond, and encouraged by the Earl himself, went thither; and his Sermon gave such

⁹ Letter of M. de la Boderie to M. de Puisieux, from London, Jan. 1, 1606-7. Ibid. p. 16.

^r Cornwallis, p. 11.

^s *Meditations and Vowes, Divine and Moral, serving for directions in Christian and Civil Practice, in three Centuries.*

satisfaction to the Prince, that he signified his desire to hear Mr. Hall again on the Tuesday following; when his second Sermon more delighted his Highness than the former; upon which he both gave the preacher his hand to kiss, and engaged him in his service, as one of his Chaplains. And in the second year of Mr. Hall's attendance at his Court, when he came for his dismissal from his monthly service, the Prince commanded him a longer stay; and when he granted him leave to depart, invited him by Sir Thomas Chaloner, his Governor, to reside constantly at the Court, while the other Chaplains waited only in their turns, promising to obtain such preferments for him, as should fully satisfy him. But Mr. Hall, out of a modest diffidence, and a reluctance to leave his new patron, the Lord Denny, afterwards Earl of Norwich, who had lately given him the living of Waltham-Abbey in Essex, chose to wave an offer so honourable and advantageous to himself.

His Highness's strict attendance on public worship was likewise accompanied with the utmost care for the regular behaviour of his family; he ordering boxes to be kept at his three houses, St. James's, Richmond, and Nonsuch, for the money required of those, who were

* Some specialties in the life of Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, p. 23, 26, prefixed to his *Remaining Works*, London, 1660, 4to.

heard to swear; which money was distributed to the poor^u.

His discourse was now raised to all the most important subjects, and he grew inquisitive about the state of foreign countries, as well as his own; so that he at length acquired a considerable knowledge and true judgment in political affairs^w.

The Prince de Joinville, brother to the Duke of Guise, who had been obliged to leave France, on account of the discovery of his having made love to the King's Mistress, the Countess de Moret^x, and had come to England on the 8th of May 1607^y, where he was entertained at Court, and lodged with great magnificence, departing in the beginning of June^z, Prince Henry sent over to Calais in his train an Engineer in his own service, who took the opportunity of examining all the fortifications of that town, and particularly those of the Rix-banc. The French Ambassador discovered this by means of a friend, whom he had employed to accompany the Prince de Joinville as far as Paris, and to remark what passed; and who drew this secret out of the Engineer

^u Cornwallis, p. 12.

^w Ibid. p. 11, 12.

^x MS. Letter of Sir George Carew, Ambassador in France, March 21, 1606-7.

^y Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi, p. 5.

^z Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, *Tome II.* p. 232, 253, 207, 273.

himself,

himself, after entertaining him in their return to London, the latter confessing, that he was employed by Prince Henry, who had long waited for such an opportunity. The Ambassador immediately wrote, in a letter to Mons. de Puisieux of the 21st of June, N. S. an account of what he had learned; though he thought, that there was not so much design as curiosity in the Prince's employing his Engineer for such a purpose, considering that he was not of an age nor in a condition to think seriously of such things; nor was England in a situation to undertake any design of that kind. However the Ambassador immediately gave notice of it to Mons. de Vic, Governor of Calais. Mons. de Puisieux in his letter from Fontainebleau of the 30th of June, 1607, N. S. approved of the Ambassador's sending this information; but remarked, that the visit of the Prince's Engineer to Calais was thought by their Court of no great consequence.

About the same time the French Ambassador received the Armour and Arms, sent by Henry IV. as a present to the Prince, accompanied with a letter from that King^s; which his Highness received with great satisfaction^d; and on the 21st of July 1607, wrote from

^a Ambassades de M. de la Boderic, *Tome II.* p. 288, 289.
^b Ibid. p. 307. ^c Ibid. p. 313. ^d Ibid. p. 338.

Non such a letter of thanks in French. In this letter he told Henry IV. that he could not but on all occasions repeat his acknowledgments, since his Majesty continued to multiply daily his favours to him, which were such, as could not but lay an infinite obligation upon him. But he thought himself particularly bound to return his thanks for the present of arms delivered to him by Mons. de la Boderie, not only on account of the excellence of the workmanship, but especially as they were given by him, who by the use of arms had acquired such a reputation of valour, as might serve for an example to all the gallant spirits of future ages, and an excitement to himself in particular, who honour'd and admired it, to shew himself more and more in effect what he professed to be, his Majesty's most humble and most affectionate Nephew and Servant.

This Letter, with another from King James, was delivered to Henry IV. by Mr. Douglas, introduced by Sir George Carew, Ambassador at the Court of France. The French King, contrary to his custom, immediately opened the Prince's letter, and compared the writing of his name with the rest of the letter, in order to judge, whether it were all of one hand; which he seemed to doubt on account of the neatness

of the character. Sir George Carew observing the King's hesitation, would have called Mr. Douglas to have testified the fact: but his Majesty soon satisfied himself, saying, that in writing fair, as in other things likewise, the elder must yield unto the younger. Sir George in his letter of the 26th of August, 1607^f, in which he gives the Earl of Salisbury this account, adds: "He ever speaketh with great
 " shew of passionate affection towards my
 " Lord the Prince; and at this time he account-
 " ed of him as of his own son, as he hoped
 " his good brother of Great Britain would do
 " the like of the Dauphin." And he was resolved, as it is expressed in a letter of Mons. de Puisieux to Mons. de la Boderie of the 20th of July 1607, N. S.^e to cultivate that young plant, since it promised to produce fruits much more favourable to France, than the stock, from which it was raised. And Mons. Puisieux was of opinion, that a resolution would be taken of gratifying with pensions those, who had most influence on the Prince. Mons. de la Boderie in his answer from London of the 2d of August, N. S.^b approved much of the intention of the King his Master of cultivating a good correspondence with the Prince, who, he remarked, had great accomplishments and

^f In the paper office.

^e Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, *Tome II.* p. 338.

^b Ibid. p. 349.

courage,

courage, and would soon make himself talked of, and possibly give jealousy to his father, and apprehensions to those, who had the greatest ascendant at court. The Ambassador thought likewise, that the expence of pensions to those about his Highness would not be ill-bestowed. But after he had farther considered that point, as he wrote to Mons. de Puisieux from London, October 21, 1607, N. S.¹ he was not so clear with regard to the necessity of such an expence; since the Prince already discovered himself to be of a disposition to be directed by his own understanding; so that the persuasions of those about him were not likely to bias him towards any thing, but what he chose himself.

The States General of the United Provinces having occasion to send Ambassadors to England in the beginning of July, 1607^k, recommended them to the Prince by a letter dated the 30th of June, N. S.¹, in which they told him, that they had ordered their Ambassadors to kiss his Highness's hands on their part; and to desire him to continue his friendship to their state, and to allow their Ambassadors a favourable audience, and the same credit as to themselves.

Mr. Robert Tindal, the Prince's Gunner, being employed by the Virginia company,

¹ Ambassad. de M. de la Boderie, *Tome II. p. 408, 409.*

^k Meteran, *L. 28. fol. 609.*

¹ Harl. MSS. *Vol. 7007.*

established in April 1606 by his Majesty's letters patent, in a voyage to that country in a fleet of three sail of ships, commanded by Captain Christopher Newport, which set sail on the 19th of December, 1606, and arrived at Chesapeake bay about the beginning of May following^m; thought it his duty to send to his Highness a journal of that voyage, and a draught of James river, with a letter dated at James town in Virginia the 22d of June, 1607ⁿ. In his letter he remarks, that this river was discovered by his fellow-adventurers, and that no Christian had ever been there before; and that they were safely arrived and settled in that country, which they found to be in itself most fruitful, and of which they had taken *a real and public possession in the name and to the use of the King his Highness's father.*

Upon the promotion of Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Croke, one of the Chief Justices of a circuit in Wales, to a seat in the court of King's bench about June, 1607, Mr. Thomas Stephens, then Council, and afterwards Auditor, to the Prince, wrote to his Highness to acquaint him, that Mr. Croke's place of a Welsh Judge was void, or was likely soon to be so^o. "What respect, *adds he,* your Highness hath to the

^m History of Virginia, by Sir William Keith, Bart.

ⁿ Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

^o Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

" principality of Wales, a great country and
 " dominion, containing twelve shires, which
 " the Kings of this realm have used to confer
 " upon the Princes their eldest sons, is to your-
 " self. But if you affect it, it may be expedient,
 " that such places as this be bestowed upon
 " such, as, being sufficient and fit for the place,
 " shall be at your Highness's service. Self-
 " conceit of myself for sufficiency or desert is
 " far from me. I desire to do your Highness
 " all possible service I can. I thought good
 " not to omit the mentioning of this, and do
 " humbly refer it to your consideration."

The King having been made free of the
 Clothworkers company on the 12th of June,
 1607, the Prince, on the 16th of the month
 following, was admitted into that of the Mer-
 chant-taylors. On that day his Majesty and
 the Prince, attended with a great number of
 the nobility and other persons of distinction,
 came in a private manner to Merchant-taylors
 hall to dinner, where they were royally feasted,
 and entertained with great variety of music
 and ingenious speeches, it being the feast-day
 of the company for the election of the Master
 and Wardens. The Lord-mayor was ready
 to receive the King at the hall, and presented
 the sword to his Majesty, and, receiving it
 back from him, bore it before him in the upper
 large dining-room, anciently called the King's
 chamber; and soon after, with his Majesty's
 leave,

leave, went to his own house with the sword borne before him, after he was passed the hall gates; and in the same manner returned after dinner, and attended till the King departed.

While the King sat at dinner, the Master and Wardens, together with divers Aldermen and the Recorder of London, came to his Majesty, and, in the name of the whole company, thanked him for honouring it with his Royal presence. The Master then presented him with a purse of gold; and the clerk of the hall shewed him a roll, in which were registered the names of seven Kings, one Queen, seventeen Princes and Dukes, two Duchesses, one Archbishop, thirty one Earls, five Countesses, one Viscount, fourteen Bishops, sixty six Barons, two Ladies, seven Abbots, seven Priors, and one Sub-prior, omitting a great number of Knights, Esquires, &c. who had been free of that company. The King answered, that himself was already free of another company; but that the Prince his eldest son should be free of this, and he would himself be a witness of it, when the garland should be put upon his head. Upon this they all went down into the great hall, where the Prince dined, and, having saluted him with a chearful and hearty welcome, the master presented him with a purse of gold; and the clerk delivered to his Highness the roll, which he graciously received, and not only said, that
him-

himself would be free of the company, but likewise ordered one of his gentlemen and the clerk to go to all the Lords there present, and desire those, who loved him, and were not members of other companies, to be free of this; to which their Lordships immediately agreed.

The King, during this and the election of the new Master and Wardens, stood in a new window made for that purpose, and beheld all their ceremonies; and then coming down into the hall, was there, as well as the Prince, entertained with the like music of voices and instruments, and with speeches, as at their first entrance. The music consisted of twelve lutes equally divided, and placed by six and six in a window on each side of that hall; and in the air between them was a gallant ship triumphant, in which were three men dressed like sailors, being eminent for voice and skill, who in their several songs were assisted and seconded by the lutanists. In the hall was likewise the city music; and in the upper chamber the children of the King's chapel sung a grace at his table; and, while he sat at dinner, that excellent musician John Bull, Doctor of his faculty, Professor of it in Gresham college, and one of the Organists of his Majesty's chapel, who was a member of the company, played in his citizen's gown, cap, and hood, upon a small organ placed there for that purpose^p.

^p General Chronicle of England, begun by John Stowe, and continued by E. Howes, p. 890, 891.

Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain of the King's household, and Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, Secretary of State, being disappointed of their intention of waiting upon the Prince at Nonsuch in the beginning of August, 1607, wrote a joint letter on the 7th of that month from Windsor to Mr. Newton, to make their excuses for that failure. "Although, *say they*, the purpose we had to have kissed his Highness's hands, as soon as we had ended his Majesty's business in London, was crossed by a dispatch we received to day from court, concerning some farther directions to be given to his Majesty's commissioners, that are sent to the States of the United Provinces (who now attend only his Majesty's signature of their commission and instructions;) yet we cannot do our own duties so much injury, as not to declare both our intention to have waited upon him this afternoon, and our humble affection to be held in the number of his Highness's faithful servants; hoping, that these letters shall serve to make our excuse for not doing that, which we so much desired, to him, whom we so much honour and love, and wish happy increase of those excellent virtues, which promise

^r Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

^r Sir Richard Spencer and Sir Ralph Winwood. See Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 329. and Ambassades de M. de la Broderie, Tome II. p. 357, 365, 370.

“ so much comfort to our Royal sovereign,
 “ and constant safety and felicity to this glo-
 “ rious isle of Great Britain. We have chosen
 “ you to do this office for us, which we shall
 “ take for so acceptable a pleasure, as you
 “ may promise yourself a more friendly re-
 “ quital, whensoever occasion is offered.”
 The Earl of Salisbury added a postscript with
 his own hand, which shewed his attention to
 oblige the Prince’s dependants: “ I pray you
 “ let Sir David Murray know, that I will let
 “ him know by a shrewd boy tomorrow, that
 “ his suit shall be signed at Salisbury; and
 “ what is the cause of the stay all this while.”

The Prince being known to be extremely
 curious with regard to ships, Mr. Pett, who
 was in his service, as well as one of the King’s
 shipwrights, made a model of a ship for his
 Highness, which being adorned with carving
 and painting, and placed in a frame, arched,
 covered, and curtained with crimson taffety,
 was, on the 10th of November, 1607, pre-
 sented to the Lord Admiral at his lodging at
 Whitehall. His Lordship ordered him to
 carry it to Richmond, where the Prince then
 was; which was done the next day; and on
 Wednesday morning, the 12th, Mr. Pett
 having acquainted Sir David Murray with his
 business, who informed the Prince of it, order
 was given to have the model brought and
 placed in a private room in the long gallery,
 where

where his Highness determined to see it. But the Lord Admiral, unknown to Mr. Pett, and with a view to do him service, had already informed the King of this model, and prevailed upon him to take a journey from Whitehall to Richmond, on purpose to view it; which he did about three of the clock of the afternoon of the same day.

The establishment of the Prince's household, by the King's repeated enlargements of it, was now grown so much beyond the allowance for its support, that Sir Thomas Chaloner, in November, 1607, represented, in a letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Julius Cæsar, the inconveniencies of it. He began this letter with remarking, that his Highness's household, which was intended by the King for a *courtly college*, or a *collegiate court*, was become so great a court, that it was ready to be overwhelmed with the charge and burden of itself. But the result of this remonstrance does not appear.

King Philip III. of Spain, about this time, shewed more inclination than he had ever done before towards a marriage between the Prince and the Infanta Anne, his daughter, married in 1615 to Lewis XIII. of France; that King's view being by this means to divert

^f MS. Life of Mr. Phineas Pett, p. 23. Harl. MSS. Vol. 6279.

^g Sir Julius Cæsar's MSS. Vol. 167, cited above.

King James from joining too much with France in favour of the United Provinces. This match had been in the thoughts and wishes of some persons of the greatest influence in the court of Spain above a year before, notwithstanding all the endeavours of France to procure the Infanta for the Dauphin. This is evident from a letter of Sir Charles Cornwallis, then Ambassador in Spain, who alledged many reasons to persuade that court, that the marriage of that lady to Prince Henry was preferable to the alliance with France^v.

Henry IV. of France having sent a letter to the Prince by Mons. de Glas, who arrived at London about the 10th of December, 1607, it was presented by M. de la Boderie to his Highness, who received it with great expressions of satisfaction; as he did, according to that Ambassador's account^x, every thing, that came from that monarch.

The Prince's annual gift to the King his father, on the first day of the new year 1607-8, was a Latin thesis, no copy of which occurs; but the letter accompanying it is still extant^y.

^v M. de Puisieux's Letter to M. de la Boderie from Paris, 29th of December, 1607. *Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, Tome II. p. 501.*

^w Sir Charles Cornwallis's Letter to the Lords of the Privy Council, Nov. 21, 1606, O. S. Winwood's Memorials, *Vol. II. p. 265, 268.*

^x Letter to M. de Puisieux, Jan. 1, 1608. N. S. from London. *Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, Tome III. p. 6, 7.*

^y Appendix, No. VIII.

In it he observes, that it was now seven years, since he had begun to pay his duty to his Majesty at the opening of every new year by some literary offering; and that as now, after so long a pursuit of his studies, somewhat of a more important kind might justly be expected from him; not to disappoint such an expectation, he was desirous to try what the smallness of his genius would permit him to do, in confirming, according to the rules of art, a sentence of that very ancient poet Menander. That the subject indeed was of such a nature, that he could not hope for any great commendation of elaborateness in the expression, or acuteness in the reasoning; but that he did not despair of having it received as a testimony of his piety and obedience, especially by a most loving and most benign father.

On the same day Sir Henry Wotton, Ambassador at Venice, wrote from thence to the Prince², that having had occasion, on account of his Majesty's service (wherein his Highness's was always included) to dispatch home the honest Captain³, the bearer of that letter, he had presumed by him, with the remembrance of his own hearty zeal, to present to his Highness a poor New Year's gift. "Our Lord Jesus, *continues he*, bless you with many happy years, and make your Highness a Defender of his Faith, which is the

² Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

³ Pinner.

“chiefeft of your hereditary titles. And fo
 “humbly kissing your sweet and princely
 “hand, I reft your Highnefs’s long-devoted
 “fervant.”

The Prince de Joinville, who, as has been
 obferved, had been at the court of England in
 May and June, 1607, and returned to that
 of France about the end of November follow-
 ing^b, having fent a prefent of arms and horfes
 to the Prince, his Highnefs returned him
 thanks for them in a letter dated Feb. 11,
 1607-8^c. “I perceive, my coufin, *fays he*,
 “that, during your ftay in England, you dif-
 “covered my humour; fince you have fent
 “me a prefent of the two things, which I moft
 “delight in, arms and horfes.”

In the year 1608, the Prince’s favourite
 Chaplain, our Englifh Seneca, Mr. Joseph
 Hall, publishing the firft volume of his elegant
Epiftles, containing two *Decades*^d, prefixed to
 them a dedication to his Highnefs; in which
 he obferves, that it was not from any conceit
 of fuch worth in his labours, that they durft
 look fo high as the Prince’s patronage. “It
 “were well, *fays he*, if ought of mine could
 “be worthy of popular eyes; or if I could

^b M. de Puifieux’s Letter to M. de la Boderie from Paris,
 Dec. 11, 1607. Ambaffades de M. de la Boderie, *Tome II.*
 p. 485.

^c Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

^d Printed at London, in 8vo.

"wring ought from myself not unworthy of
 "a judicious reader. I know your Highness
 "wants neither presents nor counsels; pre-
 "sents from strangers, counsels from your
 "teachers; neither of them matchable by
 "my weakness. Only duty herein excuses
 "me from presumption: for I thought it in-
 "justice to devote the fruit of my labour to
 "any other hand beside my master's; which
 "also I knew to be as gracious as mine is
 "faithful. Yet since even good affections
 "cannot warrant too much vileness in gifts
 "to princes, lest, while my modesty dispar-
 "ages my work, I should hazard the accepta-
 "tion; here shall your Grace find variety not
 "without profit. I hate a divine, that would
 "but please; and withal think it impossible
 "for a man to profit, that pleaseth not. And
 "if, while my style fixeth itself upon others,
 "any spiritual profit shall reflect upon your
 "Highness, how happy am I! who shall ever
 "think I have lived to purpose, if by the best
 "of my studies I have done any good office
 "to your soul." Mr. Hall adds farther

*(which these times, says he, account not the
 least praise) your Grace shall herein perceive a
 new fashion of discourse, by epistles; new to our
 language, usual to others; and (as novelty is
 never without some plea of use) more free, more
 familiar. Thus we do but talk with our friends
 by our press, and express ourselves no whit less*

easily, somewhat more digestedly. “Whatsoever
 “ it is, *concludes he*, as it cannot be good
 “ enough to deserve that countenance; so the
 “ countenance of such patronage shall make
 “ it worthy of respect from others. The
 “ God of princes protect your person, perfect
 “ your graces, and give you as much favour
 “ in heaven, as you have honour on earth.”

The fourth epistle of the first decade is addressed to Mr. Newton, Tutor to the Prince, and entitled, *Gratulation for the hopes of our Prince, with an advising appreciation.* It begins thus: “God hath called you to a great
 “ and happy charge: you have the custody
 “ of our common treasure; neither is there
 “ any service comparable to this of yours,
 “ whether we regard God, or the world. Our
 “ labours, oft-times bestowed upon many scarce
 “ profit one: yours bestowed upon one re-
 “ dounds to the profit of many millions. This
 “ is a summary way of obliging all the world
 “ to you. I encourage you not in your care;
 “ you have more comfort in the success of it
 “ than all worlds can give you. The very
 “ substance of your pains would give an heart
 “ to him that hath none. I rather congratu-
 “ late with you our common happiness, and
 “ the hopes of posterity, in that Royal and
 “ blessed issue. You have best cause to be the
 “ best witness of the rare forwardness of our

“gracious master; and I have seen enough
 “to make me think, I can never be enough
 “thankful to God for him.” He afterwards
 remarks^f, that *seldom ever these years have pro-*
mised, seldom performed so much. “Only God
 “keep two mischiefs ever from within the
 “smoke of his court, *flattery and treachery.*
 “The iniquity of the times may make us
 “fear these; not his inclination. — How
 “happy a service shall you do to this whole
 “world of ours, if you shall settle in that
 “princely mind a true apprehension of him-
 “self; and shall teach him to take his own
 “hight aright; and even from his childhood
 “to hate a parasite as the worst traitor; to
 “break those false glasses, that would present
 “him with a face not his own; to applaud
 “plain truth, and bend his brows upon ex-
 “cessive praises. Thus affected, he may bid
 “vice do her worst. Thus shall he strive
 “with virtue, whether shall more honour
 “each other. Thus sincere and solid glory
 “shall every where follow and crown him.
 “Thus, when he hath but his due, he shall
 “have so much, that he shall scorn to borrow
 “the false colours of adulation.”

This first volume of *Epistles* was soon fol-
 lowed by a second, dedicated likewise to the
 Prince, and printed at London in the same
 year 1608, the tenth epistle of the third decade

^f P. 30.

H 4

being

being addressed to the *Gentlemen of his Highness's court*, and containing a *Description of a good and faithful Courtier*. The third volume, dedicated also to the Prince, was not published till 1611.

Sir George Carew, whose *Relation of the State of France*^b, where he was Ambassador from 1605 till 1609, as he had been in Poland in 1597, is a model for works of that kind, took the opportunity of the return of the Princes's Riding-master, Monf. St. Anthoine, to England, to send by him a letter to his Highness, dated at Paris, 1st of April 1608^h, to present his own humble duty, "having as yet, *says he*, none other means of professing my readiness and desire to shew my devoted affection towards your service; which should more effectually appear, if I might have the honour and happiness of receiving your gracious commandments in any thing, that my weak means were able to accomplish."

The other occasion of Sir George's writing was, to witness to the Prince, that by his own advice, as well as by the command of the French King, Monf. de St. Anthoine had made some longer stay in France, than his desire to have attended his Highness's person, in his place of service, would otherwise have permitted. The reason

^b Published at the end of the *Historical View of the negotiations between the courts of England, France, and Brussels*, London, 1749, in 8vo.

^h Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

of his stay was, that he might accompany the Earl of Essex to Fontainebleau, whither Henry IV. had invited his Lordship to come to him, and treated him with respect and kindness, by taking him to hunt with himself, and shewing other demonstrations of favour towards the Earl. " And because, *says Sir*
 " *George*, none of my Lord's own attendants
 " were acquainted with the manners and
 " customs of this court; therefore recourse
 " was had to Monf. de St. Anthoine's expe-
 " rience and judgement in that behalf, where
 " he hath both much steaded his Lordship,
 " and besides been a hearer of that high and
 " honourable opinion, which is generally held,
 " in these parts, of your noble towardliness,
 " or rather accomplished virtues and parts of
 " worthiness."

The Prince, on the 10th of the same month of April, 1608ⁱ, wrote a Latin letter to the King^k; in which he told his Majesty, that there were two reasons, and those very just ones, why he should have written sooner; the first a perpetual one, to testify his duty and obedience; the other of a late date, to return thanks for the unexpected permission granted him of hunting. That he had however deferred writing for a short time, till he had tasted some fruit of this unhoped-for bounty, from an expectation, that he should find his

ⁱ Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007. ^k Appendix, No. IX.

spirits raised by the very pleasure of hunting, and more capable of performing the office of returning thanks in a proper manner. This he acknowledged he had found to be his case; and he owed all possible gratitude to his Majesty. Not but that he was conscious, that he had frequently received many and much greater favours from his Majesty: but as light troubles can express themselves, when great ones are dumb; so, though he was silent and amazed at the frequent recollection of the vast benefits conferred upon him, yet he could wish to express his gratitude for this smaller one. He knew, that his Majesty was thoroughly persuaded, that he should for ever retain the sense of it in his mind, as well as express it in words; and he had the fullest conviction himself, that his Majesty would not abate of his former kindness and affection to him.

Sir Henry Wotton wrote a second letter to the Prince¹ from Venice on the fourteenth of the same month of April, 1608. In this letter he took notice, that he had been advertised by Captain Pinner, how graciously his Highness had received the present sent by that gentleman; and how carefully and kindly he had enquired of the state of things at Venice: “Which I, *says Sir Henry*, took
“ occasion to make known unto the Prince
“ and senate, who, I think, will express by

¹ Harl. MSS, Vol. 7007.

“ their

“ their own Ambaffador, how glad they were
 “ to be a part, not only of your remem-
 “ brance, but of your love and follicitude at
 “ thefe years. If I have erred in doing this
 “ without your commandment, my defence
 “ muft be, that my zeal towards you is my
 “ commiffion.” He then remarks, that all
 there was well. The Prince of Savoy and his
 brother were there at that time in their way
 towards the court of Mantua, where was to
 be solemnized the marriage of their elder fift-
 er: their fecond fift-er being newly conducted to
 Modena in the company of that Prince her huf-
 band. “ The Prince of Tuscany, *adds he,*
 “ (which reneweth the remembrance of my
 “ firft fervice to your Highnefs, when a poor
 “ counterfeit Italian^m brought you his letters)
 “ is to be married to the fift-er of the Queen
 “ of Spain; and great preparations are in hand
 “ for it. There is alfo fome whifpering about
 “ a match between the Prince of Savoy and a
 “ Princefs of Tuscany. Methinks I fee your
 “ Highnefs ftart at this lift of marriages, and
 “ beftowing of Princes daughters, wherewith

^m Ferdinand, duke of Florence, having intercepted
 certain letters, difcovering a defign to take away the life
 of King James before his acceffion to the throne of Eng-
 land, Mr. Henry Wotton, then at Florence, was pri-
 vately fent to Scotland with thofe letters, affuming the
 name and language of an Italian, and calling himfelf
Ottavio Baldi. Izaac Walton’s Life of Sir Henry Wot-
 ton, prefixed to *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*.

“ I have

“ I have presumed to entertain you. Fear
 “ not, Sir; there will be left for you a good
 “ wife, I warrant you; and whatsoever she
 “ be, she shall be glad of it. And so humbly
 “ craving pardon for the time, that I have
 “ taken from your Highness with these pre-
 “ sumptuous lines, upon occasion of dispatch-
 “ ing home this gentleman for the King your
 “ father’s service, I end with my prayers to
 “ God Almighty for the preservation of his
 “ sweet blessings in you, and particularly of
 “ your delight in his truth, which is the high-
 “ est of his blessings.”

Robert Earl of Essex, only son of the un-
 fortunate favourite of Queen Elizabeth, and
 afterwards well known in history under the
 character of General of the forces of the Long
 parliament against King Charles I. going upon
 his travels in 1608, about a year and a quarter
 after his marriage with Frances^a second daugh-
 ter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, not
 long after his arrival in France wrote a letter
 to the Prince, in whose esteem and favour he
 had a considerable share. This letter^o is dated
 at Mountrell^p, May 24, and in it his Lord-
 ship presented his humblest duty to his High-
 ness. “ Being now, *continues he*, entered into
 “ my travel, and intending the end thereof to

^a The Earl was married to her in January, 1606-7, at the age of fourteen, and she of thirteen.

^o Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007. ^p Probably Montreuil in Picardy.

“ attain to true knowledge, and to better my
 “ experience, I hope God will so bless me
 “ in my endeavours, as that I shall return an
 “ acceptable servant to your Highness. My
 “ heart, noble Prince, stands humbly and
 “ truly affected; and the world can yield me
 “ no such comfort, as to be now numbered
 “ amongst those, that do indeed honour and
 “ reverence you with their intirest thoughts.
 “ I will every day pray upon the knees of my
 “ humblest heart, that God will bless your
 “ Highness with many and most happy days.”

Thomas Earl of Dorset, Lord Treasurer, dying on the 19th of April, 1608, and Robert Earl of Salisbury succeeding in that great post on the 6th of May^a, the French Ambassador wrote soon after, in a letter to Monsi. de Pui-fieux from London on the 5th of June, N. S. ^r, that, though the new Treasurer had the whole administration of affairs in his hands, he, the Ambassador, was of opinion, that his Lordship's authority would be lessened by that of the Prince, who already shewed some jealousy of him; but that it would be a considerable time before this event would take place: and that, as the King and Queen were not at all ignorant of the disposition of their son, they would probably keep him always so low, and so surrounded with persons dependant upon them-

^a Camden. Annales Regis Jacobi, p. 6.

^r Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, *Tome III.* p. 302.

selfes,

selves, that it would not be easy for him to eman-
 cipate himself. The Ambassador received soon
 after this a letter from Mons. de Villeroy,
 acquainting him with the desire of the King
 their master, that the Prince's friendship might
 be cultivated by all possible means. Mons. de
 Boderie thought it not difficult to do this, con-
 sidering, that the Prince himself was well dis-
 posed, and those about him equally inclined
 to contribute their good offices to it. That it
 was true, that if something was given them to
 sharpen their tools, they would do better.
 That there were three persons in particular,
 to whom if Mons. de Villeroy should do any
 favour, the Ambassador promised to serve him
 faithfully. That Mons. St. Anthoine did his
 duty; but as he had already made those per-
 sons expect more than he ought to have done,
 the Ambassador did not think proper to say
 any thing, either to him or them, of this new
 deliberation, till it should be brought to effect*.

The Prince's growing affection for the
 navy led him in the month of August of this
 year 1608, to make a visit to the royal dock
 at Woolwich. In the beginning of that month
 he sent word to Mr. Pett of his intention to
 come thither at his return out of Essex from
 the Lord Petre's house, whither he was going
 in progress; and on the Saturday following,

* Ambassades de la M. de Boderie, *Tome III.* p. 418,
419.

HENRY PRINCE OF WALES. CIII

the 13th of August, he took his barge at Blackwall, and came to Woolwich about noon, accompanied only with his own train. He was received by Mr. Pett on shore at the yard-stairs. On the poop of the Royal Anne were placed trumpets, and an ensign, and on the heads of both the mizens two ensigns. Mr. Pett having paid his compliments to the Prince, and represented, how great a satisfaction it would be to all the seamen to perceive his Highness so well affected to the navy, he conducted the Prince round about the dock, and so directly aboard the Royal Anne, to the very top of her poop, where he gave a signal to Mr. William Bull, then Master Gunner of England, who stood ready prepared upon a mount, with thirty one great brass chambers, orderly and distinctly placed, which had been procured from the Tower for that purpose by Mr. Pett, with the assistance of the Master Gunner; who upon the signal made gave fire to the train, and discharged the whole volley with such good order, as was highly satisfactory to the Prince, and the more so, because it was unexpected. When the ordnance ceased firing, Mr. Pett kneeled to his Highness, and requested him to accept this poor sea-entertainment as an unfeigned earnest of duty to him. The Prince returned a most gracious answer, and then ordered Mr. Pett to lead him into all the parts of the ship; which having

the viewed

viewed with a singular pleasure, he was conducted to the Dock Yard, where the keel, stem, and stern of his own ship, which was to be built, lay ready framed. Having examined these with great attention, his Highness caused the length of the keel to be measured; and being then desired to walk into the house to rest himself, he readily consented, and found in the parlour a set banquet of sweetmeats and all other fruits, which the season yielded, with plenty of Wine, Rhenish, White, Sack, Greek, and Claret. After he had refreshed himself, and given his hand to kiss to divers Gentlewomen of the town, who were in the room with Mr. Pett's wife, he desired to be conducted to the mount, where the chambers were placed, which were again charged and ranged in their former order with the train made ready. This sight delighted him so much, that he was desirous to have the train fired, while he stood by; but at Mr. Pett's intreaty and representation of the danger, he ordered, that at the holding up of his handkerchief in his barge, they should be discharged; which was accordingly done, after his Highness had expressed his satisfaction in the whole entertainment^t.

The King having been slightly indisposed, the Prince upon his recovery sent a messenger

^t MS. Life of Mr. Phineas Pett, fol. 24.

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to his Majesty with the following letter, dated August 1, 1608^u.

“ Please your Majesty,

“ I AM glad to hear of your Majesty's recovery, before I understood of your distemper by the heat of the weather. I have sent this bearer of purpose to return word of your Majesty's good health, which I beseech God long to continue; as also to remember my most humble duty. He is likewise to acquaint your Majesty, that Monsieur le Grand hath sent me a horse by a French Gentleman, wherewith I hope your Majesty will be well pleased. The next week I mean to use the benefit of your Majesty's gracious favour of hunting in Waltham forest, the place appointed as fittest for the sport being wanted. In the mean while and after I will employ my time at my book the best I can to your Majesty's satisfaction; whereof hoping your Majesty will rest assured, I kiss most humbly your hands, as

“ Your Majesty's dutiful and

“ Obedient Son

“ H E N R Y.”

By the same messenger he wrote likewise a letter to the Queen his mother, as follows^w;

^u Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

^w Ibid.

" Please your Majesty,
 " I HAVE sent this bearer my servant to
 " kiss, from me, your Majesty's hands, and
 " to certify me at his return of your good
 " health, which (as in duty I am bound) I will
 " earnestly beseech God long to continue. And
 " that being all the service, which in my opi-
 " nion I am able to perform unto your Majesty,
 " if it shall please you to think me worthy to re-
 " ceive any of your Majesty's commandments,
 " I will be very careful, according to my mean
 " power, to shew my readiness in obeying.
 " Whereof not doubting but your Majesty
 " will rest assured, I kiss again your hands,

" Ever your Majesty's most

" Dutiful and obedient Son

" H E N R Y."

The State of Venice having sent Signor
 Marc Antonio Correro Ambassador to King
 James, Sir Henry Wotton wrote a letter to
 the Prince from Venice on the 16th of Aug.
 1608*, to recommend to him the Ambassa-
 dor's son, who appeared to Sir Henry *of so*
sweet a spirit, that it made him bold to present
 his Highness with those few lines, and in them
 his own humble and hearty zeal. "And because,

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

“ *says he*, your Highness hath (as they are here
 “ well informed) been pleased sundry times to
 “ inquire with much affection of the course
 “ of their affairs and quality of their ministers;
 “ it shall be fit for me to give you some ac-
 “ count of the present Ambassador, who is the
 “ third since the renewed friendship between
 “ Great Britain and this famous Republic, in
 “ the royal person of our good King your fa-
 “ ther.

“ Il Signor Mare Antonio Correro is a
 “ gentleman of a very noble, but none of the
 “ four and twenty, which they call their an-
 “ tient houses. Strong in parentage on both
 “ sides; himself a sole heir in his own line;
 “ for one brother, which he had, is dead.
 “ His estate greater than both theirs together,
 “ that have preceded him, and he is likely
 “ not to be inferior to either in the conserving
 “ of it. His complexion, as it should seem,
 “ not strong for a long voyage, which in-
 “ creaseth the merit of his good-will there-
 “ unto. He was here (and so were none of
 “ the other two, nor any, that I have yet
 “ seen employed either to France or Spain)
 “ actually a Senator; and besides hath refused
 “ for this honour the regiment of Bergamo,
 “ into which he was chosen, being one of
 “ their principal towns in Lombardy.

“ Of his internal abilities I am insufficient
 “ to judge, neither hath the jealousy of this

“ government suffered me much to practise
 “ him; but by such discourse, as hath passed
 “ between us, he appeareth to be of a very
 “ moderate and ingenuous temper, and pro-
 “ fesseth toward his Majesty great reverence
 “ and devotion.” Sir Henry in a postscript
 adds: “ Having made mention of twenty-
 “ four antient houses, and imagining there-
 “ upon your Highness might ask which they
 “ be, I have thought fit to include herein a
 “ note of them, that you may know all other
 “ Venetian names to be more modern; which
 “ yet here is no disadvantage, for the younger
 “ families do commonly carry the Princedom.”

Patrick Stewart, Earl of Orkney, son of
 Sir Robert Stewart, who was natural brother
 of Queen Mary, and had been created by the
 King her son, in 1581, Earl of Orkney,
 thought proper to pay his court to the Prince,
 in a letter to him from Kirke-Hall of the 22d
 of August 1608, offering him his *most humble
 and affectionate service*, and expressing his desire
 to have *two lines of his Highness's hand*; “ which,
 “ *says he*, would be very comfortable to me in
 “ respect of my far distance from your High-
 “ ness: but shall not be far distant, if it shall
 “ please your Highness to command my ser-
 “ vice.” But this unfortunate Earl three years
 afterwards was committed prisoner to the castle
 of Edinburgh, for great oppressions committed
 by him in the isles of Orkney and Shetland, in
 order

order to raise money for the repairing of his estate, which his prodigality had ruined^y; and being afterwards condemned for treasons and oppressions, was beheaded at Edinburgh on the 6th of February 1614; whereby the title of Earl of Orkney was extinguished^z.

Among the young noblemen, who frequented the Prince's court, Sir John Harington^a deservedly enjoyed the principal share of his Highness's favour and even friendship, being indeed in all respects one of the most virtuous and accomplished youths of his time, and an example to those of his rank in all ages. His Father, of both his names, had been knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and created by King James a Baron of England on the 21st of July 1603, by the title of Lord Harington of Exton in Rutland. He was intrusted by that King with the tuition of the Lady Elizabeth his daughter, whom, after her marriage with Frederick Elector Palatin, he attended to Heydelburgh in April 1613, and upon his return towards England, died at Wormes in Germany, on the 24th of August following, at the age of seventy three^b, leaving issue by his wife Anne, daughter and sole heir of Robert Kelway, Esq; surveyor of the court of wards, his younger son John (the elder, Kelway, dying in his Lordship's life

^y Spotswood, p. 516.

^z Crawford's Peerage of

Scotland, p. 383.

^a He writes his name Haryngton.

^b Hugo Holland, *Horologia Anglica*, *Tom. I.* p. 133.

time) and one daughter Lucy, married to Edward Earl of Bedford^c, a Lady, who was the great patroness of, and much celebrated by, the chief poets and wits of that time^d. Sir John Harrington, his son, who had been created Knight of the Bath, with the Duke of York and others, on the 4th of January 1603-4, was, as soon as he came to years of discretion, remarkable for his strict observance of the duties of piety both in public and private, and his application to the study of polite learning. At the close of every week he examined himself, what progress he had made in virtue and goodness, and what fault he had committed during the course of it; and kept an exact diary of his life. His liberality to the distressed was no less remarkable than his humanity and affability to all. These virtues, which began to appear in him very early, shone out more conspicuously after his return from his travels in 1609. Upon his father's death succeeding to his title and estate, he endeavoured to establish in his family the most perfect regularity of manners and regard for religion; and during the short remainder of his life, was universally esteemed and admired. His last sickness continued twelve days, during which he made his will, and settled all his temporal affairs, and on the 27th

^c Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 416.

^d Mr. Wake in his *Rox Platonicus*, p. 20. styles her the beloved of the muses, *Musis dilecta*.

of February 1613-4, expired at Kew near Richmond, not only with an intire resignation to the will of God, but with serenity and joy. He was interred on the 31st of March following at Exton, with great pomp^e. Mr. Donne, who the year following went into holy orders, took leave of poetry in the poem, which he wrote on the decease of this incomparable nobleman^f, full of strong sentiments and a copious imagination, but expressed with his usual obscurity of style and harshness of versification.

The friendship (for such it was) between the Prince and Sir John Harington was cultivated by a correspondence of letters during their absence from each other, especially while the latter was on his travels abroad. There is extant one Latin letter of his, with the Prince's answer in the same language; neither of which has any date, but both seem to have been written before Sir John left England, and entered upon his travels. In this letter^g he declares himself at a loss for words to express his gratitude for the honour of a most affectionate letter from his Highness; to whom he should ever owe the highest acknowledgments, and constantly pour out his prayers to God, that his Highness might proceed with the same success he had begun; for that he had not only entered upon,

^e Holland, *ubi supra*, p. 134, 135.

^f Poems by J. D. p. 256, *Edit. London 1635*, 8vo.

^g Appendix, No. X.

but almost reached to the end of, that path, which led to honour, to virtue, and to immortality. Since therefore himself, Sir John, had nothing more in his wishes, than to be able to comprehend the Prince's great sense, to admire his genius, to be instructed and corrected by his judgment, and to acquiesce in his determination; he desired his Highness to give him the solution of a difficult passage, which had occurred to him in reading Tacitus's life of Agricola; and that if his Highness would condescend to throw light upon this paragraph, with regard to which he should otherwise perhaps be perpetually in the dark, he would beseech the Almighty to continue to his Highness that mind, which carried him on with such zeal towards the best things and the best men. In the postscript he desired the Prince to excuse the jejuneness of this letter; since the perspicuity and wonderful neatness of that of his Highness made himself sensible of the meanness of his own childish performance.

The Prince, in his answer in Latin^h, told Sir John Harington, that he was a pleasant man, who in the beginning of his letter had highly extolled him, the Prince, partly on account of wit, and partly for acuteness of judgment; and then proposed to him an hard and perplexed passage of a writer, in order to shew, how much he was wanting in both those

^h Appendix, No. XI.

qualities,

qualities. " Do you believe me, *says he*, to
 " be a person capable of untying knots, ex-
 " plaining riddles, and illustrating the ob-
 " scurities of difficult authors? You seem by
 " this to have assumed the person of Davus:
 " but I frankly confess, that I am not Oedipus.
 " Whether you fight on your own ground, or
 " not, it is your business to see: but, as I am
 " called upon to contend in a court, to which
 " I am a stranger, it is most proper for me to
 " own my ignorance. I, who am, in all kinds
 " of polite learning, a mere novice, and who
 " have made scarce any advances from the
 " depths of ignorance, finding that I am not
 " able to comprehend any thing but what is
 " low and contracted, never dared to look
 " into Tacitus, whom I had heard represented
 " by every one, as a writer of admirable saga-
 " city, and full of short and pointed sentences,
 " but too obscure in his style for my capacity.
 " However, since you challenge me into the
 " field, I am determined to follow you, though
 " with a slow pace. For I have begun, but
 " a few days ago, to read with attention the
 " Life of Agricola, in order, that, when I come
 " to the difficulty proposed by you, I may
 " with the greater ease give you my own
 " opinion. In the mean time I thought it
 " not improper to offer to your consideration
 " one or two much less difficult passages, in
 " the sense of which I could not satisfy my-
 " self,

“ self, not far from the beginning of that
 “ Life, &c.”

After Sir John Harington had left England, he wrote to the Prince in Latinⁱ, regretting his absence from him in very strong terms; adding, that his grief was mitigated in some measure by these considerations; first, that by his travels in other countries, and the experience, which he might gain by it, he should, some time or other be more qualified to execute his Highness's commands, which were and always should be sacred to him. Next, that he had opportunities of doing justice to the virtues of his Highness at the courts of other Princes; as he had done, and always would, with the greatest satisfaction, though in a very short and imperfect manner, like those, who describe whole countries in a small map. He desired the Prince's excuse, if his weak tongue should diminish the splendor of his name; and promised to be careful to keep an exact journal of his travels for the amusement of his Highness; concluding, that he carried about him day and night in his bosom, and should for ever do so, and often kissed, that ring, which the Prince had presented to him, and which he esteemed as a mark of his Highness's singular favour, in which he placed the height of all his fortunes.

ⁱ Appendix. No. XII.

Sir John Harington, in another Latin letter^k, takes notice, that having now in the space of seven weeks, travelled through great part of the Low Countries, and seen three courts of Princes, and as many universities, together with several large cities, fortified towns, and strong castles and forts, he had set down in Latin, as well as he was able, such observations, as he could make, relating to politics, men eminent for authority, prudence, or learning, war, the present state of affairs, the situation of cities, and the manners of people; in order at a proper time to give an account, how he had employed every day, to his Highness, to whom he devoted both himself and all his studies. For though he was thoroughly conscious of the slenderness of his own abilities, yet he was unwilling to be one of those, who travel only to indulge themselves in a shameful pursuit of pleasures, or with a view of merely gratifying their eyes with novelties. On the contrary, he assured the Prince of his own resolution to exert his utmost endeavours to improve himself by experience, that he might be able to serve his Highness with more dignity and ability. This alone was the sum of his hopes, and a sufficient incitement to him to go through all labours and fatigues. He was prevented from enlarging this letter by the haste of the messenger; and therefore desired

^k Appendix, No. XIII.

his Highness, with his usual humanity, to excuse the defects of it, and to continue his favour to him.

After his arrival at Florence, he wrote in Latin to the Prince from thence on the 21st of November, 1608, N. S.¹, though, he said, he was uncertain, whether his letter would reach his Highness's hands; for he was then under the greatest anxiety imaginable, by reason that he had not, for eleven weeks past, received, as he used, any letters from his father and mother, nor heard of his Highness's health. His conjecture, that they were either intercepted or lost through some ill accident, relieved his mind in some degree from the fear of a greater misfortune. He had written to his Highness from Francfort, as he was just ready to depart for Heydelburg, where, and in the university of Basil, he had spent some days in hearing the lectures of the professors, and in conversation with them. Thence he had proceeded with the utmost expedition to Florence, but did not arrive there till after the day of the marriage^m, tho' before the principal solemnities, an account of which he sent the Prince, printed in a book published that very day, on which he wrote his letter, in order that his Highness might have a view of what had

¹ Appendix, No. XIV.

^m Between Cosmo de Medicis, Prince of Tuscany, and Magdalen of Austria, sister to the Queen of Spain,

passed,

passed, and had been repeated upon the arrival of the Duke of Mantua. As for his own observations, which were perhaps too puerile, he took all possible pains, that his journal might not be unworthy of his Highness's approbation. He saw no reason to make any considerable stay at Florence, especially as he was desirous to return through France, that he might soon enjoy his former happiness, through the singular and constant favour and goodness of his Highness towards him, and spend the rest of his life in his presence.

The book, mentioned in this letter, concerning the solemnities of the Prince of Tuscany's marriage, did not reach the Prince's hands. This gave much concern to Sir John Harington, when he knew it, which he expressed in a French letterⁿ to his Highness, without a date, or name of the place, whence he wrote it, though it appears to be some republic, most probably Venice. He was apprehensive lest the Prince might suspect him of negligence in neglecting to send the book; whereas he had shut himself up in Florence several days, merely to wait for its coming from the press, in order to transmit one of the first copies to his Highness. He could not imagine where the fault of its miscarriage lay; but thought it probable, that some of the English Papists at Florence might do him that diskindness, either

ⁿ Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

out of spite, or with a view to gratify their friends with the first account of the marriage-ceremonies. He hoped and trusted in the Prince's goodness, that himself should be acquitted in this point; for that he would rather die a thousand deaths, than give his Highness the least cause to deny his favour to him. With regard to the occurrences of the republic, where Sir John Harington then was, he took notice, that they were of two sorts; either such, as every body spoke of, and were yet unworthy to be read by his Highness; or of great importance, and which could not be written without danger, paper being too weak a security for carrying, such a length of way, secrets, which might prove hazardous to the writer. But, if he should meet with a messenger, by whom he might send a letter with safety, he would not fail to write to the Prince, or in any other respect convince him, that his own greatest happiness in this world was to be esteemed always his Highness's most obedient servant.

Whatever jealousy and dislike were supposed by the French Ambassador, Mons. de la Boderie, as has been already remarked, to have been entertained by the Prince against the Earl of Salisbury; his Lordship, on his part, considered the rank and character of the heir apparent to the crown, and especially such an heir, in too important a light, to be wanting in any mark of respect to him, which it was in his power

power to shew, without giving umbrage to the King himself. This appears from the letters of that Earl still remaining amongst the papers of the Prince, a few written directly to his Highness, but the greatest part addressed to Mr. Newton, his Tutor; though without dates, the want of which leaves us at a loss to assign them their proper place. These lettersⁿ deserve to be inserted in the very words of that able statesman.

“ May it please your Highness;

“ **W**HEN I took my pen in hand to
 “ make answer to your postscript yester-
 “ terday morning, I thought it better to defer
 “ it till afternoon, hoping, with Horace, to
 “ find it true, that *fecundi calices* would
 “ quicken my style, as I found it did to Sir
 “ Roger Aston^o his Majesty’s master faulk-
 “ ner’s.

“ That it pleased you, a great Prince, to
 “ vouchsafe me thanks for such a trifle, you
 “ shew how near you are to Cæsar, who pre-
 “ ferred presents of pleasure before gifts of
 “ value. But in that you commend the

ⁿ Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007. and 7002.

^o Natural son of John Aston of Cheshire, and Groom of the bed-chamber to the King in Scotland. He was at last made Master of the great wardrobe, and died May 23, 1612, and was interred at Cranford in Middlesex. Wood *Fasti*, Vol. I. Col. 173. He is frequently mentioned in the *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, printed at London, 1754, in 4to.

“ metal of small things, it much comforts
 “ me; for if you should (according to the
 “ greatness of your mind and fortune) enter-
 “ tain no less figures than Sir Jerom Bowes,
 “ Salisbury must expect a small corner of your
 “ favour. I will therefore shortly conclude,
 “ (being, as I guess, more merry than elo-
 “ quent at this hour) that my nagg is a horse;
 “ and he a good horse, that never stumbles.
 “ In which respect I durst not have given him,
 “ if you had not chosen him. Now you have
 “ him, I pray God he may prove as true of
 “ foot, as he is of heart, that humbly kisseth
 “ your hands, and will ever be found

“ Your humble and affectionate

From Salisbury house
 this Thursday night.

“ Servant,

“ R. Salisbury.”

The following letter to Mr. Newton seems, from some facts mentioned in it, to have been written in 1608.

“ Sir,

“ I Send you the petition of Mr. Gybb, with
 “ an answer, wherein my fellow in office
 “ hath joined, which I refer to his Highness’s
 “ gracious constructions.

“ When

“When I was at Nonfuch, I told his Highness, that the treaty of peace^p was broken. Since that time the French King’s commissioners have propounded a long truce, wherein his Majesty has also joined; but with protestation, that religion shall be no part of the bargain. They are now hot in the disputation; and, for mine own part, (as I ever thought, so I do still) they, that were so far off, and are come so near, will not easily sever.

“Of your request for the little ward I can only say, that I am sorry it is no better. That, which is in me to do, is yours; for the true rule is to prefer friends, except in cases where just cause appeareth to the contrary.

“And so desiring you to kiss from me his Highness’s hands, I end this 2d of Aug.

“Your assured loving Friend,

R. Salisbury.”

“Will. Godolphin hath brought us comfortable news of the mine, and hath received all noble courtesy in all his journey there.

“Be wary of Londoners; for they died here 123 last week.”

Another letter to Mr. Newton was as follows:

^p Between the Spaniards and United Provinces.

K

“SIR;

“SIR;
 “AS soon as this came to my hands, I
 “thought it my duty to send it to his
 “Highness; and by you, because you may
 “send it back to me, if it please him, when
 “he hath read it. The King hath but now
 “seen it, and may call for it again; otherwise
 “I would not desire the return.

“And so in haste I end, assuring you, that
 “I will use as much diligence to send news
 “of the breach, as of the conclusion.

“Your loving and assured Friend,
 “R. Salisbury”.

“Whatsoever concerneth Count Maurice,
 “or France, I leave it in good hands, being
 “the secrets of Ambassadors advertisements
 “to a Secretary.”

The following were likewise written to Mr. Newton, most of them, probably, while he was Tutor to the Prince, which he ceased to be, and became Secretary to him in 1610, upon his Highness's being created Prince of Wales.

“SIR;
 “THIS bearer, now his Majesty's servant
 “in Sir Thomas Wyndebank's place, I
 “have sent to you with the last dispatch from
 “Ireland, the reading whereof will every day
 “prove

“ prove more proper for the Prince of Britain
 “ than Aristotle or Cicero; and yet those also
 “ most worthy of him. I send him for two
 “ causes; one to be ready to explain to his
 “ Highness any thing, that is obscure, which
 “ he can well do, because I have always used
 “ him in these dispatches. Another cause is,
 “ in regard that he hath always loved Spain
 “ so dearly, and therefore was made privy by
 “ me (I assure you on my credit) to all the
 “ practices I had with the Infanta concerning
 “ her title to the kingdom of England before
 “ his Majesty came to the crown. Lastly,
 “ Sir, he is none of those, *qui dicenda et ta-*
 “ *cenda loquuntur.* And so I end,

“ Your loving Friend,

“ Salisbury.”

“ Mr. Newton,

“ I Have now so much need of help, and
 “ I promise myself from you so much friend-
 “ ship in any honest cause, as I have sent this
 “ letter to present you the image of a troubled
 “ mind, and an earnest desire to be relieved
 “ with speed: First, because I have offended;
 “ and next, because I have already judged
 “ myself out of mine own conscience, which,
 “ whilst it is guilty, continues a shrewd com-
 “ panion. My fault is shortly this, that when
 “ I was come six miles on my way, I remem-
 “ bered,

"bered, that I had left Royston without
 "waiting on the Prince of Wales to receive
 "his commandments. Have I done so, be-
 "cause I knew it not to be my duty? Then
 "am I worse than Tom Dyrri. Did I forbear
 "it, because I loved him not? God knows
 "(except one) my heart is his before all the
 "world. Shall I tell you then any true cause
 "of this omission? I protest unto you, it was
 "no more nor less than a gross and beastly
 "oblivion to do that, when I was out of the
 "King's chamber, which I resolved when I
 "was in it. Not that I had any thing wor-
 "thy his knowledge; for I came rather to do
 "my duty (being near the King) than for
 "any other business but that, which was
 "contained in the letter I left with you: in
 "all which his Majesty resolves to hear far-
 "ther, both from Savoy and from Germany,
 "before he make any answer.

"Now therefore, Sir, that you have my
 "plain confession, and my true contrition
 "(both which I desire this paper may present
 "his Highness by your convoy) I will hope
 "to receive speedy news of absolution; for
 "which purpose I resolved to write thus
 "much in this place, before I went up any
 "stairs. I pray you also let his Highness
 "know, that I had thus much ill fortune,
 "that came to my feeling, when my error
 "came first to my thoughts (which was six
 "miles

“miles on this side Royfton) and that was,
 “putting my hand down to my knee, that
 “was a-cold, I found I had never a garter;
 “fo as if you hear of any fuch ware at the
 “market, as a golden garter with a *kony foit*,
 “ftay it for

“Your affured Friend,

From Audley End.

“R. Salifbury.”

“Mr. Newton,

“IF I fhould multiply my fenfe and feeling
 “of your honeft friendship verbally, I
 “fhould fill this paper; which is not much a-
 “greeable to my nature. For though it is faid,
 “*perdenda funt multa, ut femel ponas bene*; yet
 “I, that never fpent more than one courtefy
 “(if it deserve the name of one) do find my-
 “felf overladen with a plentiful harveft. For
 “what can be fo great or precious (the higheft
 “only excepted) as to be righted and affifted
 “fo far, as to receive thanks from him, who
 “rewardeth, when he accepteth? Let this
 “therefore, Sir, fhortly tell you, and affure
 “you, that you fhall never affume more than
 “I will perform, where you have place and
 “credit; neither fhall you come fhort in
 “whatever you can expect of an honeft friend-
 “fhip from

“Your affured loving Friend,

“R. Salifbury.”

“SIR;

“I Found by the Prince his desire to gratify
 “these two gentlemen; and in that respect,
 “according to my duty, shall be most ready
 “to further their desires, reserving only this
 “distinction, which is an essential part of
 “my duty, that I do not give furtherance to
 “any suit, which may be of prejudice to his
 “Highness, of which it pleased him to give
 “me so princely a liberty of information, as I,
 “that know he is of the essence of the King
 “his father, and doth participate with him in
 “every accident (good or ill in this kingdom)
 “do conclude my answer, that I fear me,
 “that this will be very inconvenient to his
 “Majesty, and be found directly repugnant
 “to the orders under his Majesty’s hand.
 “Sure I am, if it be not tempered, it will be
 “of ill sound in the subjects minds in this
 “island, of which I would be glad both
 “father and son should have possession, as
 “well by the love, as the loyalty of the people.
 “Other end can no honest man have of any
 “denial in this kind, which loseth him thanks
 “and friendship from the parties, only to be
 “recompensed with the noble acceptation of
 “those, for whose sakes we lose it; whereof
 “no man is more confident than I am, nor
 “no man hath more need to beg it.

“ Now,

“ Now, Sir, let me intreat you to shew his
 “ Highness this memorial, signed by his
 “ Majesty, which containeth a direction to all
 “ his ministers and servants for their seeking
 “ or permission of any suits for a while. It
 “ will appear to you what is said of such suits
 “ as this; and therefore, Sir, I have intreated
 “ the gentlemen to be on Sunday after dinner
 “ at Whitehall, where my Lords do meet
 “ only to settle some order in these and like
 “ cases; and particularly to devise, how well-
 “ deserving suitors may have passage in suits
 “ upon such grounds, as are like to speed;
 “ and not to spend hope and money upon fair
 “ shadows, devised by pettifoggers, who care
 “ for no more but maintenance till the end
 “ appear, which, being good or evil to the
 “ suitor, comes all to one end for the informer.
 “ My last request is, that you will take the
 “ pains to bring this memorial to Whitehall
 “ on Sunday about twelve or one o’clock,
 “ the rather because my Lords would be glad
 “ to make you acquainted with some orders
 “ about suitors, which will ease the Prince
 “ of importunity, and yet afford some means
 “ to gratify.

“ Now have you my distinctions, wherein
 “ I hope you will not tax me for æquiyocation;
 “ for I assure you, without any mental reserva-
 “ tion, he liveth not on the face of this earth,
 “ that is or shall be more glad, when he may

“ perform any honest duty to his Highness,
 “ than his father’s beagle^a is, his humble
 “ Servant, and

“ Your assured Friend,
 “ R. Salisbury.”

“ Bear with my scribbling in haste.”

“ S I R ;

“ W H E N I opened your letter, and
 “ read the contents, I was troubled
 “ how to find fit words to express my thanks
 “ to you, from whose hand so great a favour
 “ was conveyed unto me, as to be remembered
 “ by his Highness: in which doubtfulness,
 “ by the time I had seen the postscript, so
 “ many farther thoughts did multiply upon
 “ me, as I was once doubtful to have pre-
 “ sumed to return any thing, until I had
 “ waited on his Highness, knowing well, that
 “ words are now so vendible, as all I could
 “ say were not worthy the hearing. Besides,
 “ Sir, you know, that *curæ loquuntur leves,*
 “ *ingentes silent.* And therefore all, that I will
 “ say at this time to that fair and princely
 “ hand, is, that it is a joy to me to see how fair
 “ a character he useth, and with how fair a
 “ mind he directeth yours to deliver his prince-
 “ ly favours to one, that seeketh more to please
 “ and serve him, than all the world, he only

^a So the King used to call the Earl of Salisbury. See Sidney papers, Vol. II. p. 325.

“excepted, that keepeth and prepareth this
 “little world for him; wherein my desire to
 “do him service is an occasion, that makes
 “me less behold his eyes than any other,
 “who hath a heart as dear to him (if the
 “blood thereof were in question to demon-
 “strate it) as any man, that liveth.

“And thus with many thanks, Sir, I com-
 “mit you to God’s protection. From his
 “Majesty’s house at Whitehall this 2d of
 “Allhollontide.

“Your affectionate Friend,
 “Salisbury.”

“All our rebellions are ceased. The Queen
 “is well; and we attend daily certain com-
 “missioners from the States; which is all our
 “certain news.”

“SIR;

“**B**EING now near the time of devotion,
 “I have not had much leifure to found
 “this bearer in the depth of his art; but find-
 “ing in him great love to the Prince, and
 “confidence to undertake any thing he is
 “bidden, I have thought fit to recommend
 “him only to be a register for a time; for to
 “leap into a Secretary’s place suddenly were
 “dangerous; because I have known divers in
 “that profession make shrewd summersaults
 “out

" out of it; and I judge this poor man by his
 " face to be honest, though by his appa-
 " rel poor; which may amend, if he have
 " but a fee for every virgin in London and
 " England, that wisheth the Prince of Wales
 " her maidenhead; to whom I durst not pre-
 " sume to write thus much myself, because
 " I know now how his Highness would take
 " it to be dissuaded from his liking to the man.
 " To you, Sir, I do only for this day recom-
 " mend the man; and to Sir D. Murray one
 " to take order, that he may have his diet at
 " some table; the other, that he may have
 " some liveries, of both which if he fail, then
 " send him to Tom Dyrri or to me

" Your loving Friend,
 " Salisbury."

The Prince began the year 1608-9 with a
 present to the King of a Latin oration of con-
 siderable length, and upon a subject peculiarly
 suited to his own rank and sentiments. The
 main point was to shew, that learning is more
 necessary to Kings, Princes, and persons in the
 highest stations, than to others; and then to
 answer what might be alledged on the contrary
 side of the question.

Robert Earl of Dorset, son of the late Lord
 Treasurer, being himself ill of the distemper
 of which he died Feb. 27, 1608-9, the Prince

was

was prevailed upon by his Lordship's son Richard, soon after Earl of Dorset, to write from St. James's the following letter to the King.

S I R;

AS I am often a suitor unto your Majesty for others, so now I become a suitor for myself; though not of myself, but at the request of another. The last summer my Lord of Dorset being sick, his son, by a friend of his, moved me, that, in case his father should die, I would sue unto your Majesty for his ward, desiring rather to fall into my hands than of another. But because I found, that he was loth it should be thought, that he had any conceit of the shortness of his father's days, I was sparing also to move your Majesty, till I should hear of some greater appearance of danger; which being now feared greatly, I have been this day requested of new, for preventing other suitors, to acquaint your Majesty with his desire: and though it be a thing unusual to me, yet I am the bolder by reason of the young nobleman's towardliness; and because, if your Majesty should, upon any respect, mislike the motion, I may be directed and advised by your Majesty what answer to make, having none, in such occasions of importance, so fit, to whom I

“ can

“ can address me, as unto your Majesty’s self,
 “ for whose fatherly affection I have great cause
 “ ever to praise God, and crave the continu-
 “ ance thereof, and of a long and happy life,
 “ Thus kissing most humbly your Majesty’s
 “ hands, I rest

“ Your Majesty’s

“ Most dutiful and obedient

“ Son and Servant,

“ HENRY.”

What the success of this application was, does not appear; but the young nobleman, for whose sake the Prince wrote this letter, and who was then in his twentieth year, was married to the Lady Anne Clifford, daughter and heir of George Earl of Cumberland, in her mother’s chambers in Augustin friars house in London, on the 25th of February, 1608-9, two days before the death of the Earl, his father.

In the same month the Prince wrote another letter to his Majesty :

“ Please your Majesty,

“ **A**LTHOUGH I meant at this time
 “ to be no further troublesome to your
 “ Majesty; yet finding this bearer upon his
 “ own business going to court, I have taken
 “ this

" this opportunity to give unto your Majesty
 " most humble and hearty thanks for your
 " free and fatherly dealing with me, being
 " resolved to follow your Majesty's directions,
 " unto whom in this and the like cases your
 " Majesty's direction shall be a rule, and
 " your commandment a law. I may fail and
 " oversee for not understanding your Majesty's
 " pleasure, at earnest entreaties; and then I
 " will plead ignorance for my pardon: but
 " whensoever your Majesty's intention shall
 " be known unto me, I shall ever be willing
 " to give obedience thereto, remembering,
 " that I am one of them, *cui sola obsequii gloria*
 " *relieta est.* And so beseeching your Majesty
 " ever to construe my actions, I kiss your
 " Majesty's hands, and rest

" Your Majesty's most

" Dutiful and obedient

" Son and Servant,

" HENRY."

His Majesty having resolved upon knighting
 the Prince, a consultation was held at West-
 minster in this month of February, about levy-
 ing and collecting the aid to the King's use
 for that purpose¹. And here it fully appeared
 from records, as well in the Tower of London,
 as in the Exchequer and elsewhere, that a
 reasonable aid, as well for knighting the King's

¹ Harl. MSS. Vol. 250. fol. 95.

eldest son, and marrying of the King's eldest daughter, as for knighting the eldest sons of other Lords, and the marrying of their eldest daughters, was by the antient common laws of this kingdom to be levied at the discretion of the King or other Lords, to whom it was due. Yet usually, when the son grew to be of the age of fifteen, or the daughter of seven years or more, the three estates became suitors to the King by petition in parliament, to reduce to a certainty such aids, to be levied by common persons; which was accordingly done by an act, *Westm. I. Ch. 36.*

In pursuance of this consultation a commission was issued under the Privy Seal, on the 10th of May 1609^r, for the knighting of his Highness, reciting, that by the statute of the 25th of King Edward III. it was provided, that a reasonable aid should be asked for knighting the King's eldest son: and on the 21st of June was issued another commission for raising such an aid^s; and on the 15th of that month two more for levying that aid from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge^t. In the execution of these and other commissions of that kind the subjects were very favourably treated. For whereas, by the antient law, they were obliged to pay twelve pence in the pound of the yearly value of their lands; the King's commissioners in the several counties, conform-

^r Rymer, *Fœdera*, Vol. XVI. p. 680. Edit. Lond. 1715.

^s Idem *ibid.*

^t Idem. p. 681, 682.

ably to the tenor of their commissions, behaved with so much moderation, that no man was compelled to pay any more than he was willing to give".

Sir John Harington's frequent letters to the Prince engaged his Highness to take the opportunity of sending him in return one in French, dated the 4th of March 1608-9, by Sir Robert Douglas, a servant of his, then going abroad. " My little Knight, *says he,* " these lines may assure you of my acceptance " of your letters, and the testimonies of your " zeal for my service, and of the satisfaction, " which I have in hearing from all parts of " your care and diligence to furnish yourself " with all the qualifications proper for deserv- " ing my favour; of which you will never have " reason to doubt; if you continue in the " course of virtue and good learning, which " you have so happily begun; and which I re- " commend to you for the future, as the means " of preserving you always in my esteem, and " making me your good friend and master."

Sir Charles Cornwallis^w, Ambassador to the court of Spain, whither he had been sent with the Earl of Nottingham, Ambassador Extraordinary, towards the end of March 1605, was not unmindful of paying his duty to the Prince

^u General Chronicle of England, begun by John Stow, and continued by E. Howes, fol. 898.

^w He writes his name Cornwaléys.

in a letter of the 4th of that month 1608-9, from Madrid*. He began it with remarking, that his country life, and sudden sending to the court of Spain, had denied him the happiness to make himself known to his Highness, or the humble and faithful affection, which he had to serve him. That since his arrival in Spain he had given way to time, and attended an occasion, that might offer matter worthy of his Highness's eyes, or of that excellent conceit and understanding, the fame whereof had reached into most parts of the world abroad, and made him so hopeful and dear at home.

“ Hitherto, *says he*, successes have not seconded my desires; although well it is known, that I have not spared my studies, my travels, and the uttermost of mine endeavours, to have to your other happinesses (and to what may with the favour of God be in certainty expected from so perfect a composition of the graces of God and nature) induced an addition of the greatest fortune and possibility, that this earth affordeth.

“ What the weakness of my own ability and infirmity of my means hath not had power to effect, I make no doubt but the lustre of the beams of your Highness's virtues growing now daily into their height will in time occasion to be offered and impartuned.

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

“ These Princes take ample and often no-
 “ tice, that amongst the many blessings, that
 “ God hath so plentifully heaped upon the
 “ King your father, there is none greater or
 “ so much as comparable to his being possessed
 “ of such a son, in whom he may hope to be
 “ succeeded, not only in his kingdoms, but in
 “ his knowledge, wisdom, and other virtues.
 “ Your Highness may, therefore, with great
 “ courage and comfort go on, in perfecting
 “ and giving root to what God, in so green
 “ years, hath so abundantly placed and planted
 “ in your princely heart and person. Myself,
 “ as a diviner of your future greatness, and
 “ out of what I hear of your heroical disposi-
 “ tion, who in this spring of your age incline
 “ yourself, not to what those years do usually
 “ affect, but to the understanding of the greatest
 “ and most weighty affairs, that may hereafter
 “ ingreat your fame, and make the people
 “ happy, that shall be committed to your
 “ government; for the first taste of mine
 “ humble desires to serve you, have adven-
 “ tured to offer herewith unto your Highness
 “ a work, though favouring of a weak conceit
 “ and a country pen, yet such, as Alexander
 “ the Great, in like years to those of your
 “ Highness, was accustomed both to require
 “ and allow of, as well in the ministers of his
 “ father, as those of other Princes employed
 “ unto him. Mine hope is your Highness

L

“ will

" will be please to accept it, not as the mat-
 " ter, but as the mind of him, that presents
 " it, doth and will ever endeavour to merit.
 " And for my last humbly kissing your princely
 " hands, do recommend by duty and my life
 " to be ever commanded and disposed of by
 " your Highness, and of him, that will never
 " be found second to any in unfeigned love
 " and desire to serve you."

A book printed at Paris, the subject of
 which was to shew, that the church of Rome
 is but a particular church, and never was but
 the second among the Christian Churches, not-
 withstanding its pretence of being the Catholic
 Church, having been dedicated to the Prince,
 and delivered to Sir George Carew, the Am-
 bassador in France, to be transmitted to his
 Highness, Sir George accompanied it with a
 letter to the Prince, dated at Paris the 4th of
 March 1608². In this letter he observed, that
 though he had diverted many heretofore, who
 had been with him there to send over books,
 some in verse and some in prose, which they had
 pretended to dedicate either to the King or to
 his Highness, with a view of procuring some
 rewards from hands, that were so famous for
 liberality; yet being pressed for that, which he
 now sent, by some, whose means he used in

Original letter of Sir George Carew to the Earl of
 Salisbury, in the paper office.

Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

his

his Majesty's service; and having upon the perusal thereof found it to be of a subject nothing vulgar, but the first, which had been published in that kind, and to be handled in a form succinct and judicious without tediousness, he had at last yielded to the motion. The cause, why it came no sooner, partly grew out of his own refusing to be used in this respect, till he had read it; and then he found the scope and design of the author not unworthy of a princely patron, time being like to increase the virtues in the one and estimation in the other.

“ Of the solidity and true worth of the work
 “ itself, I, *says* Sir George, have not learning
 “ enough to judge. I supposed the author
 “ had been a traveller in those regions, of
 “ whose religions he speaketh; but upon conference with him I find, that he hath made
 “ up his treatise upon collections of other
 “ books only. He seemeth to be a very discreet and godly man, though his first outward appearance make no great shew. His
 “ name is Marsam, which in his printed subscription he dissembleth. His profession is
 “ physic: he is by descent one of those Albigois, that some hundred years since made
 “ profession of the reformed religion in the parts near Alby in Languedoc. I hope your
 “ Highness, by your gracious acceptation, will
 “ both comfort him, and not make me re-

“pent to have interposed myself in a matter,
 “which, as I conceive, tendeth to your ho-
 “nour and increase of respect with those of
 “the reformed religion here.

“So praying for the full accomplishment
 “of those perfections in your Highness, which
 “all this part of the world expecteth out of
 “your noble beginnings, I humbly leave the
 “same to the most merciful protection of the
 “Almighty.”

The very learned Mr. Thomas Lydyat, the
 antagonist of the great Joseph Scaliger himself
 in chronology, having in this year 1609, not
 only finished, but likewise printed, his *Emen-*
datio Temporum^a, gave it to the world under
 the patronage of the Prince, to whom he de-
 dicated it. This work was so acceptable to his
 Highness, that he took the author into his fa-
 mily to read to him^b, and appointed him his
 Chronographer and Cosmographer^c.

William Lord Viscount Cranborne, son of
 the Earl of Salisbury, Lord High Treasurer,

^a It was printed at London in 8vo. under the following
 title: *Emendatio Temporum compendio facta ab initio mundi
 ad præsens usque, quâ præter alia plurima restituta sunt Na-
 tivitas & Baptisma & Cruciatu Domini Christi ad annos
 fere quaternos post vulgi calculos, confutatis opinionibus Sca-
 ligeranâ Baronianaque pariter ac Jesuiticâ Johannis Deckerii
 & Laurentii Sylygæ atque Joh. Kepleri Cæsarei Mathe-
 maticæ.*

^b Appendix to the life of Mr. Joseph Mede, p. 44.
 prefixed to Mr. Mede's Works, Edit. Lond. 1672, fol.

^c Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. Col. 89.

being

being sent to travel, immediately after his marriage, on the 1st of December 1608, with the Lady Catharine Howard, youngest daughter of William Earl of Suffolk; and going first to France, wrote from thence to the Prince a letter^d, in which he said, that though he was persuaded, that his Highness expected not much from him, in whom he knew so little of worth to do him service; yet having placed both the eye and hopes of his youth upon his Highness's person and fortune, he should be loth by too long silence to fall out of his princely memory.

“ And, therefore, *adds he*, where I had once
 “ resolved to forbear to trouble you with any
 “ letters of mine, till I might have represented
 “ the images of my humble affections in the
 “ French tongue; I have now rather chosen to
 “ err in this presumption, than to hazard any
 “ other suspicion, which my silence might
 “ procure me. And now that I have taken
 “ the boldness hereby to prevent any such im-
 “ pression, let it not displease your Highness,
 “ that I presume also to beg these two parti-
 “ cular favours from you, if not for my own
 “ sake, yet for your own virtues. First, that
 “ you will grace me so much, as to give his
 “ most excellent Majesty thanks for that great
 “ grace he hath done me, in thanking this
 “ great King by a letter of his own hand for

“ his gracious usage of me^e; seeing my devo-
 “ tion to you, that are so dear to him, is the best
 “ merit, that I can plead for myself: And next,
 “ that you will think, that nothing could make
 “ me endure the privation of your presence
 “ with any patience, but the infinite desire I
 “ have to return some way so qualified, as he
 “ ought to be, that hath the ambition to be
 “ worthy the service and favour of so rare a
 “ Prince and so gracious a master, whose
 “ hands I humbly kiss.”

The Prince's servant, Mr. Pett, to whom his Highness owed much of his knowledge in the business of shipping, being now involved, among others, in an inquiry concerning their conduct in their respective employments in the royal Navy, the Prince shewed a laudable solicitude to protect his innocence, of which he was fully convinced. The occasion of the inquiry was this^f.

The Earl of Northampton, who, with the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports, held the post of Lord Privy Seal, conferred upon him in the end of April 1608, had, by the instigation of some persons, who had no great regard either for the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, or for some of the principal officers of the Navy in special favour with his Lordship, procured a large com-

^f Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, *Tome IV.* p. 167.

^g Life of Mr. Phineas Pett, p. 23—48.

mission from the King for the inquiring into all abuses and misdemeanors committed in their several stations, under pretence of reformation, and of saving great sums to his Majesty, expended yearly in the maintenance of his ships. This inquiry was carried on by Sir Peter Bucke, Clerk of the ships, Thomas Bucke, his brother, under-clerk to him, Mr. Matthew Baker and Mr. William Bright, principal Shipwrights to the King, Hugh Marriot, one of the six masters, Hugh Lediard, Clerk of the Check at Woolwich, Thomas Norris, and one Clifton, a Baker, formerly Purser of ships in the navy, with divers others. The persons principally questioned and aimed at were Sir Robert Mansel, then Treasurer of the Navy, Sir John Trevor, Surveyor, Sir Henry Palmer, Comptroller, Captain Thomas Button, John Legat, Clerk of the Check at Chatham, Mr. Phineas Pett, and Sir Thomas Blather, then Victualler of the Navy. This inquiry, which began in 1608, was prosecuted with such violence and malice, as not only occasioned a great trouble and expence to the persons accused, but likewise brought almost ruin on the Navy, and a far greater yearly charge upon his Majesty, than had been ever known before.

The Lord Admiral, the Earl of Worcester, Master of the Horse, and the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain, being appointed by the

King to hear the cause of complaint against Mr. Pett, met at Woolwich on the 28th of April 1609; and their report proved very favourable to him. But his Majesty resolving to hear the cause himself, went to Woolwich on Monday May the 8th, attended by the Prince; and appointed Sir Thomas Chaloner, his Highness's Governor, and Mr. Henry Briggs, then Professor of Geometry in Gresham College, to decide the controversy about the proportion of the ships. The measurers having declared in favour of Mr. Pett, the Prince out of zeal for his injured servant, and resentment against the accusers, could not forbear calling out with a loud voice, "Where be now these perjured fellows, that dare thus to abuse his Majesty with these false informations? Do they not worthily deserve hanging?" And during the whole examination his Highness stood near Mr. Pett, to encourage and support him under his anxiety and fatigue; and when the King declared himself convinced of his innocence, the Prince took him up from his knees, and expressed his own joy for the satisfaction, which his father had that day received, protesting, that he would not only countenance Mr. Pett for the future, but likewise take care to provide for him and his family while he lived.

Sir Charles Cornwallis on the 7th of April 1609, O. S. wrote from Madrid a second letter

ter to the Prince^s, taking notice, that by his former he had made known to his Highness his just excuse for so very long forbearing to write to him; and that by this he humbly prayed pardon for taking so light an occasion to trouble him. He added, that he had much rather, since the gate was opened, be blamed hereafter for troubling his Highness with the impertinency of his papers, than to omit any the least point in the accomplishment of his duties.

“ In this spiritual time, *continues he*, being
 “ the holy week, little matter temporal offereth
 “ itself worthy your Highness’s reading. Only
 “ we say here, it hath pleased God, through
 “ the force of our spiritual devotions, to give
 “ us this week and the last a plentiful rain,
 “ whereby we are delivered from the doubt
 “ of a fearful famine. Our lady of a church in
 “ this town called the Attocha, accustomed in
 “ time of necessity to work these effects, was
 “ first much served and observed by the Friars,
 “ that are there her daily attendants. But
 “ their offices having no success (according to
 “ custom, when they desire to speed) she was
 “ with a solemn procession removed out of
 “ her own church to make a novena in an-
 “ other, where she should be sued unto by
 “ people of all manner of conditions. The
 “ procession was solemn, honoured with the

Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

“ presence

presence of the Duke of Lerma (guarded
 with fifty of the King's halberdiers) and of
 many other of the principal of the Nobility,
 and an infinity of other people, who,
 as the image passed by them, in none other
 sort, than if God himself had been present
 in it, honoured it with falling down upon
 their knees, praying and knocking upon
 their breasts, most of them desiring to be
 good to them, but some of them, in the
 secret of their hearts I doubt not, praying
 God to pardon their so gross folly and breach
 of his commandment.

Amongst the Friars there want not some,
 that understand the elementary dispositions;
 and if therein they fail themselves, yet
 want not the assistance of prognosticators and
 astrologers; so careful and wary they are,
 that they never remove their faint in desire
 of rain, but when they find an inclination
 in the heavens to perform it to them. With
 this art the Friars of that monastery are be-
 come exceedingly rich; for our lady never
 goeth on such a progress, but she returns
 as well laden with gifts, as solicited with
 vows and prayers. In this last return to her
 own home she was attended by the principal
 of all the councils, and by the chief Mini-
 sters of this Court and Crown, carried un-
 der a canopy supported by the Duke of
 Lerma, the Earl of Baraxes, and other no-
 ble

“ blemen; kneeled, and prayed, and knocked
 “ unto as at the going forth, and remunerated
 “ for her so special a favour of abundant rain,
 “ with a new gown of great cost, many rich
 “ jewels, and great tapers of wax, to the
 “ value, as is generally esteemed, of 40,000
 “ Ducats. Worth the observation (in my
 “ judgment) it is, that this Clergy, with having
 “ the dead and dumb images in their churches,
 “ grow rich; and that many of ours in Eng-
 “ land, with having the living and speaking in
 “ their beds, prove poor. The grossness of the
 “ first (mine hope is) grows to a ripeness; and
 “ that the light of common reason, if not of
 “ grace, will in time make them understand,
 “ how far they are misled with their own
 “ adulterous inventions. And the gravity and
 “ good example of the principal amongst ours
 “ is, by proof, found a good means to draw
 “ many of the inferior to a more observance
 “ of what is expedient than what is law-
 “ ful.

“ Yesterday the King and the Queen here
 “ observed the ceremony of washing the feet
 “ of the poor. The King was assisted by the
 “ Duke of Lerma and the Pope's Nuncio.
 “ The Duke poured the water, the Nuncio
 “ washed, and the King dryed, who having
 “ made a cross with his finger and his thumb,
 “ kissed the said cross being laid upon the
 “ feet, that were washed. The Queen was
 “ in

" in like manner attended by two of her
 " Ladies. At the service of them at the
 " table the King both served and carved:
 " the Grandees brought the meat and wine,
 " and received the dishes from the hand of
 " the King, when he took them from the
 " board, and delivered them to such, as there
 " attended to keep them to the use of the
 " several poor, every one having an especial
 " service. And so many and so costly were the
 " dishes, as the guests only tasting of a salad
 " and a little rice, the rest, that appertained
 " to every of them (as I am informed) they
 " presently sold for 18 Ducats.

" The furniture of their churches here,
 " and the riches and lustre of the sepulchres
 " made in every monastery (the general po-
 " verty of this kingdom considered) are al-
 " most incredible. The laity of this nation
 " may say with David, though in another
 " sort, *zelus domus tue comedit me*. For assured-
 " ly the riches of the temporal hath in a man-
 " ner all fallen into the mouths and devour-
 " ing throats of the spiritual; which if neither
 " grace nor discretion, yet necessity will in time
 " make the other estates see, and remedy."

Paul Buys, or, as he calls himself in Latin,
 Bufius, having finished the impression of the se-
 cond part of his Commentary on the *Pandects*^b,
 printed

^b The title is *Pars II. P. Bufii J. C. Commentarii in Pandectas*

printed at Zwoll in Overysfel in 1608, in 4to, dedicated that work to the Prince. This learned writer, who was a native of Zwoll, and at last professor of Civil Law at Franeker in Friseland ^a, had before published some other works on subjects relative to his profession, as a treatise *De Annis Reditibus*, printed at Colen in 1601; another *De Officio Judicis*, at Francfort in 1603; and a third, intitled *Subtilitatum Juris*, at Colen in 1601. These had raised him a considerable reputation, though he is himself less known in history than another of both his names, who has been confounded with him by the inaccurate Paul Freher ^b. This latter, who was born at Amersfort in 1531, and died in April 1594, at the age of sixty-three, was likewise a civilian, and had been advocate of Holland, and enjoyed a great share of the favour and confidence of William, the first Prince of Orange, and afterwards for some time of the Earl of Leicester; though he at last fell under his lordship's displeasure, and was in July 1586, imprisoned by him; but, upon the Earl's return to England, set at liberty by order of the States General ^c. But to return to professor Busius, when he sent his Commentary above-mentioned to the Prince, he ac-

^a Valerii Andreae Bibliothec. Belgica, p. 640, & Caspari Burmanni Trajectum Eruditum, p. 56. Edit. Trajecti ad Rhenum 1750, 4to.

^b Theatrum Viror. illustr. Part II. §. 4. p. 932. ^c Meteren, Hist. des Pays Bas, L. XIII. fol. 280.

accompanied it with a letter ^d dated at Zwoll 11 April 1609. In it he remarks, that he had, in his dedication, mentioned the reasons of his addressing that work to his Highness. After it had been finished at the press,

^d Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

Quamobrem librum hunc celsitudini tuæ dicarim, epistola dedicatoria declarat. Equidem excuso jam opere, diu dubius animi fui, cuinam inscriberem partem istam. Vicit tamen ingens humani generis expectatio & anhela spes de te concepta; quâ nimirum quotquot audimus Ecclesiæ Reformatæ Christiani, in famam indolis heroicæ tuæ, vivæ laudatissimi Domini serenissimi Regis Magnæ Britanniæ, patris tui, effigiei, vultum figimus subductum prope super humana. At principio mihi animus erat dicere cuiquam librum hunc mihi familiari: sed rei dignitas majestasque patronum postulabat, qui excellentiâ nominis ac personæ penè anteiret omnes . . . Celsitudinem verò tuam obsecro, ut dedicationem libri hujus accipiat clementi non modo, sed & benignâ manu; profecti nimirum ab homine studiosissimo cum gloriæ ac felicitatis vestræ, tum vel maximè nominis ac famæ heroicæ tuæ æternitatis. Dominum denique Deum, patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quam ardentissime precor, ut humanum genus serenissimum D. Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæ Regem, Principem in terris optimum maximum P. F. diutissimè sospitem & Ecclesiæ videat & universi terrarum orbis tranquillitati; celsitudinem verò tuam olim virtutis, sapientiæ, honoris & imperii paterni successorem talem, qualem, serenissime Walliæ, Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæque, Princeps, Domine clementissime, constantissime nobis fama pollicetur. Denuo quæso, celsitudo vestra me excusatum habeat, quod præsens librum hunc non obtulerim, & à scriba hoc, ministerio huic mihi speciatim ad illustrissimam excellentiam vestrum delecto, eum tam clementer ac benignè accipias, atque optem ego illum accipi à me ipso præsentem.

Celsitudinis tuæ humilis servitor,

Zwollæ, 11 Aprilis,
St. V. anno 1609.

PAULUS BUIS.
hc

he had been long in suspence, to whom he should inscribe that part of his Commentary; but at length was determined in his choice by the great expectation of mankind concerning the Prince, and the eager hopes entertained of him by all Christians of the reformed churches, whose eyes were raised almost above human objects, and fixed on the character and fame of his Highness's forward and heroic genius, the living image of his Royal father. The author's first design had been to dedicate his book to some friend; but the dignity, and even majesty, of the subject of it demanded a patron, whose eminence of rank and person was superior to that of almost all others. The points treated of were judgments of the most important kind. And how great and most worthy of attention must that be, for the execution of which the government of Kings at first, and afterwards that of commonwealths, were instituted? For they were instituted by heaven for the execution of justice and judgment. That for this reason, both from choice and necessity, he had resolved upon this dedication to his Highness, the son of that King, whose wisdom and majesty were revered, and whose counsel was esteemed, by the whole United Provinces; and who was admired by all, who were inspired by God with prudence and true religion. He desired the Prince not to be offended with having added the differences of Canon Law to
the

the explication of the laws; since he had not done this with a view of allowing the Pope any supreme right over the church or state, which was inconsistent with his own zeal for the protestant faith; but because the decrees called canonical, received at first, through mistake, by not a few Christian Princes in many points, contain a great number of things agreeable to the customs of the present age, which are different from the antient law. And though he had compiled this Commentary under a peculiar privilege of his Imperial Majesty, he had done it at his own private expence; on which account it was necessary for him to consult the capacities of the majority of those, who were engaged in civil employments and the law. His intention was to have offered in person this work to the Prince, and to have given him an account of his design in it: but he was prevented from doing this by the public office, which he held in his own country. He returned his most unfeigned thanks to Almighty God, who had, notwithstanding the noise and rage of war, hitherto blessed his studies, as well as the affairs of the United Provinces in general; and he desired the Prince to accept the dedication of his book with kindness as well as clemency, since it was the production of one, who was in the highest degree zealous for his Highness's happiness, glory, and everlasting fame. He lastly implored God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, to grant, that man-
kind

kind might long see the King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, the greatest and best of Princes, living in health and vigour for the peace of the church and of the whole world; and his Highness such a successor to his father's virtue, wisdom, honour, and government, as fame had invariably represented him. He concluded with repeating his request of the Prince's excuse for his not presenting the book himself; and that his Highness would receive the bearer, whom he had sent over for that purpose alone, with the same benignity, as he could wish to meet with himself, if he were present.

The death of John Lord Lumley, on the 11th of April, 1609, without leaving any issue, gave the King an opportunity of gratifying the Prince's love of books, and making a noble addition to the Royal library. That library, which now contains both manuscript and printed books, owes many valuable ones of the former kind to King Edward IV. and of the latter to Henry VII. who, according to Lord Bacon^o, “ was rather studious than
 “ learned, reading most books, that were of
 “ any worth, in the French tongue: yet he
 “ understood the Latin, as appeareth in that
 “ Cardinal Hadrian and others, who could
 “ very well have written French, did use to

^o History of the reign of King Henry VII. p. 244.
 edit. London, 1629, fol.

“write to him in Latin.” Henry VIII. who was very learned himself, and a patron of learned men, both at home and abroad, and who had for his Librarian the great antiquary, John Leland, received presents of the works of most of the writers of his age. Under the short reign of that well educated Prince Edward VI. an accession was made to his library more considerable, than that under the government of the bigotted Queen Mary. Her sister Elizabeth, who was mistress of several languages, both antient and modern, greatly augmented her library; of which we have this account from a German traveller, Paul Hentzner, who saw it at Whitehall in August 1598^e; that it was well stored with Greek, Latin, Italian, and French books, all bound in velvet of different colours, though chiefly red, with clasps of gold and silver; and some adorned in the covers with pearls and precious stones. King James I. enriched the Bodleian library at Oxford at the expence of his own; giving a warrant to Sir Thomas Bodley, under the privy seal, for the choice of any books, which that gentleman should like in any of his houses or libraries^q. But his Majesty very
 amply

^p *Pauli Hentzneri J. C. Itinerarium Germania, Anglia, Gallia, Italiae*, p. 188. edit. Noribergæ, 1629, 8vo.

^r See likewise *A Journey to England by Paul Hentzner in the year 1598*, published by the Hon. Horace Walpole, Esq; p. 30. London, 1757, 8vo.

^q Letter of Sir Thomas Bodley to Dr. Tho. James, of
 Nov.

amply supplied the place of them by the purchase of Lord Lumley's library, which contained not only his own collection, but that of his father-in-law^t, Henry Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, who had lived in the reign of King Henry VIII, when, upon the dissolution of the monasteries, he had great opportunities of collecting manuscripts, many of which, as well as of the printed books in the Royal library, have the name of *Arundel* and *Lumley* written in them.

These libraries, hitherto too little known, are now likely to become of general benefit to the learned, being given by his present Majesty to the British Museum, which is opened^t for the public use while I am writing, and to which (if I may be allowed to mention the least significant of the advantages of that magnificent foundation) this book owes its rise and best materials, as the author does one of his most valued distinctions, as well as the highest entertainment of his leisure hours.

King James, having purchased Lord Lumley's library, ordered it, at the suggestion of Mr. Newton, to be repositied, together with that of his predecessors, in the palace of St. James's, where the Prince resided, for the use

Nov. 6. *printed in the Genuine Remains of Sir Thomas Bodley, p. 205. London, 1703. 8vo. See likewise p. 286 and 320. and Isaac Wake's Rex Platonicus, p. 192.*

^t Lord Lumley married Jane, the eldest of the Earl's two daughters and co-heirs.

^t On Monday the 15th of January, 1759.

of his Highness; and Mr. Patrick Young, son of Sir Peter Young, his Majesty's Tutor, was appointed Keeper of it^t, and continued in that office till near the death of King Charles I. between which period and that of the restoration, both the library, and cabinet of medals^v then

^t *Vita Patricii Junii, scriptore Thomâ Smith, S.T.P. p. 10—13. published in Vitæ quorundam eruditissimorum & illustrium Virorum, Londini, 1707, in 4to.*

^v In August, 1648, the Library and Cabinet of Medals were preserved by Hugh Peters from the violence and rapine of the soldiers, and continued under his care for three or four months, at the end of which he delivered up the key and custody of them to Major General Ireton: [See H. Peter's examination, Sept. 12, 1660, in Antiquities of Berkshire, Vol. I. p. 103, 104.] In the end of July, 1649, it having been referred by the Parliament to the Council of State to preserve the Books and Medals at St. James's from embezzlement, that Council proposed to Bullstrode Whitelocke, Esq; [see his *Memorials*, p. 415. edit. 1732.] the taking the care of them, as Library-Keeper, with the power of appointing a deputy under him. " I knew, *continues he*, the greatness of the charge, " and considered the prejudice, that might fall out by " being responsible for those rich jewels, the embezzle- " ment whereof would be endeavoured by many, and " my other occasions would not permit me to give much " personal attendance on this business, nor to enjoy much " of the delight of perusing them: yet, I being informed " of a design in some to have them sold, and transported " beyond sea, which I thought would be a dishonour " and damage to our nation, and to all scholars therein; " and fearing, that in other hands they might be more " subject to embezzelling; and being willing to preserve " them for public use; I did accept the trouble of being " Library-Keeper at St. James's, and therein was encour- " aged and much persuaded to it by Mr. Selden, who " swore,

then belonging to it, suffered great depredations amidst the confusions of those unhappy times.

Sir

“ swore, that, if I did not undertake the charge of them,
 “ all those rare monuments of antiquity, those choice
 “ books and manuscripts, would be lost; and there were
 “ not the like to them, except only in the Vatican, in
 “ any other library in Christendom. The Council made
 “ an order for me to be Library-Keeper of St. James’s,
 “ and to have lodgings in the house belonging to the
 “ place; and recommended to me Mr. Dury, a German
 “ [Scot] by birth, a good scholar, and a great traveller,
 “ and friend to the Parliament, to be my deputy in that
 “ place, but at my liking. I was willing to have a deputy
 “ by their recommendation, being I should thereby be
 “ less answerable; and I appointed Mr. Dury to have the
 “ keys, to go to Mr. Patrick Young, the former Library-
 “ Keeper to the late King, to inquire for an inventory
 “ of the books and medals, and to see an exact one made
 “ forthwith of all of them.” Upon the restoration the
 King issued a warrant on the 10th of Sept. 1660, to Sir
 John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, to permit
 Thomas Roffe and Elias Ashmole, Esquires, to examine,
 in his presence, Hugh Peters, then a prisoner there, con-
 cerning the books and medals, that had been embezzled.
 In this examination, taken two days after, Mr. Peters
 declared, on oath, that he took nothing from thence,
 but left the library as unviolated as he found it. How-
 ever, from the account taken by Mr. Dury on the 7th
 of April, 1652, it appears, that there were then, in the
 drawers in the library, twelve thousand coins, of which
 four thousand only are said to have remained at the
 restoration of King Charles II. who placed them in his
 own cabinet. Many of the books and MSS. were like-
 wise said to have been missing [Smith in *Vitâ Patricii*
Junii, p. 35.] After the restoration, Mr. Roffe, mentioned
 above, and then Tutor of the Duke of Monmouth, had
 the office of Library-Keeper conferred on him; Richard
 Pearson, Fellow of King’s college, Cambridge, and
 younger brother of Dr. John Pearson, afterwards Bishop

bl Sir John Harington seems not to have received the Prince's letter to him of the 4th of March, 1608-9, when he wrote one in French to his Highness^m. It is without a date; but appears to have been written from Venice, in Lent of the year 1609. He tells the Prince, that having been informed, by several persons, of the continuation of his Highness's favour towards him, though his letters were of no use, and contained nothing but the humble affection of his heart, devoted to the service of his Highness; yet he presumed once more to trouble him with a letter, from a full persuasion, founded on his of Chester, being appointed to officiate for him by order of his Majesty. In June, 1665, a warrant was passed to Mr. Rosse to hold that place for life, with a salary of two hundred pounds a year; and, after his decease, to Mr. Pearson also for life, who continued Mr. Rosse's deputy, while he lived, but died before him August 5, 1670. Mr. Rosse himself dying Oct. 27, 1675, a new warrant of the like tenour was granted to Frederic Thynne and James Thynne, Esquires, for life, [*Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham-college*, p. 250, 251.] To the former of these the celebrated Monf. Henry Justel, a French protestant, was, about the year 1686, appointed deputy, and continued in that office till his death in 1692, leaving behind him a written catalogue both of the printed books and manuscripts in the Royal library; which catalogue was afterwards found in the library of Brian Fairfax, Esq; at his death, in 1748. The reverend and learned Mr. Richard Bentley, in Feb. 1693, had the place of Library-Keeper given him by a like warrant, and he resigning it in favour of his son, Mr. Richard Bentley, the latter sold it to Claudius Amyand, Esq; who now enjoys the salary, the reversion of which was given by his present Majesty to the British Museum.

Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

High-

Highness's benevolent disposition, that it would meet with the same acceptance with his former. If he should write to his Highness an account of the superstitions, false miracles, and relics, exhibited during that season of Lent, it would not be a letter, but another *Golden Legend*. He would have sent the observations, which he had made, and set down, however unworthy of the Prince's perusal, if he could have trusted the post.

He mentioned, that, every day during that Lent, frier Fulgentio, of the order of Servites, preached the word of God purely and without mixture. The Pope, hearing of the sermons of this honest man, sent for the Venetian Ambassador, and told him, that he had been informed, that one Fulgentio preached doctrines contrary to the catholic faith. The Ambassador answered, that he preached nothing but the word of God. "So I understand," replied the Pope; but do not you know, that to preach the gospel, and the word of God, is to destroy the catholic religion?" These very words of the Pope were written by the Ambassador to the republic, which was very much scandalized at them.

* See father Paul's letter to Mons. de l'Isle Grosset, of the 28th of April, 1609, in the *English Translation of his Letters* by Mr. Edward Brown, p. 106. London, 1693, in 8vo.

Sir John Harington at the same time sent to his Highness a picture of Pope Alexander III, putting his foot upon the neck of the Emperor, with all the circumstances of that story, exactly as it was represented in the hall of the grand council of Venice. His reason for his sending this picture was, that, as this behaviour of the Pope had been positively denied in the last book, published under the name of *Tortus*, against the oath of allegiance, his Highness might see the effrontery of those men in denying the truth, of which that picture was a perpetual monument.

Sir John Harington's letters gave such satisfaction to the Prince, that his Highness used to communicate the contents of them to the Earl of Salisbury, who, in a letter to his son, the Lord Viscount Cranborne, written in June, 1609, mentioned that circumstance, in order to raise some emulation in that young nobleman, whose natural indolence seemed to want such an excitement. "I find every week," *says the Earl*, in the Prince's hand, a letter from Sir John Harington, full of news of the place where he is, and the countries as he passeth, and all occurrents; which is an argument, that he doth read and observe such things, as are remarkable."

The Prince, on the 24th of May, 1609, honoured Sir Charles Cornwallis with a letter; Cardinal Bellarmin disguised himself under that name.

the

the copy of which, among his Highness's papers, is as follows^z:

“ AS I cannot but think well of your en-
 “ deavours in the general employment
 “ of the King my father's service and the good
 “ of the state, so likewise I cannot but inter-
 “ pret unto the best your honest meaning in
 “ those studies and travels you have employed
 “ for bringing an addition unto my fortune,
 “ whereof I myself have heretofore never
 “ thought. But particularly I must thank
 “ you for imparting unto me your observations
 “ of that state; which being a study fit for me,
 “ and wherein I take most delight, I will
 “ make the best use thereof I may; and wish
 “ you to acquaint me farther in that kind, as
 “ occasion shall be offered; that so the more
 “ you may deserve my readiness to acknow-
 “ ledge it.

“ Your good Friend,

From Greenwich,
 May 24, 1609.

“ HENRY.”

Sir John Harington, having at last received the Prince's letter to him, returned his thanks in one in French from Venice on the 28th of

^z Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007. There are some additions in the copy printed in Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 45.

^z A marriage between the Prince and the Infanta of Spain.

May,

May, 1609^b, protesting, that his own weak lines were not capable of expressing the joy and happiness, which he felt upon the delivery of his Highness's gracious letter to him by Sir Robert Douglas, who was the most welcome messenger to him, that he had ever received. That he had but one life, which, ever since he had the honour of being esteemed the humble servant of his Highness, had been devoted to his service; to which, whenever his Highness should command him, he offered that life, and desired to abandon it, when he should cease his endeavours to render himself more worthy to serve his Highness, and more qualified to execute his commands.

That he had a few days before been at Verona, Mantua, and other places in that part of Italy; and, while he was at Verona, a magnificent tilting was performed by the noblemen of that city, where the flower of Lombardy was assembled. Sir John sent the Prince the speeches and verses made on that occasion, hoping, that these would have better fortune than those sent by him from Florence; and trusting in the care and diligence of the bearer^c, who was himself a worthy and learned gentleman, and nephew of the very worthy and very learned Ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton.

That Ambassador wrote likewise to the Prince by the same messenger on the 22d of June,

^b Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

^c Mr. Albertus Morton, elected Scholar of King's college

June, N. S. following^d, that having, upon occasion of his Majesty's service, sent home "this poor scholar, *says he*, my nephew, I "have taken the presumption to represent unto "your Highness my humble reverence by him, "who is a domestical witness, how often I do "here profess myself bound unto the same for "that gracious inclination, which it pleased "you to shew towards me in my bold suit for "your letters to this signory, whereof I was long "since, to my exceeding comfort, informed "very particularly by your Highness's worthy "servant, Mr. Newton.

"Of our affairs here I shall not need to "render your Highness any account in this "paper, having peculiarly instructed the bearer "for your better information in whatsoever it "shall please you to demand; whom most "humbly recommending to your favour, and "beseeching our Lord Jesus to multiply his "sweet graces and blessings upon your princely "person, I rest

"Your Highness's obliged poor Servant."

college in Cambridge in 1602. He went to Venice as Secretary to his uncle, Sir Henry Wotton, and was afterwards agent for King James at the court of Savoy, and with the Princes of the union in Germany, Secretary to the Queen of Bohemia in 1616, one of the clerks of the council, knighted in Sept. 1617, and at last Secretary of state, in which post he died in November, 1625.

^d Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007 Sir
Mr. Albertus Morton elected scholar of King's
college

Sir Charles Cornwallis, having received the Prince's letter of the 24th of May, 1609, returned his acknowledgments for it on the 10th of August following from Madrid^e. He began this letter with observing, that his Highness's gracious and good acceptance of his last letters, offering his humble affection and service, had laid upon him a forcible and perpetual obligation ever to desire to serve and please him. The proof he left to time and to effects. To his Highness (whom God had in this world distinguished with so much and great a perfection of his graces) his words, he confessed, served rather for matter of ordinary respect than of any merit, or containing any demonstration sufficiently expressive of the effects, which his heart had a will to present to his Highness.

“ The time, *says he*, of my remove from
 “ hence is so very near at hand, and the busi-
 “ nesses, that I have to dispatch, so great and
 “ many, as, joined with the barrenness of the
 “ present time, neither permit my letters to be
 “ long, nor yield me any matter worthy of
 “ your Highness's understanding.

“ Some little road the French made upon
 “ the borders of these kingdoms, and possess-
 “ ed themselves of some thousands of our
 “ cattle. But so full of patience and quiet
 “ thoughts, I perceive, we are become, as
 “ although it awaked us a little out of our

^e Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

“ sleep,

“ sleep, yet it hath not raised us out of our
 “ beds of rest. For any thing since this late
 “ concluded truce, that I can yet comprehend,
 “ we are now rather inclined to stand at mark
 “ and observe into what figures and forms
 “ future times and dispositions of other Princes
 “ and estates will cast themselves, than of our-
 “ selves to give beginning to any new attempts,
 “ whereby either our swords may become
 “ again unsheathed, or the exhausted breasts
 “ of our purses be enforced to yield blood in-
 “ stead of milk.

“ My hope is now so shortly to wait upon
 “ your Highness myself, and to give you ac-
 “ count of what else it shall please you to be
 “ satisfied in, as I humbly crave pardon, if in
 “ this I seem short.

“ God Almighty continue your Highness in
 “ all health and happiness, and give you that in-
 “ crease of greatness, that mine heart desireth,
 “ and your rare and most excellent parts give
 “ so ample hopes of.”

Sir Thomas Edmondès, who had resided at
 the court of Brussels, from April 1605, being
 ready to return from his Embassy there towards
 the end of August 1609^f, the Archduke Al-
 bert sent by him a very obliging letter in
 French to the Prince, dated at Brussels on the

^f Historical view of the negotiations between the courts
 of England, France and Brussels, p. 306.

7th of September N. S.^s telling his Highness, that he was desirous by those few lines to insinuate himself into his good opinion, and to make him an offer of a mind, which should always be disposed to gratify and serve him on all occasions, which he, the Archduke, for his own satisfaction hoped would be very frequent.

The Prince having honoured the Lord Treasurer's son, William Lord Viscount Cranborne, with a letter, his Lordship made his acknowledgments in one dated at Bourdeaux on the 9th of September 1609^b.

“ When I durst not presume, *says he*, out
 “ of the knowledge of mine own unworthiness,
 “ to expect so much as a gracious message from
 “ your Highness, I was so happy as to be ho-
 “ noured with your most gracious letter; a
 “ favour so far beyond my desert, as your
 “ greatness is above my humble fortune, and
 “ which doth make me more proud, more
 “ happy, than all the caresses this King doth
 “ or can afford me, which I esteem as nothing
 “ in respect of the only assurance I have you
 “ vouchsafe to reserve me some place in your
 “ princely memory. All I behold here is so
 “ far under your most rare perfections, as
 “ methinks my prospect is still downwards,
 “ till it shall please God it may happily again
 “ be raised to the sight of your Highness; till
 “ when the greatest joy and content I can find

^a Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

^b Ibid. Vol. 7008.

“ in this my absence is the constant consent
 “ of all, wheresoever the course of my travels
 “ leads me, in your Highness’s praises. Your
 “ person is better known at home; but the
 “ rare perfections both of your mind and body,
 “ daily increased by your studies and exercises,
 “ do most gloriously shine abroad; the fame
 “ whereof being infinitely spread by a num-
 “ ber of most worthy and noble gentlemen of
 “ this nation, who have frequented his Ma-
 “ jesty’s court, and had the honour to be eye-
 “ witnesses of your virtues, overcomes the
 “ envy, that is wont to be in so near bordering
 “ neighbours.

“ I do abstain from being troublesome to
 “ your Highness in writing ordinary news,
 “ seeing I have not the means to come by
 “ that is worthy of your Highness; which I
 “ know, (if there be any) you have from
 “ better pens than mine; and I am ashamed
 “ to present this second time my humblest
 “ duty and service in this old English gar-
 “ ment, and dare not venture on a new French
 “ habit, knowing how able your Highness
 “ is to discover errors. Hereafter I hope my
 “ better ability will give me courage to change
 “ my tongue, but never my heart, which
 “ humbleth itself at your princely feet, desiring
 “ no greater happiness, than that I may ever
 “ be held your Highness’s most humble, and
 “ most affectionate servant.”

Sir

Sir John Harington, who was come back as far as Francfort in September of this year 1609, in his way to England, wrote from thence in French, on the 29th of that month, to the Princeⁱ, though his own ill state of health, and the haste with which he passed through Germany, and the confused state of affairs there, afforded him but little subject and little leisure to write; except that the approaching war^k threatned both upper and lower Germany.

That in the upper parts, in Hungary the noblemen of that country demanded another Palatin in the room of Elias Hazi, who had the negative power, as the King had the affirmative. The want of a Palatin was the principal cause of the Hungarians not withdrawing themselves from their subjection to the Emperor, and electing that King.

That in Austria was then held an assembly of the States, in order to settle the affairs of those provinces, and to obtain a greater liberty in religion. Both parties were very alert. The King had at about four leagues distance from Vienna a body of 500 armed men, and the States had assembled their forces out of apprehension of the Sicilian Vespers.

That with regard to the lower parts, the Elector of Saxony, the Elector of Branden-

ⁱ Harl. MSS. Vol. 7008.

^k Occasioned by the contest among the competitors for the succession of John William, Duke of Cleves; who died without issue in March, 1609.

burg, and the Duke de Nevers, put in their pretensions to the Duchy of Cleves; and Leopold, Archduke of Austria, was master of Juliers. That without doubt all the Princes of the Empire would take one side or the other. "But why, *adds he*, do I mention these particulars, when from the neighbourhood of England they must have been known to your Highness before this time?" He sent with this letter a present to the Prince of a little rock, which he had met with at Dresden, formed from pieces of all the principal mines in Germany, together with some silver in the ore.

Sir John Skene, a celebrated lawyer in Scotland, having finished his great Work printed at Edinburgh in 1609, in fol. under the title of *The auld Laws and Constitutions of Scotland, collected furth of the Register and other auld authentick Bukes fra the days of King Malcolm II. until the time of King James I.* sent a copy of it to the Prince, with a Latin letter dated at Edinburgh on the 5th of October that year¹. In this letter he informed his Highness, that the King, after he had appointed him Keeper of the public records, had, from his innate benevolence towards his subjects, often commanded him to reduce his own laws, and those of his predecessors, Kings of Scotland, into one volume; and to rescue

¹ Appendix, No. XVI.

them from errors and oblivion. For that most wise King knew, that the knowledge of the laws was highly necessary, not only to Kings themselves, but also to the whole people. Kings keep the people within the bounds of their duty, according to the laws, conferring rewards on the good, and inflicting punishments on bad men in proportion to their guilt. And the people, through fear of punishments, and desire of rewards, live in harmony and concord, and in the practice of their duties; and pay obedience to their King, and worship to God. That he had, in pursuance of his Majesty's command, applied himself diligently to this task, and collected the scattered laws into one body, correcting the errors, translating them into the vulgar tongue; and had succeeded so far (if he did not deceive himself) as to have restored them to their former lustre, and rendered them easy to be understood by all persons. That what he had done besides, he left to the judgment of others. That he had sent these laws to his Highness, that he might read them, as far as his leisure would permit; and understand them, in order that he might not, while he was familiar with the laws of other countries, be a stranger to those of his own. He humbly requested the Prince's acceptance of this work from a person, unknown indeed to him, but who was bound to him by the highest obligations, next to God and the King.

He

He prayed the Almighty to grant, that his Highness might be successor, not only to his Father's kingdoms, but likewise his virtues and religion; and might follow the example of Theodosius, who gave thanks to God, not so much for making him an Emperor, as a Christian.

Sir John Harington was returned near to his own country, and just ready to embark for it, when he wrote a letter to the Prince^m, which, though the date and place do not appear, must have been written after the retirement of the Prince of Condé, in November 1609, out of France into Flanders with his wife, upon Henry IV's having discovered a violent passion for that Princess. Sir John begins his letter with taking notice, that though he was then separated from England only by the sea; yet opportunities of presenting his duty to his Highness did not offer themselves oftener, or with more security, than when both the Sea and Alps prevented him from expressing his zeal for the service of his Highness, to whom he dedicated the remainder of his days.

That there was daily expectation in the place, where he was, of the Duke of Guise, accompanied with the famous pirate Simeon Simonson, surnamed Dansker, who having received the French King's pardon with a pro-

^m Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

mise of the command of seven ships to be sent against the Turks, was endeavouring to escape out of the hands of the infidels, and surrender himself to that King.

That he would say nothing of the flight of the Prince of Condé, being persuaded, that his Highness was well informed of it.

In the next month, December, the Prince wrote the following letter to the Kingⁿ.

“ ACCORDING to your Majesty’s
 “ commandment, I made your excuse
 “ unto the Queen for not sending her a token
 “ by me; and alledged your Majesty had a
 “ quarrel unto her, for not writing an answer
 “ unto your second letter written from Roy-
 “ ston, when your foot was sore, nor making
 “ mention of the receiving of it in her next
 “ letter some ten days after; whereas in your
 “ Majesty’s former journey to Royston, when
 “ you took first the pain in your feet, she sent
 “ one of purpose to visit you. Her answer
 “ was, that either she had written or dreamed
 “ it; and upon that apprehension had told first
 “ my Lord Hay, and next Sir Thomas Somers-
 “ set, that she had written before. I durst not
 “ reply, that your Majesty was afraid, lest she
 “ should return to her old bias; for fear that
 “ such a word might have set her in the way,
 “ and made me a peace-breaker, which I

ⁿ Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007,

“ would

“ would eschew, though otherwise most happy,
 “ when I shall be favoured with your Majesty’s
 “ commandments, as he, who kissing your Ma-
 “ jesty’s hands, is

“ Your Majesty’s most

“ Dutiful Son, and

“ Obedient Servant,

“ H E N R Y .”

The company of East India, to which Queen Elizabeth had, in 1591, granted letters patent for fifteen years, and which King James had, in May of this year 1609, incorporated by a perpetual charter, having built at Deptford two ships, one of above 1200 tuns, and the other a pinnace of 250; the King and Prince were invited to the launching of them, and went thither on Saturday the 30th of December, accompanied with the Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral, the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Worcester, Master of the Horse, and many other Lords, who were entertained with a magnificent banquet in the chief cabin of the great ship, and the rest at a long table on the half deck. The whole entertainment was served up in China dishes, which all persons were permitted to take away with themⁿ. His Majesty honoured Sir Thomas
 Smith,

ⁿ Abridgment of the English Chronicle collected by
 N 3 Mr.

Smith, the Governor of the Company, with a chain like a collar, worth about 200*l.* with his picture hanging to it, putting it about Sir Thomas's neck with his own hands; and named the large ship *Trades Increase*, as the Prince did the pinnacè, the *Pepper Corn*°.

The Prince, now approaching to the age of sixteen, proposèd with great modesty his claim to the investiture in the principality of Wales and Duchy of Cornwall; which was readily granted by his Majesty with the consent of the Parliament; the 4th of June 1610 being appointed for the solemnity.

At the Christmas preceding, his Highness, not only for his own recreation, but likewise from a laudable ambition of shewing the world what might be expected from him, under the name of *Mæliades*¶, Lord of the Isles (an ancient title due to the first born of Scotland) did by some persons appointed for that purpose, strangely attired, and accompanied with drums and trumpets, in the chamber of presence before the King,

Mr. John Stow, and continued unto the year 1610, by Edmund Howes, p. 494. *London 1611, in 8vo.*

° Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 118.

¶ Mr. William Drummond of Hawthornden, in his *tears on the death of Mæliades*, printed among his *poems*, observes, "that the Prince was wont to use that name
" in the challenges of his martial sports and masquerades,
" which in anagram maketh a word most worthy of
" such a Knight, as he was, *Miles à Deo.*" Ben. Jonson in *his Speeches at the Prince's Barriers*, calls him *Meliadus*.

Queen,

Queen, and whole court, deliver a challenge to all Knights of Great Britain in two speeches, the sum of which was; that *Mæliades*, their noble master, inspired with an earnest desire to try the valour of his younger years in foreign countries, and to know where virtue triumphed most, had sent them abroad to discover the same; who, after their long travels in all countries, at their return reported, that in no country, except the fortunate isle of Great Britain, they had found his wishes. This giving matter of extreme joy to the youthful *Mæliades*, who, they said, could lineally derive his pedigree from the famous Knights of this isle, was the cause, that he now sent to present the first fruits of his chivalry at his Majesty's feet. Addressing themselves then in a short speech to the Queen, and next to the Earls, Lords, and Knights, excusing their Lord for this their so sudden warning, and lastly to the Ladies; after humble delivery of their cartel concerning the time, place, conditions, number of weapons, and assailants, they took their leave, departing solemnly, as they entered⁹.

During the preparations for this solemnity the Prince feasted at his own apartments the Earls, Barons, and Knights assailants and combatants, till the appointed twelfth night^r 1609-10, when the great feat of arms was performed at the palace of Whitehall, in the

⁹ Cornwallis, p. 12,—14.

^r Idem. p. 14.

presence of the King and Queen, and the Ambassadors of Spain and Venice, and of all the Peers and great Ladies of the Kingdom, with a multitude of others of inferior rank. The assembly was held in the great banqueting house, at the upper end of which was placed the King's chair, and on the right hand of it a magnificent pavilion for the Prince and his companions, whence they descended into the middle of the room. There his Highness maintained the barriers against all adventurers, being assisted only by the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Arundel and Southampton, the Lord Hay, Sir Thomas Somersset, and Sir Richard Preston, the Prince's Instructor in arms; soon after created Lord Dingwell, and at last Earl of Desmond. Against these challengers came six and fifty defendants, consisting of Earls, Barons, Knights and Esquires, who in the lower end of the room had erected a very commodious apartment, where themselves remained in private with their train, which was so great, that it was not imagined, that half of the number could have been concealed there. Hence they issued in proper order, and marched into the middle of the room, where their Majesties sat with the Ambassadors to see the barriers^s, with the several shews and de-

^s The speeches at them were composed by Ben. Jonson, and are printed in his Works, *Vol. V. p. 353. & seqq.* Whalley's Edition, 1756, in 8vo.

vices of each combatant. Every challenger fought with eight several defendants two combats at two different weapons, push of pike and single sword^t. The Prince himself gave and received thirty-two pushes of pike, and about three hundred and sixty strokes of swords^v, and performed his part very well and gracefully^w, and to the admiration of all the spectators, though not then full sixteen years of age.

These feats of arms, with their triumphant shews, began before ten at night, and continued till three the next morning, being Sunday^x. On that day his Highness, with his assistants all in a livery, and the defendants richly drest, rode in great pomp to conduct the King to St. James's, whither the Prince had invited him and all the court to supper, the Queen only being absent^y. The supper was not ended till after ten at night; from whence they went to the play; after which they returned to a set banquet in the gallery, where they had supped, at a table 120 feet in length; and the whole entertainment did not end till three in the morning^z. The expence of the Prince's table, from the time of his publishing his challenge,

^t General Chronicle of England, p. 898. ^v Cornwallis, p. 15.

^w Mr. Chamberlaine's Letter to Sir Ralph Winwood. Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 117.

^x General Chronicle, *ubi supra*.

^y Chamberlaine, *ubi supra*. ^z MS. Life of Mr. Phineas Pett, p. 54.

had been 100 l. a day^a. The three defendants, upon whom the prizes were bestowed, were the Earl of Montgomery, Mr. Thomas Darcy, son of the Lord Darcy, and Sir Robert Gordon^a.

The warlike disposition, which the Prince had early discovered, being greatly cultivated and encouraged by some military men in his service, they drew up and put into his hands, for that purpose, a paper, containing *propositions of war and peace*. To these Sir Robert Cotton, no less eminent for his invaluable library of manuscripts than for his knowledge of the contents of them, drew up, in 1609, an elaborate answer^b. The arguments for foreign war were drawn; first from necessity, for the preservation of our own peace, the venting of factious spirits, and the instructing the people

^a Chamberlaine, *ubi supra*. ^a *Ibid*. ^b The *Propositions* and the *Answer* to them were printed at London, 1657, in 8vo, under the following title: *Wars with foreign Princes dangerous to our Commonwealth: Or, Reasons for foreign Wars answered: With a List of all the Confederates from Henry the first's reign to the end of Queen Elizabeth; proving, that the Kings of England always preferred unjust Peace before the justest War*. Another Edition, printed at London in 1675, in 8vo. has this title: *An Answer to such Motives, as were offered by certain Military men to Prince Henry, inciting him to affect Arms more than Peace. Made, at his Highness's command, by Sir Robert Cotton, Bart. With a Short View of the Life and Reign of Henry III. King of England. By the same Author. The second edition, very much corrected; and a preface added by Sir John Cotton, Bart.*

in arms; and secondly from the benefits of wealth by spoil of the enemy, and addition of revenue by subjected territories; of honour by addition of title and dominion; and of greater facility to effect this, than heretofore, by addition of new strength, and the subtraction of diversions by means of the happy union of the British empire. Sir Robert Cotton's answers to these arguments were, that the affections of our wisest Princes ever were to peace: that foreign expeditions were the cause of invasions from abroad and rebellions at home, endless taxations, vassalage, and danger to the state from extent of territory; and that confederacy and alliance, the means of former victories, were no ways to be restored as heretofore. Upon these topics that great antiquary has opened all his stores of historical and political knowledge.

The Prince being impatient to see, how far the building of a very large ship at Woolwich, under the direction of Mr. Pett, was advanced, made several visits there, on the 31st of this month of January, on the 25th of April, and on the 18th of June, when it was almost finished^c.

Sir Arthur Gorges^d, who had been member

^c MS. Life of Mr. Pett, p. 54, 55.

^d He published, in 1611, in 4to. *A Transcript and Explanation of his Majesty's Letters patent for erecting an office, called The Public Register for general commerce.*

of several parliaments in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, having put into the Prince's hands some bill, the design of which does not appear, reminded him of it in a letter of the 29th of April, 1610^e, wishing him to take care of it; for that it would tend no less to his Highness's own profit than to his honour and safety. " For having, *says he*, once gained thereby a " general applause of glory and love in the " world by so worthy and virtuous a deed; " when it is done, to second the same, I will " be ready to acquaint your Highness with a " matter, that shall bring unto your coffers, " for the better supporting of your princely " state, twenty thousand pounds a year at the " least, and to be effected with ease, without " wrong to the public, and not needing to " solicit the parliament for the same: and this " shall follow in its due time, when the other " is effected. And, in the mean time, this " may suffice for an answer to all, that shall " go about to disgrace your bill in parliament, " that it favours more of a well-policed Christi- " an state, and of the government of a wise " and godly prince, rather, with mild and " provident remedies, to prevent growing " mischiefs, than afterwards to seek to weed " them out with rigorous and bloody means, " when they are already planted."

Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

The murder of Henry IV. of France by Ravailac on the 4th of May, O.S. 1610, was a severe shock to the Prince, who had always had the highest esteem of the heroic qualities of that monarch, as the latter had a reciprocal regard for his Highness, and such a confidence in him, that one of our historians^f assures us, that he had seen papers, which make it more than probable, that the Prince was not only acquainted with the secret design of the King's vast preparations, made by him some time before his death, but likewise engaged in it.

The Prince had no sooner heard of that King's assassination, than he dispatched an account of it by Sir David Foulis to his cousin Frederic Ulric, son of the Duke of Brunswick, then at Bath, who, in a visit, which he made to England in April, 1610, had been lodged and entertained by the Prince^g. Upon receiving this melancholy news, he wrote to

^f Dr. Welwood's *Memoirs*, p. 19. *edit.* 1710. This writer likewise informs us, "that the Duke of Sully being in England, to congratulate King James upon his accession to the crown, laid the foundation of a strict friendship between his master and Prince Henry, which was afterwards carried on by letters and messages till the death of that King." But this fact is irreconcilable with the chronology of the voyage of Mons. de Rosny to England, who arrived at Dover on the 15th of June, N. S. [*Memoires ou Oeconomies Royales*, Tom. IV. p. 347. *edit.* Rouën, 1663] and left the English court before the Queen and Prince arrived there [*ibid.* p. 522.]

^g *Ambassades de Mons. de la Boderie*, *Tome V.* p. 222. *General Chronicle of England*, p. 895.

his Highness a letter in French from Bath on the 13th of May^b, expressing his astonishment and confusion at so execrable an act, and his apprehensions of the troubles, which might arise from it. He desired the Prince's excuse for not enlarging upon that subject in his letter, which resentment and grief prevented him from being able to do, reserving it for that happy hour, when he hoped to enjoy his Highness's conversation, at his intended return within a few days to his court.

The States General having again assured the Prince by letters, as well as by their ambassadors, of their high regard for him, he returned them, in a letter in French of the 14th of the same month of Mayⁱ, his thanks for the continuation of their friendship.

The time appointed for the creation of his Highness Prince of Wales drawing near, on Wednesday the 30th of May, being accompanied by divers young noblemen, as well as his own servants, he rode about twelve o'clock from St. James's to Richmond, where he supped and reposed himself for that night. The next day the Lord-Mayor of London, with his brethren the Aldermen, and fifty-four of the companies of the city, in their barges, distinguished by their proper ensigns, banners, and streamers, passed up the Thames to Chelsea, where, from nine in the morning, they waited

^b Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

ⁱ Ibid.

the Prince's coming; whose dinner was prepared at the court of Whitehall, and those of the Lord-Mayor and companies at their several halls. But, by reason of the low ebb of the river, his Highness could not reach Chelsea till four in the afternoon, having been first entertained with a banquet by the way about Barn-elms. Upon his arrival at Chelsea, where the Lord-Mayor and his train attended, after speeches made to him by a representation of Neptune upon a dolphin, and that of a sea-goddes upon a whale, they proceeded towards the court, the inferior companies first, and the Lord-Mayor's barge between the two sea-monsters next before his Highness's barge, followed by others, in which were his servants, and the barges of the noblemen. When they came within sight of Whitehall, the companies of London were ordered to keep along on the city side, and the Prince's barge, with some others of the principal noblemen, to go on the Lambeth side, and so to direct their course to the bridge at Whitehall. Here his Highness, taking leave of the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, landed, and was received by the officers of the King's household; at the gate, where he landed, by the Knight Marshal and the Serjeant Porter; in the hall by the Treasurer and Comptroller of the household; in the great chamber by the Captain of the guards; and in the presence chamber by the Lord Chamberlain; and so

so into the privy chamber, where the King and Queen met him^k.

His Majesty having, on Sunday, June 3d, made five and twenty Knights of the bath, proceeded the next day to the creation of the Prince of Wales, the patent for which was passed that very day^l. The place provided for this solemnity was within the great white chamber in the palace of Westminster, where both the houses of parliament being for that time assembled, together with the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, and Ambassadors of Spain, Venice, and the States General, the King entering in his Royal robes, and with his crown upon his head, first took his place of state, his train being supported by the Lord Viscount Cranborne and the Lord Burghley, son of the Earl of Exeter. After a good space of time, the Prince entered at the lower end of the great chamber, having a fur-coat of purple velvet, close girt. The order of his entrance was this; the trumpets sounding, in the first place came the Earls of Worcester and Suffolk, the former Lord Chamberlain, the other Earl Marshal. In the next place followed the twenty-five Knights of the bath, the Earl of Oxford, the Lords Gordon, Clifford, Fitzwalter, Fitzwarren, Hay, Erskine, Windsor, and Went-

^k General Chronicle of England, p. 890. Abridgement of the English Chronicle, p. 500, 501.

^l Rymer, Tom. XVI. p. 688. edit. London, 1715.

worth, Sir Charles and Sir Edward Somerfet, Sir Francis and Sir William Stewart, Sir Robert Sidney, Sir Henry Carey, Sir Oliver St. John, Sir Ferdinando Touchet, Sir Henry Rich, Sir Edmund Sheffield, Sir Ferdinando Dudley, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir Peregrine Bertie, Sir Charles Stanhope, Sir William Cavendish, and Sir Edward Bruce; all in their robes of purple sattin. Next these followed Garter king at arms, bearing the letters patent; the Earl of Suffex the Prince's robes of purple velvet; the Earl of Huntington the train; the Earl of Cumberland the sword; the Earl of Rutland the ring; the Earl of Derby the rod of gold; and the Earl of Shrewsbury the cap and crown. The Earls of Nottingham and Northampton supported the Prince, who, presenting himself before the King with very submissive reverence, kneeled upon the uppermost step leading to the state, while his patent was read by the Earl of Salisbury, till it came to the putting on of his robes, sword, and the rest, by the Lords, who carried them: but the crown, rod, ring, and patent, were delivered to him by the King's own hands. This being done; and the Prince with a low reverence offering to depart, the King stept to him, and took him by the hand, and kissed him. His Highness then took his place on the left hand of his Majesty, sitting there in his Royal robes, with the crown upon his head, the rod in one

O

hand,

hand, and the patent in the other, while a public act was read, testifying his having been declared Prince of Great Britain and Wales. After this they returned down, through Westminster hall, to the palace bridge in this manner; first the Masters of the chancery, the King's council, &c. then the Officers at arms; then the Knights of the bath; after them the Judges; who were followed by the whole parliament, Barons, Viscounts, Earls, and Marquises, having their coronets on their heads; Norroy and Clarendieu going next before the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Chamberlain, and Garter King at arms next before the sword. Thus they proceeded to the stairs, where all took water in several barges; the Heralds and trumpets going in the row-barge next before the Knights, and landed at Whitehall bridge, where the Officers of arms, the Knights of the bath, and the Lords, being first landed, attended the King; and when his Majesty and the Prince were landed, they went all before him into the hall, and so into the great chamber, whence the Prince came to dinner in the great hall. His Majesty dined privately in his privy chamber; but his Highness was served in such state, that greater could not have been done to the King himself. The table, being very long, was served with two messes of meat; and he, who sat nearest the Prince, was at the full distance of half the board from him. The Earl of Pembroke

broke performed the office of sewer; the Earl of Southampton was carver, the Earl of Montgomery cup-bearer, and the Lord Walden, eldest son of the Earl of Suffolk, brought the glass with water. The noblemen, who sat at this table, all in their robes as well as the Prince, were the Marquis of Winchester, the Earls of Salisbury, Northampton, Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Derby, Cumberland, Huntington, and Suffex. At a long side-board dined all the Knights of the bath, and no other person. During the whole time of dinner the hall resounded with all kinds of exquisite music^m.

The next day was graced with a magnificent mask, which was double. In the first act came in first the young Duke of York, between two great sea-slaves, the chiefest of Neptune's servants, attended upon by twelve little ladies, all daughters of Earls or Barons. One of these men made a speech to the King and Prince, expressing the design of the mask; and another put a sword, worth at least twenty thousand crowns, into the Duke of York's hands, who presented it to the Prince his brother from the first of those ladies, who were to follow in the next mask. This done, the Duke returned to his former place in the midst of the stage, and the little ladies per-

^m Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 179, 180. and General Chronicle of England, p. 900, 901.

formed their dance to the surprise of every person, who saw them, considering the tenderness of their years, and the many intricate changes in the dance, which was so disposed, that, which way soever they moved, the Duke was still in the centre. After this came in the Queen, the Lady Elizabeth her daughter, and the Lady Arbella Stewart, with the Countesses of Arundel, Derby, Effex, Dorset, and Montgomery, the Viscountess Hadington, the Lady Elizabeth Grey, the Lady Windsor, the Lady Katharine Petre, the Lady Elizabeth Guildford, and the Lady Mary Wintour. After these had performed their parts, there followed a banquetⁿ.

The third and last day, Wednesday, was not inferior to any of the former, either in shew or performance. In the afternoon, in the Tilt-yard, several noblemen, and other persons of distinction, in rich armour, and caparisons embroidered with pearl, gold, and silver, and splendid habiliments on their horses, presented their several devices and trophies before the King and Prince; and then ran at tilt. These tilters were the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery; the Lords Walden, Compton, Norris, North, Hay, and Dingwall; Sir Thomas Somerset, Sir Thomas Howard, Sir Henry Carey, Sir Sigismund Alexander, and Mr.

ⁿ Winwood, p. 180, 181. and Chronicle, p. 991.

Henry Alexander. The Earl of Pembroke brought in two caparisons of peach-coloured velvet, embroidered all over with oriental pearls; but the Lord Walden carried away the reputation of bravery for that day. At night were exhibited naval triumphs on the river opposite to the court, with ships of war and gallies fighting against each other, and against a castle built in the water. These battles were followed for the space of an hour by fireworks in that castle, and in all the ships and gallies, without the least accident to any person, though the Thames was covered in a manner with boats, and the banks with spectators^o.

Soon after the solemnity of his Highness's creation, that acute and learned divine Dr. Thomas Morton, then Dean of Winchester, and afterwards successively Bishop of Chester, Litchfield, and Durham, presented to the Prince, with a dedication, his *Encounter against* father Parsons^p on a question, which had been agitated between them. It was concerning the lawfulness of *Equivocation*, which had been strenuously maintained by that subtle Jesuit, who had even presumed to impute the practice of it to our Saviour himself; of which, however, he was said to have repented^q before his death, that

^o Winwood, p. 181. General Chronicle, p. 991.

^p Printed at London in 4to.

^q Life and Death of Thomas Lord Bishop of Durham, by John Barwick, D. D. p. 131. London, 1660, 4to.

happened in the beginning of April, 1610, before the publication of Dr. Morton's book.

Sir Edward Cecil, third son of Thomas Earl of Exeter, and grandson of the Lord Treasurer Burghley, who had long served in the wars of the Low Countries, and was created, in 1627, Viscount Wimbledon, having been appointed by King James, in March 1609-10, to command the English forces employed in the war about the succession to the deceased Duke of Cleves, wrote on the 29th of July, 1610, from the camp before Juliers, a letter to the Prince^r, who seems to have desired from him an account of the transactions in those parts. He requested his Highness to pardon him for not having written before, since nothing had till then happened worthy of his knowledge. But that now they had invested the town of Juliers, and already used such diligence in their approaches, that they had lodged themselves in the points of some of the out-works. In order that the Prince might more particularly understand, how the siege had hitherto been carried, Sir Edward sent him a draught of their quarters, how they lay; and of the town and castle, and of their approaches to it. "The place, *adds he*, is exceeding

"strong by art; the governor well furnished with men and ammunition; yet we

"press him so nighly with our approaches,

: Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

" that,

that, if his expected relief from the Empe-
 ror and the Archduke fail him (as without
 doubt it will) the town in three weeks time
 more will, in all men's judgments, be ren-
 dered into our hands. And I dare promise
 it shall appear to your Highness, that your
 humble and loyal servants have not gained
 to themselves the least part of honour and
 reputation in the carriage of the whole siege.
 I am only unhappy in one thing, that the
 mutinous and unworthy carriage of Sir
 Thomas Dutton, whom your Highness was
 pleased to favour beyond his merit, hath
 from time to time disturbed the course of
 the service; having even, at his first arrival
 here, braved me at the head of the troops,
 daring to tell me to my face, that it seemed
 his Majesty had given me a commission to
 abuse men, when there was nothing in
 question but the doing of the duty of a
 captain, which he ought not to dispute
 amongst us, seeing it was the first time,
 that ever he or his company came into the
 field amongst us: and ever since, in all
 meetings, he hath disputed my commission
 and authority so far, and with so much
 scorn, that, though hitherto in respect of
 your Highness I have contained myself;
 yet seeing that now again, in a public
 assembly, he hath contemptibly spoken
 of my commission, and, upon base advan-

" tage, hurt Sir Hatton Cheke^f, his Colo-
 " nel, who took upon him the defence of it,
 " I most humbly beseech your Highness to be
 " so far from giving him countenance herein,
 " that your Highness will be rather pleased
 " to allow of that, which justice here shall
 " allot him; presuming, that your Highness's
 " princely judgment will find it expedient,
 " that I be discharged of such a bad member,
 " which, in the heat of his Majesty's service,
 " dare contest with me, and be content, upon
 " any terms, to murder his commander. I
 " can wish no greater happiness in the world,
 " than that your Highness will vouchsafe to
 " be judge in any thing, that may concern
 " my honour; all my studies and endeavours
 " tending wholly to this end, to make myself
 " capable of doing your Highness all humble
 " and loyal service.

" I fear I have interrupted your Highness
 " too long; but the consequence of these
 " businesses in our profession is such, that I
 " cannot but presume of your princely inter-
 " pretation of them; and the rather, that it
 " touches so highly his Majesty's and your

^f Second son of Sir Henry Cheke, eldest son of Sir John Cheke, Tutor to King Edward VI. This Sir Hatton Cheke was, soon after the surrender of Juliers, killed in a duel on Calais sands by Sir Thomas Dutton, who lived many years after, dying May 16, 1634. Letters of Thomas Earl of Strafforde, *Vol. I.* p. 255 and 262.

" High-

“Highness’s service; to which there is no
 “man more devoted than

“Your Highness’s most humble

“And loyal Servant.”

The Prince acknowledged his satisfaction in Sir Edward Cecil’s correspondence by a letter under his own hand; which occasioned a second to his Highness from that general, dated from the siege of Gulick or Juliers on the 21st of August:

“I Am so full, *says he*, of that great and
 “high favour, which your Highness hath
 “vouchsafed to cast upon me by your own
 “princely hand, that it hath given me a new
 “life and encouragement to all my endea-
 “vours; and in it hath brought me into a fair
 “large field of your Highness’s justice and
 “equity, wherein I dare for ever safely walk,
 “seeing I have your Highness’s warrant for
 “it: And I hope God will add such blessings
 “to your Highness’s favour to me, that I shall
 “gather strength and abilities in my profession
 “to be able, in your happiest days, to become
 “a poor instrument in some remarkable and
 “princely undertaking of your own. It is the
 “happiness, after which I thirst, and in which
 “I will easily lay down my life.

‘ Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

“ Touching the actions of this siege, whereof
 “ your Highness is pleased to be advertised,
 “ this day our labour is growing towards an
 “ end: for the governor hath called to parly,
 “ demanded conditions, and within a day or
 “ two we look to have troops in the town^v.
 “ We were so happily advanced in our ap-
 “ proaches, since I wrote my last to your High-
 “ ness, that we had long since taken from
 “ them their outworks, passed over the ditch
 “ of the castle with four galleries, and were
 “ lodged at the foot of their ramparts, and
 “ have made two great mines, which to-mor-
 “ row would have been ready to fire; and the
 “ cannon, in our English approaches, had al-
 “ ready played with that fury upon the foot of
 “ the bulwark, that a great breach was made,
 “ and certainly within two days we should
 “ have been entered upon that place: yet the
 “ governor had made shew of new defences
 “ within, by cutting off the bulwark nigh the
 “ shoulder, having purpose to dispute that
 “ as his last retreat. But we pressed him so
 “ near, that he durst not attend any assault,
 “ nor give us leave to see the operation of our
 “ mines, which we much desired, that we
 “ might have had a true experience, how
 “ powder works in so high and so thick a wall,
 “ the like being no where to be found both

^v It was surrendered the next day, August 22d, 1610.
 Winwood, *Vol. III. p. 210.*

in that and all other perfections of fortifications, as I will make appear by the particularities, when I shall have that great happiness to kiss your Highness's hands, and render account of all that hath passed here: Till which time, and for ever, I will offer up my humble prayers for your Highness's continual happiness, and everlastingly approve myself

“ Your Highness's most humble

“ And devoted Servant.”

The creation of his Highness Prince of Wales made it necessary to examine into the rights and prerogatives belonging to a title, which had not been known since Edward, son of Henry VIII. and afterwards King himself, to whom it had been given 18 Octob. 1537, he was only six days old^w. Upon all such inquiries, Sir Robert Cotton was the most proper person of his time to be consulted; and accordingly Sir Thomas Chaloner wrote to him the following letter^x:

“ SIR;

“ AFTER our parting, I ceased not to renew our suit, for so I must call it, we both having interest therein; particularly I informed his Highness of your good means

^w Lord Herbert's Life and Reign of King Henry VIII.

p. 430. edit. London, 1649. fol.

^x Cotton Library, *Julius Cæsar*, C. III.

“ to let him understand, what appertaineth to
 “ him by antient precedents; which, as from
 “ you, he is very desirous to see. Wherefore
 “ I pray you to send me a letter, which I
 “ may shew him, wherein you may specify
 “ your desire to do him service, and the good
 “ store you have to accomplish the same. The
 “ papers I desire to acquaint him withal are
 “ these following :

“ In what manner he ought to sign?

“ Whether the Queen or he ought first to
 “ sign?

“ Whether the Queen, the Prince, or Duke
 “ of Richmond*, or Cardinal Wolfey, had a
 “ marshal or verge?

“ The office of Receiver.

“ The duty of the Chamberlain in the
 “ presence to give notice of the King's rest.

“ Whether any records are extant of com-
 “ missions in Wales during the Prince's times;
 “ and whether his officers were named there-
 “ in?

“ The commissions of Queen Mary and her
 “ household.

“ By reason of his Highness's soon departure
 “ from hence with the King, I desire to inform
 “ him thereof with speed. So I rest

“ Your's assuredly,

“ Thomas Chaloner.”

* Henry Fitzroy, natural son of Henry VIII. by Eli-
 zabeth daughter of Sir John Blount.

Soon after the Prince was invested in the possession of the duchy of Cornwall, a proposal was given in to him by one Mons. Villeforest, for extracting silver out of lead. The examination of this project being intrusted by his Highness to Sir Thomas Chaloner and Sir William Godolphin^y; the former, on the 1st of August, wrote to him the following letter^z:

“ **M**AY it please your Highness to be advertised, that, being jealous of the messenger’s diligence, by whom I addressed letters lately to Mr. Newton, I thought it my duty, by these lines, to give account of the charge committed to Sir William Godolphin and myself.

“ After conference had with the French Ambassador, we found, that Villeforest, who pretends to be master of the secret concerning lead, had by some kind of proof given him good assurance, that he was able to maintain his project. Nevertheless our care proceeded by testing what the English undertakers could do to draw this silver mine to

^y Eminent for his services in the wars in Ireland against the rebels there. He was one of the Knights for the county of Cornwall, and died in 1613. He was grandfather to Sidney Earl of Godolphin, Lord Treasurer in the reign of Queen Anne.

^z Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007. This letter must be written in 1610, because the French Ambassador mentioned in it, Mons. de la Boderie, was not in England in 1611; and the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Salisbury, was dead before August, 1612.

“ your

“ your Highness’s disposing, upon the best
 “ terms, that we might procure. But, by
 “ three severall encounters with them, we had
 “ just occasion to suspect, that they grounded
 “ their hopes rather upon a conceit of drawing
 “ the Frenchman to their party, than out of
 “ any certain experiment of their own. Where-
 “ fore, betaking ourselves wholly to draw him
 “ to some issue (being especially solicited there-
 “ unto by my Lord Treasurer) we resolved to
 “ propound certain demands to Villeforest,
 “ which, being fully and clearly answered,
 “ should be the readiest means to cut off all
 “ delays, and to discover, whether he were
 “ a perfect artist, or to give sufficient rea-
 “ sons to induce us to believe his words.
 “ This present day, designed for our answer,
 “ passed without farther satisfaction unto us
 “ than a short message, implying, that the
 “ Ambassador was resolved to respite his reply,
 “ until by his own experience he had better
 “ informed himself of every particular set down
 “ in our demands. And for that purpose his
 “ intent is to set up a furnace to-morrow, to
 “ make a great assay of forty or fifty pounds
 “ weight at one melting. For the breaking
 “ of his pots, or (as I suspect) the diffidence
 “ in his own science, makes him to search
 “ every corner of his shifts. I pray God, that
 “ I may have occasion to confess my aim to
 “ have failed. By reason of this new reach,
 “ which

" which is incertain, Sir William Godolphin,
 " whose care and desire to serve your High-
 " ness hath been most forward, pressed with
 " important business, is constrained to leave
 " this town. In the mean time, my Lord
 " Treasurer ceaseth not, by daily solliciting the
 " end of this business, to give your Highness
 " assurance of his zeal to prosecute any service
 " committed to his charge. And if the French-
 " man had been as ready to make good his
 " offer, as his Lordship was resolute to sign the
 " contract, I had, before this time, been the
 " messenger of good news. Yet, according
 " to your Highness's command, I will attend
 " to see to what end these great promises will
 " tend; and therewithal to let the French
 " Ambassador understand, that he is duly
 " respected, according to his rank and worth.
 " Fearful to offend with length, I rest

" Your Highness's

" Most humble Servant,

Aug. 1.

" Thomas Chaloner."

The Prince, whose attention to public affairs,
 both at home and abroad, increased with his
 years, had engaged Sir Thomas Edmondes,
 before he set out on his embassy to the court
 of France, where he arrived in the latter end
 of May, 1610, to communicate to him some
 which account

account of the course of things there. Sir Thomas not having done this for some months, Mr. Newton, in a letter from Richmond of the 2d of September, 1610, put him in mind of his promise, and let him know, that his Highness expected the performance of it; and that, if Sir Thomas would direct his letters to him, Mr. Newton, he would be careful, that they should go no farther than that Ambassador should himself appoint^a.

The ship, which the Prince, as has been already observed, had made several journies to Woolwich to see, while it was building, was now finished, and ready to be launched, being the largest, that ever had been built in England. The keel was an hundred and fourteen feet long, and the cross-beam forty-four feet. It was able to carry sixty-four pieces of great ordnance, and the burthen was 1400 tuns. It was likewise as remarkable for the ornaments of carving, painting, and gilding, as for its size. The King, having made a present of this ship to his Highness, went, on the 24th of September, to Woolwich, to see it launched, attended with the Queen, the Prince, the Duke of York, and the Lady Elizabeth, besides a great number of Lords. But the narrowness of the dock preventing its being then launched, his Majesty returned, with the rest of the Royal family^b,

^a Historical View of the Negotiations between the courts of England, France, and Bruffels, p. 327, 328.

^b General Chronicle, p. 996.

except his Highness, who stayed some time behind them, in order to prepare for the launching the next morning, when he returned by three o'clock through a storm of thunder, lightning and rain, and standing on the poop, while the ship was launched, gave it the name of the *Prince Royal*^b.

Preparations being made for the establishment of the Prince's household, which was at first expected to be settled about Michaelmas 1610, though afterwards deferred till December following, he had many applications for offices in his household.

Among these candidates for places was John Erskine, then Master, and afterwards Earl, of Mar, son of his Highness's former Governor by Anne daughter of David Lord Drummond. He being at Edinburgh sent an express messenger with a letter from thence to the Prince on the 8th of September 1610^c, acquainting him, that upon the assurance of his Highness's favourable promise, he presumed to present his humble duty; and in regard, that he understood, that his Highness was to settle the order of his house about Michaelmas, he desired to know, whether at that time his Highness would have any present use of his service. "For altho', says he, I persuade myself (as your Highness shewed me) that none are to

^b MS. Life of Mr. Phineas Pett, p. 55.

^c Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

“ be sworn of your bedchamber; yet if any
 “ should be admitted to have access to it at
 “ any particular times, when your Highness
 “ should appoint, I hope in that case your
 “ Highness would not be unmindful of your
 “ affectionate servant, whose greatest happiness
 “ is to remain your Highness’s most dutiful
 “ subject and humble servant.

“ I shall be ready to come or stay, accord-
 “ ing as I shall understand your Highness’s
 “ pleasure either by writ, or as you please to
 “ make it known to this bearer.”

The Lord Clinton, eldest son of Henry Earl
 of Lincoln, was another petitioner to the
 Prince on this occasion; and in his letter^d he
 acknowledged, that his fortunes, which had
 hitherto debarred him from attending either
 his Majesty or the Prince, so that it was scarce
 known to his Highness, whether there were
 such a man, urged him “ to present, *says*
 “ *he*, my service unto your Highness, whose
 “ virtue promiseth, that it will pour the effects
 “ of your favour as well on them, that may
 “ deserve it most, (if I seem not unworthy to
 “ be thought of that number) as on them,
 “ that are nearer, and beg harder. My humble
 “ suit to your Highness is, that now, to the
 “ ineffable comfort and joy of this land, God
 “ hath blessed you with those years, as your
 “ Highness is to increase your household, and

^d Harl. MSS. Vol. 7007.

“ take officers, you would vouchsafe to accept
 “ of me in such place, as shall seem best to
 “ your Highness; in whose service I shall think
 “ my time most happily bestowed ever here-
 “ after, when by course of nature I shall be
 “ enabled to do your Highness as good service,
 “ as others of my rank.”

Sir Arthur Gorges, already mentioned, and who married Elizabeth, the sister of this Lord Clinton, thought likewise this a proper occasion to remind the Prince of himself in the following letter:

“ **B** E I N G, as I am, the sworn servant of
 “ no Prince living, although a most loyal
 “ subject to my dread Sovereign your father,
 “ I retain in myself the freer power humbly
 “ to make offer of my domestic service to
 “ your Highness; yet not with an humour to
 “ solicit the same by the mediation of great
 “ men; for that were to anticipate your own
 “ liking in the free election of your servants,
 “ whose young years are most blessedly sea-
 “ soned with mature and prudent judgment
 “ in all your proceedings. Neither do I affect,
 “ by insinuation or gift, to purchase such my
 “ hopes by the means of any in favour about
 “ you; for that were basely to despair of my own
 “ worth, or unreverently to suspect a weak-
 “ ness in your constant resolutions, which I
 “ knew to be directed with that perfection
 “ of reason, that enables you to counsel your

‘ counsellor. And therefore in this pursuit
 ‘ the fashion of my life and reputation in the
 ‘ world shall only plead and testify for me,
 ‘ that only for your sake am willing of a free
 ‘ man to become a servant. Wherefore if, by
 ‘ your only grace and favour, I may be re-
 ‘ ceived into any such place of credit or em-
 ‘ ployment, as may minister occasion unto me
 ‘ to express my devoted endeavours to the
 ‘ honour and advancement of your service;
 ‘ in that loyal desire, most heroic Prince, my
 ‘ industry and fidelity shall be so confined, as
 ‘ that I doubt not, but to perform such ho-
 ‘ nest offices, as shall be both pleasing and
 ‘ profitable to so worthy a master, and justly
 ‘ merit the increase of your gracious opinion
 ‘ towards me, that will ever, as I am bound,
 ‘ approve myself your Highness’s most hum-
 ‘ ble and most faithful servant.”

The last letter, which I shall produce on
 this subject, is from William Cecil, Lord Roos,
 great grandson of the Lord Treasurer Burghley.
 It was dated from Nonesuch on the 12th of
 October^e. “ Howsoever, *says he*, I was not
 “ remembered amongst the number of your
 “ Highness’s attendants; yet I trust I shall
 “ never so far forget myself, as to forget my
 “ duty and service. And truly this is my
 “ comfort, that though my bodily service may
 “ be restrained, yet no man living shall keep
 “ back my heart and inward affection to be a

" continual follower and most humble servitor
 " at your Grace's command. If my inde-
 " merits hath procured me this dishonour, or
 " want of sincere affection to your Highness's
 " person, I wish that this may be but the be-
 " ginning of my misfortunes. If forgetful-
 " ness be the only cause, I care not by whom
 " I be forgotten, so I be remembered by my
 " King, and by you, my most gracious Prince.
 " Thus I most humbly take my leave and
 " commend your Highness to the protection
 " of the Highest."

The character and conduct of this young nobleman are too singular not to deserve being a little enlarged upon in some circumstances, which do not appear in our history.

He was great grandson of the Lord Treasurer Burghley, grandson of Thomas the first Earl of Exeter, and son of William the second Earl, by Elizabeth, sole daughter and heir to Edward Manners Earl of Rutland, upon which Lady's decease in April 1591, the title of Lord Roos came to this her only son. He was sent to travel abroad under the care of Mr. John Molle^f, whose resolution of not

^f He was born at South Molton in Devonshire, and had spent his youth in France, where he was Treasurer, under Sir Thomas Shirley, to the English army in Bretagne. He was afterwards made examiner to the council in the North by Thomas Earl of Exeter, who engaged him to travel with his grandson Lord Roos. Fuller's *Church History of Great Britain*, B. x. p. 48, 49.

passing the Alpes was broken through by obstinacy of his pupil, who could not be diverted from a journey to Rome, where they were no sooner arrived in the year 1607, than Mr. Molle was seized and carried to the inquisition house, where he was kept prisoner^s thirty years till his death in the eighty first year of his age. But Lord Roos was received and entertained at Rome with remarkable civility, and was suspected to have changed his religion for that of the place^h, as his father had done before him, when in his travels he went thither secretly in 1585ⁱ.

Lord Roos probably conceal'd his inclination to the church of Rome, while he was in England; but he gave but too much suspicion of it in a journey, which he made through Flanders in April and May 1611, spending the greatest part of his time among the English priests and refugees there, and expressing on all occasions his affection for Spain, where he had resided a long while during his travels, and his attachment to the Spanish interest^k. In the

^e Dr. Joseph Hall's 9th Epistle of his VI. Decade is addressed to Mr. John Mole (so the Doctor writes the Name) of a long time now prisoner under the Inquisition at Rome, exciting him to his wonted constancy, and encouraging him to martyrdom.

^h Fuller, *ubi supra*.

ⁱ Collection of state papers relating to affairs in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, published by William Murdin, B. D. p. 475. Edit. London, 1759.

^k These circumstances are taken from an original letter

the year 1612, he went again to Italy; and was afterwards employed by King James, as Ambassador to the Emperor Matthias, and in the latter end of the year 1616 sent Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of Spain¹. He had in February before married Elizabeth eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Lake, principal Secretary of state^m; and in July of the same year 1616, his title of Lord Roos, which had been disputed by Francis Earl of Rutland, was adjudged in his favour. He returned from Spain in March 1616-17ⁿ, and in August following secretly withdrew himself out of England^o, leaving his estate in great disorder, after having sent a challenge to his brother-in-law Mr. Arthur Lake; and though he was required by the Lords of the council to return, refused to comply with their order^p. He died in the suburbs of Naples, on the 27th of June 1618, in the profession of the church of Rome^q, and not without the suspicion of poison^r.

ter of Mr. Thomas Lorkin to Mr. Newton, Secretary to Prince Henry, written in June 1611. *Harl. MSS. Vol. 7002.*

¹ Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton, during his Embassy in Holland, from January 1615-16, to December 1620, p. 69, & 106. a few copies of which were printed, with an excellent historical preface, by Philip Lord Viscount Royston, at London 1657, in 4to. and since translated into French, and published in Holland.

^m *Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi*, p. 16. ⁿ *Ibid.* p. 25. ^o *Ibid.* p. 26. ^p Letters of Sir Dudley Carleton, p. 169, 170. ^q *Camden, ubi supra*, p. 33.

^r *Idem.* p. 34.

He appears from such of his letters, as have fallen into my hands, to have been a man of good parts and well educated: but his conduct was by no means correspondent; and it is an astonishing instance of the degeneracy of a family, that his Lordship and his father, the representatives and heirs of the Lord Treasurer Burghley, should have apostatized to that church, to whose interests that great statesman had always shewn himself so formidable an adversary.

Mr. Thomas Coryat, who with no contemptible share of learning, especially in the Latin and Greek Languages, had a degree of simplicity, mixed with some vanity and much pedantry, that made him the object of the pleasantries of the wits, his contemporaries, having in the latter end of the year 1610, finished the account of his five months travels in 1608 into France, Italy, Germany, &c. the Prince, in whose family he had lived^t, did him the honour of accepting the dedication of it. This made Mr. Coryat very impatient to see his book in print; and induced him to write a letter^u to Sir Michael Hicke, who had been Secretary to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, requesting him to intercede with the Earl of Salisbury, then Lord Treasurer, that his book

^t Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. Col. 422.

^u Dated from his chamber in Bow-lane, Nov. 15, 1610. The original is in the possession of James West, Esq;

might

might be printed at London with some expedition. It was accordingly published there in 4to. the year following, 1611, with a most affected title^w. In the dedication to his Highness he takes notice, that the publishing of his book was chiefly owing to the importunity of some of his friends, especially Mr. Lionel Cranfield, afterwards Earl of Middlesex, Lord High Treasurer, and Mr. Laurence Whitaker, Secretary to Sir Edward Philips, Master of the Rolls; and in the introduction to the verses made upon him and his book by most of the men of wit and learning of that age, in which they ridicule him in a style of high Panegyric, which he does not seem to have been sensible of himself, he professes, that the greatest part of those verses were sent to him *voluntarily from divers of his friends, from whom he expected no such courtesy*; and that when he found them so numerous, he had resolved to *have put a thousand of them into an Index Expurgatorius*. But the Prince, who evidently had some share in the diversion, which the preposterous vanity of our author gave to the public, laid upon him a strict and express

^w It was this; *Coryat's Crudities hastily gobbled up in five months travels in France, Sawoy, Italy, Rhetia, commonly called the Grisons country, Helvetia, alias Switzerland, some parts of High Germany, and the Netherlands. Newly digested in the hungry air of Odcombe in the county of Somerset, and now dispersed to the nourishment of the travelling members of this kingdom.*

command to print all those verses, which he had read to his Highness.

The Prince in December 1610, settled his household, and appointed his officers of it as well as of his revenues. Of the former were Sir Tho. Chaloner, Chamberlain; Sir Charles Cornwallis, Treasurer; Sir John Holles, afterwards Earl of Clare, Comptroller; Sir David Foulis, Cofferer, and Sir David Murray, Groom of the stole. The officers of his revenues were Sir Edward Philips, Master of the Rolls, Chancellor; Mr. Adam Newton, Secretary; Sir George More, Receiver General; Sir William Fleetwood, Surveyor General; Augustin Nicols, Serjeant; Mr. Thomas Stephens, Attorney, and Mr. Richard Connok, Auditor.

His Highness made likewise strict orders for the government of his whole household, more like a grave, wise, and antient Counsellor, surveying, disposing and dispatching his affairs, than so young a Prince. These orders well deserve to be transmitted to posterity, and will therefore be inserted, together with several papers relating to his household, in the *Appendix*.*

There were now allotted to him certain lands for his revenues, which he was so far from diminishing, that he left them increased some thousands of pounds a year. When his

* Number XVII.

servants solicited him for grants to themselves, he shewed great reluctance to gratify them except with hopes, promises, and delays; because he was unwilling, as he said, to dispose of any thing, till he had power to do it, which could not be, till either his own age or the Parliament should enable him. But as that time was not yet come, he continued in his own frugal courses, suffering almost nothing to pass in his house or other affairs, which he did not himself oversee. At last considering with himself, that the Principality of Wales, and Duchy of Cornwall, had been long without a Prince and Duke of their own, he thought, that it might be proper to shew his authority by renewing and avoiding of leases. In pursuance of which resolution, having first by a writ of *scire facias* annulled all former leases, he brought the tenants to a general submission to compound, take, and hold anew of him; which they were all ready to perform a little before his death. Whereupon surveyors and commissioners were appointed and dispatched to survey all his lands, and to return a true certificate of the whole value; till which was done, being but a little before his last sickness, he deferred all manner of suits, because he was desirous to be first informed truly, what and how great the demands were².

² Cornwallis, p. 19.

Among other schemes for the enlargement of his revenue, there had, in or before the month of October 1610, been proposed to him the obtaining from the King a grant of all the forfeitures arising, or that ought to accrue, to his Majesty from Recusants; his Highness paying yearly to him one thousand pounds more than was then answered for those forfeitures^a.

This proposal being referred to the Prince's council, Serjeant Nicols^b, afterwards knighted, and advanced in 1612, to be one of the Judges in the Court of Common Pleas, and to Mr. Thomas Stephens; they on the 17th of October 1610, gave their opinion in the following words^c.

“ The Statutes vouched, and whereupon
“ this seemeth to be grounded, are mistaken :

“ For there is no such statute of the 35th
“ of *Eliz. Regin.* for payment of 20l. a
“ month; but the statute aimed at for that
“ point is the statute of 28 Eliz. Cap. 6.

“ Also there is no such statute for the for-
“ feiture of the third part of the recusants
“ lands. But by the statute of 28th of Eliz.
“ if the recusant make default of payment of
“ 20l. a month, the King may then take and

^a Harl. MSS. Vol. 7009. fol. 20.

^b A man of great piety and integrity, whose character is drawn to great advantage by Robert Bolton, B. D. in his *Funeral Notes* upon him printed with that Divine's discourse *on the four last things*, London 1633, in 4to.

^c Harl. MSS. Vol. 7009. fol. 23.

“ feize

“ feize all his goods and two parts of his lands
 “ and leases.

“ These misprisions may make it doubtful,
 “ lest likewise some mistaking or error might
 “ be in the other propositions subsequent,
 “ being for the most part either conjectural or
 “ in a generality (*many recusants*) or not in
 “ such certainty and particularity, as might
 “ yield sufficient satisfaction and encourage-
 “ ment to undergo a matter of very great and
 “ certain travel, charge, and expence, in ex-
 “ pectancy of a fruit or profit uncertain.

“ The agents in this business, which must
 “ be many, in respect recusants are spread over
 “ all the realm, would with their charge, and
 “ otherwise, take away above the one half of
 “ this benefit; and the residue will not be had
 “ without clamour and careful pains.

“ But whatsoever the benefit might be, we
 “ hold it not fit, that the Prince’s Highness
 “ should have any hand, or shew himself; in
 “ this business, to have the uttermost for-
 “ feitures of penal laws inflicted upon the
 “ offenders of this kind.”

Another paper of observations on the propo-
 sal was as follows^d.

“ Whereas it hath been propounded, that
 “ a grant should be made by the King to the
 “ Prince of the whole benefit of recusants
 “ throughout the realm, for a certain yearly

^d Harl. MSS. Vol. 7009. fol. 21.

“ rent

"rent to be therefore answered to his Majesty,
 "and the rest to his Highness: and therein
 "also it was intended by the draught of the
 "grant offered, that his Highness should have
 "had the whole managing of all the affairs
 "concerning recusants, and power to dispense
 "with them, and to dispose of their for-
 "feitures:

"It may please his Highness to take into
 "his princely consideration, whether it may
 "not be better to the King's liking, and as
 "pleasing to his Highness;

"That his Majesty under his privy seal sig-
 "nify his pleasure into the Exchequer to the
 "Treasurer, Chancellor, and Barons thereof,
 "that in every Easter and Michaelmas term
 "yearly, there shall be paid to the Prince out
 "of the Exchequer by the warrant of that
 "privy seal, which shall remain there for that
 "purpose, a moiety, two third parts, or one
 "third part, or more or less, of all, that shall
 "or ought to accrue unto his Majesty out of
 "the recusants estates: or else a certain sum
 "yearly to the King, and the overplus to the
 "Prince, as it shall please his Highness to
 "move his suit.

"In all which cases, other than where his
 "Majesty is to have a certain rent, such, as
 "shall be employed in that service to look
 "that the Prince be answered his due, must
 "of necessity take care, that the King's Ma-
 "jesty

“ Majesty be truly and justly dealt withall, in
 “ whatsoever should appertain unto him by
 “ any ways or means from recusants: ”

“ And that all may be convicted, and their
 “ forfeitures duly answered into the Exchequer,
 “ whither of necessity it must come; and from
 “ thence the Prince's part to be paid. ”

“ In this course the power of dealing with
 “ recusants, according to the law, will still re-
 “ main with the King, as a matter more pro-
 “ per for the crown to deal in, than for any
 “ other; and the intent of the law will be
 “ therein observed, in that the power thereof
 “ shall not be transferred to any other. ”

“ The honour of the Prince cannot be
 “ questioned herein, because this extends no
 “ farther than to have part of that, which is
 “ wholly due to the crown. ”

“ Neither herein can the evil affections of
 “ recusants be thrown upon the Prince, whose
 “ malice in the other course might colourably
 “ have thought, the hard measure to have been
 “ offered them only by the Prince's means. ”

“ The other course, and this, as to the
 “ Court of Exchequer, are all one; because
 “ all forfeitures by recusants are by law to be
 “ answered there, and to be taken from
 “ thence. ”

“ The profit to the Crown and to the
 “ Prince will be as much this way, if good care
 “ be had in this business, as if the Prince had
 “ all

“ all by lease, and should pay the King a
 “ certain rent.

“ And the honour and profit of this busi-
 “ nefs will be more or less, as the persons,
 “ who shall deal therein for his Highness, shall
 “ be of credit and judgment.”

This paper was indorsed, *Recusants and a course to be taken with them for the Prince's credit.*

Two other papers were likewise drawn upon this subject, which being too long to be inserted here, will be placed, together with an answer to the opinion of the Prince's council, in the Appendix^e.

The night of the new year 1610-11, was distinguished by a mask of the Prince performed, in the banqueting house at Whitehall, by his Highness assisted by twelve others, two Earls, three Barons, five Knights, and two Esquires^f. This mask was written by the great composer of works of that kind, Ben. Jonson, and intitled *Oberon, or the Fairy Prince*^g.

Sir Edward Conway, Governor of the Brill, one of the cautionary towns in Holland, and afterwards raised by the interest of the Duke of Buckingham to be Secretary of State, a Viscount, and at last Lord President of the Council, had now by means of Mr. Newton,

^e Number XVIII.
 England, p. 999.

^f General Chronicle of
^g Printed in Ben Jonson's
 Works, Vol. V. p. 368, & seqq. Whaley's Edition.

Secretary to the Prince, gained a considerable share of the good opinion of his Highness, by whom he was employed in particular to procure an eminent painter of Delft^s to come over to England, and enter into the Prince's service.

Sir Edward, in a letter from the Brill of the 5th of February, 1610-11, O. S^h. made his acknowledgments to Mr. Newton, that his favours had been of such a kind, as, though he could not return them, he ought at least to appear thankful for them. He desired him, that, as he had inclined the Prince to entertain a good opinion of him, he would assist him to maintain it. That he had presumed, according to his Highness's command, which was all law to him, to offer the account of his endeavours with the painter of Delft to his Highness's view in his own ill hand; to which he had added, how the state of affairs appeared to him at his first coming. " I find, *says he,*
 " the Count Maurice sick, yet without dan-
 " ger; Mr. Barnevelt languishing of a quar-
 " tan, and great doubt of his journey. By

* The painter's name is not mentioned in any of Sir Edward Conway's letters; but it is probable, that he was the famous Michael John Mierevelt or Michael Jans of Delft, mentioned by Mr. Peacham in his *Complete Gentleman*, p. 110. as the most excellent Painter of all the Low Countries, who sometimes employed a whole year about a picture; and yet, after all, would destroy it, if he discovered any considerable fault in it.

† Harl. MSS. Vol. 7002.

Q

“ the

“ the indisposition of these chief persons the
“ state is deprived of their counsel and travel
“ in points and in a time, that much need
“ them. You, I know, observed, how the
“ common enemy kept unity in those pro-
“ vinces, by which they chiefly subsisted.
“ You mark, how those of Utrecht have
“ fallen into sedition and disorder; and how
“ they are contained from separation only by
“ a garrison and constraint. Those of Frise-
“ land bring not in their cotation: those of
“ Zealand detain theirs also with a higher
“ hand; so as there is a great deal of doubt
“ offered, that the provinces united may fall
“ to disjoin, and so to partialities and conten-
“ tion. Your judgment will easily see the
“ advantages, that will be opened to the Spa-
“ niard, if these men continue a mischief,
“ which they will run into, except, both by
“ authority and wise instruments, the affairs
“ be rectified, and the questions and differ-
“ ences moderated. Then the consequence
“ will be, if we help them not to watch off
“ the blows, we shall smart with their wounds.
“ You have in your memory examples of
“ like kind with these mischievous events in
“ other states. Foresight and timely preven-
“ tion must bless and crown the work; of
“ which I have no doubt, knowing his Ma-
“ jesty’s infinite wisdom, and faithfulness of his
“ counsellors. The apparentest safety, best
“ agree-

agreeing with Christian wisdom, and policy
 of states, were for his Majesty to make sure
 of his two cautionary towns, Flushing and
 Brill; and now that Embden is in a dan-
 gerous question between the count and
 citizens, with consent to take that into his
 protection, and secure it by a garrison of his;
 a point, that, if it shall come into delibera-
 tion and execution, I shall be bound to your
 favour, if you so recommend me and the
 memory of me to his Highness, that I may
 be there employed. I cannot set forth my
 sufficiency: my faith I will justify. My
 good I shall acknowledge to my master's
 favour; and my thankfulness to you I will
 make so apparent, as you shall not think
 your courtesy employed upon an unworthy
 person. I have no warrant or knowledge
 for the matter of Embden but reason of
 state by way of intimation and prevention
 of others. I lay before your wisdom and
 friendly use the thoughts of my heart, all
 parts of which I wish you knew them as
 I do; so should you best know an humble
 servant to our master, and a faithful friend
 to you. Now, Sir, for the true respect I
 bear you, let me intreat this favour of you,
 that you will be pleased clearly, freely, and
 plainly, to let me know, if I have used too
 much presumption in writing to my master;
 where in matter or form I have erred, that

“ I may inform myself, and be bound to you
“ for it.

“ I have, for your more ease, sent you here,
“ inclosed, a copy of the painter’s letter to me,
“ translated into English. It was writ since
“ my conference with him. I have joined to
“ it my opinion; and I beseech you, that I
“ may hear from you, whether his Highness
“ will command me any farther in it, that I
“ may proceed with obedience, according to
“ my duty and humble affection to his service.

“ Now, Sir, I will recommend myself to your
“ favour, and withall my brother, Thomas
“ Conway, who will be your thankful servant,
“ if you vouchsafe to present him to his High-
“ ness’s gracious memory in the number of
“ his.

“ If this hand of mine be hard to you, for
“ your ease, if you license me, I will use ano-
“ ther’s, and trouble you no longer in this;
“ but beseech the Almighty to prosper you
“ and all yours in honour, and intreat of you
“ to command me in something, to help me
“ to declare this truth, that I am

“ Yours in all at your

“ Commandment to serve you.”

Sir George More, who had sat in several
parliaments since the year 1585, as member
either for Guilford or the county of Surry, and
been



been appointed, in 1604, Treasurer or Receiver General of the Prince's revenuesⁱ, and who, in 1610, was made Chancellor of the order of the garter, and, in 1615, Lieutenant of the Tower, being informed of his Highness's intention to take from him the title and office of Treasurer, wrote a letter, dated from his house in Canon-Row, Westminster, on the 1st of March, 1610-11, to endeavour to divert the Prince from that resolution^k. He took notice, that it had pleased his Highness, out of his gracious opinion of him, to appoint him by his great seal to the place of Treasurer and Receiver General; wherein his Highness's great favour being altogether undeserved, he was thereby much the more obliged to do his Highness all faithful service as long as he should live. "Wherefore, *adds he*, leaving
 " all private respects, I addressed myself, with-
 " out delay, to be in readiness evermore to
 " attend and obey your Highness's command-
 " ment; hoping and rejoicing, that, through
 " my true endeavours, I should, in the win-
 " ter of my years, receive the comfort of your
 " shining grace, than which life itself shall
 " ever be less precious unto me. Now, under-
 " standing, that it is your pleasure to take from
 " me the name and place of your Treasurer,
 " which will not only, in lieu thereof, fix

ⁱ Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. Col. 492. ^k Harl. MSS. Vol. 7008.

upon me such disgrace in the eye of the
 world, as, proceeding from so noble and
 worthy a Prince, shall condemn me of evil
 merits in the opinion of men; but will (as
 I conceive) much diminish the honour of
 your service; I presume, from the sense of
 such a blow, to lay before you the grief of
 my heart, not in regard of my unworthy
 self; but because thereby a touch may be of
 your princely estate, worthy not less honour
 than ever Prince hath been. What much
 concerns me, unfit it were I should respect.
 To your Highness I lift up mine eyes, and
 cannot but think, that, having a Chancellor,
 it is suitable to the honour of your service to
 have a Treasurer, who should have place ac-
 cording to the charge and trust reposed in
 him. So it was with Prince Edward, son to
 King Edward III. named the Black Prince.
 He had a Treasurer, whose name was Walter
 Rainoldes. The record of his account is an-
 tient, and fair to be seen. Of the next suc-
 ceeding Princes the records are not easy to be
 found. Those of later times, who had only
 Receivers General for the receipt and custody
 of their treasures, though children to Kings,
 yet I dare not compare with your Highness.
 Thus much having thought it my duty to
 signify, for myself I will say but this; I am
 in your Highness's hands as clay in the
 hands of the potter: If of the place of Treas-
 urer

“furer I shall seem unworthy, let me go, and
 “be forgotten, rather than your Highness
 “shall forego the least preeminence belonging
 “to your princely estate.

“Your Highness I do most humbly beseech
 “to think, that of your favours I am only
 “ambitious; and as to do you service I am
 “more than desirous, so my suit is, that, while
 “I shall be found faithful, the disfavour of
 “your Highness may not cause it to be said
 “of me, though without cause, *malus miles,*
 “*qui Imperatorem suum gemens sequitur.* For,
 “howsoever my heart may be grieved, my
 “service to your Highness shall be faithful and
 “true until I die.”

The Prince's younger brother, Charles Duke of York, when he was almost eleven years of age¹, being taken from under the care of the Lady Cary^m, wife of Sir Robert Cary, who had the charge of the Duke's household, and who was afterwards created Baron of Lepington and Earl of Monmouth; some persons, who were not friends to Sir Robert, had resolved, that he should quit the Duke's service, when his wife went from him. For that purpose there was a Scots gentleman, of great learning and very good worth, sent for out of Ireland from his employment there, to be

¹ He was born November 19, 1600. ^m Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hugh Trevannion,

placed as chief Governor over the Duke, both in his bed-chamber and over his household; the Prince being the chief instrument in his prefermentⁿ. This gentleman, whose name is not mentioned on this occasion by the Earl of Monmouth in his *Memoirs*, was Sir James Fullerton, who had been at first usher of the free-school in Dublin, while another Scotsman, Mr. James Hamilton, afterwards knighted, and at last created Viscount Clancuboy in Ireland, was master of it; the first foundation of their fortunes being laid at Dublin in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, by conveying the letters of some great Lords of England, who worshipped the rising sun, to King James, and his letters back to them; that way being chosen as more safe than the direct northern road^o. On Sir James Fullerton's arrival, a council was called, the King being present, where it was proposed, that he should be Chief Gentleman of the Duke of York's bed-chamber, Master of his robes, and Governor of his household; and that Sir Robert Cary, whom, as he had served the Duke long, it was thought not

ⁿ *Memoirs of the Life of Robert Cary, Baron of Leppington and Earl of Monmouth, written by himself, and now published from an original manuscript in the custody of John Earl of Corke and Orrery, p. 168—170. Lond. 1759, 8vo.*

^o Letter of Mr. John Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart. from London, January 13, 1630-31. Harl. MSS. Vol. 7000.

proper to dismiss intirely, should be of his bed-chamber still, and Keeper of his privy purse. This was near concluded, when the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain, interposed with the King in favour of Sir Robert Cary with such success, that his Majesty declared, that Sir Robert's birth and breeding requiring the chief place about his son, he should have it, and the Mastership of his robes. And accordingly it was resolved by the council, that he should be sworn Chief Gentleman of the Duke's bed-chamber, and Master of his robes and privy purse. Upon the rising of the King and council, word was immediately sent to St. James's to the Prince of what was determined; and his Highness was persuaded by some about him, to go with all possible expedition to Whitehall, in order to procure an alteration in the resolution taken. The King sent for the Lord Chamberlain, to whom the Prince expressed some discontent, that his Lordship had interfered so much in the affair; who excused himself, alledging, that he had said nothing more for Sir Robert Cary than he knew to be true. After a long debate, the Prince, perceiving the King to be unwilling to alter what had been resolved on by the council, said to the Lord Chamberlain; "I hope it shall not offend you, if I can get Sir Robert Cary himself to accept of the second place." His Lordship answering, that he should be satisfied with

what Sir Robert should consent to, the Prince returned to St. James's much troubled. Sir Robert Cary, being informed of what had passed, went to St. James's, and attended in the privy chamber to know his Highness's pleasure, looking still when the Prince should call to speak with him. He staid two days, and heard nothing from his Highness; who, however, on the third, after supper, called him to the cup-board, and thus began: "You know my brother is to have his household settled; and there are two places about him of equal worth. And because you have served him long, and are nobly born, it is reason you should have your choice. There is the Surveyorship of his lands, which I take to be the best place; and the Mastership of the robes. You have many friends, and by having that office you may do them and yourself good. The other I take to be a place of no such import. I thought good to know of yourself, which you would make choice of." Sir Robert humbly thanked his Highness, that he did him so much honour in advising him to that, which he thought best; but craved pardon, alledging his insufficiency for the post of Surveyor of the lands, which if he should accept, he should wrong his master, and discredit himself. That, if he had skill in any thing, he thought he understood good clothes; and therefore desired to continue

in

in his present post; and that his Highness would please to dispose of the other as he pleased. The Prince was satisfied with Sir Robert Cary's answer, who, within two days after, was sworn Chief Gentleman of the Duke of York's bed-chamber, and Master of the robes; and his competitor was appointed Gentleman of the bed-chamber, Master of the privy purse, and Surveyor General of the lands. Sir Robert soon regained his credit with the Prince, who, notwithstanding the malice of some near him, thought him honest and faithful to the King, and to himself and his brother, and daily increased his good opinion of him. "But the hopes I had of him, *says Sir Robert*^p, did quickly vanish; for, within two years after, it pleased God to call to his mercy that hopeful and brave Prince, who was a terror to his enemies, and a sure anchor to his friends."

About the end of March, or beginning of April, 1611, a double marriage was proposed to the privy council by the Duke of Savoy's Ambassador, between the Prince of Wales and the eldest daughter of Savoy, and between the Prince of Savoy and the Lady Elizabeth^q. Against this overture, which was very coolly received, Sir Walter Raleigh, then prisoner in the Tower, wrote two admirable discourses^r,

^p *Memoirs*, p. 177.

^q *Winwood*, Vol. III.

p. 271—273.

^r *Printed in his Works*, Vol. I, p. 249.

^s *seqq. edit. London, 1751, 8vo.*

in which he has managed the subject with great extent of political reasoning and knowledge of history. In the former of these discourses he gives the Prince the title of *most excellent and hopeful*; the first of which epithets he likewise gives him in the introduction to his *Observations concerning the Royal Navy and Sea-service*, dedicated to his Highness, to whom both the subject and the abilities of the writer would highly recommend such a treatise.

Sir Edward Conway, being encouraged by Mr. Newton to continue his correspondence, as being both agreeable to, and expected by, the Prince, wrote a second letter from the Brill on the 7th of April, 1611, requesting Mr. Newton to keep him alive in the memory of the Prince, till his execution of his large commandments might imprint him better there. This letter will be proper to be preserved intire in the Appendix^v, with others written by Sir Edward Conway, till within about a month of the last sickness of the Prince, for whom he expresses, in every one, the highest admiration of his Highness, and the warmest zeal for his service^w.

Sir James Elphinston, Lord Balmerino, who had been appointed one of the Senators of the college of justice at Edinburgh in 1586, Secretary of state in 1598, and Lord President

^f Ubi supra, p. 249.

^v Harl. MSS. Vol. 7008.

ⁱ Ibid. Vol. II. p. 91.

^w Appendix. No. XIX.

of the session in 1605, having, in April of the preceding year, been created a peer of Scotland, and who, in April 1609, had been condemned to death for writing a letter to Pope Clement VIII. and surreptitiously obtaining the King's hand to it; though his life was given him, and his guilt is still very problematical to those, who know his Majesty's disposition to correspond with, and amuse and cajole at least, the popish party^w; wrote on the 11th of April of 1611, the Year before his death, to the Prince, who had been gracious to him upon former occasions^x, the following letter:

“ Please your sacred Highness,

“ **E**XCUSE the boldness of a poor ere-
 “ mite, by God and his Majesty's Royal
 “ favour risen from death to life. I were most
 “ unworthy of that life I enjoy, if, by the most
 “ humble offer of my poor service, I should
 “ not acknowledge that most princely and
 “ gracious opinion it pleased your Highness
 “ to harbour in your breast of me in all my
 “ trouble, which by God's grace I shall never

^w See above, p. 22.

^x His Lordship, in a Letter to Mr. Newton of Feb. 1607, expresses himself thus: “ How far I acknowledge
 “ myself bound to that peerless Prince for his gracious
 “ and kind estimation of me, I wish I was able to make
 “ known. But my humble and hearty prayers for his
 “ increase in all princely honour and felicity is all I can
 “ do for his Grace.”

“ deceive, still hoping yet to do your High-
 “ nefs some acceptable service: And if, by
 “ course of nature, I be prevented, I shall
 “ train up two in that disposition, which in
 “ some measure, I hope, shall not dislike those
 “ most rare virtues and princely graces, where-
 “ with God has endowed your Highness above
 “ the condition of all the Princes, that has
 “ been, or that the aftwending worlds shall
 “ see.

“ I have likewise directed my cousin Robin
 “ Elphinston, whom I have bred for service
 “ about * Majesty, to enjoy the effects of
 “ your Highness’s promise. I should think
 “ me most unhappy, if your Highness’s in-
 “ violated religion should be broken to me.
 “ Never did any hithertill, who had half a
 “ word of your Highness, find himself fru-
 “ strate; and I know it to be my misfortune,
 “ not your Highness’s fault, if I be disap-
 “ pointed. I will be answerable for his fide-
 “ lity, service, and careful observance. Your
 “ princely endowments will direct the rest.
 “ And for that his natural is so well known
 “ to me, I desire he may be in some
 “ service near your Highness’s person. But
 “ wherever he be under the sunshine of your
 “ countenance, he may think himself most
 “ happy.

If I could do your Highness any better
 “ service than to pray for you, and bring up

" my children in these virtuous exercises,
 " whereby they may be the more able some
 " day to do you service, as none living is
 " more bound to the undeserved favour of the
 " most rare Prince in the world; so should no
 " man surpass me in care and affection to
 " approve myself not unworthy. But since ad-
 " verse fortune has denied the ability of action,
 " my perpetual contemplation shall be, pray-
 " ing God daily to increase your honour,
 " augment your princely graces; and, as he
 " has made you the pattern of the Princes of
 " this age, so in his own time to consummate
 " you the mightiest King, that ever reigned
 " in this great isle.

" Your Highness's most humble

" And obedient Servant,

" Balmerinoth."

The Earl of Salisbury, who was willing to
 oblige the Prince by communicating to him
 any business of importance, having intercepted
 a letter, which gave some ground of suspicion,
 transmitted a copy of it to Mr. Newton for the
 perusal of his Highness, with the following
 letter to that gentleman from himself:

Harl. MSS. Vol. 7002.

" I send

“ I Send you the copy of a letter, directed,
 “ as you may perceive. He, that wrote it,
 “ is not yet in my hands; but he, that received
 “ it, and honestly brought it unto me, hath
 “ been divers times to seek him, and cannot
 “ meet him. What the matter may prove,
 “ I know not; but, were it of less suspicion,
 “ I had rather err in too much caution, than in
 “ the least omission, all circumstances consi-
 “ dered; and therefore, until I have him, I
 “ shall not be at repose, hoping, if it prove
 “ no matter of consequence, that it shall not
 “ draw upon me, by any consequence, any
 “ note of levity or rashness: For I am, by my
 “ place, one of the centinels of the state;
 “ and this may concern the King and state:
 “ And it is the duty of any good centinel,
 “ whomever he meet in the dark, to say,
 “ *qui va là?* Now that I have imparted thus
 “ much, to be delivered where you know I
 “ owe so much duty and affection, I pray you
 “ beseech his Highness to take no notice of it,
 “ until he hear it by his Majesty; for I sent
 “ him news of it but yesterday.

“ And thus, hoping, ere many hours, to
 “ advertise his apprehension, I end, from his
 “ Majesty’s house at Whitehall, this 30th of
 “ April, 1611,

“ Your loving Friend,

“ R. Salisbury.”

“ I sent the original to the King.”

But

But the supposed discovery appearing soon after to be of no consequence, his Lordship wrote this second letter to Mr. Newton^z:

“ I Have examined the party, that wrote, being apprehended by those, that searched for him; and I find it no more than I expected; for it is declared to be a purpose to sack an abbey in Muscovy, and many probabilities of it. As soon as I heard it, I sent to court; & sic finitur fabula.

“ Your loving Friend,

“ R. Salisbury.”

The Earl wrote likewise, the same year, another letter, addressed to Mr. Newton, or, in his absence, to Sir David Murray^a:

“ SIR;

“ THE King being determined to hear the matter between the merchants and mint-men to morrow at nine o'clock, I have thought it fit to advertise his Highness by you; both because I find, that the King (though he send not for him) is willing he should be at it; so many things of civil policy being incident to that deliberation, as are worthy the ears of that excellent mind,

^z Harl. MSS. Vol. 7002.

^a Ibid.

“ moulded (in his own due time) for the
 “ government of kingdoms. The hour is
 “ nine at farthest; and this is the hand of his
 “ humble servant, and

“ Your loving Friend,

“ R. Salisbury.”

Another letter of his Lordship's was written to the Prince himself:

“ May it please your Highness,

“ **A**S soon as I came to London on Wednesday night, I sent for this bearer, who rideth towards you with that, which your service requireth. If I shall not commend his diligence, I shall do him wrong: if I shall say, that I have done any more than my duty, or half as much as the tenth part of my affection would afford you (in whom God knows how much my soul delighteth) I shall do notorious wrong to

“ Your humblest and

“ Most affectionate Servant,

At Kenfington,
 this 18th. “ R. Salisbury.”

The Prince, whose attention to the navy of the kingdom was suitable to the importance of the object, being now resolved to view in person

person the ships and their store-houses, sent, on the 11th of April, 1611, a message to Mr. Pett, to acquaint him of his intention of making a private journey to Chatham. His Highness accordingly, on Monday morning at five, the 6th of May, took barge at Whitehall, accompanied by the Earls of Shrewsbury, Arundel, and Mar, Sir Thomas Chaloner, Sir Oliver Cromwell, Sir Robert Mansel, and some others of his household servants. About nine he came on board a small merchant-ship provided for his refreshment at Tilbury Hope. Thence he sailed to Queenborough, and landed at Chatham a little before six at night; and thence walked on foot to the house of Mr. Lediard, Clerk of the check, where supper was provided for him and his train.

On Tuesday morning his Highness went on board his own ship *the Prince*, and so from ship to ship in the lower reach; taking particular private information from Sir Robert Mansel and Mr. Pett (no other persons being suffered to come near) of the state and condition of each several ship in his own table-book. He then landed, and went to dinner, when he shewed himself very chearful; fifteen great brass chambers being placed in the garden, and fired when his Highness drank any healths, they being attended by Mr. John Reynolds, Gunner of the Prince's ship, who carefully performed his charge.

After dinner, the Prince proceeded in viewing all the ships and pinnaces in the upper reach, going on board every one of them, and noting down the observations made upon them, as he had done in the morning.

On Wednesday, after breakfast, he took his barges, and went up to Stroud by water; all the ships of both reaches giving a Royal farewell with their ordnance, which he commanded to be shot over his barge, notwithstanding all the persuasions to the contrary. He landed at Stroud, where his coaches attended him; and thence went to Gravesend, where he was received by the magistrates with all their small shot and the ordnance of the block houses^b.

The clandestine marriage of Lady Arbel-la Stewart, about the month of July, 1610^c, with Mr. William Seymour, afterward Earl and Marquis of Hertford, and restored, in April, 1660, to the dukedom of Somerset, having raised the jealousy of the King^d, which proved the source of the misfortunes, under which she laboured till her death in September, 1615,

^b MS. Life of Mr. Phineas Pett, p. 62. ^c Win-wood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 201. ^d The Lady was his Majesty's cousin german; and Mr. Seymour was grandson of Edward Earl of Hertford by his wife the Lady Catharine Grey, daughter and heir of Henry Duke of Suffolk by Lady Frances his wife, eldest daughter and co-heir to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, by Mary the French Queen, youngest daughter of King Henry VII.

in the Tower, where she had been above four years imprisoned; the Prince could not but be affected with concern for so near a relation, and one whom he had so highly esteemed. But his pity for her distress was afterwards mixed with some resentment for her attempt, in June, 1611, to make her escape from the house at Highgate, where she was confined, and to go abroad with Mr. Seymour. This design gave his Highness, as well as the King, strong apprehensions of dangers, that might have followed the success of it; those apprehensions being much heightened by the suggestions of the Scottish party at court, though thought by the English not well grounded^e.

His Highness, who had an high esteem for that great general, Count Maurice de Nassau, afterwards, on the death of his elder brother Philip, in February, 1617-18, Prince of Orange, endeavoured to give him some testimony of his friendship during the course of the summer of this year 1611; but he met with some difficulty in effecting what he intended^f. This seems to be the procuring the garter for the Count, which was at last obtained for him.

The Prince having, about July or August, sent a present, accompanied with a letter, to the young King Lewis XIII. of France, Sir Thomas Edmondes did not fail, in discharge of his duty

^e Winwood, *Vol. III. p. 281.* ^f See Sir Edward Conway's letter of July 7, 1611, in the Appendix.

to his Highness, to assist the bearer, (who was, probably, *Monf. St. Anthoine*) in the delivering of them, and to make known to that King, and the Queen dowager his mother, his Highness's desire to entertain all occasions, which might give them proof of his willingness to shew his affection towards them. This was well received by their Majesties, who promised on their part to make due requital to the Prince: "And, as, *says Sir Thomas, in his letter to him from Paris of the 29th of August, 1611*^s, the nature of your Highness's present was very acceptable to the King, for the pleasure he taketh in such recreations; so the exercising of these courtesies doth breed very good impressions for the entertaining of the kind amity of these princes, which deserveth to be so much the more tenderly nourished; for that I assure your Highness faithfully, there is not any court in Christendom, where your Highness's name is more glorious, than in this of France; and where they wish more earnestly to have a stricter interest in your affections by a nearer conjunction with your Highness's person." He concludes with remarking, that he had forborn, since his arrival in France, to give the Prince advice of the occurrences of those parts, be-

^s MS. State Papers of Sir Thomas Edmondcs, Vol. VII. p. 411. in the possession of the Right Hon. Philip Lord Viscount Royston.

cause he knew, that his Highness was made acquainted by the Lord Treasurer with the letters written by Sir Thomas to his Lordship.

Sir Thomas Somerset, third son of Edward Earl of Worcester, and afterwards created Viscount of Cassel in Ireland, being not long after requested by Sir Thomas Edmondcs to deliver a message to him for the Prince, wrote to Sir Thomas an account of the success from Whitehall on the 8th of November, 1611^b. A “ I
 “ have, *says he*, according to your desire, pre-
 “ sented your service to the Prince, who ac-
 “ cepts your remembrance so kindly in this
 “ discourse, which I have made unto him, as
 “ he seemeth to desire nothing more than
 “ that, which you have, by my mouth, made
 “ offer to him. He well understands the state
 “ you live in, and allows of your course.
 “ If words, with protestations, may be be-
 “ lieved, then you are happy; and I, your
 “ friend and servant, well pleased to have the
 “ honour to let you know it from his own
 “ mouth. And, lest I should not deliver it
 “ truly, he gave it me in writing to write to
 “ you. And these were his commandments,
 “ that I should say: For the offer you made
 “ him by me, he thanks you, and would be
 “ very glad to see the accomplishing of it. And
 “ concerning your not writing to him of the

^b MS. State Papers of Sir Thomas Edmondcs, *Vol. VIII.*

p. 494.

" businesse there; he bids me tell you, that;
 " seeing by this offer he finds, it hath not sa-
 " voured of any want of affection to do him
 " service, but out of a fear of evil usage, if it
 " should have been known; he will not think
 " the worse of you for it. And, to the end
 " he do nothing to your prejudice, whom he
 " finds so willing to serve him, he wills me
 " to demand of you, whether he shall make
 " the King acquainted with this motion: And
 " he saith, if he do, he will not, unless you
 " like it, let him know it comes from you:
 " and, if he do, he will ever have care of your
 " safety; and all this he warrants me to tell
 " you as from himself. Now in the margin
 " was written, as it seems to me, in another
 " hand, to wish you, as from myself, to write
 " to him, how affairs go there. You know the
 " author of it, and you know best what you
 " have to do. You may see how willing he is
 " to have this business effected. Only I know
 " how well pleased he was to hear of the hope
 " of it. I confess, I wished him to work by
 " some second means, that it might be made
 " known to you from the Treasurer, in respect
 " I did not hold my letter sufficient in a matter
 " of this consequence; and therefore got him
 " to set his will down in writing. I would
 " wish you to make all possible speed you can
 " to send an answer of this letter; and I be-
 " ing, at this time, in haste to get it sent away,

"makes me I do not now meddle with other
 "matters, though I find this place not better
 "than I expected."

11 Sir Robert Carr or Ker, Gentleman of the
 Privy Chamber in ordinary to the Prince, as
 he was afterwards of the Bed Chamber to the
 Kings James I. and Charles I. the latter of
 whom created him Earl of Ancram in June
 1633, being absent from his Highness's service
 in Scotland, where he was employed about
 some affair by the King, wrote a letter from
 Ancram on the 27th of October 1611^e to
 Mr. Newton.

"IT was your pleasure, *says he*, that I
 "should trouble you in this form. There-
 "fore I am bold to desire the continuance of
 "your good will to me; and that you will be
 "an instrument to keep me in my master's
 "favour now in my absence; especially that
 "no detractor have power to beget an ill
 "opinion of me for discharge of the service
 "the King has been pleased to put in my
 "hands. It may be, that some, because
 "their friends or friends servants must smart
 "for their faults, will accuse me of rigour,
 "and hunting after glory rather nor justice.
 "If it please his Highness to keep an ear
 "to me at my upcoming, I shall render
 "an account of every point, that can be

Harl. MSS. Vol. 7008.

"laid

“ laid to my charge: and in the mean time
“ that out of his gracious favour he will be
“ pleased to secure me against any, that shall
“ hinder my good about the King’s Majesty,
“ and allow any favour the King will be-
“ stow upon me; since I am one of the first
“ of his Highness’s servants, that his Majesty
“ has employed in this kingdom, as I shall
“ press to be worthy of his princely favour,
“ and of the place I have about him, which
“ I reckon more nor any thing in this world.
“ In regarding me thus, you shall oblige me to
“ remain your loving friend to serve you.”

The curiosity, which the Prince had to know the state of affairs in foreign countries, induced his Secretary Mr. Newton, to seek out for all correspondents likely to gratify his Highness in that point. For this reason he engaged Mr. Thomas Lorkin, a Clergyman, who was going to travel with Mr. Thomas Puckering, only son of Sir John Puckering, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, one of whose daughters was married to Mr. Newton, to write to him the occurrences of France. Mr. Lorkin, who was afterwards Secretary to the Embassy at Paris in the latter end of the reign of King James, and beginning of that of King Charles I. wrote several letters to Mr. Newton, during his stay at Paris for about six months: And before he left that city procured a very knowing person, where

whose real or assumed name, in his letters still extant among the Harleian MSS. was Forboyst, to send weekly intelligence to Mr. Newton, for which he was rewarded with a pension, probably from the Prince, of eighty pounds a year paid quarterly^b.

Sir Robert Sherley, second son of Sir Tho. Sherley of Wistneston or Wiston in Suffex, and younger brother of Sir Anthony Sherley, famous for voyages and adventures^h, being now in England, whither he came as Ambassador from the Emperor of Persia, who had married his niece to himⁱ, received such marks of favour from the Prince, that he was encouraged to request his Highness, in a letter dated at London, November 4, 1611^k, to do him the honour of being Godfather to his newborn son.

“ Most renowned Prince,

“ **T**HE great honours and favours it hath
 “ pleased your Highness to use towards
 “ me, hath emboldened me to write these few
 “ lines, which shall be to beseech your High-

^b Mr. Lorkin's letter of Feb. 10, 1611-12. N. S. Harl. MSS. Vol. 7002.

^h See Hakluyt's *Voyages*, Vol. III. and Purchas's *Pilgrims*, Vol. II.

ⁱ Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. Col. 552.

^k Harl. MSS. Vol. 7008. This letter shews the falsity of a passage in Camden's *Annals of King James*, p. 8. where he says, that Sir Robert Sherley did not return to England June 1612.

"ness to Christen a son, which God hath
 "given me. Your Highness in this shall
 "make your servant happy, whose whole long-
 "ing is to do your Highness some signalated
 "service, worthy to be esteemed in your
 "princely breast. I have not the pen of Cicero,
 "yet want I not means to found your High-
 "ness's worthy praises into the ears of foreign
 "nations and mighty Princes: And I assure
 "myself your high-born spirit thirsts after
 "fame, the period of great Princes ambitions;
 "and farther I will ever be your Highness's
 "most humble and observant servant."

The Prince complied with Sir Robert's re-
 quest, and gave the child his own name
 Henry, the Queen being God-mother^l. Sir
 Robert staid in England till about January
 1612-13, when he departed with his Persian
 lady, leaving their little son behind them, and
 bequeathing him to the favour and care of
 the Queen^m.

The King's apology for the oath of alle-
 giance having given occasion to several books
 from the Popish party, and among others to
 an answer to it by Martin Becanus a Jesuit,
 printed at Mentz in 1610, Dr. William Tooker
 Dean of Litchfield, known before by his *Cha-
 risma sive donum Sanitatis*, printed in 1597, in
 proof of the power of healing in our Kings and

General Chronicle, p. 1003.

Winswood,

Vol. III. p. 428.

Queens,

Queens, published a replyⁿ to Becanus this year 1611, with a dedication to the Prince, in which he stiles him the *Mecænas of all the learned*, and speaks of him in terms of as high admiration, as he does of severity against the Jesuits, whom he describes as a society of sanguinary incendiaries. And about the same time his Highness had another piece addressed to him, written against Becanus, and printed at Oppenheim^o, in the Lower Palatinate.

Under this Year 1611, the elegant Latin historian of Great Britain from 1572 to 1628, Robert Johnston^p, places a story; which, tho' unsupported by any authority but his own, and improbable in itself, must not be omitted here. The Prince, according to this writer, requested the King, that he might be appointed to preside in the council^q. This demand was second-

ⁿ Printed at London in 8vo, under this title, *Duellum, sive singulare Certamen cum Martino Becano Jesuitâ futiliter refutante apologium & monitoriam præfationem ad Imperatorem, Reges, & principes, & quædam orthodoxa dogmata serenissimi ac pientissimi Jacobi Regis Magnæ Britanniarum.*

^o In 1611, in 8vo, and intitled, *Becano-baculus Salcelebrigiensis; vel Refutatio Becanici Examinis Plogæ Regiæ quoad orthodoxam Protestantum Doctrinam, & serenissimi Regis Angliæ Primatum Ecclesiæ Regium.*

^p *Historia Rerum Britannicarum. L. XV. p. 468, 469.*

^q The Historian's Words are p. 468. *Per hos dies petere institit à patre Henricus Princeps, ut, decreto Senatus, Consilio præsideret, ac consentes Consiliarios interrogaret, uti dictum est. Quo tempore Roffensis petitionem Principis adjuvit,*

ed by the King's favourite Car, Viscount Rochester, who urged his Majesty to lay his son's petition before the council. But the Earl of Salisbury, jealous of the growing power of Rochester, and a thorough master of artifice and dissimulation, used all his efforts, to defeat whatever measures were proposed by his rival: and being asked soon after his opinion upon this point, whether it was for the public interest, that the Prince should preside in the council, answered, that he thought it dangerous to divide the government, and to invest the son with the authority of the father. Many others of the Privy Council having delivered their opinions on the same question, that of the Earl of Salisbury was adopted by the Majority. But his Lordship soon took an opportunity, in a secret conference with the Prince, to lament his own situation, and to persuade his Highness, that Lord Rochester had the only influence in the palace, and privately counteracted all his designs. The Prince, on his part, resented the denial of his request, and his exclusion from public business. It was not long before Lord Rochester discovered the Earl of Salisbury's practice against him with the Prince;

oravitque Regem perferre desideria filii ad Senatum, adhibitis principibus consiliariis. It is not easy to determine what Mr. Johnson means here by *Senatus*, which can scarce be applied to the Parliament, for which he generally uses the word *Comitia*; and in fact no Parliament met from February 9, 1610-11, to April 5, 1614. It is most probable, that he meant by *Senatus* only the Privy Council.

to whom he therefore went to clear himself. But his Highness turned from him with great indignation, and would not hear his justification. The Queen likewise, highly displeas'd with the Viscount, refus'd to see him, and sought all means of lessening his power. This forwardness imputed to the Prince by the historian, in endeavouring to intrude himself into the management of public affairs, is not at all suitable to the character of his Highness, or to any other accounts, which we have of him; nor ought it to be believed upon the credit of a writer, who cites no authority for it, nor indeed for scarce any other assertions in his history, how extraordinary soever they appear to be; and who frequently ventures to enlarge upon subjects, which it was impossible for him to have known; as particularly L. VIII. p. 265. in his account of Gowry's conspiracy, where he relates a supposed conversation between that Earl and his brother; whereas in all probability no such interview then happened; and, if it had, neither Johnston nor any other person could have known the purpose of it, or the resolutions then taken.

However

* Note of Sir David Dalrymple, Bart. on the *Discourse of the Conspiracy attempted by John Earl of Gowry*, p. 24. being the specimen of a work intitled *Historical Collections concerning John Ruthven, Earl of Gowry, and his brother Alexander Ruthven, who were killed at Perth on the 8th of Aug. 1600.* These collections, which were intended for

the use of the Privy Council.

However it is not much to be doubted, that the Prince had no great esteem for Lord Rochester, whose rise to the power of a favourite and a minister he so much disliked, if we may believe a satirical writer of *Memoirs*¹; that he was reported either to have struck his Lordship on the back with a racket, or very hardly forborne it. And another historian, not much less satirical, Arthur Wilson², mentions the bickerings betwixt the Prince and the Viscount; and that Sir James Elphinston observing his Highness one day to be discontented with the Viscount, offered to kill him; for which the Prince reprov'd him, and said, that if there were cause, he would do it himself. But to wave such very suspicious authorities, it will be sufficient, in order to judge of his Highness's opinion of the Viscount, and his administration at the very height of it, to hear what himself says in a letter to Sir Thomas Edmondson of the 10th of September 1612, to be cited at length in the course of this life: "As matters go now here, I will deal in no business of importance for some respects."

the illustration of that obscure passage of the Scottish history, and were at first designed to have been published by themselves, have been since communicated by the very learned collector to the Rev. Dr. Will. Robertson, who has made use of them in the second volume of his excellent *History of Scotland*.

¹ Francis Osborne's Traditional Memoirs on King James, §. 38. p. 530. 7th edit. 1673.

² Life and reign of King James I. p. 63. Edit. Lond. 1653, Fol.

About the middle of January 1611-12, the Prince commanded all the King's Master-shipwrights to attend him about a proposition made by Mr. William Burrell for building ships in Ireland". The proposal was in these terms":

" A project of saving henceforward well
 " nigh half the charge his Majesty hath of late
 " been at in the new-building of his ships,
 " and that without danger either of an ill
 " mould, or of unsound materials, or of an
 " unsubstantial frame, and without more
 " sparing payments out of the Exchequer,
 " than since this Lord Treasurer's time hath
 " been accustomed in works of the same na-
 " ture: together with an offer of serving into
 " the office plank and timber of extraordi-
 " nary good condition, whereby his Majesty's
 " woods may be preserved.

" First, that he will undertake to build any
 " ship from 100 tun to 600 tun, with two
 " decks and a half, according to the usual ser-
 " vice of his Majesty's ships of war, after the
 " rate of five pounds per tun for every tun
 " the said ship shall contain.

" Secondly, that he will build any ship from
 " 600 tun to 1000 tun, with three whole
 " decks fore and aft (if it shall be thought
 " fit) after the rate of seven pounds per tun
 " for every tun she contains.

* MS. Life of Mr. Pett, p. 66.

Vol. 7009. fol. 42.

▼ Harl. MSS.

“ Thirdly, touching the substantialness of
 “ the work, and soundness of the materials to
 “ be employed upon it, he is contented to per-
 “ form it according to such covenants, as shall
 “ be agreed upon between him and the officers
 “ of the navy, with the advice of his Majesty’s
 “ shipwrights, and that agreement to be re-
 “ ferred to the consideration of your Highness
 “ before any proceeding therein.

“ Fourthly, for the mould of the ship, in
 “ respect of his art, he will deliver your High-
 “ ness a mould of his own draught, and build
 “ the same, according thereunto, or any altera-
 “ tion, that your Highness shall think fit, by
 “ what advisement you please to take.

“ Fifthly, if it be required, that he shall
 “ perform the painting, carving, and joiners
 “ work belonging unto her (which is yet no
 “ part of her hull) he will undertake that also
 “ at the rate of 10 s. per tun more.

“ Sixthly, for all manner of masts, yards,
 “ boats, anchors, cables, rigging, powder,
 “ shot, and ordnance, &c. which belong not
 “ to the building of the said ship, he will
 “ also transport the same at his own charge
 “ from the place, where they shall be delivered
 “ unto him, and dispose of them, and rigg
 “ her at his own charge also.

“ Seventhly, he will bring into Chatham in
 “ the said ship such quantity of four inch
 “ and three inch plank square, without shells,

“ of

“ of 30 feet and upwards in length, and of
 “ special knees and timber for riders, stems,
 “ fashion pieces, &c. hewed and squared both
 “ ends to a bigness, and fit for the present
 “ service they are assigned unto, the plank
 “ at the rate of 46 s. per load, and the knees
 “ and timber at 42 s. per load; by which ser-
 “ vice all forts of timber in this kingdom may
 “ be preserved, till his Majesty please to forbear
 “ to make use of this offer, to be performed
 “ out of his realm of Ireland.

“ Eighthly, to the end the frame may be
 “ built according to the mould agreed upon,
 “ your Highness shall appoint any master-
 “ shipwright to be there, to oversee his works,
 “ so it be at his Majesty's charge.

“ Ninthly, that he will bring the said ship
 “ to her moorings at Chatham at his own
 “ charge, allowing 80 men wages and victuals
 “ to transport a ship of 600 tuns, and 130
 “ men to a ship of 1000 tons; and so propor-
 “ tionably to every ship of any other burthen.

“ Lastly, he will undertake to build a ship
 “ of 600 tuns, and to launch her ready to be
 “ transported by Midsummer come twelve
 “ months, if he be agreed withall before
 “ Christmas next, to the end he may pre-
 “ sently make his provision.”

The undertaker's demands.

“ First, to the end, that the rules to know,
 “ that the burthen of the ship may be certain,

“ he desires the tunnage may be measured and
 “ allowed, according to the usual rate of the
 “ length, breadth, and draught in water (which
 “ is accounted half the ship’s breadth) and ac-
 “ cording to which his Majesty’s master-ship-
 “ wrights do rate all the ships, for which his
 “ Majesty pays tunnage-money.

“ Secondly, that his Majesty shall appoint a
 “ Captain, Master-Gunner, and Boatswain, all
 “ at his own charge, to take care of the ship
 “ and of all her provisions committed to their
 “ charge: and that though he be at the sole
 “ charge of the transporting the said ship; yet
 “ his Majesty to bear the adventure of her at
 “ sea, after she is manned and victualled by
 “ him as aforesaid.

“ Thirdly, that in respect he is at the sole
 “ charge of transporting the said ship, and
 “ that he means to bring in her such special
 “ timber and planks, as his Majesty cannot be
 “ furnished withall elsewhere, he will be
 “ pleased to grant him the bringing of that stuff
 “ in her, without paying any freight, and
 “ nothing to be abated of his price in that re-
 “ spect.

“ Fourthly, that he may have his Majesty’s
 “ commission to press all sorts of men for
 “ that purpose, at his Majesty’s usual rates,
 “ paying their transportation thither and back:
 “ as also to take up all sorts of timber out of
 “ any woods, where it is most convenient,
 “ paying

“ paying ready money, according to the ap-
 “ praisement of four indifferent men, two
 “ for the King, and two for the subject: as
 “ also to make any river navigable for barges
 “ at his own charge to transport the timber,
 “ and for land carriage through any man’s
 “ grounds (leaving it as he found it) without
 “ interruption.

“ Fifthly, that his Majesty, for every such
 “ ship of 600 tuns, will be pleased to grant
 “ him five hundred pounds imprest at the
 “ conclusion of the bargain: and from time to
 “ time 500 l. a quarter, till the whole sum
 “ be paid, with licence to transport the same,
 “ as he hath occasion to use it.”

The Earl of Nottingham, then Lord High
 Admiral, having considered this proposal, wrote
 his opinion of it as follows:

“ **I**N my judgment this is a very good pro-
 “ ject, and fit to be entertained both for
 “ your Majesty’s profit and the good of your
 “ kingdom; for it will save money in your
 “ treasury, and preserve the woods of this
 “ Kingdom, and chiefly your Majesty’s own,
 “ which are much wasted. Yet I think fit to
 “ add one article to this project, that there
 “ may be good bonds taken for the perfor-
 “ mance of this project, lest in the expecta-
 “ tion and trust in this your Majesty be not
 “ disappointed. There is no doubt but your

“ Majesty’s principal shipwrights will make
 “ some objections to this: but that is in re-
 “ spect of themselves, and not touching to
 “ the principal; so for my part it should be no
 “ object to me.”

But the opinion, which the shipwrights gave, was more candid than the Lord Admiral seemed to expect. It was addressed to the Prince^r:

May it please your Highness,

“ ACCORDING to your Highness’s
 “ commandment, we have with our best
 “ judgments perused this project in each sever-
 “ ral point and article; and in our opinion do
 “ approve it to be the best, most profitable and
 “ honest offer, that ever was propounded to
 “ the saving his Majesty’s charge in the navy,
 “ ease of the subject in point of carriage, pre-
 “ serving the materials of such natures in this
 “ kingdom, and furnishing the yards with
 “ store of principal provisions.

“ Touching his demand for building of a
 “ ship of 600 tuns in burden, besides tunnage,
 “ which with carving, joiners work, and painting
 “ he offers to perform for 3300l. his Majesty
 “ cannot have the like ship built here under
 “ 7000l. whereby above half the charge is
 “ saved.

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7009.

“ There

" There can be no colour or shadow of ill
 " to his Majesty's service in this; since first for
 " the point of the mould, he desires to have
 " his draughts perused and censured by the
 " best advice your Highness shall be pleased
 " to call unto you, and altered as your High-
 " ness will direct. And for the point of work-
 " manship, he is desirous to have a master
 " shipwright his overseer, such as you shall
 " hold fit to appoint; wherein he sheweth his
 " honest intent to perform his covenants.

" It then resteth your Highness will be
 " pleased, not only to accept of this worthy
 " offer, tending so greatly to the advancement
 " of his Majesty's service, and your High-
 " ness's honour; but to have the bargain with
 " good advice presently concluded.

" For that we take the offer of timber and
 " plank to be a distinct point from the rest,
 " please it your Highness to receive our an-
 " swer hereunto by itself.

" Whereas the undertaker intendeth to de-
 " liver no greater quantity of timber and
 " plank into his Majesty's stores, than can be
 " transported in the ship he is to build, your
 " Highness shall perform a great work to per-
 " suade this undertaker to deliver yearly some
 " convenient quantity of principal plank and
 " timber at such rates and prices, as he de-
 " mandeth in the seventh article.

" Matthew Baker. W. Bright. Phineas Pett."

Mr. Pett was appointed to go to Ireland to see Mr. Burrell's performance of his contract; and every master-shipwright brought in plans, in order that the Prince might make choice of such proportions and kinds of moulds, as were fittest for service^a.

His Highness being convinced of how much importance the discovery of a North-West passage, formerly attempted in vain, would be, and being now resolved to employ for that purpose Captain Thomas Button, who had been employed in 1601, at the siege of Kinsale in Ireland², and was now in the Prince's service, an able seaman, and eminent in other branches of knowledge³; Mr. Pett was ordered to assist that Captain in the choice of a proper ship for the undertaking. The Captain accordingly set sail in April 1612^b with two vessels, one called *the Resolution*, in which he sailed himself, and the other *the Discovery*, commanded by Capt. Ingram; being both victualled for eighteen months^c. They wintered on board the ships, and did not return till after the Prince's death, which prevented Capt. Button from making another voyage for the purpose of the discovery^d. But from the

^a MS. Life of Mr. Pett, p. 66.

² *Pacata Hibernia, or an History of the late wars in Ireland*, p. 204. Edit. London, 1633, fol.

³ *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, by Henry Ellis, Gent. p. 34. Edit. London, 1748. 8vo.

^b MS. Life of Mr. Pett, p. 66. ^c Ellis, p. 34. ^d Idem. p. 48,

observations, which he made, especially of the tides, he came home perfectly satisfied, that a North-West passage might be found; and he told Mr. Briggs, the famous Professor of Geometry at Gresham college, that he had convinced King James of the truth of his opinion^e. He was afterwards knighted for his services rendered to the public, and died of a fever in April, 1634^f.

Among the Prince's papers is another relating to shipping, dated Oct. 6, 1611^g, which deserves a place here, as an addition to the naval history of the last age:

“ An estimate of the charge of ten of his Majesty's ships, viz. the Repulse, Guardland, Wastespight, Assurance, Mary-Rose, Red-Lion, Dreadnought, Speedwell, Antelope, and Adventure, together with ten transporters of victuals and munition, to be employed by the space of one whole year, containing thirteen months and a day.

Men.

“ Repulse	— —	350
“ Guardland	—	300
“ Wastespight	—	300
“ Assurance	— —	250
“ Mary-Rose	—	250
Carried over		<u>1450</u>

^e Idem. p. 47.
 Vol. 7009.

^f Letters and Dispatches of Thomas Earl of Strafforde, Vol. I. p. 242.

^g Harl. MSS.

Men.

Brought over	—	—	450
“ Red Lion	—	—	250
“ Dreadnought	—	—	200
“ Speedwell	—	—	200
“ Antelope	—	—	60
“ Adventure	—	—	20
“ 10 Transporters	—	—	400
			<u>2780</u>
“ For the sea-wages of	2780	l.	s. d.
“ men to serve in the said ten			
“ ships above-written, and in			
“ the ten transporters, to help			
“ to carry their victuals and			
“ ammunition, &c. by the			
“ space of one whole year, con-			
“ taining thirteen months and			
“ a day, at the rate of 14s.			
“ each man <i>per mensem</i> , the			
“ sum of	—	—	2528
“ For the prest, conduct, and			
“ pressing charges of 1000 men			
“ in the remote shires of Eng-			
“ land, of 900 men in the			
“ shires adjoining, and of 600			
“ men about London, at the			
“ rate of 6s. 4d. one with an-			
“ other	—	—	796
			<u>134</u>
Carried over			26094
			134
			<u>4</u>

Brought

Brought

HENRY PRINCE OF WALES. 267

	l.	s.	d.	
Brought over	26094	13	4	
“ For grounding, graving, and putting into serviceable order the said ten ships, by estimation	400	0	0	
“ For sail, canvas, flags, ensigns, and all manner of stores, by the like estimation	4355	0	0	
“ For great anchors, masts, yards, pinnaces, long-boats, &c. by like estimation	10000	0	0	
{	For conduct in discharge to 1900 of the said prest men at 5s. per man, one with another	475	0	0
	For bulk-heads, ballast, &c. for the ten transporters, at 15l. one with another	150	0	0
	For tunnage of the said ten transporters, being, by estimation, 200 tun a-piece, in all 2000 tun, at 2s. each tun per mens-	2600	0	0
	sem, the sum of	2600	0	0
“ For travelling charges to pay the said ships at their returns, and for divers other charges incident thereunto, the sum of	80	0	0	
Carried over	55154	13	4	

Brought

		l.	s.	d.
	Brought over	—	35	54 13 4
" Victualler.	{ More for the victuals of the abovesaid 2780 men, serving in the said ships and transporters, with all other charges incident, the sum of	—	297	14 6 8
"	And more for all manner			
"	of powder, shot, matches,			
"	&c. belonging to the whole			
"	fleet, with like charges inci-			
"	dent, by estimation, the sum			
"	of	—	3633	6 8
			68502	6 8

The Prince joined to this attention to the interests of the naval force of the kingdom the strictest application to his own improvement in military exercises and the whole theory of war. He practised tilting, charging on horseback with pistols, &c. He delighted to converse with men of skill and experience in war, both of his own country and foreigners, concerning every part of their profession; and entertained in his house a Dutch captain, who was an engineer, and had been recommended to him by Count Maurice. He caused new pieces of ordnance to be made, with which he learned to shoot level at a mark. He was no less careful to furnish himself with great horses of the best breed,

breed, which he imported from all countries; and in this respect no Princes in Europe exceeded him^g.

Sir Thomas Edmondès having sent to Sir Thomas Somerset a letter to be delivered to the Prince, the latter acquainted him in a letter from London of the 12th of March, 1611-12^h, that his Highness seemed to take it well; “and willed me, *says he*, to let you know for answer, that he will be careful of that business you wrote of: And, if a man may believe his words, you shall not, if it be in his power to help you, be a man forgotten. Better words of a man he cannot speak than you have; and therefore I would wish you to take occasion sometimes to write to himself. Your letters to me I have also presented him with; and he doth protest, that you had very good reason to do as you did; and he assures me he is very well satisfied.”

Sir Thomas Edmondès had indeed been very cautious of writing to the Prince, to avoid giving jealousy to the Lord Treasurer Salisbury, whose health was now so much impaired, that it was thought, that he would not live long, as he did not, dying on the 24th of May following. This caution of Sir Thomas is evident from a letter of his to Mr. Newton, dated at Paris, 13th March, 1611-12ⁱ, where-

^g Cornwallis, p. 20—22.

^h MS. State Papers of Sir Thomas Edmondès, Vol. VII, p. 487. ⁱ Harl. MSS. Vol. 7002.

in, after acknowledging great obligations to
 him, he adds: " I should esteem myself also
 " infinitely happy, if, by any means of service,
 " I might make myself capable of deserving
 " his Highness's gracious favour, according
 " to your well-wishings to me: And I should
 " acknowledge it as a singular obligation from
 " you, that you would let me know, that
 " there were any thing in particular, which
 " his Highness would command me for his
 " service. But I hope his Highness will make
 " no ill interpretation of me for having for-
 " borne to give him a continual relation of
 " the occurrences of these parts, whereof I
 " thought there was no need; for that I pre-
 " sume, that his Highness is therein better
 " satisfied by the full communication, which
 " he receiveth of my letters to my Lord Trea-
 " surer: And I must confess unto you, that
 " loving, as I do, to walk in an upright course,
 " and to carry my actions free from exception,
 " I have been fearful to give cause of discon-
 " tentment to my Lord Treasurer, by antici-
 " pating by my private letters the advertise-
 " ments, which his Highness was to receive
 " from my Lord Treasurer, wherein howsoe-
 " ver I might have valued myself by an offi-
 " ciousness towards his Highness, yet not-
 " withstanding the service would not have
 " been so great towards him to have been
 " served by such a private means, as the wrong
 " would

“ would have been great unto my Lord Trea-
 “ surer, to have diverted the thanks from him,
 “ who is the great and ordinary organ for the
 “ conveyance of such matters: The which
 “ considerations being well weighed, I hope
 “ I shall deserve to be the better justified by
 “ his Highness, for being careful to acquit
 “ myself regularly in the discharge of my duty.
 “ But if there shall fall out any thing in parti-
 “ cular, which may concern his Highness’s
 “ service, I will make it appear (or otherwise
 “ I will not hold myself worthy of his High-
 “ ness’s favour) that I give his Highness a
 “ faithful account of the diligent and zealous
 “ performance of my duty therein. And thus
 “ much I pray you to do me the favour to
 “ represent unto his Highness on my behalf,
 “ whereby you shall much increase my obli-
 “ gation to you. And so I commit you to the
 “ protection of God.

“ I pray you to inform his Highness, that
 “ it will be yet this fortnight before the Duke
 “ of Bouillon take his journey from hence for
 “ England.”

Sigismund III. King of Poland, who had
 been deposed from the crown of Sweden in
 1600, on account of his attachment to the
 Roman catholic religion, and his absence from
 that kingdom, had, about this time, made
 great preparations of war, and was expected
 to attack the young King of Sweden, Gusta-

us Adolphus^k, so illustrious afterwards for his great exploits and victories in Germany, but then in double danger, from Denmark as well as Poland. This situation of affairs in the North of Europe appeared to Sir Edward Conway so critical a one for the interests both of Protestantism and of Great Britain, that he wrote from the Brill to Mr. Newton on the 19th of March, 1611-12^l, that the Prince could not do any act more suitable to his virtues, more honourable to the King, and more for the safety of the Reformed churches, and piety of his own glorious state, than to digest this affair well by himself, and his private council, and the faithful council of the state; and then to move his Royal father to mediate a reconciliation between the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden; at least such a disposition of arms, as Sweden might wholly attend its defence against Poland.

The Prince having succeeded in his application for the Garter for Count Maurice, Sir Edward Conway was ordered by his Highness to wait on that occasion upon the Count, who was then at Arnheim; and having dispatched this commission, wrote to the Prince, in the beginning of April, 1612, an account of his discourse with Maurice; which letter I have not been able to procure. But that, which he

^k He succeeded his father, Charles IX. in 1611. ^l See the Appendix, No. XIX.

wrote at the same time to Mr. Newton^m, may be seen in the Appendixⁿ. In another letter of the 3d of May, 1612, from the Brill^o, Sir Edward informed Mr. Newton, that Count Maurice was wholly assured, that the honour of the garter offered to him arose originally from the Prince; for which the Count promised ever to be his faithful servant, and to acknowledge his obligation under his own hand. In the same letter Sir Edward expresses his wish, that his Highness would declare his resolution not to marry but with one of the Reformed religion: “ a point, *says he*, that
 “ would so bind and assure all the Protestants
 “ of Christendom to his Majesty and his
 “ Highness, as would ruin the project of the
 “ pretended monarchy, and make such steps,
 “ and open such ways, as all, that is just and
 “ lawful for his Majesty or his Highness to
 “ pretend to amongst his neighbours, would
 “ offer itself, and be subject to them in few
 “ years.”

Mr. James Usher, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, but still more distinguished by his universal learning, his piety, and his moderation, came over about this time from Dublin, where he was then Provost of the college, to England. By him Sir Oliver St. John, who was in 1616 made

^m From the Brill on the 8th of April, 1612, O. S.
ⁿ No. XIX.

• Ibid.

Lord Deputy of Ireland, and at last created Viscount Grandison, sent a letter to Mr. Newton, dated at Dublin on the 3d of May, 1612^p, wherein he stiles Mr. Usher *a rare ornament of that kingdom*; and says, that he had so well deserved of all men there, and of himself in particular, for his extraordinary learning and good parts, that he could not but recommend him to Mr. Newton's favour; "and in those occasions, *adds he*, which he shall have there (which, I assure myself, tend to his better encouragement in his great labours here among a froward and superstitious people) you will be pleased to grace him, as you find him worthy, to make him known to his excellent Highness; particularly that you will be pleased to procure him that grace, that he may preach before his Highness. And when you shall know him, and be made acquainted with some of his labours, which he will very readily shew unto you, if you shall vouchsafe to require them; I make no doubt but you will value him, and comfort him with some taste of your favour; which I will add to those greater favours, that have so much bound me unto you, as I desire nothing more than to be esteemed

"Your very affectionate
"And sure Friend."

The court of France having resolved to propose to that of England a marriage between the Prince of Wales and Christine⁹, second daughter of Henry IV. and sister to Lewis XIII. with an offer of the same sum of 500,000 crowns, which had been given with Elizabeth, the elder daughter, to Philip Prince of Spain, the Duke of Bouillon was sent Extraordinary Ambassador to England for that purpose. He arrived at London on the 26th of April, 1612^r, and brought with him a letter from Lewis XIII. to the Prince, who returned by the Duke an answer in French^r. In this letter he told that King, that the assurances of the continuance of his Majesty's friendship were always agreeable to him; but especially when they were brought by so good an hand as the Duke of Bouillon, whom he found so affectionate in entertaining their mutual amity, that he thought no person more proper to satisfy his Majesty of the readiness of his own. This he had desired the Duke to declare to his Majesty at large; and therefore, referring himself to him, would embrace all opportunities of testifying his affection to his Majesty's service.

Sir Thomas Edmond's letter to Mr. Newton, of the 13th of March, 1611-12, not being thoroughly satisfactory to the Prince, does not

⁹ She who was afterwards married to Victor Amadeus, Prince, and at last Duke, of Savoy. ^r Historical View, p. 343, 344. ^r Harl. MSS. Vol. 7002.

appear to have been answered till the 17th of May following by Mr. Newton; whose letter, dated at St. James's, as it has so immediate a relation to the Prince, deserves a place here:

“ My Lord,

“ **H**A V I N G received your last letter, I acquainted his Highness therewith. Reading it unto him (as my manner is, when I find any thing more effectually written by my friends, than I shall be able to express it) because I found not that satisfaction at that time, which I wished, I resolved to attend some better opportunity, and give time, by preparing him in the mean while to conceive of you as you deserved. After, this bearer, one of your own, coming into England, I determined not to write before his returning towards you; which now I do with more contentment, than before I could have done. For howsoever your excuse of omitting advertisements by private letters, which his Highness was to receive, and of late commonly did receive, from my Lord Treasurer, was most just and reasonable; yet it did not at the first relish so unto his taste, as it could be well liked of. You must think, that I omitted no arguments to persuade,

MS. State Papers of Sir Thomas Edmondès, Vol. VII.
p. 626.

" that my poor wit could furnish me to that
 " effect; which I shall not need to set down,
 " seeing they were founded upon the grounds
 " mentioned in your own letter. But of late
 " signifying unto his Highness, that I was to
 " write unto you, and therefore desiring to
 " know what service he would command me,
 " and pressing the former point, I found his
 " Highness not only not distast'd as before,
 " but even to approve your former resolution
 " with very good and kind speeches of you.
 " And therefore I am the more emboldened,
 " out of the kind acceptance, on your part,
 " of my poor well-wishes (for which I humbly
 " thank you) to urge yet again, that, although
 " you acquaint not his Highness with ordinary
 " occurrents; yet, upon occasions fit for you
 " both, you may express your respect unto him.
 " If no better means be offered, you are sure
 " of one, who for a world will not prove false
 " unto a friend. And my master hath so well
 " apprehended the instructions of secrecy, that
 " he hath been taught, as I fear he will keep
 " them too too well. You see my freedom,
 " which hath no other end but your good,
 " joined with his Highness's contentment."

The learned men, both at home and abroad,
 were now ambitious of publishing their works
 under the sanction of the Prince's name. Mr.
 Thomas Farnaby, the most eminent school-
 master of that age, published this year his edi-

tion of the Satires of Juvenal and Perſius, with marginal notes, at London, in octavo, and a polite dedication to the Prince. And the lively and elegant Dominic Baudius, Profeſſor of eloquence and hiſtory at Leyden, whoſe Latin epiſtles are ſtill much read on account of the vivacity of ſentiment and ſtyle, and who had, in Auguſt, 1607, made a ſecond voyage to England to preſent his poems to the King, and was well received by the Prince, having printed an edition of his *Gnomæ iambicæ*, ſent it over to his Highneſs, with a letter in Latin, dated at Leyden, June 11, 1612^v. In this letter he obſerves, that all men, who were diſtinguiſhed by learning, virtue, or genius, concurred in the laudable ambition of producing ſomething, which might procure them the favour of ſo great a Prince as his Highneſs. That, with regard to himſelf, a Profeſſor in an univerſity, he could for the preſent offer nothing from his literary ſtores, but ſome productions of the muſes, who, with a virgin baſhfulneſs, preſumed to implore his Highneſs to condeſcend to allow them a hearing at ſome hour of leiſure, when he was inclined to relax his more weighty employments. That, if the genius of the book itſelf, and the truth and utility of the ſentences, ſhould not fix the attention; yet the Author, not the loweſt amongſt

* Dominici Baudii Epistol. Centur. II. Epist. 37. p. 231. Edit. Amſtelod. 1647. v Appendix, No. XX.

thoſe,

those, who cultivated good learning, was not unworthy of being received by the Prince with some countenance and favour, as he had been before by his Highness, who had conversed with him with great affability. That such works as this, not to speak too highly of it, were not common productions, nor every day offered to the sons of Kings; though the Author was ashamed of the many errors, which, through the carelessness or ignorance of the printer, were too visible in so small a piece, to his extreme regret, who had almost resolved to suppress it, in order to prevent its coming, in so deformed a state, under the view of illustrious persons. But he had recovered his spirits by the consideration of his Highness's goodness, which inspired him with hopes, that the negligence of another person would not be imputed to the writer. That his Highness, if he would vouchsafe to take the book into his hands, would see in it many things, which might not be useless towards the wise and just administration of government. And though his Highness was furnished by nature, and the care of his royal father, the best and wisest of Kings, and by his instructors, with every thing, that might exalt him to the highest perfection of virtue and glory; yet he would not refuse to permit this humble ivy to creep among the victorious laurels on his brows; and to admit the author into the number of those, who had

devoted to his Highness both themselves and every thing belonging to them.

Michael Drayton, Esq; likewise having now finished his first part of *Poly-olbion*, and his friend, Mr. Selden, his very learned *Illustrations* upon it, the former dedicated that work, printed at London, 1613, in fol. to the Prince, as the *hopeful Heir of the Kingdoms of Great Britain, whose delicacies, chorographical description, and history, were the subjects of that poem.* The poet in the dedication observed, that his soul, which had seen the extremity of time and fortune, could not yet despair; for that the influence of so "glorious and fortunate a star as his Highness might also reflect upon him, which had power to give him new life, or leave him to die more willingly and contented." He prefixed to his Work a portrait of the Prince in armour, with a lance in his hand, and the following sonnet upon it:

Britain, behold here portray'd to thy sight
 Henry, thy best hope, and the world's de-
 light,
 Ordain'd to make thy eight great Henries
 nine,
 Who, by that virtue in the treble trine,

* Dated from the Inner Temple, May 9, 1612.

* In his Preface he complains, that "the time since his Majesty's happy coming in had fallen heavily upon his distressed fortunes, after his zealous soul had laboured so long in that, which, with the general happiness of the kingdom, seemed not then impossible somewhat also to have advanced him."

† Ibid.

" To

"To his own goddess (in his being) brings
 "These several glories of th' eight English
 "Kings,
 "Deep knowledge, greatness, long life, policy,
 "Courage, zeal, fortune, awful majesty.
 "He, like great Neptune, on three seas
 "shall rove,
 "And rule three realms with triple pow'r,
 "like Joye:
 "Thus in soft peace, thus in tempestuous
 "wars,
 "Till from his foot his fame shall strike the
 "stars."

Another work, which came out under his Highness's patronage this year, 1612, was Mr. Henry Peacham's *Minerva Britanna*², containing a collection of *Emblems* illustrated in English verse: some of which the Author had presented two years before translated by him into Latin verse, with the drawings by his own hand.

Sir Henry Carew having, upon his going to Holland, been charged with a letter from the Prince to Count Maurice, to whom he

² The West, North, and East ocean. ² The title is *Minerva Britanna: or a Garden of Heroical Devices; furnished and adorned with emblems and impreses of sundry natures: newly devised, moralized, and published by Henry Peacham, M. A.*

delivered it, and by whom it was received with great thankfulness, wrote an account of this in a letter to Mr. Newton from the Hague of the 9th of June, 1612, O. S.^b He added, that no perfect resolution was yet taken by the States concerning the articles of the garter, nor would be for eleven days, as appeared from their answer in writing to the English Ambassador; so that as yet, in Sir Henry Carew's opinion, it was uncertain, whether they would allow Count Maurice to be of the order, or not. "Yesterday, concludes he, came the news hither, that the Archduke Matthias is chosen Emperor; but no King of the Romans made: which will trouble our Archduke Albertus, who expected to have been Emperor. For the last we heard from Francfort was, that he had the voices of the ecclesiastics and of the Duke of Saxony."

About the middle of June, 1612, Mr. Pett began, by the Prince's order, a frame for a small new ship, which was to be as a pinnace to his great ship, *the Prince*, in which his Highness proposed to sail sometimes in the narrow seas, and which therefore was appointed to be fitted with a very roomy cabin, and all other accommodations for that purpose. The keel of this new ship was laid in the launching place at the old dock at Chatham on the last day of June, being in length seventy-two

^b Harl. MSS. Vol. 7002.

^c Sir Ralph Winwood.

feet, and in breadth twenty-four; and it drew eleven feet water: the burthen was about 250 tons^d.

William Earl of Pembroke, who was afterwards Lord Chamberlain of the household, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford, having received by Mr. Connok, the Prince's Receiver, a note from his Highness for the Stewardship of Devonshire, and the Seal; and his Lordship having already granted it to Mr. Eveleigh, of that country, under this perplexity wrote a letter the next day to Mr. Newton^e, in which he said; "his Highness shall ever absolutely
 " command me, and whatsoever is in my
 " power to bestow. My only request is unto
 " you, but to let the Prince truly understand,
 " how hard this case falls out to me; and
 " then his will be done. These were all the
 " things, that I had to bestow myself; and
 " three days since I passed them under my
 " hand and seal to Mr. Eveleigh, a man, who
 " hath lost both his practice and the judges by
 " many years painfully upholding the Prince's
 " jurisdiction of the Stanneries; and now, if
 " he lose these things, is utterly undone both
 " in reputation and fortune: And lastly, which
 " is dearest to me of all, the world will con-
 " ceive, that I have small interest in his High-
 " ness's favour, when I must overthrow mine

^d MS. Life of Mr. Phineas Pett, fol. 68. ^e Harl. MSS. Vol. 7002.

own grant to so well a deserving person, and
 bestow it on one, that will never execute
 the place himself: And when his Highness
 knoweth thus much, I will humbly submit
 all to his pleasure. I beseech you let me
 hear from you; for I protest this matter
 doth much trouble me."

This letter has no date, but appears to have
 been written in June, 1612, from one of that
 learned and eloquent preacher, Dr. Henry
 Parry, Bishop of Worcester, to Mr. Newton,
 dated in that city, June 15, 1612^f, in which
 he has these words; "For Mr. Eveleigh, as I
 am much beholden unto you, so yet, I be-
 seech you, both in that business and in all
 the like, take that leave, which you long
 since gave me; and be guided not by my
 letter, but by your own wisdom." In the
 beginning of this letter he expresses his satis-
 faction in hearing such great things of the
 Prince. "How pleasing and acceptable, *says*
he, is all that you write unto me? Above all
 these two; that his Highness groweth a
 goodly Prince; and that that noble Lord^s is
 blest with his favour. They are herein both
 blest. For never shall his Highness bestow
 his favours upon a more faithful and honest
 (honest is a better word, and was before
 honourable) neither shall his Lordship per-

^f Harl. MSS. Vol. 7002.

^g Perhaps the Earl of
 Pembroke.

"form his services to a more noble and con-
 "stant Prince. | But what is it, that you write?
 "That his Highness should at any time, in his
 "many excellencies, so abuse himself, as not
 "only to think, but also to speak, of me, a
 "poor worm of the country? His Highness
 "doth herein express the image of God, who
 "makes worms, as well as angels, partakers
 "of his goodness. In him they live, they
 "move, they are. And surely I shall never
 "wish to breath, or be an hour longer, than
 "I shall approve myself, in all my labours
 "and endeavours, to be his Highness's most
 "devoted and faithful servant.

"I cannot yet learn from you, whether
 "ever my book were delivered to the King
 "of Denmark. Belike there now *spernitur*
 "*orator, miles amatur.* Yet I would be glad
 "to be partaker of your knowledge."

Sir Dudley Carleton, who had been sent
 Ambassador to Venice, where he arrived in
 November, 1610, took occasion to write from
 thence for the first time to the Prince on the
 24th of June, 1612, O. S. the following
 letter^b:

"May it please your Highness,
 "I Have hitherto attended with great devo-
 "tion your Highness's commandments in
 "those services, for which this place might
 "minister occasion; and finding myself so un-

^b Harl. MSS. Vol. 7008.

“ happy, as not to be honoured therewithal, I
 “ have taken the boldness to present that duty
 “ of zeal to your Highness, which is better at
 “ obedience than sacrifice, where I may be
 “ condemned of presumption. My excuse at
 “ this present shall be to give your Highness
 “ knowledge of a troop of traveliers, which
 “ may be in England as soon as these lines:
 “ The chief of which is the Prince Peretti,
 “ nepotin to a Pope, and nephew to a Car-
 “ dinal, and yet carried with that devotion
 “ to see his Majesty and your Highness, that
 “ he ventures a fulmination, when he returns
 “ to Rome. He hath in his company one
 “ Roberti Obizzi, a gentleman of great pos-
 “ sessions in these parts, who is to take upon
 “ him the name and conduct of the whole
 “ train, while they remain in his Majesty’s
 “ dominions.

“ I have found in one of these writers, that
 “ the decay of virtue and valour in this age, in
 “ comparision of former times, is a wrongful
 “ complaint: that there is ever the same pro-
 “ portion of both in the world; but that they
 “ do pass *di provincia in provincia*: Which
 “ may be a paradox; but howsoever I apply
 “ it with singular contentment to the fame of
 “ his Majesty’s incomparable wisdom, and to
 “ those princely virtues, which appear in your
 “ Highness, with great admiration even in
 “ those parts, which were wont to challenge

“ *sedem virtutis* ; but now they see it hath
 “ changed habitation. ”

“ God give all prosperous success to these
 “ hopeful expectations, and keep your High-
 “ ness in his holy protection. ”

“ Sir John Digby, then Ambassador to the
 “ court of Spain, and afterwards Lord Digby,
 “ and Earl of Bristol, in a letter from Madrid
 “ of the 2d of July, 1612, to Mr. Newton,
 “ took notice to him, how great an expectation
 “ the world generally conceived of the virtuous
 “ and hopeful beginnings of the Prince, their
 “ master; “ whereof you, *says he*, above all other
 “ men, are to have a double joy and a more
 “ quick feeling; for that his good and prince-
 “ ly disposition cannot but in some measure
 “ have relation to your industry and care of
 “ his virtuous education. ” With regard to
 “ news, “ this present, *says he*, hath very little:
 “ Only they are now here busied for the re-
 “ ception of the Duke de Mayne, who com-
 “ eth Ambassador from France for the con-
 “ cluding of the matches betwixt the two
 “ crowns. We are in all kinds excluded from
 “ amongst them: But the cause being so just,
 “ as the truth of our religion, I doubt not but
 “ whatsoever prejudice and inconvenience we
 “ suffer for that, God will recompense it dou-
 “ ble and treble unto us. ”

Harl. MSS. Vol. 7002. fol. 125.

“ I have

“ I have often heard, that these matches
“ were like to be seconded by some new and
“ strict treaty of the catholic princes, like unto
“ the union, wherein his Majesty lately entred
“ with the Princes of Germany: the which,
“ though I have not yet certain ground enough
“ to aver it as a thing resolved on, yet it is a
“ thing, that I am apt enough to believe may
“ be; for that I know it hath been often con-
“ sulted, and is at this present by divers in-
“ dustriously laboured in. The Princes, that
“ are chiefly spoken of, are, the King of
“ France, the King of Spain, the Pope, and
“ the Duke of Florence. As for the new
“ Emperor, we cannot yet tell what to make
“ of him; for that new estates and new mo-
“ tives may cause new resolutions. But I find,
“ that they are here in great hope, that he
“ will be much theirs; for they have here
“ made very great feasts, and proclaimed a
“ solemn holy-day for joy of his election.
“ If God send us true and united hearts at
“ home, and our neighbour Hollanders remain
“ firm, we shall have little cause to fear or
“ apprehend their combinations. But if there
“ shall be discontents amongst ourselves, and
“ diversity of religion cause distraction, and
“ that the Hollanders shall grow hollow-
“ hearted unto us; then I confess justly, that
“ these considerations may be of fearful appa-
“ rition unto us.

“ We

“ We have in an ill time lost that great
 “ minister^k, whose long experience and prac-
 “ tice in the passages of state would, like the
 “ most expert pilot, have best guided us out
 “ of those straits and exigents, wherein we
 “ now are. But God, I hope, as he hath
 “ given the King our master a deep and a wise
 “ heart, so he will give him faithful and in-
 “ dustrious ministers, to execute his wise di-
 “ rections, whereby the great loss, that our
 “ kingdom hath suffered in his death, may
 “ be supplied.”

The King having directed his favourite, the Lord Viscount Rochester, to whom he intrusted the chief management of public affairs after the death of the Earl of Salisbury, to desire the Prince's opinion upon the proposal of a marriage between him and the second daughter of France, his Highness gave it in a letter to his Majesty, the original of which is still extant^l.

“ May it please your Majesty,

“ **S**EEING that your Majesty's pleasure,
 “ signified unto me by my Lord Rochester,
 “ is, that I set down my opinion concerning
 “ the proposition lately made by your Am-
 “ bassador unto Villeroy; your Majesty must
 “ pardon both the boldness of my writing, and

^k The Earl of Salisbury.

^l Cotton Library, Titus, B. VIII. fol. 424.

“ the weakness of my opinion in a matter of
 “ such consequence.

“ Wherefore may it please you to consider,
 “ that for so far, as your Ambassador hath
 “ hitherto proceeded in it, hath wrought the
 “ same effect, that might have been looked
 “ for: but when it cometh unto a more
 “ particular negotiation, whether they will
 “ then yield unto such conditions, as your
 “ Majesty, in your wisdom, shall think fit, the
 “ success of their next interview will make
 “ you give a more near guess.

“ The cause, which first induced your Ma-
 “ jesty to proceed in this proposition by your
 “ Ambassador, was the hope, which the Duke
 “ of Bouillon gave your Majesty of breaking
 “ their other match with Spain. If the con-
 “ tinuance of this treaty hold only upon that
 “ hope, and not upon any desire to effect a
 “ match with the second daughter, in my
 “ weak opinion I hold, that it stands more
 “ with your Majesty's honour, to stay your
 “ Ambassador from moving it any more, than
 “ to go on with it; because no great negotia-
 “ tion should be grounded upon a ground,
 “ that is very unsure and uncertain, and de-
 “ pends upon their wills, who were the first
 “ causers of the contrary. Next it will not
 “ be honourable for your Majesty, that the
 “ world should see, that when you shall have
 “ broken it off, after a long treaty, you did

“ it

“ it only to break off the other; seeing they
 “ will say, that it is your own fault, not having
 “ made soon enough an overture for the first.
 “ Whether your Majesty will proceed fur-
 “ ther in it, upon the desire you have to make
 “ a match with the second, that with the rest
 “ I leave unto your Majesty’s farther and bet-
 “ ter judgment. But if your Majesty be re-
 “ solved to continue it in respect of itself, then
 “ I entreat your Majesty, be sure both of the
 “ certainty, and of the sending of her hither
 “ upon the conclusion, or at the farthest at
 “ the going of the other into Spain.

“ I fear I have troubled your Majesty’s pa-
 “ tience too long with a good tale ill told;
 “ but you must impute this fault unto your
 “ command, and not unto my presumption.
 “ I shall ever hold myself very happy to be
 “ commanded by him, whom I have most
 “ reason of all others to love, honour, serve
 “ and obey, and who shall ever find me his

“ Most humble,

“ Faithful and obedient,

Richmond, this

29th of July,

1612.

“ Son, and Servant,

“ HENRY.”

Two days after the Prince wrote a letter in
 French to the Duke of Bouillon^m, who had

^m MS. State papers of Sir Thomas Edmondess, Vol.
 VIII. fol. 119.

returned from his extraordinary embassy in England to France in the beginning of June. In this letter his Highness thanked the Duke for his readiness to serve him, assuring him of his own sense of it, and gratitude for it; and that he should be glad to have it in his power to assist in the promotion of Sir Thomas Edmondés, who had been recommended to his Highness by the Duke, as well as by his own merits, to which the Prince was no stranger.

The Prince wrote likewise the same day to Sir Thomas Edmondés the following letter^a.

“ Sir Thomas Edmondés,

“ **T**HE receipt of your letters dated the
 “ 21st of July, was the stay of my
 “ answering the former, being ready the same
 “ day to have sent you them.

“ My so long stay was occasioned by a
 “ rumour, which Don Pedro de Cuniga spread
 “ here, that the French Queen had, before the
 “ Duke of Bouillon’s coming hither, made an
 “ overture for a match betwixt her second
 “ daughter and the second son of Spain;
 “ whereof until I had a little better assurance,
 “ I could not write unto you.

“ I desire you to acquaint the Duke of
 “ Bouillon with it; and besides to know,
 “ whether it hath been true or not.

^a MS. State papers of Sir Thomas Edmondés, *Vol. VIII. fol. 129.*

“ Touching

“ Touching the proposition, I find that you
 “ have so discreetly and wisely carried yourself
 “ in it, as that no man could have mended it.

“ As I had written thus much of this let-
 “ ter, the King had sent unto me the letter
 “ you wrote unto him, and withall willed me
 “ to send unto him my opinion, what I
 “ would have him to command you to do in it;
 “ a copy whereof, for so much as concerneth
 “ this matter, I send unto you. Whereunto I
 “ will only one thing, which is, that if the
 “ King and I make this match upon worse
 “ conditions, than Spain hath done with the
 “ other, it will be very dishonourable.

“ There hath been some speeches fallen
 “ here, that the Duke of Bouillon hath not
 “ dealt so clear with the King since his being
 “ there, as his professions expressed, and pro-
 “ fessed he would have done. Whether this
 “ be true either in the general or in the par-
 “ ticular, I leave it unto you, as unto the
 “ fittest man, to try.

“ I doubt not but you will, whensoever
 “ you have matter fit to be written, advertise
 “ me by letter.

“ Concerning the intelligence they have
 “ from Rome, touching the conclusion of the
 “ match between the sister of Florence and
 “ myself, it is false.

“ Thus I thought good to advertise you,
 “ both touching the Duke of Bouillon and

“ this of Florence, to the end you may know,
 “ how clearly I deal with you, and how I am
 “ persuaded both of your affection and of
 “ your continuance to do me service. Rich-
 “ mond this 31st of July 1612.

“ Your very good friend,
 “ HENRY P.

“ I pray you commend me very heartily
 “ unto the Duke of Bouillon, and deliver
 “ this letter unto him from me.”

In the beginning of August the Prince being to take his progress from Richmond, his servant Mr. Pett the shipwright made a journey thither on the Saturday, the 1st of that month, from Chatham, accompanied with Captain Thomas King, and Mr. John Reynolds, master-gunner to his Highness. The next day, being Sunday, Mr. Pett waited to chapel and at dinner upon the Prince, who had that day appointed a great deal of private conference with Mr. Pett concerning affairs of consequence. After his Highness was risen from dinner, and had talked with him for a while at the bay-window in the presence-chamber, he gave Mr. Pett leave to go to his dinner, which was prepared for him and his company by Mr. Alexander, the principal Gentleman Usher, at the house of Mr. Wilson, his Highness's taylor. During the

dinner Mr. Pett was sent for three several times by the Prince, who wanted satisfaction in some points, and ordered him to attend again, after he had finished his dinner, between two and three of the clock. At that time his Highness deliver'd his pleasure fully to him, with protestation of the trust, which he reposed in him, and the good opinion, which he had of Mr. Pett's performance of what was committed to his charge, and with many expressions of his favour and intentions to provide for him, concluding with these words, "Go on cheerfully in that, which I intrust you with, and let not the care for your posterity incumber you any ways. For you shall leave the care both of yourself and them to me, who have a purpose carefully to provide for you." These gracious speeches made such an impression on Mr. Pett, that when he came to kiss the Prince's hand at parting, he could not avoid shedding some tears; though he then little thought, that this would be the last time he should see his Highness alive, or these the last words, that he should ever hear from his mouth°.

Monf. de Saint Anthoine^p, the Prince's principal Equerry, going to France on some affairs of

• MS. Life of Mr. Phineas Pett, p. 67.

^p Mr. Thomas Murray, Tutor to the Duke of York, and afterwards provost of Eton College, in a letter to Sir Thomas Edmondes from Richmond, the 6th of August,

of his own, in the beginning of August 1612, his Highness sent by him a letter to Lewis XIII^a, in which he mentioned, that he had directed that gentleman to wait upon his Majesty, and to salute him in his, the Prince's, name; not doubting but that his Majesty would be glad to see him, both on account of the good and faithful services, which he did the Prince every day, and as a witness of the obligations, which his Highness thought himself under to that King for the continuation of his friendship.

Sir Thomas Edmondcs, soon after the receipt of the Prince's letter of the 31st of July 1612, returned an answer from Paris on the 14th of August^r, thanking him for his favourable acceptance of his endeavours in his Highness's service, whereof he hoped more and more to give faithful proof, as he should receive the further happiness to be honoured with the Prince's commands.

Having not yet heard any thing from the King in answer to his former letter concerning the affair of the Prince, he thought it not

1612. [MS. State papers of Sir Thomas Edmondcs, Vol. VIII. p. 171.] sent by Mons. de St. Anthoine, observes, that this gentleman, *though no good Hugonot, was an enemy to all Spanish courses, and intended by all good methods the continuance of amity between King James and France.*

^a Harl. MSS. Vol. 7008.

^r MS. State papers of Sir Thomas Edmondcs, Vol. VII. p. 195.

fit to take notice, at the court of France, of any directions contained in his Highness's letter, till he should receive farther knowledge of his Majesty's pleasure in that respect.

He sent the Prince a copy of a private letter, which he had written the day before to the King, mentioning some late speeches, which had passed between the Duke of Bouillon and himself concerning that affair; in which the Duke represented the breaking off the match with Spain for the eldest daughter of France as not to be despaired of. But Sir Thomas Edmondès durst not for his own part entertain the Prince with any such hopes. But that if his Highness should please to proceed in the match with the second daughter, there was no question to be made, but that it might be effected upon conditions to the Prince's contentment; since it was a thing, which was infinitely desired at the French Court, and Sir Thomas was daily sollicitèd by the principal persons there to know, why he did not prosecute the good motion, which he had begun.

He had deliverèd the Prince's letter to the Duke of Bouillon, and acquaintèd him with the report given out by Don Pedro de Cuniga, that there had been an overture made by the Queen-Mother of France for a match between her second daughter and the second son of Spain. Which, the Duke desired Sir Thomas Edmondès to assure the Prince, was utterly

un-

untrue; and that it was but one of the accustomed practices of Spain.

With regard to the speeches, which the Prince had heard, that the Duke of Bouillon should not have so well acquitted himself towards King James since his return to France, as his professions in England had expressed; Sir Thomas Edmondes assured his Highness, that he knew no just cause for that report, but thought, that it proceeded from the discontents of those of the Scottish guard; because they found, that the Duke, after his return from England, did not effect to their full contentment what they desired; but had proposed, as he found the Queen absolutely averse to their re-establishment, that they should have taken a recompense for their places. And because Sir Thomas would not content himself with that satisfaction, nor with the former courses proposed, it gave twice occasion of a warm contest between the Duke and him concerning that matter; wherein, as the poor men were well satisfied, that Sir Thomas stood so resolutely for them, so it made them think, that there was some backwardness in the Duke, though the fault was not to be imputed to him. But with respect to the other matter, Sir Thomas assured the Prince, that it was not possible for any man more to publish his Majesty's and his Highness's praises, or to shew more zeal to their services, than the Duke had done since

Augusta his

his return from England. And as Sir Thomas must justify him for his gratitude, so he might absolutely say, that there was no man, who could be more useful both for the King's and Prince's services; though he could not excuse the Duke, but that he had in other respects particular imperfections, which Sir Thomas wished he had not.

Sir Thomas concluded with his most humble thanks for the favour, which the Prince had done him, in acquainting him so freely with the abstract of his answer to the King; which Sir Thomas esteemed the greater happiness, as he observed thereby so extraordinary a proof of his Highness's wisdom, both for the absolute obedience, with which he submitted himself towards his Majesty in an occasion of such importance to his Highness's particular; and also for so clear and solid judgment, as he had made of the matter itself.

Mr. Fleming, who was to carry this letter to England, tarrying at Paris a day or two longer than he expected, Sir Thomas Edmondes sent by him to the Prince a copy of an important letter, written by him on the 18th of August to his Majesty, which would give his Highness information of what had since occurred worthy of his notice, with relation to the signing the contract of marriage between the eldest daughter of France, and the Prince of Spain, at Paris on the Saturday before, the 15th of August,

August, being St. Lewis's day; and to the intrigues forming between the Prince of Condé, the Count de Soissons, the Duke of Bouillon, and Monf. D'Esdiquieres.

Sir Thomas in his letter to the Prince of the 18th of August, in which he inclosed his letter of the same date to the King, added, "If matters do here fall out according to expectation, we shall then have a fair field to do that service for your Highness, which is desired; for the advancement whereof I will be careful to my uttermost, that no occasion shall be omitted." He then took notice, that he understood, that his Majesty intended at his return from his progress to dispose of the places then vacant by the late Lord Treasurer's death: "And it pleased his Majesty, *says he,* graciously to promise, that in that distribution he would remember me for some good promotion, as his Majesty's own words did import. But because I doubt, that by reason of my absence I may be prevented by others importunity, I most humbly beseech your Highness to interpose your effectual mediation towards his Majesty on my behalf, that, while I am travelling in the vineyard, I may not be deprived of the fruit of my labour."

That honest, industrious, and able minister, Mr. William Trumball, afterwards knighted,

* MS. State papers of Sir Thomas Edmondcs, Vol. VIII. p. 203.

and then Agent at the Court of Brussels, began a correspondence with the Prince by a letter from thence of the 28th of August 1612^t. He observed in it, that nothing had hitherto hindered his longing desires to tender to his Highness the unfeigned offers of his humble and faithful service, but the due consideration of the Prince's greatness and his own want of merit. " By nature, *says he*, I am
 " born subject to the great King of Great
 " Britain, your Highness's most worthy fa-
 " ther; and therefore owe you respect; and
 " by grace adopted to serve his Majesty (tho'
 " unworthy of that charge) as his agent with
 " the Archdukes; and therefore bound to give
 " your Highness account of their actions. I
 " should think it an inestimable favour, and
 " no less honour, to have the happiness of
 " being known to your Highness, and em-
 " ployed in your gracious commissions, while
 " I reside in these parts. But being ignorant,
 " wherein my service may be agreeable to
 " your Highness, I do in all humility beseech
 " you, by the hand of your Highness's secre-
 " tary or clerk of your council, to direct my
 " zealous intentions; and they shall humbly
 " endeavour, by all means possible to my
 " poor capacity, to witness the sincerity of my
 " dutiful affections towards your Highness,

Harl. MSS. Vol. 7008.

being

"being the heir apparent to my country, the
 "imitator of your father's heroical virtues,
 "and the expectation of the better part of
 "Christendom.
 "Herewithal I presume, encouraged by the
 "common renown of your Highness's cle-
 "mency, to offer at the altar of your benign
 "acceptance a book of policy and govern-
 "ment, as the first fruits of my humble de-
 "votion: into which boldness I am led, not
 "by any knowledge of the contents (which
 "I have never perused) but for the reputa-
 "tion of him, to whom it is dedicated, and
 "the subject thereof, which is the element
 "of Princes of your rank and dignity. If it
 "may please your Highness to take it in
 "good part, I shall have more happiness than
 "I could expect, or the gift itself deserve.
 "But if it fall out otherwise, I will lay the
 "blame upon mine own unworthiness, and
 "strive by all honest endeavours to repair the
 "default by my continual prayers to the
 "Almighty, that he will preserve from all
 "dangers in health and happiness your High-
 "ness's most noble person, and give you as
 "great a share in his celestial blessings, as you
 "are like, in due time, to enjoy in this
 "world's terrestrial kingdoms."

Sir Thomas Edmondes, on the 5th of Sep-
 tember, inclosed in his letter from Paris to the
 Prince

Prince" a copy of one written by him to the King, giving his Majesty an account of the answer, which Sir Thomas had received to his last proposition concerning the match between his Highness and Madam Christine of France: about which he hoped within a short time to receive the full resolution of the French Court; and so likewise, that time would produce some good effects, for the better facilitating of the occasions for his Highness's service, which was there pursued by his servants with all the care and dexterity possible. With regard to another long letter, which Sir Thomas had written to the King, of general matters, he desired the Prince to command the sight of it from Sir Thomas Lake.

The Prince's answer to Sir Thomas Edmond's letters, of the 14th and 18th of August, was dated from Richmond on the 10th of September 1612^v, and was as follows:

" Sir Thomas Edmond's,
 " SINCE my last I have received two letters from you, the one of the 14th of August, the other of the 18th of the same.
 " I am very glad, that you have confirmed me in my so strong settled opinion of the Duke of Bouillon's plain and sincere dealing with us; which I find sheweth itself both

" State papers of Sir Thomas Edmond's, Vol. VIII. p. 275. " Ibid. p. 301.

“ in his carriage in businesſes paſt, and by his
“ ſpeeches to every one there of us.

“ Touching the breach of the marriages,
“ although he and the count de Soiffons ſeem
“ to be of opinion, that they will never be
“ performed; yet nothing, that hath hitherto
“ fallen out, can make me of their mind. But
“ rather I imagine, that they would have the
“ King go forward in the propoſition for the
“ ſecond, hoping by that means to engage
“ him ſo in it, as that he cannot in his ho-
“ nour go back.

“ Concerning the ſigning of the contract,
“ although the Princes of the blood did it
“ upon a ſecond reſolution, yet I hold they
“ did it upon good adviſement. For if they
“ and thoſe of the religion do ſtick the one
“ with the other firmly, and if there fall out
“ no fraction amongſt them, they may have
“ a very great ſtroke in the greateſt and moſt
“ important buſineſs of ſtate.

“ As touching their intentions of removing
“ from about the Queen ſome private per-
“ ſons, my opinion is, that unleſs they be
“ very well prepared for it, and go on farther
“ in preſerving of their own ſtate and fortunes
“ againſt whatſoever may fall out after that
“ they had ſet afoot that action, they will do
“ themſelves wrong. For if that ſtate have
“ a ſuſpicion of their ſtirring humours, that
“ action will fully aſſure them of it; which
“ will

“ will make them clip their wings all they can,
 “ striving to disable them from being able to
 “ do any thing hereafter.

“ Wherefore, if you would cherish them
 “ in that humour, I think it would not be
 “ very hurtful for this state. For if there
 “ should fall a great difference amongst them,
 “ as it hath been heretofore, while two dogs
 “ were fighting together, a third dog might
 “ fall into them, and having the one of them
 “ on his side, or at least neutral, might have
 “ a great share amongst them.

“ This though you may not do as an Am-
 “ bassador; yet you may do it as a private man,
 “ that wisheth their welfare, and the good of
 “ his own state.

“ Lastly, concerning your own business,
 “ you may be assured, that although I were
 “ not carried with any particular affection,
 “ but only with the desire I have the state
 “ should be well served, I would deal for you
 “ as soon as for any other. But as matters go
 “ now here, I will deal in no businesses of im-
 “ portance, for some respects; yet I will pro-
 “ mise thus much, that, if your name be
 “ called in question, as a man fit for any of these
 “ places, you may be sure of my best appro-
 “ bation.

“ Thus, wishing you well, I rest

“ Your good Friend,

“ Henry P.”

Sir Thomas Edmondès acknowledged the receipt of this letter on the 25th of the same month of September^x, thanking the Prince for so favourably enlarging himself by the directions contained in it, which he would not fail to observe fully upon the occasions, which should fall out.

His Highness would understand, by the inclosed copy of Sir Thomas's letter to the King of the same date, what answer had been given him to the proposition of the marriage; which, though it was not as yet to give any direct satisfaction, on account of the interruptions occasioned by the sickness of Mons. de Villeroy, and the absence of the Count de Soissons; yet his Highness might perceive, that there was an affectionate disposition to proceed in the accomplishment of the said match, if the Prince should like thereof.

His Highness had great reason to judge, that the breaking off the match with the eldest daughter was a thing very casual; and therefore Sir Thomas was bold, in the faithful discharge of his duty, to write with such freedom of it in his former letters; because he held, that a minister cannot use too much caution in a matter of so great importance. And yet it could not be denied, but that the said match did run a hazard to be shaken by many accidents, which

^x MS. State Papers of Sir Thomas Edmondès, *Vol. VIII.*

might fall out; of which there would be means to make a better judgment, when it should be seen, how matters were like to shape there after the return of the Count de Soissons and the Duke of Bouillon to the court.

Sir Thomas Edmondès returned his thanks to the Prince for his favourable opinion; with the happiness of which he should content himself. And since he knew his Highness's good pleasure, he would forbear farther importunity concerning himself; and yet he would not despair but that there might be some occasion offered, where he might derive some graces by his Highness's means. And the rather, for that he had been put in comfort from his Majesty, that he would be pleased to have a most gracious consideration of his long services; which made him the more bold to desire, that the same might have been seconded by his Highness's recommendation.

Sir Thomas Edmondès's letter to the King of the same date of the 25th of September, was, immediately after the receipt of it, ordered by his Majesty to be sent to the Prince, with the following letter to him from the Lord Viscount Rochester^r:

MS. State Papers of Sir Thomas Edmondès, Vol. VIII.

339.
Harl. MSS. Vol. 17008.

“ Please your Highness,

“ I Am, by his Majesty’s commandment,
 “ to send your Highness the dispatch from
 “ France, as a matter personally concerning
 “ yourself; wherein his Majesty observes two
 “ things: First, that the match with the
 “ eldest daughter is utterly desperate: And
 “ next, that this proposition for the second
 “ daughter is so strongly apprehended, as
 “ they will refuse no conditions, that with
 “ reason may be demanded, and will accom-
 “ modate all difficulties and hinderances, that
 “ may in any sort interrupt the issue of a work
 “ so much acceptable, and by them passion-
 “ ately taken hold of. Only that incongruity
 “ betwixt your Highness’s age and hers is one
 “ inconveniency, which neither side can help.
 “ As for the portion, which, according to the
 “ example of the elder sister’s, is but five hun-
 “ dred thousand crowns, his Majesty, not-
 “ withstanding, under other pretences, thinks
 “ there may be hope, in respect of their ear-
 “ nestness, to increase the sum. In conclusion,
 “ his Majesty wills, that your Highness con-
 “ sider, that the Lady cannot be made riper
 “ nor fitter than her age permits, which is no
 “ more than nine years; but withal desires
 “ here to hear your Highness’s free opinion,
 “ what your conceit is of this particular com-
 “ pared

“pared with the others. So, humbly taking
“my leave, I rest

“At your Highness’s command,

Rosnyon,
Saturday
9 at night,

“Ro. Rochester.

“Herewithal I return your Highness a
“paper delivered me by his Majesty.”

To this letter the Prince returned the fol-
lowing answer^a addressed to the King:

“May it please your Majesty,

“I Have received, by your direction, from
“my Lord of Rochester, Sir Thomas
“Edmond’s letter unto your Majesty, where-
“in the fruits of the last conference with
“Villeroy are set down, touching my marri-
“age with the second daughter of France;
“and withal a command to give my opinion
“therein.

“Concerning Villeroy’s desire to have the
“time of her sending hither to be delayed
“until a year longer be expired, in my weak
“judgment your Majesty hath no reason to
“yield thereunto: first, because it lies in their
“hands to make the match go forward, or
“otherwise, having her in their possession,
“and by that means being able to draw her

^a Harl. MSS. Vol. 7008.

consent whither they please: Secondly, by
 the bringing her sooner over, there will
 be a greater likelihood of converting her to
 our religion: And thirdly, your Majesty's
 credit will be the better preserved, when
 the delivery of both the daughters shall be
 made at the same time, howsoever the con-
 clusion of the one of their marriages be
 much later than that of the other. What-
 soever be the time of the delivery of the
 eldest, yet it is to be wished, that the Christ-
 mas come twelvemonth be the farthest pe-
 riod to be determined of her coming hither.
 As for the exercise of her religion, your
 Majesty may be pleased to make your Am-
 bassador give a peremptory answer, that you
 will never agree to give her greater liberty
 in the exercise of it, than that, which is agreed
 upon by the Savoyard, which is, to use his
 own word, *privatamente*; or (as Sir Henry
 Wotton did expound it) in her most private
 and secret chamber.

And though both these conditions may
 seem to be somewhat strict; yet, if the shew
 they make of their great desire of it do pro-
 ceed from a sincere and hearty affection, I
 make no doubt but they will make no rubb
 of them.

Betwixt France and Savoy, if your Majesty
 look to the greatness of the dowry, then it
 is likely you will make choice of Savoy;
 because

“ because it is not probable, that they will
 “ give with the second a greater portion by
 “ 200,000 crowns unto your Majesty, than
 “ they gave with the first daughter unto the
 “ King of Spain.

“ But if you, laying aside the little piece of
 “ disgrace in being served after another, will
 “ respect rather which of these two will give
 “ the greatest contentment and satisfaction to
 “ the general body of protestants abroad; then
 “ I am of opinion, that you will sooner incline
 “ to France than to Savoy.

“ Now if your Majesty be resolved, that
 “ your Majesty treat any farther with Villeroy
 “ in this business, under your Majesty's cor-
 “ rection, I hold it best there be made a little
 “ stay of the banker Gabaleone's going into
 “ Savoy; and withal to make a little delay of
 “ the ambassade, which should come from the
 “ Duke of Savoy for that purpose, until your
 “ Majesty be resolved which way to go.

“ If I have incurred in the same error,
 “ that I did last, by the indifference of my
 “ opinion, I humbly crave pardon of your
 “ Majesty, holding it fitter for your Majesty
 “ to resolve what course is most convenient
 “ to be taken by the rules of state, than for
 “ me, who am so little acquainted with sub-
 “ jects of that nature: And besides, your
 “ Majesty may think, that my part to play,
 “ which is to be in love with any of them,

“ is not yet at hand. So, most humbly kissing
 “ your Majesty’s hand, I rest

“ Your most humble and
 “ Obedient Son and Servant,

Richmond,
 the 5th of
 Oct. 1612. “ HENRY.”

Sir Thomas Edmondess sent to the Prince a copy of his letter to the King of the 10th of October, 1612^b, with one to his Highness of the same date^c. By the former of which, his Highness might perceive, with what earnestness the motion was again pursued by the French court for concluding of the match between the Prince and madam Christine; which for real matters his Highness might effect upon such conditions, as he should think fit; so that it rested only for the Prince to make the election.

He wrote again to the Prince on the 20th of the same month^d, inclosing a copy of his letter to the King of the same date; by which his Highness might see what apology Sir Thomas was forced to make for his proceedings in the negotiation for his Highness’s service, wherein he had used all the care, that was possible for him, to satisfy the directions sent him: But being not made acquainted with the true

^b MS. State papers of Sir Thomas Edmondess, Vol. VIII. p. 395. ^c Ibid. p. 391. ^d Ibid. p. 419.

scope of the King's and Prince's intent, he might justly pretend to be exempted from blame, if things had been carried in a contrary bias farther than was meant; the rather, because he had been assured by the Duke of Bouillon, that when, by his Majesty's commandment, the Duke conferred with his Highness, to know how his Highness stood affected to the entertaining of the match with the second daughter, in case that with the eldest could not be broken, (of which the Duke protested, that he had never given assurance) his Highness told him, that he would be content to bear the patience of her young years, so as it might be provided to send her forthwith into England. Sir Thomas now found by his Majesty's letter, that this was never meant; and that it was only in hope of breaking the match of the eldest daughter, that the said proposition was set on foot. His unhappiness therefore was the greater, that, having so plainly discharged his duty in representing the little assurance of that hope, there was notwithstanding no kind of other direction sent him. So that he might well say, that he had hitherto acted in a business, which he did not himself understand. But, though he had not been so happy, as to advance any thing for the good of the Prince's service to such purpose, as his Highness desired; yet he had carried himself with that caution and wariness, that he had done nothing to the prejudice of it; so that he hoped, that his
faith-

faithfulness and dutiful affection should still deserve his Highness's favourable allowance.

The Prince having received three of Sir Thomas Edmond's letters, since he had written to him last, ordered Mr. Newton, in a letter from St. James's of October 29, 1612^e, to acquaint him with the true causes of his not having answered them. The King, being at Royston, when the Prince received the first of the three letters, imparted to his Highness, by letters, the same subject, which was contained in that of Sir Thomas Edmond; desiring the Prince to signify his own opinion. And because the answer made to his Majesty in substance was to be communicated to Sir Thomas himself, the Prince was content to spare his pains therein. Upon the receipt of the second letter of Sir Thomas, his Highness had a full resolution to write, and appointed a prefixed time, when, being interrupted by the coming of Count Henry de Nassau, whom his Highness was desirous to entertain with the utmost courtesy, his indisposition did not allow him, after that, any opportunity. "It hath lingered, says Mr. Newton, upon him above a fortnight, his Highness thinking, by the vigour of his spirit and strength of his body, to overcome it in such sort, that he scarce omitted his ordinary exercises of running at ring, and playing at tennis. But, since

• MS. State Papers of Sir Thomas Edmond's, Vol. VIII.

“ Sunday last, the physicians, fearing, that
 “ it should prove either a bastard tertian or the
 “ ordinary disease of the time, wherewith all
 “ the parts of the country have been much
 “ visited, have ranged him to the observance
 “ of their prescriptions; for that he hath not
 “ had yet a convenient time to read your last;
 “ but, in the mean while, commanded me
 “ to let you understand what I have written
 “ concerning the causes of his sparing to
 “ write; as also, that the offers of dowry made
 “ unto his Majesty are, the one of a million
 “ of crowns, the other of 700000. And this
 “ being all my direction for the present, till his
 “ Highness’s better leisure and health, I hope
 “ you will accept of it as from your Lordship’s
 “ most affectionate to serve you.”

But, before we enter farther into the melancholly scene of the Prince’s last sickness, it will be proper to insert the few remaining letters of his correspondence.

Sir Robert Anstruther, who was now employed in Denmark, and afterwards to other Northern Princes, wrote a letter from Copenhagen on the 26th of October, 1612, to Mr. Newton^s: And, in order to satisfy the Prince of all that had passed there since his coming into that country, he thought it expedient to send the true copies of all the letters between the two Kings, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, and Christiern IV. of Denmark; by which his

† October 25. * Harl. MSS. Vol. 7004. fol. 30.

Highness might see what was done, or likely to be expected. That, with regard to a cessation of arms, the King of Denmark could no ways, in Sir Robert's opinion, give way to it. For, first, in so doing he must maintain his army at a great deal of charges. Next, they should lie idle, and do nothing. Thirdly, his enemies might be provided of all necessaries, of which they now stood in need; and being, perhaps, once provided, would not be so easily dealt with. Above all, that King called to memory what passed in the last wars between his father King Frederic and Sweden. The Swedish commissaries being in Denmark, and having already agreed to certain articles, Frederic, trusting to honest and plain dealing, dismissed his army. But he had no sooner done this, but the Swedes fell upon Denmark, and did great damage; the Danish army, which was dismissed, being at sea going to Germany, where the contrary winds driving them back to their own country, the war grew hotter than before. This was done in sight and memory of many then living.

“ There is, *adds Sir Robert Anstruther*, a
 “ meeting appointed the 29th of November
 “ upon the borders, where the Commissaries
 “ of both kingdoms shall meet with full power
 “ to end and take up the matter, so much as
 “ possibly may be: And if they cannot agree
 “ upon all things, then those points, where-
 “ upon they shall differ, are to be referred
 “ unto

“ unto his Majesty’s person of Great Britain;
 “ if those of Sweden will be content of his
 “ Majesty’s person only: But, if they will
 “ not, the Danes do not refuse to admit others
 “ joint with him. But, in my simple judg-
 “ ment, I think it more honour to have it
 “ referred to his Majesty’s person only, in
 “ regard he only hitherto hath taken care for
 “ the peace, and consequently alone is worthy
 “ of all honour in that business.

“ Since the 10th of August there hath been
 “ no matter of moment done by land; only
 “ that along the borders the Danish soldiers
 “ are dispersed for keeping out of the enemy,
 “ that he may not fall in and spoil or harm
 “ the country.

“ The King himself hath been in person
 “ before Danzhen, in hope to have met with
 “ the Swedish fleet: But they were gone the
 “ night before he came there; and strait his
 “ Majesty went over for the coast of Sweden,
 “ and chased them within the straits and a nar-
 “ row water, that goeth towards Stockholm:
 “ And because of a calm, and the greatness of
 “ his ships, he could not follow them any
 “ farther. His Majesty saith, that if he had
 “ with him only but three gallies, he would
 “ have carried away or spoiled the best part
 “ of the fleet. The 18th of September his
 “ Majesty returned to Copenhagen. After-
 “ wards he had intelligence of a fleet of twenty-
 “ four ships, which the Lubeckers were mak-
 “ ing

" ing ready, and loading with all sorts of com-
 " modities, whereof the Swedes stand in need.
 " His Majesty, knowing of their intention,
 " sent his Vice-Admiral with twelve ships,
 " and commanded them to keep in the Lu-
 " beckers fore-water, and attend their weighing
 " anchors, and going to sea. The Lubeckers,
 " lying all together in the road, and looking
 " only for a fair wind, did see the Danish fleet,
 " which caused them to cut their cables, drive
 " their ships ashore, and then come to a par-
 " ley, and a contract, that the Danes did pro-
 " mise to pursue them no more, and the Lu-
 " beckers should neither suffer ships nor goods
 " to go to Sweden for this year.

" In this last storm, which was about the
 " 24th of October, there were four Swedish
 " ships cast away under the island of Oeland:
 " The cannon were saved, and most part of
 " the goods. The strangers, that were in the
 " ships were all saved; but the Swedes were
 " most part drowned and killed."

The Prince having purchased of Sir Robert
 Dudley, son of Robert Earl of Leicester by the
 Lady Douglas Sheffield, widow of John Lord
 Sheffield, the castle and lands of Kenelworth
 in Warwickshire, and the King being desirous
 to reunite them to the crown, his Highness,
 on the 18th of October, 1612, wrote the fol-
 lowing letter^h to Sir Julius Cæsar, then Chan-
 cellor of the Exchequer:

^h Harl. MSS. Vol. 7008.

" Mr.

Mr. Chancellor;

“**W**HEREAS Sir George More hath acquainted me from you, that the King my father is willing, that the castle and lands of Kenelworth, for which I have lately bargained with Sir Robert Dudley, should be inserted and settled in the entail of lands to the crown; I have thought good by these to let you understand, that as in all things else I shall ever be ready to conform myself to his Majesty’s good pleasure, so I do very willingly assent unto this particular, not doubting but that his Majesty will be graciously pleased (since this is my first purchase, and no ill bargain, as I conceive) to convey the same back again upon me; as likewise, that you will be careful to provide the other three thousand pounds, which his Majesty is content to bestow for buying in of the Countess of Leicester’s¹ estate in some things near adjoining; for which your respective care you shall have me to continue

“Your &c.”

The Lord Roos, whose character has been given above, being well acquainted with the Prince’s curiosity with respect to foreign states,

¹ Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, and mother of Robert Earl of Essex, who was beheaded.

and desirous to gratify him in that point, and being in Italy in 1612, drew up an account of that of Tuscany, which he transmitted to Sir David Murray to be delivered to his Highness, who died before it was received, or even sent. His Lordship's letter to Sir David inclosing it was as follows^k:

“ S I R ;

“ N O W I have finished my relation of
 “ this state, which is here inclosed; and
 “ I pray you deliver it to his Highness. You
 “ must not conceive by my relation, that I
 “ make his revenues above a million of crowns;
 “ for twelve hundred thousand Italian crowns
 “ are little more than a million of French
 “ crowns. And how much less this Duke
 “ shall have will be easily conceived, his three
 “ brothers being to have their parts out of it.
 “ I speak with as much honour of his house
 “ as may be, because it is undecent in a rela-
 “ tion to speak dishonourably of Princes.
 “ I have humbly besought the Prince's
 “ Highness, that no body may have the keep-
 “ ing of my relations but yourself, in whose
 “ custody I know they are safe from the copy-
 “ ing of others: and there is nothing in the
 “ world, which I know, that I would not
 “ have known to you, I esteeming you the

^k Cotton Library, Titus, B. VII.

“ truest

“ truest friend, that I have in the world; and
 “ in whose hands I would lay my life.

“ I cannot omit to tell you, that the great
 “ Dutchess is now informed, that you are so
 “ great a Puritan, that you are not only an
 “ endeavourer against this match, but also
 “ against all other matches, which are popish.
 “ Therefore, if this match do take effect, you
 “ must look to yourself; for there will be
 “ practices against you.

“ It is advertised Sir Robert Dudley, that
 “ you have been for my Lord Lisle¹ against
 “ him in some businesses between him and the
 “ Prince. Therefore you must look for all
 “ the evil offices he can do you. I love many
 “ good parts, that are in Sir Robert Dudley,
 “ but dislike many evil ones. He hath under-
 “ taken here by his credit with the Prince, to
 “ persuade him by discourses to be firm for
 “ this match. I pray God, that the Prince’s
 “ Highness would match with one of his own
 “ religion, which would be best for him and
 “ our country. But God’s will be done: It
 “ belongs not to me to give him advice, he
 “ having many more worthy and more able.

“ The great Dutchess here is advertised,
 “ that Sir Charles Cornwallis is a great dis-
 “ suader of the Prince from the marriage.
 “ Also, that Mr. Sackfield hath done evil
 “ offices in the business.

¹ Sir Robert Sidney, created Viscount Lisle in May, 1605.

“ This is all, which at this time I have to
 “ trouble you with, unless it be a trouble to
 “ you the remembrance of my true love and
 “ wishes, as unto my own soul.

“ I rest

Florence,
 Nov. 25,
 1612.

“ Your most intire Friend,

“ Will. Roos.

“ This morning the resident of Venice, be-
 “ ing with me, told me, that Yates, which
 “ came hither to Sir Robert Dudley, had a
 “ conference with the great Dutchefs of three
 “ hours long; and so you need not doubt but
 “ among them they have plotted which way
 “ to place their bribes.

“ The Resident told me, that Yates, be-
 “ sides a present of ** and ** had a bribe.

“ Either I am very evil informed, or else
 “ there is a bribe upon the way for you from
 “ these Princes; for here there is no secrecy.

“ It is strange how they make their court
 “ here to Sir Thomas Chaloner's son: But yet
 “ indeed it is not strange; for they build upon
 “ his father for a chief foundation of this
 “ match.”

Robert Earl of Essex, who has so consider-
 able a share in our history during the war be-
 tween King Charles I. and the long Parlia-
 ment, was much esteemed by Prince Henry,
 whose

whose play-fellow he had been^m. But of their correspondence by letters three only, besides one already given, are extantⁿ.

His Lordship's first was as follows:

" Most mighty Prince,

" **L**ET it out of your great goodness be
 " pardoned, if, in forwardness of my
 " zeal, I took boldness to present my hum-
 " blest duty to your Highness's most gracious
 " acceptance. In the poorness of my fortune
 " I am not able to give better testimony of my
 " true affected heart to your service; which
 " were it so good, as it would give means, no
 " creature should be more careful and forward
 " to do your Highness honour than myself:
 " as it is, that with my life shall be freely
 " expended to continue your princely good
 " opinion of me. In hope of this Royal no-
 " bleness, none shall more truly pray for the
 " increase and continuance of your Highness's
 " great happiness, or stand more heartily
 " devoted to perform all hearty obedience,
 " than

" Your Highness's poorest Servant,

" Ro. Essex."

^m Francis Osborne's Traditional Memoirs on King James; §. 38. p. 530. ⁿ Harl. MSS. Vol. 7008.

The Prince's letter to the Earl was in these terms:

“MY respect hath always been such unto you, that I was well content to see the late remembrance of your affection unto me by your letter; and would be no less glad to see you at some times, if your occasions did afford you the means according to your desire. But whatsoever be wanting in that kind, I am well persuaded, will be supplied by the continuance of your hearty affection, which shall ever be regarded by me with that kindness, which can be expected from

“Your very good Friend,

“HENRY.”

The Earl of Essex returned his thanks for the Prince's letter in the following:

“My most gracious Prince,

“IT is my truest contentment to receive so noble a testimony of your Highness's favour, as it hath pleased you to grace me within Mr. Newton's letter. I will thereby give myself assurance of your princely goodness, whensoever I shall be emboldened humbly to implore the virtue thereof. And, my most princely master, I can but vow in
“the

“ the uprightnes of my innocent heart, that
 “ whensoever your Highness shall lend your
 “ princely hand to the raising of my poor
 “ fortune, it shall be to enable a servant, that
 “ will always be ready to do you his best and
 “ faithfulest services to the last mite of his
 “ estate, to the last breath of his life. Thus
 “ much all your Highness’s servants will be
 “ ready to offer; thus much I will ever be
 “ ready to perform. So most humbly pray-
 “ ing your gracious pardon, I presume to kiss
 “ your princely hands, and will ever pray to
 “ God for the long, happy, and prosperous
 “ continuance of your blessed life.

“ Your Highness’s most humble

“ And most faithful Servant,

“ Ro. Essex.”

The Prince in the course of his studies,
 under the direction of Mr. Newton, had for
 a companion of them a young gentleman of
 excellent parts, whose youngest siter Catharine
 was married to Mr. Newton. This gentleman,
 Mr. Thomas Puckering, only surviving son of
 Sir John Puckering, Lord Keeper of the Great
 Seal, who died suddenly of an apoplexy in the
 beginning of May, 1596, was two or three
 years older than the Prince, being born in

1591^s or 1592^o. In September, 1610, he travelled into France, being recommended to Sir Thomas Edmondes, the English Ambassador at Paris, by Mr. Newton, in a letter of the 2d of that month^s, mentioning, that the bearer, his brother-in-law, had sequestered himself for a time from the service of his master, the Prince, whom he had attended above five years^s, that he might be bettered by his travel, and made more serviceable hereafter to his Highness. He returned to England about June, 1611, and was knighted that year, and created a Baronet on the 25th of November, 1612, while he was at Florence, whence he wrote a letter to the Prince on the 19th of that month, N. S.^s, three days after his Highness's death, which his distance from England prevented him being for some time informed of. His letter was as follows:

“ S I R ;

“ T H E infinite desire I have to do no-
 “ thing displeasing to your Highness,
 “ and to avoid, in all my actions concerning
 “ your Highness, the censure both of pre-

° In his epitaph, in the church of St. Mary at Warwick, he is said to be forty-five years old at his death, on the 20th of March, 1636-7. P MS. State Papers

of Sir Thomas Edmondes, Vol. VI. p. 739. ° In his epitaph it is said, that he was *in pueritiâ in Aulâ Regiâ per septennium innutritus, coque honoris atque favoris gradu, ut solus Henrico principi studiorum particeps admissus esset.*

Harl. MSS. Vol. 7008.

“ sump-

"sumption and neglect, made me a long
 "while doubtful, whether I could take the
 "hardiess to write unto your Highness, with-
 "out incurring the danger of the former; or
 "omit this poor yet best means I have of pre-
 "senting my humblest service unto your High-
 "ness, without falling within the compass of
 "the latter. At length, finding it an im-
 "possible thing for me to decide this doubt,
 "being distracted one while on this side, an-
 "other while on that side, with a respective
 "fear of giving your Highness the least offence
 "in either kind; and finding besides, that it
 "belongs not to me to judge of the goodness
 "or badness of my own actions towards your
 "Highness, but that it depends merely upon
 "your Highness's own interpretation, which
 "having good cause to hope that I should
 "find favourable, by reason of the assured
 "knowledge I have of your Highness's gra-
 "cious disposition, having seen so many proofs
 "thereof, both in general towards all men,
 "and in my particular towards me; I resolved,
 "since I must put it to the venture, to hazard
 "to err in being too forward rather than in
 "being too slow, to present my humblest
 "service to your Highness, beseeching most
 "humbly your Highness to impute my errors,
 "both in this (if any be) and in all other my
 "actions, unto ignorance, in not knowing
 "how to do better; and to judge of them not

“ precisely by the outward face of them;
 “ which may be imperfect in many things;
 “ but by my intentions in them, the uttermost
 “ aim whereof your Highness, by examining
 “ them, shall find to be no other, but to do
 “ your Highness all possible service, and to
 “ shew myself in every thing

“ Your Highness’s most humble

Florence,

Nov. 19,

stilo novo.

“ And faith ul Servant,

“ Thomas Puckering.”

Sir Thomas Puckering spent four years in his travels in Italy, Spain, and France, and, at his return to England, resided chiefly at the Priory in Warwick, except when he attended the parliaments, in which he sat as member for Tamworth in Staffordshire. By his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Morley of Suffex, Knt. he had three daughters, only one of whom, Jane, survived him; and, upon her death, his nephew, Sir Henry Newton, Bart. only son of Sir Adam Newton, became heir to the greatest part of his estate, and took the name of Puckering.

The Prince, in the 19th year of his age, had a remarkable change in his constitution, occasioned by his continual fatigue of body and mind, or some internal unknown cause. For whereas his face was before somewhat

round

round and full, and his disposition chearful; his visage began now to appear paler, longer, and thinner; and he grew himself more serious and retired than usual; but without any complaint from himself, or suspicion of his attendants, except that, about half a year after, he would now and then mention a giddy lumpy heaviness in his forehead, the pain of which obliged him to stroke up his brow and forehead with his hand before he put on his hat. He used likewise to bleed at the nose often and in great quantity; by which he found great relief, till a little before his last sickness, when this discharge stopped. He was now subject to many and violent fainting fits, to recover him from which it was found necessary to make use of strong spirits. But, as these fits came upon him only at intervals, they were little regarded, and no considerable danger apprehended from them.

About the beginning of the summer of the year 1612, the general discourse was of the marriage of his sister Elizabeth; which was various, according to the different affections of the persons, as Protestants or Papists; some wishing her to be married to the King of Spain, some to the Prince of Savoy, some to the young Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and others to Frederic the Elector Palatine. The Prince highly approved of the motion for the Elector, and exerted all his interest and endeavours to promote

mote it upon the coming over of Count Hanau, Ambassador from the Elector, in order to propose that match. His Highness treated that Count with great respect, and seconded his application, never resting till the great affair of the marriage was concluded.

After the departure of the Count, as well as of the Duke of Bouillon, from England, which was in the beginning of June, 1612, the Prince went to Richmond, where he continued till the progress. Here the river of Thames, which ran close by his house, invited him now and then in an evening to learn to swim. This practice was indeed objected to by several, who thought it dangerous after supper with a full stomach: And Dr. Theodore Mayerne declared himself afterwards of the same opinion; and that this custom of the Prince stopped the bleeding at his nose, and occasioned the fever, that proved so fatal to him. But he could not be prevailed on to discontinue the practice, while he stayed at Richmond; where he took likewise great delight in walking by the side of the Thames in moon-light, to hear the sound and echo of the trumpets; both the situation and season exposing him too much to the evening dews.

1611 ¹ Cornwallis, Life and Death of Prince Henry, p. 22, 24. The Count Hanau was in Holland in April, 1612; in his way to England. Winwood, Vol. III. p. 357.

² Cornwallis, p. 23, 24. ³ Histor. View, p. 351. Winwood, Vol. III. p. 373.

But

But the time of the progress being now come, in which he was to meet the King his father at Belvoir Castle, the seat of the Earl of Rutland, in Lincolnshire^u, on the second Saturday after the progress began, his Highness, without a due regard to his own constitution, or to the length of the journey, being near ninety six miles, or to the extreme and unusual heat of the weather, determined, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Sir Charles Cornwallis, to perform that journey in two days. He accordingly set out on Friday^v, at one in the morning from Richmond, and came to Hinchingbroke near Huntingdon, a house belonging to Sir Oliver Cromwell, Knt. Master of his Game, by ten in the morning, travelling threescore miles in nine hours. There he remained that night, and the next day rode six and thirty miles to Belvoir Castle, where he met the King at the time prefixed.

Before he left Richmond, having resolved to feast the court at his manor of Woodstock towards the end of the progress, as it would be the first time of their general meeting there since the house became his own, he had given orders to his officers to make provisions for

^u Sir Charles Cornwallis, p. 28. says Nottinghamshire.

^v *Id. ibid.* Mr. John Chamberlaine, in a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood from London, 10 August, 1612. [Winwood, *Vol. III.* p. 384.] says, "The Prince went after the King on Thursday last in post, and, they say, overtook him the next day."

that purpose; and that a large summer-house of green boughs should be erected in the park for the great supper: and during the execution of these orders he made several hasty and fatiguing journies thither in the heat of the season.

At the conclusion of the progress the court came to Woodstock, where they were entertained by his Highness, from Wednesday night till the Sunday night following, when he gave his great (and, as it proved, his farewell) supper to them, himself having before attended to direct all the preparations for it. The King and Queen sat at table by themselves at the upper end of the room, and the Prince with his sister and the Lords and Ladies at another table of about thirty yards in length; and the whole feast, which was one of the most magnificent and best ordered, that had been seen, was crowned by the chearfulness and vivacity of his Highness.

The court removing the next day, Monday, from Woodstock, the Prince, after leave obtained, hastened to his house at Richmond on account of the expected arrival of the Elector Palatine, whom he intended to receive with all possible honour. At his return to Richmond he not only began to give orders for his own affairs and the reception of the Elector, but likewise to consider of means of rewarding his officers and servants, many of whom had spent
much,

much, and gained nothing, in his service, To some of these he actually assigned pensions, and to the rest promised to gratify them as soon as possible.

But now, whether through the continuance of his violent exercises, or too frequent indulgence of himself in eating grapes or other fruits, or from some other unknown cause, he grew daily paler and more emaciated, complaining now and then of a cold lazy drowziness in his head; which induced him frequently to ask questions of several of his attendants concerning the nature and cure of the fever then raging, and from its unusual symptoms called *the Disease*^x, imagining probably his own indisposition to be of the same kind. He used also now and then before this, and in his sickness often, to sigh; and being asked the reason of it by his Physician Dr. Hammond, and others near him, his answer was, that he knew not; sometimes, that those sighs broke from him unawares; and at other times, that they were not without a cause.

^x Cornwallis, p. 25—29. Mr. Newton in his letter to Sir Thomas Edmondes of the 29th of October 1612, cited above, mentions “the ordinary disease of the time, wherewith all the parts of the country have been much visited.” Mr. George Chapman, in a note upon his *Epicede* on the Prince’s death, remarks, that this fever was supposed by the Physicians to have been brought from Hungary.

In the beginning of October, his continual head-ach, listlessness and indisposition increased, which, on account of the time, he endeavoured to the utmost to conceal; and he, who used to rise early in the morning to walk in the fields, now lay in bed almost every morning till nine, complaining of his own indolence, and that he knew not the cause of it; during which time he would often, before he rose, ask the Grooms of the Bed-chamber, how he looked that morning? which they generally answered, as apprehending no danger, with some pleasantry, in order to divert him.

Still continuing ill he had on Saturday the 10th of October two small fits of an ague, which forced him to keep his chamber, and consult his Physician Dr. John Hammond^r, with an intention, as it seemed, of taking some strong physic to remove the cause. But that Physician not venturing to do much without farther advice, only prescribed an emollient clyster.

On the Tuesday the 13th of October having, as was supposed, taken cold, he was seized with a violent diarrhoea, occasioning five and twenty discharges of choler, phlegm, and at last pu-

^r Henry, the youngest son of the Doctor, born the 18th of August 1605, and well known to the learned world by his learned writings, had the honour of receiving his Christian name at the Font from the Prince, *that great favourer of meriting servants and their relations*, as he is stiled by Dr. Fell in his *Life of Dr. Hammond*, p. 2. 2d Edit. London 1662.

trified matter. But the next day finding himself, as he said, reasonably well, he gave orders for his removal from Richmond to St. James's on the Thursday following, that he might be ready to receive the Elector Palatine: and though it was represented to him as very hazardous to go abroad, while the diarrhoea continued, he persisted to declare, that he was well enough to undertake the journey, and accordingly came to St. James's.

When he arrived there, the paleness of his countenance, and his whole appearance, raised apprehensions in several persons: but the firmness of his own mind was such, that he made no complaint, and shewed no disorder, and even gave leave to his Physician, who had waited long, to go to his own house².

The Elector Palatine, who landed at Gravesend on Friday night October 16, being brought to the Banqueting House at Whitehall, the Prince attended the King, Queen and Princess there to receive him³. But his indisposition still continuing and increasing began to make a great change in his temper; so that he grew displeas'd with almost every thing; and his curiosity about what before gave him much satisfaction, seem'd absolutely extinguish'd. However he still employ'd himself in providing and giving orders for such things, as re-

² Cornwallis, p. 29—32.

³ Winwood, Vol. III. p. 403.

lated to the solemnity of his sister's marriage; and still kept company, as much as he could, with the Elector Palatine, and Count Henry de Nassau. He delighted particularly in the conversation of the Count, whom he highly honoured and esteemed for his noble and heroic disposition so much resembling his own, and with whom he used to play often at cards and tennis; at the latter of which games they played a great match on Saturday the 24th of October. But in this match the Prince, too negligent of his own weak state of body and the coldness of the season, played in his shirt, though the spectators could not but be alarmed with the strong marks of his indisposition, expressing to one another their fears of the consequences of it. But after the match was ended, he seemed to be sensible of no disorder, having hitherto enjoyed a tolerable good appetite. However at his going to bed that night, he complained more than usual of his lassitude and the pain in his head.

The next morning, Sunday the 25th of October, it being the custom of his house to have the sermon early, when the Court was near, because he used after his own to hear the King's, when he was informed, that Mr. Wilkinson^b, one of his Majesty's Chaplains, was ready to preach before his Highness, he,

^b Robert Wilkinson, Rector of St. Olave's in Southwark, who died in 1617. Wood, *Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. Col. 195.*

contrary to his late habit of lying long in bed, and though he found himself then drowsy and ill, arose and began to dress himself. For he had a great esteem for Mr. Wilkinson, as a preacher, ever since he had heard, long before, a sermon of his upon the last judgment, which his Highness often spoke of with high approbation. He did not make the preacher wait long for him in the Chapel, where the sermon^c was upon a very seasonable topic, Job xiv. 1. *Man, that is born of a woman, is of short continuance, and full of trouble^d*; and in

^c It was published by the Author, at London in 1614, in 4to. with another under the following title: *A pair of sermons successively preached to a pair of peerless and succeeding Princes; the former as an ante-funeral to the late Prince Henry, Anno Dom. 1612, October 25, the first day of his last and fatal sickness: The latter preached this present year 1614, January 16, to the now living Prince Charles, as a preserver of his life, and life to his soul.* These two sermons were dedicated by the Author to Prince Charles.

^d Upon this subject the preacher (p. 38. & seqq.) observed, that it might indeed be said, “A King hath a royal throne; he may sit when other men stand; and if sitting be not easy enough, he may lean, or lie down to sleep, when others wake. He may eat and drink, and dice and card, and worse than all that; and yet when he hath done his worst, it is well done; and who dares say, Why hast thou done it? Such, answers he, is the error of men, to impute least trouble there, where God hath placed most. *But it is not for Kings, O Lemuel (Prov. 31.) to drink wine, nor for Princes strong drink.* If men respected only quietness and worldly ease, a kingdom were not worth the asking.”

in it were represented, with proper force and extent, the miseries peculiarly attending the highest stations in life. The Prince having commended this sermon went to Whitehall, where he heard another with the King. After this he din'd with his Majesty, and eat with a seemingly good appetite; but the paleness of his countenance, and the hollow ghastliness of his eyes, were much remarked. After dinner, his great courage and resolution, in combating with and dissembling his disorder, gave way to the force of it; for about three o'clock in the afternoon he was taken, not only with a sudden sickness and faintness, too familiar to him of late, but likewise with a shivering attended with great heat and head-ach, which from that time never left him. In this state he was obliged suddenly to take his leave, and go to St. James's to bed. Here he found himself

“ What art and great labour have Kings in the very act
 “ of government. It is an art of all arts (saith GREGORY
 “ NAZIANZEN) to govern man, who is so wild a beast
 “ and untamed of himself. It was truly said of Maxi-
 “ minus, one of the Roman Emperors, *Quo major fuerit,*
 “ *eo magis laborabo.* Besides what perturbations of fear
 “ are in the minds of Kings more than of other men,
 “ who may fear every cup, and every bit, and every gift;
 “ who fear their enemies, and fear their friends, because
 “ they know not their enemies from their friends. From
 “ the conquest downward, of three and twenty deceased
 “ Princes, eight, that is more than a third part, were
 “ slain. Now sure it were a most fearful thing among the
 “ common sort of men, if one in every three were sub-
 “ ject to violent death.”

extremely

extremely ill, continuing all that evening in an agony, and tormented with an excessive thirst, never afterwards abated; his eyes being dim and impatient of the light of a candle. That night, during which he rested ill, he was ordered a cooling pufan, with broth at the end of his fit.

On Monday, October 26, he felt no abatement of the pain in his head; his belly continued coftive; and his pulse high; his water crude, thin, and whitish; which induced Dr. Mayerne, his Majesty's chief Phyfician, to order him a clyfter, which operated very well. After which the Prince finding an intermiffion of his fever, which intermiffion continued all that day, he rofe from his bed, and played at cards; as he likewise did the next day with his brother, the Duke of York, and Count Henry de Naffau. In the mean time many meffages were fent from the court and every where elfe, to know how he was; all which, as no danger was apprehended, were answered with good hopes. Yet his Highnefs all this while looked ill and pale, fpoke hollow, and strangely, with dead funk eyes; his drynefs of mouth and great thirst continuing; for which his Phyficians ordered him, that night fharp, tart, and cooling juleps, prepared with all kinds of cordials and antidotes poffible; his broths and jellies being made with the fame

care. Yet his thirst and head-ach continued; though he rested quietly that night.

On Tuesday, October 27, he found some ease in the morning, so that his Physicians were all in hopes, that his disease would have proved a tertian or bastard tertian at the most; though his ghastly rolling eyes and uncouth looks put them in some fear.

That day the King ordered his surgeon Mr. Nasmith to attend the Prince in his sickness; in conference with whom, and divers others, Dr. Mayerne declared it as his judgment, that the surest method for his Highness's safety was bleeding, before his natural heat and strength were too much impaired or oppressed, or the fever became continual. But this opinion being strongly opposed by the rest was not followed.

That morning the Prince rose, and put on his cloaths; but his fit returning about noon, first with a cold, and then a great heat without any sweat continuing till eight at night, he was forced to go to bed again; but that night rested quietly.

On Wednesday, October 28, in the morning came Dr. William Butler*, the celebrated physician of Cambridge, of long practice and singular judgment in his profession, but a great humorist. He comforted the Prince with

* He had been educated at Clare Hall in Cambridge, and died the 29th of January 1617-18, at the age of 83.

hopes of soon recovering him, assuring him, that there was no danger: but secretly to others he spoke doubtfully, as his custom was, that he could not tell what to make of the distemper; and that he did not like the appearance; adding, that if the Prince should escape, it would be a considerable time before his recovery would be completed. Nor could he be persuaded, during the whole time of his Highness's sickness, to stay longer with him than about one hour every morning, and another in the afternoon, to consult with the rest. What his reasons were for this are not known; whether it was dislike of Dr. Mayerne, or resentment, because the cure was not committed to him as chief; or suspicion of the Prince's disease, which made him unwilling to meddle too much in the cure, which Sir Charles Cornwallis inclined to think the most probable cause. But at his first coming having inquired what was done, he approved of it, and recommended it to be continued till a farther judgment might be given. The Prince however found little or no ease, though he rose and dressed himself.

In the preceding days and this, his stomach was not yet quite gone, but he would now and then take such food, as the Physicians thought proper. Yet the Doctors Mayerne, Hammond, and Butler, considering the great

f. Cornwallis, p. 43.

ness of the danger, and the strangeness of the disease, the water not at all indicating the nature of it, which made them more unwilling to meddle till a crisis appeared, were desirous to have had more Physicians called into the consultation. But the Prince refusing to admit of this on account of the confusion of opinions, that might arise, they unanimously agreed, as he had then an intermission, but was costive, to give him a purge of Senna, and Rhubarb, infused in cordial and cooling liquors, with syrup of roses; which operated seven or eight times, and brought away a great quantity of putrid choler and at last phlegm, the urine inclining somewhat to concoction. But his Highness did not find afterwards the ease, which was expected; yet was still fed with hopes of recovery. But night being come (towards which, during his whole sickness, he grew worse than in the morning, when he was always more composed than in the evening) his head-ach, thirst, and other symptoms, continuing, though not with extremity, he rested ill.

On Thursday, October 29, the hopes of him began a little to diminish; though that morning the pain of his head was a little abated, and his breath, which had been short, was relieved. These favourable circumstances made him resolve to rise, as he had done before; but finding his head so giddy, that he

was

was not able to stand alone, he returned to his bed, which from that moment he never afterwards left. The tingling of his ears, and his leapings and boundings, now increasing, and a small fit coming upon him with a coldness, and the fever, which had but short intermissions, causing his tongue to be black and dry, and all other bad symptoms to be aggravated, many of those about him began to fear the worst. But the Physicians, not willing nor daring to do much, till they had some farther and more certain knowledge, advised only the supplying the Prince, who bore his illness with extraordinary patience, with all sorts of cordial juleps, which art or experience could suggest. Dr. Butler's advice was said to be the same, that cordials internal and external, and the restoratives and diet begun, should be continued.

The Prince had no evacuation by sweat, (which it was thought improper to force, and that nature's own time was to be expected.) This night he passed very unquietly.

On Friday, October 30, the sixth day of his illness, he continued in the same state, the Physicians still waiting for the issue of the eighth day. His fever was continual with all the former symptoms; for which a clyster was given him in the morning, by which he had some ease.

Z 4 About

About three in the afternoon came on his lesser doubling, during which his breath became short, and his face very red, and his pulse beat extremely quick. In this fit his nose began to bleed, as some thought, two ounces; and then stopped of itself. By this bleeding he found some relief, not having bled, as his custom was, for a considerable time before.

From this time Dr. Mayerne, with Mr. Nasmith, began to urge the necessity of bleeding, as they had done before; nature seeming to call for it, the fever being continual in a constitution excessively hot, and which had been much used to bleeding. But the other Physicians being averse to it, nothing was done, this day passing like the rest. All this while the excessive pain of the Prince's head continued, together with his heat and thirst, for which his mouth and tongue was continually washed. In the night he rested ill; but in the morning he was, as usual, somewhat better.

On Saturday, October 31, there appeared no sign of amendment, his Highness continuing in an excessive heat; after which came on the great redoubling; and he grew delirious, with blackness, dryness, and clefts in his tongue. He was continually plied with every thing supposed to be proper, but to no purpose, except giving him a little ease for the present. The tingling of his ears, and his boundings and leapings, increased, and his urine grew more crude.

crude. He now found the pain of his head more acute, with a sensation as if there lay a weight on his forehead; which together with the ulceration of his throat made him unwilling to speak, except when absolutely necessary, and then not without extreme pain.

This day, nature again, as it had done the day before, pointed out the necessity of bleeding; for which reason it was pressed with more earnestness than ever by Dr. Mayerne, as the only means to save the Prince's life. At length, after Dr. Butler, who had mistaken the beginning of his Highness's illness, had long opposed it, those two Physicians and Dr. Hammond agreed, that a vein should be opened the next day. This night was more unquiet than any of the former.

On Sunday the 1st of November, Dr. Butler with great reluctance gave over his opposition to bleeding, which he had refused to consent to, on pretence that it was the eighth day of the Prince's sickness, offering to leave the other Physicians, till he was forced to stay and give his consent; Dr. Hammond and others proving to him, that it was not the eighth day, his Highness having been ill for a long time before, though he had with uncommon resolution and patience concealed it. In the morning seven or eight ounces of blood were drawn from the median vein of his right arm; during which operation he fainted
not,

not, but bled freely, desiring and calling upon them to take more blood, when they were going to stop, finding instant ease. The blood being cold appeared thin and putrid, with a blueish water on the top, and without any fibres.

This day, after bleeding, the Prince found great ease, and himself better than he had been since the beginning of his sickness, his pulse grown less quick, his doublings ceased, and all his ill symptoms became less violent.

That afternoon he was visited by his Royal Father, Mother, Brother, Sister, and the Elector Palatine, and divers others of the court; all of whom conceiving good hopes departed from him with much comfort. Yet that night he passed unquietly, though less so than some of the former.

On Monday, November 2, he became worse than ever; the great redoubling coming upon him, accompanied with redness of face, shortness of breath, increase of thirst, blackness of the tongue, excessive heat, though somewhat less than it was two days before, and numbness. In short, so many ill signs appeared, that some of the Physicians then declared, that by the violence of the disease, the blood and humours were retired towards the brain, and overcharged the vessels of it; as afterwards was evident upon opening it.

That

That morning Dr. Henry Atkyns^s, a Physician of London, eminent for his learning and integrity, as well as extensive practice, being sent for by the King to attend the Prince, declared his opinion, that the case was a putrid fever, the seat whereof was under the liver in the first passages; and the malignity of it of the highest kind.

This day and the next the Prince was visited by his Majesty and others of the Court, whose extreme concern was however mixed with some hopes.

All this while, though he grew every day worse, yet no person mentioned to him death; which his sickness, that day and the next, would not permit him to reflect upon himself, which his Physicians would have diverted him from doing, by telling him, that he was in no danger, an opinion founded upon his extraordinary patience; for he neither complained, nor could have been discovered to be sick, but by his looks.

That night his delirium increased; for he called out for his clothes, rapier, &c. saying that he must be gone; he would not stay; with other speeches of as extravagant a kind.

On Tuesday, November 3, he was worse than before; all his former symptoms increas-

^s He died at his house in Warwick-Court, near Warwick-Lane, the 22d of September, 1634. Wood, Athen. Oxon. *Vol. I. Col. 129.*

ing, his boundings being turned into convulsions, his raving and numbness heightened, and his fever more violent. Whereupon bleeding was again proposed by Dr. Mayerne and others, the Doctor affirming, that he disliked the too sparing manner of proceeding with his Highness; and that, in a case of such extremity, they must, if they meant to save his life, pursue the same method of cure, as they would with an ordinary person, forgetting him to be a Prince, whom they had in hand: Otherwise he must die (for ought he saw) because he was a Prince; though, if he were of low rank, he might be saved. But this opinion was disapproved of by most of the others, who continued and increased their cordials, giving him a clyster, which brought away abundance of corrupt and putrid matter, together with some raisins, which he was thought to have eaten twelve days before.

That day, in order to ease the Prince's pain in the head, his hair was shaven away, and pigeons and cupping-glasses applied; which he bore with admirable patience, as if he had been insensible of pain; but without any relief, except for the present.

The Physicians began now to despair, and some of them to discover it by their looks; for that night he became very weak, the fever increasing with the delirium, in which he began to be very restless, singing in his sleep,

endeavouring to leap out of bed, and gathering up the sheets. The convulsions grew likewise stronger, and his tongue, mouth, and throat, more dry than ever; though he did not complain of thirst, or call out for relief of it; which shewed, that his distemper had got the better of his reason; since otherwise he could not but have complained as before.

On Wednesday, November 4, the hopes of the Prince's recovery were much lessened, the Physicians, Surgeons, and Apothecaries, who had hitherto been the most sanguine, beginning to despair; though most of them still thought, that a crisis should be expected, before they ought to determine; of which however there was yet small appearance.

That day a cock cloven by the back was applied to the soles of his feet; but in vain; and the cordials were redoubled in number and quantity, but without any benefit.

In the afternoon his Majesty hearing of the Prince's undoubted danger, though he was then more composed and sober than at other times, came to see him. But, being informed of his situation, and the probable consequences of it, and what an addition of grief it would be to see his beloved son in that extremity, he was at last persuaded to depart without seeing him, after giving express orders, that, since his Highness was continually molested with great numbers, who came out of regard to visit him, no person should

should be admitted except those, who of necessity must attend him, till the issue of the distemper was seen. This was accordingly done, and the Prince, for his greater ease, was removed into another longer and more quiet chamber.

Dr. Mayerne had, before this, seriously exhorted the Prince to commend himself into the hands of God, and found him in a most excellent and religious frame of mind. And the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. George Abbot, hearing of the desperate state of his Highness, now thought it his duty to visit him. His first question to the Prince was, whether there had been any prayers said in his chamber since his sickness? To which his Highness answered in the negative, alledging the cause to have been the continual employment of the Physicians, Surgeons, and Apothecaries, about him; and that he had not been put in mind of it till then: But that he had not failed to pray quietly by himself. This answer being very satisfactory to the Archbishop, he again asked, whether his Highness would now henceforward be pleased to have prayers in his chamber? The Prince readily consented to this; inquiring which of his Chaplains were present; and finding Dr. Milbourne^a, Dean of Rochester,

^a Dr. Richard Milbourne, born at London, though of a Pembroke-shire family, and educated at Winchester School,

fter, to be attending, he ordered him to be called, as one whom he had always esteemed for his learning, character, and abilities as a preacher. The Archbishop in the mean time, not willing too much to disquiet the Prince, said prayers that evening at his bed-side in a low voice. Upon which his Highness desired him to raise it; and repeated the confession of his faith word for word after his Grace. From that time the Dean of Rochester continued to pray daily with the Prince at his bed-side. That night was as unquiet as the rest.

On Thursday morning, November 5, an account was sent to the King, that there now remained no hopes nor means of the Prince's recovery, except by desperate and dangerous attempts. Which his Majesty considering, gave absolute permission to Dr. Mayerne to do what he would himself, without advice of the rest, if, in such an extremity, any method could be thought of for his Highness's safety. But he, weighing the importance of the attempt, and the greatness of the danger, would not venture upon any experiment without the advice of the others, which he always took; declaring, that it should never be said in after-ages, that he

School, and afterwards at Queen's College Cambridge. He was Minister of Sevenoke in Kent, Chantor of the Cathedral of St. David's, and Dean of Rochester, and advanced to the Bishoprick of St. David's in 1615, and from thence translated in 1621 to that of Carlisle, dying in 1624.

had

had killed the King's eldest son. His Majesty in the mean while, unwilling and unable to stay so near the gates of sorrow, removed to Theobald's in Hertfordshire, to wait there the event.

Bleeding was now the third time proposed amongst the Physicians, Mayerne, Hammond, Butler, and Atkyns; some of them, in particular Dr. Mayerne, affirming, that the blood filling the brain by its malignant acrimony and quantity, caused the ravings and convulsions, which, though without seeming pain, because the spirits were oppressed, put his Highness into imminent danger, more than the numbness, the cause of which was within the ventricles of the brain; as also the hot and choleric blood in the membranes. All which being considered, and that his Highness had yet sufficient strength of body, and his pulse still able to endure it, the opening of a vein was, in their judgment, the only means left. But this was disliked by the rest, who concluded to double and treble the cordials, making a revulsion from the head with a clyster, which had little effect, except that the Prince became more sensible after it.

In the mean time the Archbishop came in great haste to his Highness, and gently asking how he did since he last saw him; and finding little or no hope remaining, he began to prepare the Prince against the fear of death. He
observed,

observed, that the preparation for it, and the thinking and meditating upon it, could not bring on the awful event the sooner; but, on the contrary, would fortify him so much the more against it. He reminded him of the excellence and immortality of the soul, the inexpressible happiness of good men in another state, the misery of the present, and the insignificancy of all the vain, inconstant, momentary, and frail pleasures of it in comparison of the joys of heaven; with many other topics of the like nature.

The Archbishop having thus prepared him to hear, went farther, and acquainted him of the exceedingly great danger, which he was in; and that though he might recover (as he hoped he would) yet he might also die. And since it was an inevitable and irrevocable necessity, that all must once die, soon or late, death being the reward of sin; his Grace asked, if it should so fall out, whether or no he was well pleased to submit himself to the will of God? To which the Prince answered, with all his heart. The Archbishop then proceeded to questions concerning his faith; first of the religion and church, wherein he lived: which his Highness acknowledged to be the only true church, wherein alone was salvation to be expected. Then of his faith in Christ only, by whom, and in whom, without any merit of his, he could be assured of the remission of all his sins.

This the Prince professed to be his sincere belief. Lastly, of the resurrection of the body, everlasting life, and the happiness of heaven: All which the Prince confessed, hoping to enjoy it with all the saints.

After this conference, with much more to the same purpose, the Archbishop, fearing too much to disquiet the Prince, took his leave of him, with many pious exhortations.

That day, the Anniversary of the Thanksgiving for the Deliverance from the Gunpowder-plot, order was given to all churches to pray for his Highness; till which time his danger was unknown to the people in general.

Upon that day, and at several other times since his confusion of speech, he would often call upon Sir David Murray, in whom he had the highest confidence, by his name, *David, David, David*: Who coming to the Prince, to know his pleasure, his Highness answered with a sigh, "I would say something; but I cannot utter it." Which form he still used, as long as he had any sense or memory.

Now, though too late, came in, to assist the other physicians, Dr. Palmer and Dr. Gifford¹,

¹ John Gifford, M. D. educated at New College in Oxford, who took the degree of doctor of physic December 7, 1598. and afterwards practised at London, being member of the college of physicians there. He died at a considerable age in 1647. Wood, Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. Col. 155.

both of great reputation in their profession; who, with the former four, went into a consultation what now remained to be done; in which consultation was again propounded the necessity of bleeding: But the opportunity of this was passed by the evacuation of his belly. In the end they agreed upon Diascordium, as the only means now remaining; which, being tempered with cooling cordials, was given him about ten at night. The operation of this was little or none; neither all this while did nature incline to relieve itself by sweating; the forcing of which was thought to be improper. This night was as unquiet as the rest; his symptoms continuing the same; but he spoke now and then, though so confusedly, that he could not be understood.

Among the rest Mr. Nasmith sitting by his bed-side, his Highness pulled him to him by the hand, speaking to him somewhat, but so inarticulately, by reason of the rattling in his throat, that he could not be understood. The Prince, perceiving this, turned from him with a deep sigh; and never afterwards, unless urged, spoke either to him or any other person.

In this extremity Sir David Murray came to him, and intreated him, that, if he had any thing to say, which troubled him, he would make known his mind. But, his spirits being overcome, and nature weak, he was not able to say any thing, except giving order for the

burning of a number of letters in a certain cabinet in his closet; which presently after his death was done.

Not long after, on Friday morning about three of the clock, his back-bone, shoulders, arms, and tongue, by reason of the violence of the convulsions, disjoining and dividing themselves, he fainted, and seemed now twice or thrice to be absolutely dead. This raised prodigious exclamations of grief in the chamber, court, and adjoining streets; the noise of which, with some other means used, awakened him from his swoon. The cry was so great, that all, who were in the streets, thought him to be actually dead; and the rumour of it immediately spread into the city and country, and occasioned an universal lamentation.

Thus while the Prince, resigned by all into the hands of God, lay in the agonies of death, now and then, till within two or three hours of it, looking up, and speaking, or endeavouring to speak, but not able to be understood; every person was ready to bring cordial waters, and diaphoretic and quintessential spirits, to be given him. Among these, one was administered in the afternoon, which set the little remains of nature at work, and forced a sweat; which, though too late, was the first he had. Sir Walter Raleigh also sent another cordial from the Tower^k, which whether or not it should

* Dr. Welwood, in his Notes on Arthur Wilson's Life of

should be given him, was the subject of some deliberation. After the operation of the first, his Highness rested quietly for a while; but soon falling into his former extremities, the cordial sent by Sir Walter Raleigh, after having been tasted and proved, was, with the leave and advice of the Lords of the Council there present, given to him. But this was likewise in vain, except that, forcing the spark of life still remaining in him, it threw him again into a sweat; after which, as before, he had some little rest. But this was of short continuance, for he soon relapsed; his sight and senses failed; and all the signs of approaching death appeared.

In this exigence the Archbishop of Canterbury, being present, saw, that it was now the critical moment of administering some consolation to the Prince, if he had yet any remains

of King James I. in the *Complete History of England*, Vol. II. p. 714. mentions, though without giving any authority for it, that, "when the Prince fell into his last illness, the Queen sent to Sir Walter Raleigh for some of his cordials, which she herself had taken in a fever some time before with remarkable success. Raleigh sent it, together with a letter, to the Queen, wherein he expressed a tender concern for the Prince; and, boasting of his medicine, stumbled unluckily upon an expression to this purpose, *that it would certainly cure him, or any other, of a fever, except in case of poison.* The Prince dying, though he took it, the Queen, in the agony of her grief, shewed Raleigh's letter, and laid so much weight on the expression about poison, that, to her dying day, she could never be dissuaded from the opinion, that her beloved son had foul play done him."

of conscioſness; and coming to him, put him in mind of all those things, which he had said to him the day before; calling on him aloud in his ear to remember Christ Jesus; to believe, hope, and trust only in him with assured hope of mercy; to lift up his heart, and prepare himself to meet the Lord Jesus; with many other such exhortations. He then spoke more loud than ever in his ear; "Sir, hear you me? hear you me? hear you me? If you hear me, in certain sign of your faith and hope in the blessed resurrection, give us, for our comfort, a sign by lifting up of your hands." This the Prince did, lifting up both his hands together. The Archbishop then desired him to give still another sign, by lifting up his eyes: which the Prince having done, they let him alone. The Archbishop likewise, with a flood of tears, poured out, by his Highness's bed-side, a most pathetic prayer.

During the whole time, from three in the morning till night, there was continual prayer in the house, and in every place, where the Prince's danger was known.

His Highness at last, about half a quarter before eight at night, on Friday the 6th of November, 1612, at the age of eighteen years, eight months, and seventeen days, expired, having supported his long illness with a calmness and composure seldom seen¹.

¹ Cornwallis, p. 75.

The next day the Lords of the Council came, by appointment of his Majesty, to give orders for the opening of the Prince's body. This was done the same day about five in the evening, in the presence of the physicians and surgeons, who had attended him, of the physician of the Elector Palatine, and of many Knights and Gentlemen, by the surgeons of his Majesty and his late Highness^m. The report, signed by them, was as followsⁿ:

“ After the opening of the most illustrious
“ Prince, we observed these things:

1. “ That his liver was more pale than it
“ should be, and in divers places wan, and
“ like lead; and the gall-bladder was without
“ gall and choler, and full of wind.

2. “ His spleen was in divers places unna-
“ turally black.

3. “ His stomach was without any manner
“ of fault or imperfection.

4. “ His midriff was in many places black-
“ ish.

5. “ His lungs were black, and in many
“ places spotted, and full of much corruption.

6. “ He had the veins of the hinder part
“ of his head too full of blood, and the pass-
“ ages and hollow places of his brain full of
“ much clear water.

^m Cornwallis, p. 75, 76.
Vespas. F. IX. fol. 151.

ⁿ Cotton Library,

“ The truth of this relation we make good
 “ by the subscription of our names, Novem-
 “ ber 7, 1612.”

“ T. Mayerne. “ Henry Atkyns.

“ John Hammond. “ Rich. Palmer.

“ Jo. Gifford. “ William Butler.”

The Monday after the Prince's death, the Lords of the Privy Council came again to St. James's, to give orders for the necessary preparations for the funeral°. In pursuance of which, the body of his Highness being embowelled, embalmed, and closed up in lead, there were four chambers hung with black cloth, the guard-chamber and presence with black cloth, the privy-chamber with finer cloth, and the bed-chamber with black velvet. In the midst of which was set up a canopy of black velvet, valanced and fringed; under which, upon tressels, was placed the coffin, with the body of the Prince, covered with a large pall of black velvet, and adorned with scutcheons of his arms. Upon the head of the coffin was laid a cushion of black velvet, and his Highness's cap and coronet set upon it; as also his robes of state, sword, and rod of gold. Thus it remained till within two or three days before the funeral, being constantly watched day and night^p by threescore and ten gentle-

° Cornwallis, p. 82.

^p The Funerals of the high and mighty Prince Henry, &c. London, printed by T. S. for John Budge, 1613, 4to.

men of his servants, ordinary and extraordinary, (which were his whole number) ten at a time, it being so ordered, that the ten, who watched in the night, returned to their attendance the third day after^r. And during this time, every day, both morning and evening prayers were read in the presence or privy-chamber by the Prince's chaplains; at which his gentlemen and chief officers attended^r.

In the mean while order was given, that the funeral should be solemnized on Monday the 7th of December following.

On Thursday the 3d of that month, the coffin was removed from the bed-chamber, where it had hitherto stood, into the privy-chamber, being watched there for that night; and the next day into the presence-chamber. There it remained all that night till three in the afternoon of the next day, Saturday; at which time the Prince's crown and cap of state were set upon a cushion at the head of the coffin. The heralds then marching before, the coffin was removed by the gentlemen of his privy-chamber into the great chamber, where his guards attended. In this chamber it was set down for the space of a quarter of an hour; and then, being lifted again by the gentlemen mentioned above, it was brought down stairs towards the chapel, where it was set down again for some time in the court. It was then taken

^r Cornwallis, p. 83.

^r Funerals, &c.

up, and, the gentlemen of the King's chapel singing mournful ditties before it, brought it into the chapel, and placed it in the midst of the choir there, under a canopy set with great arms of the union chained with divers other scutcheons and arms, to remain there till the day of the funeral^t.

Dr. Richard Neile, Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, read the service; and the gentlemen of the King's chapel, with the children belonging to it, sung several anthems to the organs and other wind-instruments^t. The same was performed the next day, being Sunday, when Dr. Price, one of his Highness's chaplains, preached a sermon on II. Samuel, chap. iii. verse 31. *Rent your clothes; put on sackcloth, and mourn before Abner*^v.

On the evening of that Sunday was brought a representation of the Prince, made at a short warning, though extremely resembling him, and apparelled with clothes, with his creation-ropes over them, his cap and crown on his head, his garter and collar, with a garter about his neck, his golden staff in his right hand, lying a little cross; in short, every thing, which he wore at the time of his creation. This figure was laid on its back on the coffin, and fast bound to it, the head being supported by two cushions, just as it was to be drawn along the

^t Cornwallis, p. 83, 84.

^v MS. Life of Mr. Phineas Pett, p. 69.

^t Funerals, &c.

streets in the funeral-chariot with eight black horses, decked with his several scutcheons and plumes^w.

The next day, Monday, December 7, the funeral, having been four hours in marshalling, set out about ten in the morning, attended by about 2000 mourners in black^x, the young Prince Charles being chief, accompanied by the Elector Palatine^y. Upon their arrival at Westminster-abbey, after the solemn music was ended, the coffin was set under a stately herse, built in a quadrangular form, with eight pillars, and covered with scutcheons of the arms of the Union, Scotland, Wales, Cornwall, Chester, Rothesay, Carrick, &c. intermixed with his Highness's motto, *Fax mentis honestæ gloria*; and that of the funeral-herse, *Juvat ire per altum*. The whole assembly having taken their places, after an universal silence, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was appointed to the last office for his deceased Highness, ascended the pulpit, and, after a little pause and prayer, preached the funeral-sermon. The text was Psalm LXXXII. 6, 7. *I have said ye are Gods, and ye are children of the most High. But ye shall die like as a man, and ye Princes shall fall like others*. In his introduction he spoke of the author, occasion, scope, and

^w Cornwallis, p. 84, 85.

See Appendix, No. XXI.
of England, p. 1004.

^x Id. p. 85, 86.

^y General Chronicle

meaning of this psalm, dividing it into two main branches: first, the exaltation of Princes; secondly, in what respect they are called Gods. He then considered their humiliation, proving by a variety of topics the vanity and inconstancy of human greatness. As an instance of this he turned their attention to the present melancholy spectacle of their late renowned Prince, whose virtues he enlarged upon, especially his singular piety both in himself and in the government of his household, which the Archbishop professed, that he should not be ashamed to propose for a rule to himself. For consolation to them all he described the great happiness, which his Highness had attained to by his death; and that now, in respect of himself, he was not to be pitied, being compared with those, who had outlived him. He concluded with a proper exhortation to all, and with many tears^y.

At the conclusion of the sermon the Earls, Barons, &c. offered up the banners, which they had carried; and the officers of the Prince's Household, Sir Thomas Chaloner, Chamberlain, Sir Charles Cornwallis, Treasurer, Sir John Holles^z, Comptroller, together with

^y Cornwallis, p. 83—90.

^z He was highly esteemed by the Prince, who once took a progress to Sir John's house, at Houghton in Nottinghamshire, where his Highness was entertained for several days. Collins's *Historical Collections* of the Noble Families of Cavendish, &c. p. 86. Lond. 1752. Fol.

with his three Gentlemen Ushers, Walter Alexander, Anthony Abington, and John Lumley, having all by degrees (Sir Thomas Chaloner beginning) broken their white staves and rods over the coffin, the assembly was dissolved. The coffin with the effigies remained under the herse, to be seen of all till the 19th of December, when that effigies was placed in a chamber of the chapel in Westminster Abbey, among those of the former Kings and Queens*.

On the very day of his funeral, it was solemnized in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; a sermon being preached in the former by Dr. William Goodwin, Dean of Christ Church, on Isa. lvii. 1. *The Righteous perisheth, and no man considereth it in his heart; and merciful men are taken away from the evil to come.*

The sermon at Cambridge was preached by Dr. Valentine Carey, then Vice-Chancellor, and Master of Christ's College, and afterwards Bishop of Exeter, on 2 Sam. iii. 34. *And all the people wept again for him.*

The two Universities published likewise collections of verses^b, on occasion of the Prince's death;

* Cornwallis, p. 92, 93.

^b That of Oxford, was printed at London, in 1612, in 4to, under the title of *Fussa Oxoniensium*; and that of Cambridge,

death; and funeral orations in Latin were made upon him at Oxford, by Mr. Richard Corbet^c, then of Christ Church, and one of the Proctors, and afterwards Dean of that College, and successively Bishop of Oxford and Norwich: and at Cambridge by Mr. Francis Nethersole^d, then Orator of that University and fellow of Trinity College, and afterwards knighted, and Secretary to the Queen of Bohemia. Magdalen College in Oxford was likewise not wanting to testify, in a collection of verses^e, her regret for the loss of so illustrious a member and patron.

Cambridge, printed there the same year, and intitled, *Epicidium Cantabrigiense in obitum immaturum semperque defendum Henrici illustrissimi principis Walliæ, &c.*

^c His oration, which was not printed, is extant in the Ashmolean Museum, No. 1153.

^d It was printed at Cambridge in 1612, in 4to, and intitled, *Memoriæ sacra illustriss. potentiss. principis Henrici Walliæ principis, Ducis Cornubiæ, &c. Laudatio funebris* Fr. Nethersole, *Oratoris Academiæ Cantabrig. Trin. Coll. socii.*

^e Printed at Oxford in 1612, in 4to, and intitled, *Luctus posthumus; sive erga defunctum illustrissimum Henricum Walliæ principem, Collegii Beatæ Mariæ Magdalensæ apud Oxonienses Mecænatem longè indulgentissimum, Magdalenensium officiosa pietas.* To this collection is subjoined *Oratio funebris habita apud Magdalenenses tempore prandiæ exequialis, 7^o. Decembris, quo die desideratiss. principis Henrici funebri justa persoluta fuere,* by Accepted Frewen, M. A. then Fellow of Magdalen College, and at last advanced to the Archbishoprick of York.

There

There was printed the same year in 4to, at Oxford, another collection of verses^f, chiefly in the form of pastorals. Dr. Leonel Sharpe published likewise a funeral oration in Latin on his Highness^g.

The most considerable poets of that age exerted themselves also in honour of the Prince's memory. Mr. Donne wrote an *Elegy* upon him, printed among his poems. Another *Elegy, consecrated to the never-dying memory of Henry Prince of Wales*, was published by Christopher Brooke, Esq; of Lincoln's Inn; as was also a third *on the never-enough to be bewailed Prince Henry*, written by William Brown, Esq; of the Inner Temple, who deserves more to be known than he is at present, for his *Britannia's Pastorals*, and his *Shepherd's Pipe in seven Eclogues*. George Chapman, the Author of several dramatic works, and of the translation of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssy*, dedicated to the Prince, by whom he had been much esteemed and patronised^h, published

^f Intituled, *Eidyllia in obitum fulgentissimi Henrici Walliæ principis duodecimi, Romæque ruentis Terroris maximi.*

^g Printed at London 1612, in 4to, under the title of *Oratio funebris in honorem Henrici excellentissimi Walliæ principis, propriam atque intimam ejus Effigiem præferens, bonisque omnibus & domesticis & exteris, honoris ergò, dicata; Authore Leonello Sharpo sacre Theologiæ Doctore.*

^h Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. Col. 592. Mr. Chapman, in the dedication of his *Epicæde* to his affectionate and true friend Mr. Henry Jones, stiles the Prince his most dear and heroical patron.

likewise

likewise an *Epicede*, or funeral song, on the most disastrous death of the high-born Prince of men, Henry, &c. And John Webster, another eminent dramatic writer, composed a *monumental column erected to the living memory of the ever-glorious Henry late Prince of Wales*, dedicated to the Lord Viscount Rochester. Mr. Thomas Heywood, one of the most voluminous writers for the stage in that age, wrote likewise a *funeral Elegy upon the death of the late most hopeful and illustrious Prince Henry*, addressed to his great patron the Earl of Worcester: and another less known writer, Cyril Tourneur, published a *brief on the death of Prince Henry expressed in a broken Elegy*, according to the nature of such a sorrow. Which three last pieces were printed together at London in 1613, in 4to, under this general title, *Three Elegies on the most lamented death of Prince Henry*.

Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden, the eminent Scots historian and poet, shed his *Tears on the Death of Mæliades*; and Dominic Baudius of Leyden was not wanting in the exercise of his poetic talent on this melancholy occasion, and composed a *Lessus funebris* on his Highness, in iambic verse¹.

His Highness's family continued together at St. James's till the end of December 1612,

¹ *Dominici Baudii Poemata*, p. 250. edit. Amstelod. 1640.

when

when it was dissolved; and upon the day of their dissolution, Mr. Joseph Hall, his Chaplain, preached to them a most pathetic farewell sermon, on Revel. xxi. 3^k. In this he speaks of his deceased master in the highest terms of commendation, as the *Glory of the nation, ornament of mankind, hope of posterity, a glorious saint^l, a Prince, whose countenance was able to put life into any beholder^m*; and that he, who was compounded of all loveliness, had infused an harmony into his whole family, which was “the most loving and intire fellowship, that ever met in the court of any Prince.” The exhortation, with which the preacher concludes^o, is: “Go in peace, and live as those, that have lost such a master; and as those, that serve a master, whom they cannot lose.”

The death of his Highness gave great concern to the Republic of Venice, according to the account of Father Paul^p, who was apprehensive, that King James would be overwhelmed with sorrow for this loss, a greater than which he could not have suffered. But he remarked, that it would put an end to all the intrigues for marrying the Prince; “which I, *adds he*, was highly pleased with (though

^k Dr. Hall's Works, Vol. I. p. 545, & *seqq.* edit. Lond. 1616, *Fol.* ^l *Ibid.* p. 547. ^m *Ibid.* p. 553.

ⁿ *Ibid.* ^o *Ibid.* p. 554. ^p Letter of December 4, 1612. Letters, p. 353.

“ I knew they would all end in smoke, and
 “ nothing) because they served very much to
 “ tame somebody, and were carried on with
 “ much lessening of the Pope’s reputation,
 “ that Popish Princes should treat at that rate
 “ of marrying their daughters and sisters with
 “ Protestant Princes. But here we are where
 “ we were before, seeing great men die still
 “ in courtesy to Spain.”

The King paid so much respect to the Duke of Savoy, that he wrote to him an account of the Prince’s death, and another, on the same subject, to the Duke’s daughter Mary, who had been proposed to his Highness for marriage^a.

The very learned and candid critic, Isaac Casaubon, who had left France, and settled in England in October 1610, where he died the 1st of July 1614, in several of his letters^r written to his friends Thuanus, Salmasius, and Daniel Heinsius, within a few days after the death of the Prince, whom he had the honour of being particularly acquainted with, mentions him in a style of the highest admiration, as a Prince, who at those early years discovered nothing of the young man, but was as remarkable for his prudence and elevation of genius, as for his piety and unaffected reverence for his Royal Father and Mother; and was possessed of

^a Letter of January 29, 1613. Ibid. p. 366.

^r *Isaaci Casauboni Epistolæ*, Edit. Almeloveen Rotterd. 1709, Fol. p. 489, 506, 507, 509, and 518.

every quality necessary to form a great Prince; and that his loss was an irreparable one to all Christendom.

The Lord Roos hearing at Florence of the Prince's death, in a letter from thence to Mr. Newton of the 15th of December 1612^s observed, that "it must be grievous to all men. " But it seems, *says he*, God for our sins " would not suffer us to enjoy so celestial a " creature, who was too good to live upon " earth." Sir John Harington, the friend of his Highness, in a letter from London of the 6th of January 1612-13, to Sir Thomas Puckering then in Italy, stiled him *great Prince Henry*, with whose loss *his own senses had been wholly captivated*.

Mr. Newton himself, who had peculiar reasons to be affected with that loss, takes notice in a letter to brother-in-law Sir Thomas Puckering of the 19th of January 1612-13^t, that it had "till then seized so effectually both " his heart and hand, that neither of them was " able to discharge any duty to his friends, being " wholly taken up in mourning for a master. " I am even loth at this present to touch upon " that string, and to renew that grief, whereof " you cannot but have your part; though being " so far from the daily objects, you may more " easily bear it out, if not digest it. If my

Harl. MSS. Vol. 7004.

Ibid. fol. 36.

“ own building ” were to begin again, I would
 “ be advised: but now it is no time to repent.
 “ If I have no court-employment, I will
 “ make it *nidum Senectutis*, and make the
 “ best use I can of my former observations.”
 In another letter of the 7th of February^w, from
 Durham-house, he observes, that the late loss
 of their master came so suddenly and so un-
 expected even then, when they were preparing
 for nuptials and jollity, that the blow astonished
 the more. “ You know, *added he*, that in all
 “ my carriage to my late master I was never
 “ a follower of fortune, but did rely always
 “ upon more solid and substantial grounds of
 “ virtue and worth.” Mr. Newton, after the
 death of his royal pupil, though made Trea-
 surer to Prince Charles, spent the remainder of
 his days chiefly in study and retirement; but
 on the 2d of April 1620, was advanced to
 the dignity of a Baronet. One of the employ-
 ments of his leisure hours was translating, at
 the King’s desire, Father Paul’s *History of the*

* at Charlton near Greenwich in Kent, the manor
 of which being granted to him, he built there a very fine
 house. He afterwards by his last will impowered Sir
 David Cunningham, his brother Mr. Newton, and Mr.
 Peter Newton, Cofferer to King Charles I. to repair and
 beautify the parish church there; which trust they dis-
 charged so well, that it is one of the best churches in
 the county. *History of Kent, by John Harris, D. D. Vol. I.*
 Part II. p 67. London 1719, Fol.

† Harl. MSS. Vol. 7004. fol. 37.

Council of Trent into Latin^x; the two last books being done by Mr. Bedell, afterwards Bishop of Kilmore; and the whole published at London

^x While he was employed in this work, he received a letter from Archbishop Abbot, dated at Lambeth July 5, 1619, the original of which is extant, [Harl. MSS. Vol. 7003] acquainting him, that his Majesty before his departure had given him, the Archbishop, charge, “to know of you, *says he*, how far you have proceeded in the translation of the History concerning the council of Trent, being desirous, that it should be done with all convenient speed, that may be.” What progress Sir Adam Newton had made in this work about a year after appears from the following passage of a letter of his to his brother Sir Thomas Puckering, dated from Fleetstreet, August 9, 1620. [Harl. MSS. Vol. 7003.] “There remain two books yet to print, the printers having been letted, first by printing a book of the Bishop of Derry’s [Downham] next by a book of the Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry [Morton] and now by some work of my Lord Chancellor [Bacon]. By which occasion, though I notwithstanding do employ all my time, and must attend the printers every day; yet I have had the more time of breathing from the workmen still calling for copy. And now I begin to find in the 7th and 8th books, which were done by Mr. Bedell, that which I feared much, that the inequality of the style would put me to a great deal of pains in the altering thereof. And when I have done as much, as the time will permit, a diligent reader will yet easily observe the difference.” This passage will serve to correct one in Dr. Burnet’s *Life of Bishop Bedell*, p. 22. where that writer says, “Sir Adam Newton translated the two first books of the *History of the Council of Trent*; but was not master enough of the two languages; so that the Archbishop of Spalatro said it was not the same work: But he highly approved of the two last,

London in 1620, in Fol^y. On the death of Fulk Grevill, Lord Brook, on the 30th of

“that were translated by Mr. Bedell.” To wave any remark upon the censure upon Sir Adam’s part of the translation, it is a little extraordinary, that Dr. Burnet should not recollect, that Father Paul’s *History* consists, not of *four*, but *eight* books.

Under this title *Petri Suavis Poloni Historiæ Concilii Tridentini Libri octo, ex Italicis summâ fide & accuratione Latini facti*. In the preface Sir Adam Newton takes notice, that several passages, that had been erroneously printed in the edition of the Italian original, were in this translation restored to their true sense: *variis locis, quibus verbâ planè diversum ab auctoris mente sensum præferebant, genuinæ Lectioni restituti*: and that it had been undertaken at the desire of him, who had formerly intrusted the translator with a much more honourable employment: *In quâ [versione] si expectationi hominum cumulâtè non satisfiat, saltem hoc futurus sum excusator, quod molestiam hanc versionis non sumpserim, aut meo, quod dicitur, jumento mihi arcessiverim; sed aliunde delatam de voluntate ejus, cui ob longè honoratiorem jam olim mihi conceditam provinciam meipsum meaque omnia ætatem sim debiturus, non gravatè acceperim*. And here I cannot omit an unsuspected testimony of the authenticity of the original edition, published at London in 1619, Fol. by Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro. This testimony is from a very valuable work *Della Letteratura Veneziana*, by *Marco Foscarini Cavaliere & Procuratore*, Vol. I. printed at Padua, 1752, Fol. The noble and learned writer observes, l. iv. p. 353, 354, that the original of the History of the Council of Trent is still extant at Venice, in the hand writing of Father Marco Franzano, amanuensis of Father Paul, with the author’s corrections between the lines and in the margin, and exactly agreeing with the London edition, except in the title, which in the original, as also in the Geneva edition, is simply *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino de Pietro Soave Polono*.

September,

September, 1628, he succeeded that nobleman in the place of Secretary to the Marches of Wales, worth 2000l. a year^y; the reversion of which had been granted to him: but he did not enjoy that post long, dying on the 13th of January 1629-30^z, leaving five daughters and one son Henry, who, upon the decease of the only surviving daughter of his uncle Sir Thomas Puckering, became heir to his estate, and assumed his name^a.

The Prince was of a comely stature, about five feet eight inches, of a strong, strait, well-made body, with somewhat broad shoulders, and a small waist; of an amiable and majestic countenance^b; his hair of an auburn colour; he was

^y MS. Letter of the learned Mr. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, dated October 11, 1628.

^z From the inscription on the monument erected by him in Charlton Church in Kent, to his lady, and in which he was interred himself January 14, 1629-30.

^a See in Dr. Duport's *Musæ subsecivæ*, p. 222; 223. *Edit. Cantabr. 1676, 8vo.* a poem addressed *ad D. Henricum Puckeringum, alias Newtonum, Equitem Baronettum.* This Sir Henry had a son of his own name, who was a pupil of Dr. Duport, at Trinity College Cambridge, but died before his father.

^b Ben Jonson, in the Speech of Merlin at *the Prince's Barriers works*, Vol. V. p. 362. intimates, that his Highness resembled Henry V. in his face.

“ Yet rests that other thunder-bolt of war,

“ Harry the fifth, to whom in face you are

“ So like, as fate would have you so in worth,

“ Illustrious Prince.”

Upon which passage the commentator Mr. Whaley remarks, that the poet would hardly have stretched the compliment so far, had not the fact been so.

long-faced, and had a broad forehead; a piercing eye; a most gracious smile, with a terrible frown. He was courteous, loving, and affable; naturally modest, and even shame-faced; most patient, which he shewed both in life and death; slow to anger, so that, even when he was offended, he would govern it, and restrain himself to silence. He was merciful to offenders, after a little punishment, to make them sensible of their faults^c.

His sentiments of piety were strong and habitual, and his zeal for the interests of religion such, that he would, if he had lived, have used his endeavours for reconciling the divisions among its professors^d. He usually retired three times a day for his private devotions, and was scarce once a month absent from the public prayers, where his behaviour was highly decent and exemplary, and his attention to the preacher the most fixed imaginable^e. He had the greatest esteem for all divines,

^c Cornwallis's Life and Death of Prince Henry, p. 93, 94. Dr. Lionel Sharpe's description of the Prince's person in his *Oratio funebris in honorem Henrici excellentissimi Walliæ Principis*, &c. p. 3. is, *Statuta media & recta, decentior quam sublimior: facies oblonga; summa vivacium oculorum gratia, quibus in transi:u suis sæpe, etiam cum taceret, loquebatur. Vultus placidus majestate mixtus: Qui Principem nesciret, magnum virum facile crederet; qui sciret, bonum sentiret.* ^d Cornwallis, p. 94.

^e Nethersole, *Laudatio funebris in Henricum Principem*. The Orator's own words, p. 7. deserve to be inserted.

divines, whose characters and conduct corresponded with their profession; but could not conceal his indignation against such, as acted inconsistently with it; and he above all things abhorred flattery and vain-glory in them. He one day remarked, with regard to Dr. Milbourne, Dean of Rochester, his chaplain, that he thought, when he, and others like him, at their first entry into the pulpit, looked him in the face, their countenance seemed to say to him; "Sir, you must hear me diligently: You must have a care to observe what I say^f." He had determined, if he had lived, to have made choice of one of his chaplains, advanced in years, deeply learned, especially in divinity, and of great experience, discretion, and wisdom, from whom, in all spiritual matters, and such as concerned the regulation of his con-

O Princeps sanctissime, sanctissime Princeps, etiam nunc mihi scripti sunt illi in animo, quos vidi postremos, vultus tui. Habuit tum concionem præsul amplissimus, is qui potest optimè. Fortè aderam. Ambitio me tenebat magna (fatebor enim) a principe coram præsentè etsi indignum aspici, aliqua tamen spectari. Sissem me ex adverso; expectabam quam mox me cum turbâ intueretur. Ille uni dicenti intentus ex oculis episcopi oculos nusquam dimovit suos. Mirabar; astantes rogo quid esset: respondent morem. Gaudebam; sperabam claudente saltem concione fore ut circumspiceret. Ibi verò ille prono in terram genu, sublatis manibus, oculos in cælum fixit; quales Deus bone! quales nequeo dicere; hoc tantum, ex illis migrantem in cælos animam manifeste cernebam. Hæc si quis vera an sint ambigat, testes mihi esse possunt è vobis sexcenti, qui aut illic, aut alibi tantum viderint.

^f Cornwallis, p. 95.

science, he intended to have received a continual direction^e.

He had such an aversion to the profanation of the name of God, that he was never heard to take it in vain, with the addition of any other seemingly light, much less horrible, oaths. And the Archbishop of Canterbury, in his funeral-sermon upon him, mentioned, in testimony of his strictness in this point, that memorable answer of the Prince, when he was asked by one, who greatly rejoiced, that his Highness was no swearer, why he did not swear in play as well as others? that he knew no game worthy of an oath^h. The same kind of answer he gave on another occasion, according to the report of one of our historiansⁱ, who had the following account from his own father, a contemporary of the Prince, and son of the Lord Justice Coke. His Highness being once hunting the stag, it happened, that the stag, being spent, crossed the road, where a butcher and his dog were travelling. The dog having killed the stag, which was so large, that the butcher could not carry it away, when the huntsmen and company came up, they expressed great resentment, and endea-

^e Discourse of the most illustrious Prince Henry, by Sir Charles Cornwallis, printed in the Harleian Miscellany, *Vol. IV. p. 320.*

^h Cornwallis's Life, *p. 96.*

ⁱ Roger Coke, Esq; Detection, *Vol. I. p. 70, 71. Edit. London, 1719.* See Dr. Sharpe's *Oratio funebris*, *p. 5, 6.*

voured to incense the Prince against the butcher. But the Prince answered coolly; "What if the butcher's dog killed the stag? what could the butcher help it?" They replied, that if his father had been so served, he would have sworn so as no man could have endured it. *Away*, rejoined the Prince; *all the pleasure in the world is not worth an oath.*

He had a thorough detestation of popery, though he treated those of that religion with great courtesy; shewing, that his hatred was not levelled at their persons, but their opinions^k. And he was so immoveable in his attachment to the protestant religion, that, not long before his death, he made a solemn protestation, that he would never join in marriage with one of a different faith^l. And some protestant divines seemed to have conceived no small hopes, that he would, if he had lived, have proved a considerable instrument, in the hand of providence, in suppressing the power and superstition of the see of Rome. Dr. Robert Abbot, brother to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and himself raised, in 1615, to the bishoprick of Salisbury, in the epistle dedicatory to the Prince of his *True antient Roman catholic*^m, in answer to a zealous

^k Id. p. 97. Dr. Sharpe, *ubi supra*, observ's likewise, *Papistas quosdam ingenuos patriæque amantes humaniter & comiter excepit.*

^l Cornwallis's Discourse, p. 320.

^m Printed at London, 1611, in 4to.

popish writer, William Bishop, doctor of Sorbonne, and, in 1622, made Bishop of Chalcedon by the Pope, desired, that this work might go forth under the protection of his Highness, “ whom, *says he*, according to that
 “ eminent wisdom and knowledge, wherewith
 “ God hath endued these your younger years,
 “ I make the judge of this quarrel: and therefore the first part thereof I now tender at your
 “ Highness’s feet, for a testimony of my loyal
 “ and dutiful affection, and for acknowledgement of my devotions unto Almighty God
 “ for the preservation of your Highness, and the continuance and increase of his graces
 “ and blessings towards you, that your princely
 “ name may more and more grow great, and may be a terror to that self-exalting kingdom
 “ and monarchy of the great Capitolian priest, at length to work the utter ruin and confusion thereof. Which as we believe not
 “ to be far off, so we hope, that in that glorious revenge of the cause of Almighty God,
 “ your Highness shall have a chief and an honourable part; and that God will strengthen your arms, and give edge to your sword,
 “ to strike through the loins of all them, that are the supporters of that antichristian and
 “ wicked state.”

The Prince was so exact in all the duties of filial piety, and bore so true a reverence and respect for the King his father, that though
 some-

sometimes, out of his own inclination, or by the excitement of others, he moved his Majesty in some things relating to the public, or his own particular interests, or those of others; yet upon the least word, or look, or sign given him of his Majesty's disapprobation, he would instantly desist from pursuing the point, and return either with satisfaction, upon finding it disagreeable to the King, or with such a resolved patience, that he, neither in word or action, gave so much as any appearance of being displeased or discontented. And he was so thoroughly disposed to the satisfying the King his father in all things, that, some considerable time before his death, he made a solemn protestation to Sir Charles Cornwallis^a; that, in order to avoid giving the least disgust to his Majesty, he would, from that moment, turn his thoughts from all affairs whatsoever, that should not particularly concern himself, his own estate, or the government of his household.

He adhered strictly to justice on all occasions, and never suffered himself to determine rashly, or till after a due examination of both parties°. This love of justice shewed itself very early by favouring and rewarding those among his pages, and other young gentlemen placed about him, who, by men of great judgment, were thought to be of the best beha-

^a Discourse, p. 320.

° Id. Life, p. 94.

viour and most merit^p. And when he was but a little above five years of age, and a son of the Earl of Mar, somewhat younger than himself, falling out with one of his Highness's pages, did him some wrong, the Prince reproved him for it, saying, "I love you, because you are my lord's son, and my cousin: but if you be not better conditioned, I will love such a one better;" naming the child, who had complained of him.

He was of singular integrity^q, and hated flattery and dissimulation^r, the latter of which he esteemed a base quality, especially in a Prince; nor could he ever constrain himself to treat those kindly, who did not deserve his love. A nobleman in the highest favour with the King had written to him, by special command of his Majesty, a letter, wherein he recommended to his Highness a matter of very great consequence, to be instantly answered; and in his subscription had used these words, *Yours before all the world*. His Highness directed Sir Charles Cornwallis to draw up an answer, who, having written it, added some

^p *A Relation of Prince Henry's noble and virtuous disposition, and of sundry his witty and pleasant speeches, directed to the right honourable the Lord Lumley and his Lady.*

A MS. in the Harleian collection of MSS. in the British Museum, Vol. 6391.

^q Cornwallis's Discourse, p. 324.

^r Id. Life, p. 94.

words

words of favour to the nobleman to precede the Prince's signing. His Highness having read and considered the letter, allowed it intirely without alteration: But, with regard to the words of subscription, notwithstanding the great haste, which the dispatch required, he ordered it to be new written, and the words objected to by him to be left out, alledging, that he, to whom he wrote, had dealt with him untruly and unfaithfully; and that his hand should never affirm what his heart did not think.

His temperance, except in the article of fruit^t, was as eminent as his abhorrence of vanity and ostentation, which began to shew themselves, when he was very young. When he was taught to handle the pike, and his master instructed him, both by word and example, to use a kind of stateliness in marching and holding of his hand, though he learned all other things, he would not conform himself to that affected fashion: and if sometimes, upon earnest intreaty, he offered to use it, he would laugh at himself, and presently return to his own more modest and decent manner. And though he was a perfect master of dancing, he never practised it except when he was strongly pressed to it. The same modesty appeared in whatever he said or did: But it was no impediment to his generous and heroic dis-

^t Cornwallis's Discourse, p. 328.

position,

position, which made him perform all his exercises best before much company and the greatest personages^v.

His courage and fearlessness shewed themselves from his earliest years. Being asked very young what instrument of music he liked best? he answered a trumpet, in the sound of which, and of drums, and of small and great pieces of ordnance shot off near him, he took great delight. He was scarce seven years of age, when a boy of good courage, and almost a year older, falling by accident to blows with him, and exerting his whole strength, his Highness not only had the superiority in the contest, when they were parted, but loved his antagonist the better ever after for his spirit. While he was a child, he wept much less than most others of his age. Having once hurt both his hands with a fall, so that they bled, though the severity of the pain extorted some tears, yet he rose up with a smile, and dissembled what he suffered. At another time he was so wounded in the flesh, that it was scarce healed in a month after; yet, being then asked whether any thing ailed him? he answered nothing; but continued to play as usual^w. Looking at another time upon some, who were hunting a deer, and being asked whether he liked that sport? he answered, Yes; but I love another “kind of hunting better.” And being asked

^v MS. Relation, cited above.

^w Id. *ibid.*

again,

again, what hunting that was? replied, "Hunting of thieves and rebels with brave men and horses." And turning to one of his pages descended of Highland parents, who were reported to be thieves, he added, "And such thieves, as I take, shall be hanged, the great ones higher than the rest: And you, firrah, if you be a thief, highest of all." He was hardly ten years of age, when being desirous to mount a horse of prodigious mettle, and refused the assistance of his attendants, who thought it too hazardous an attempt, he got up himself from the side of a bank, and spurred the animal to a full gallop, in spite of the remonstrances of those, who stood by; and at last having thoroughly exercised the horse, brought him in a gentle pace back, and dismounting, said to them, "How long shall I continue to be a child in your opinion?"

He collected in his court a number of young gentlemen of the greatest spirit and courage; and he contracted and cultivated an acquaintance with the most celebrated officers in Upper and Lower Germany, and indeed throughout Europe.

His exercises were of the most manly kind. He used almost daily to ride and manage great horses, with which he had his stables excellently furnished; often to run at the ring, and sometimes at tilt, both which he perform-

* MS. Relation, *ubi supra*.

† Nethercole, p. 12, 13.

ed with so much dexterity and skill, that he became second to no Prince in Christendom, and superior to most of those persons, who practised with him. His other exercises were dancing, leaping, and, in times of the year fit for it, learning to swim. He sometimes walked fast and far, to accustom and enable himself to make long marches, when they should be requisite. But his greatest diversion was at Tennis, in which, it is acknowledged, he neither observed moderation, nor what suited his dignity and person; continuing often three or four hours at it, and in short, “rather, *says* “Charles Cornwallis”, like an artisan than a “Prince, who in things of that nature ought “only to affect comeliness, or rather a kind “of carelessness in shew, to make their acti- “vities seem the more natural, than a labo- “rious industry.”

To other sorts of play or gaming he did not shew much inclination; yet would sometimes divert himself with chess, billiards, and cards; but so very nobly and like himself, as plainly discovered it to be only for recreation, and not for appetite of game. For whether he won or lost, his countenance was still the same; or, for the most part, there was greater appearance of mirth in him, when he was a loser, than when he was a gainer; demonstrating by this both his judgment in ventur-

* Discourse, p. 323.

ing no more than what he did not regard, if he lost it; and his Princely magnanimity in not suffering himself to be disturbed or altered by any ill luck.

He disliked in some young gentlemen, whom he esteemed, too strong a disposition to play; and not only dissuaded them from it, but likewise gave some of them a valuable consideration, to oblige themselves to break off the custom.

For pleasures in general, he used them only, as it were, in passage, without seeming to desire them, or at least to have any inclination to indulge them^a.

He never desired to live long, often saying, that it was to small purpose for a brave gallant man, when the prime of his days were past, to live till he were full of diseases; and he frequently expressed himself with indifference about death^b.

His cloaths were usually very plain, except on occasions of public ceremony, or upon receiving foreign ambassadors, when he would assume a magnificence of dress, and an air of majesty, which immediately after he laid aside. Having once worn a suit of Welsh frize for a considerable time, and being told, that it was too mean for him, and that he ought not to keep even a rich suit so long; his answer was,

^a Cornwallis's Discourse, p. 323.

^b Life, p. 96.

that he was not ashamed of his country cloth, and wished, that it would last for ever.

In quickness of apprehension and memory few of the same age ever went beyond him; and fewer still in a right judgement of what he was taught. When he began to have some knowledge of the Latin tongue, being desired to choose a motto out of several sentences collected by his tutor for his use, after reading over many good ones, he pitched upon that of Silius Italicus, *Fax mentis honestæ gloria*. And being asked by the King one day, which were the best verses, that he had learned in the first book of Virgil's *Æneid*, he answered these;

*Rex erat Æneas nobis, quo justior alter
Nec pietate fuit, nec bello major & armis.*

Reading likewise another verse of the same poet,

Tres Tyriusve mihi nullo discrimine agetur,

he said he would make use of it with this alteration,

Anglus Scotusve mihi nullo discrimine agetur^d.

Besides his knowledge of the learned languages, he spoke the Italian and French; and had made a considerable progress in Philosophy, History, Fortification, Mathematics,

^c Nethersole, p. 16.

^e Nethersole, p. 17.

^d Relation, *ubi supra*.

and Cosmography^f; in the two last of which he was instructed by that excellent Mathematician, Mr. Edward Wright^g.

He loved and endeavoured to do somewhat of every thing, and to be excellent in the most excellent. He greatly delighted in all rare inventions and arts, and military engines both at land and sea; in shooting and levelling great pieces of ordnance; in the ordering and marshaling of armies; in Building and Gardening; in Music, Sculpture, and Painting, in which last art he brought over several valuable works of great Masters from all countries^h.

He entertained several learned men in his courtⁱ, and among the rest, as was observed above^k, Mr. Thomas Lydiat; whom he would have provided for, if he had lived^l.

^f Cornwallis's Discourse, p. 313.

^g *Compleat Gentleman*, by Henry Peacham, M. A. p. 57. Edit. Lond. 1622, 4to. and Mr. Sherburne's Appendix to his translation of Manilius, p. 86. The latter of these writers informs us, that Mr. Wright being chosen Tutor in Mathematics to Prince Henry, caused a large sphere to be made for his Highness, by the help of some German workmen; which sphere by means of spring-work not only represented the motion of the whole celestial sphere, but shewed likewise the particular systems of the Sun and Moon, and their circular motions, together with their places, and possibilities of eclipsing each other. In it was a work by wheel and pinion, for a motion of 17100 years, if the sphere could be kept so long in motion.

^h Cornwallis, Life, p. 100, 101.

ⁱ Nethersole, p. 18. ^k P. 148. ^l Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. Col. 89.

And he shewed great generosity on all occasions towards persons of genius and merit. A good Poet, and a very honest man, presenting to him a small Poem, the Prince received it very graciously, and desired a gentleman, who kept his privy purse, to bestow on him some mark of his favour. The gentleman asking, whether a couple of Angels would not serve? “Fie, for shame, answered his Highness, give him at least ten Angels¹.”

His Chaplains were chosen by him for their eminence in their own profession or learning in general; and if the learned Mr. Thomas Gataker, then Preacher to Lincoln’s Inn, had not the honour of a place in the list of them, it was owing to his own modesty^m.

The

¹ MS. Relation, *ubi supra*.

^m This we learn from the following passage of Mr. Gataker himself, in his *Discourse Apologetical*, p. 36. printed at London 1654, in 4to. which will likewise inform us of some circumstances relating to one or more great persons of the Prince’s Court. “Much about the same time that
“hopeful Prince Henry, whose life in likelihood the
“sins of this land and of these times shortned, keeping
“his Court at St. James’s, where abode with him that
“mirror of Nobility, the young Lord Harington, and
“attended on him that religious Knight, Sir Robert
“Darcie, these two, with some others of his Grace’s
“Court, frequented my ministry [at Lincoln’s Inn, to
“which society Mr. Gataker was Preacher] in the after-
“noons especially; which for some space of time I then
“spent in handling of some points of controversy between
“us and the papists, being informed, that divers Popish
“Priests, or Sprites, if you please, haunted the house,
“and were very busy in labouring to pervert the young
“gentle-

The neighbourhood of his house at Woodstock to Oxford gave him frequent opportunities of shewing his regard for that University, the members of which were always received by him with great kindness and affabilityⁿ. But when, upon the vacancy of the Chancellorship of that learned body^o, he was desired

“gentlemen. The notes of one of those sermons Sir
 “Robert Darcie, by mine inward and intire friend Mr.
 “Bradshaw, got from me under the title of *The Pope's*
 “*Pride, and Papiſts Idol*. This he and the young Lord
 “[Harington] imparted to the Prince; and upon such
 “further terms of recommendation, as they were pleased
 “to adjoin, and his good opinion of me, as they conceived,
 “thereby produced, they took the boldness by
 “my worthy friend Mr. Hilderſham, and Mr. Jacob joining
 “with him, to ſollicit me to come and preach one day
 “before the Prince at his court; not doubting to prevail
 “with him to bring me in to be his Chaplain, and
 “by the aſſiſtance of Biſhop Montagu, then in favour
 “with the King his father, to procure for me that place
 “of conſtant attendance in that kind about him, that
 “was ſometime deſigned to Mr. John Burges, had not
 “the deſign miſcarried by a ſermon, which he preached
 “before the King, and coſt him much trouble: unto
 “which motion I deſired by them to be returned, after
 “thankful acknowledgement of deep engagement to
 “ thoſe worthy perſons for their good opinion of me
 “and affection to me, that as I deemed myſelf unworthy
 “of ſo great a favour, ſo I well knew myſelf very unfit
 “for ſuch an employment, being naturally of a very
 “baſhful diſpoſition, and finding in myſelf a great in-
 “diſpoſition and averſeneſs to courtly attendance; and
 “requeſted therefore of them, that no motion or men-
 “tion might be farther made of ought in that kind.”

ⁿ Cornwallis, *Life*, p. 97, 98.

^o Either at the death of Thomas Earl of Dorſet,

desired to accept of that office, his answer was, that he would be Chancellor of both Universities^p.

He had a just opinion of the great abilities of Sir Walter Raleigh, and is reported to have said, that *no King but his father would keep such a bird in a cage*^q. And it is affirmed, that his Highness, but a few months before his death, obtained the lands and Castle of Sherburn in Dorsetshire, the confiscated estate of Sir Walter, with an intention of returning it to him^r. That eminent Writer, Soldier, and Statesman, had a reciprocal regard for the Prince, to whom he had designed to address a discourse *Of the Art of War by Sea*, which his Highness's death prevented the Author from finishing^s. He had written likewise to the Prince another *Discourse of a Maritimal Voyage, with the passages and incidents therein*^t: But this has never yet appeared in print. He had also intended, and, as he expresses it, *hewn out* a

April 19, 1608, or at that of Dr. Richard Bancroft, who died November 2, 1610, and was succeeded as Chancellor of Oxford by Thomas Lord Ellesmere, then Lord Chancellor of England. ^p Netherfole, p. 18.

^q Francis Osborne's Traditional Memorials of King James, Sect. 45. p. 543.

^r *Brief Relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's Troubles*, by his Son Carew Raleigh, Esq; prefixed to the *Works of Sir Walter Raleigh*, Vol. I. p. 117.

^s History of the World, Lib. V. Cap. I. Sect. 6.

^t It is mentioned by him in his *Observations concerning the Royal Navy* in his *Works*, Vol. II. p. 91.

second

second and third volume of his *General History*, which were to have been directed to his Highness: “but it has pleased God, *says* “*he*”, to take that glorious Prince out of this “world, to whom they were directed; whose “unspeakable and never-enough lamented “loss hath taught me to say with Job, *Versa* “*est in luctum Cithera mea, & organum meum* “*in vocem flentium.*”

He was remarkable from his earliest years for his fidelity in keeping all secrets intrusted to him^w, and extremely desirous to hear and receive advertisements and advices from any, of whose knowledge and experience he had an opinion^x.

In the government of his household and management of his revenues, though he was so very young, his example deserved to be imitated by all other Princes^y. He not only gave orders, but saw almost every thing done himself, so that there were scarce any of his domestics, whom he did not know by name. And among these there was not one even suspected papist; his directions being very peremptory for setting down the names of all communicants, that he might know, if there were any of his family, who absented themselves from the communion^z.

^u Conclusion of the *General History of the World*.

^w Cornwallis, *Life*, p. 94. *Discourse*, p. 321.

^x Id. *Discourse*, p. 324.

^y Id. *ibid*.

^z Cornwallis, *Life*, p. 98.

His family was large, consisting of few less than five hundred, many of them young gentlemen born to great fortunes, in the prime of their years, when their passions and appetites were strong, their reason weak, and their experience little. But his judgement, and the gravity of his princely aspect, and his own example, were sufficient restraints upon them; and his very eye served instead of a command, and his looks alone had more effect than the sharpest reprehensions of other Princes. If any disputes or contests arose among his servants, he would put a stop to them at the beginning, by referring them to some of his principal officers, whom he thought most intelligent in points of that nature, and to understand best what compensation was due to the injured, and what reproof to the offender; so that in so numerous a family there was not so much as a blow given, nor any quarrel carried to the least height.

Though he loved plenty and magnificence in his house, he restrained them within the rules of frugality and moderation. He ordered to be set down in writing the several heads of all his annual charges; the ordinary expence of his house and his stables; that of his apparel and wardrobe; his rewards, and every thing else, that were to be issued yearly out of his coffers. These he compared with his annual revenue, and so judiciously proportioned them

them by retrenching what he found superfluous, and adding what was wanting, that he reduced the whole to a certainty, such as his revenues would defray, besides a yearly saving of some thousands of pounds, which he reserved for contingent and occasional exigencies^a.

By this oeconomy he avoided the necessity of being rigid to his tenants, either by raising their farms or fines, or seeking or taking advantage of forfeitures. Nor was he tempted to make the profit, which both law and right afforded him, of such, who had in the time of former princes purchased lands belonging to his Duchy of Cornwall, which could not by law be alienated from it. For he gave them, upon resuming these lands, a reasonable satisfaction.

^a It appears from an account of Mr. William Smith, Pay-master of the Prince's works and buildings, in Vol. 167. of the MSS. of Sir Julius Cæsar, that from August 1, 1611, to November 30, 1612, there had been expended by his Highness's order on the Mansion House, at St. James, 1586l. 17s. 8d. on Richmond House and Sheene, 2422l. 18s. 3d. on Mons. Caux's works at Richmond, 303l. 13s. 6d. on Woodstock House and Lodge, 229l. 17s. 11d. on the Wardrobe at the Savoy, 64l. 18s. besides the allowances to the Pay-master and Master-Artisans, 223l. 12s. The estimate of the Prince's Robes and Stables from Michaelmas 1610, to Michaelmas 1611, was 8821l. 2s. 8d. and from Michaelmas 1611, to Michaelmas 1612, 11,282l. 13s. The charges of the Privy-purse, from July 1610, to November 6, 1612, were 13,050l. 10s. 2d.

When

When he made any entertainments, he was desirous, that they should be magnificent and suitable to his dignity; yet not without a special care taken, that nothing might be spent in disorder, or the expence heightened by the want of management in his officers. And he was particularly solicitous on such occasions, that all things might pass with decency and decorum, and without all rudeness, noise, or disorder.

In every matter, either intrusted or permitted to him by the King his father, concerning the state and defence of the kingdom, he was extremely careful and diligent to acquit himself with the utmost prudence and circumspection.

His exactness in viewing the ships and stores at Chatham, in his visit there in May 1611, has been already remarked. What further might have been expected from him, with regard to the improvement of the Royal Navy, wherein the strength, honour, and even safety of this kingdom consist, appeared from the quickness of understanding and vigour of mind, which he shewed upon occasion of a discourse delivered to him by a servant of his own concerning a naval war with Spain, whenever that King should give cause of public hostility. Two main points of the proposal were, the preparation of one fleet to be

† Cornwallis's Discourse, p. 321, 322. pp. 7. 211

‡ P. 242—244.

sent to the West Indies, and another to cruise on the coasts of Spain, in order to prevent all ships from going into, or coming out of, that kingdom. It was astonishing to hear so young a person ask such very judicious questions about every part and circumstance of the design, and of the practicability or difficulties of every branch of it; insisting upon every doubt, till he was satisfied by the reasons and demonstrations of the most experienced men in sea service. He then examined critically into every point of the utility and honour, and of the danger and charge, of such an attempt; which having found to be highly reasonable, and the advantages very important, he declared to those, who were present, that if the King his Father should on any future occasion think proper to break with Spain, he would himself, if his Majesty would permit, undertake the execution of the attempt against the West Indies^d.

His oeconomy did not restrain him from being liberal where merit or distress called for it; but he was never known to give or even promise any thing but upon mature deliberation^e. A little before his death, he conferred upon divers of his servants, who had longest served him, and whose circumstances required it, pensions during life, to the value of eleven

^d Cornwallis's Discourse, p. 322. ^e Idem, Life, p. 99.

or twelve hundred a year; and that without any mediation of others, and at a time, when they least expected it^f.

To strangers he was extremely courteous and affable, and easily gained their affections upon a very short acquaintance^g.

Whatever abuses were represented to him, he immediately redressed, to the intire satisfaction of the persons aggrieved^h.

In his removal from one of his houses to another, and in his attendance on the King on the same occasions, or in progresses, he would suffer no provisions or carriages to be taken up for his use, without full contentment given to the parties. And he was so solicitous to prevent any person from being prejudiced or annoyed by himself or any of his train, that whenever he went out to hawk before harvest was ended, he would take care, that none should pass through the corn; and, to set them an example, would himself ride rather a furlong aboutⁱ.

His speech was slow and attended with some impediment, rather, as it was conceived, by custom and a long imitation of some, who first instructed him, than by any defect of nature, as appeared from his having much corrected it by using at home, amongst his servants,

^f Cornwallis's Discourse, p. 325.

^g Idem, Life,

p. 99.

^h Ibid.

ⁱ Cornwallis's Discourse,

p. 324.

first short discourses, and then longer, as he found himself enabled to do it. Yet he would often say of himself, that he had the most un-serviceable tongue of any man living.

He had a certain hight of mind, and knew well how to keep his distance; which indeed he did to all, admitting no near approach either to his power or his secrets^k.

He expressed himself, upon occasions offered, to love and esteem most such of the nobility, as were most antiently descended, and most nobly and honestly disposed.

He had an intire affection for his brother the Duke of York, and his sister Elizabeth; though sometimes by a kind of rough play with the former, and an appearance of contradicting the latter in what he discerned her to desire, he took a pleasure in giving them, in their tender years, some exercise of their patience^l. A Writer^m, of less authority than Sir Charles Cornwallis, from the latter of whom we have these particulars, adds, that the Prince seemed to have more affection for his sister than his brother, whom he would often taunt till he made him weep, telling him, that he should be a Bishop, a gown being fittest to hide his legs,

^k Cornwallis's Discourse, p. 325. Dr. Sharpe in his *Oratio Funebris*, p. 3. says, *Mens quam Lingua promptior; non rhetorica ubertas, sed regia brevitatis, salibus aspersa.*

^l Cornwallis, p. 324. ^m Francis Osborne, *Traditional Memoirs on the reign of King James*, Sect. 45. p. 542. Edit. London 1673.

which

which were subject in his childhood to be crooked.

A marriage was propounded and offered for him in Spain, during the time of Sir Charles Cornwallis's embassyⁿ there, who had commission from the King to treat of it. But finding, that the overture of that court grew rather out of a desire to win time to advance their own designs, than a real intention to perform it, in regard to the difference of religion, Sir Charles put an end to the negotiation in a manner as soon as he began it.

After Sir Charles Cornwallis's return from Spain, and entrance into the Prince's service, the like motions were made both by the Dukes of Tuscany and Savoy; by the former for a sister, and by the latter for a daughter^o. The Duke of Tuscany went so far, as to apply to the Pope for his consent; which was interpreted two ways, according to Father Paul's account^p; either, that being sure to have a negative from England, he was desirous, that it should rather come from the Pope; or that being excluded and denied, had a mind to procure the Duke of Savoy the same exclusion and denial of the Pope, in order that the latter might serve him for an example in

ⁿ See above, p. 97.

^o Cornwallis's Discourse, p. 324.

^p Letter to Mons. de l'Isle Grosset, August 14, 1612, Letters, p. 329, Brown's Translation.

desisting from the prosecution of the treaty. “ But, *adds* Father Paul, if that great and “ wise King [James] will but follow the coun- “ sel, which he gave his son in his *Basilicon* “ *Doron*, both the Dukes would do well to “ turn their thoughts somewhere else.” But these matches being thought too unequal, that of Anne, Infanta of Spain, was, upon a new overture by the Spanish Ambassador in England, again entertained, and committed by the King to be treated of by Sir Charles Cornwallis's Successor in Spain, Sir John Digby, afterwards created Earl of Bristol. But after some delays there, it was upon the first opening found to have come too late; that Princess, for whom the treaty was intended, and who was the eldest daughter of the King of Spain⁹, and the

⁹ Dr. Welwood in his notes on Arthur Wilson's life of King James I. in the *Complete History of England*, Vol. II. p. 696. Edit. 1706. takes notice, that “ Monf. “ de Thou, and most of the foreign historians of that “ time, mention the steps, that King James made towards “ a match for Prince Henry with the eldest daughter of “ Spain, afterwards Queen of France, to which that “ Prince shewed an utter aversion. And there is extant “ in print a Memorial sent by Sir Dudley Carleton, “ then Ambassador at Venice, to the Earl of Salisbury, “ setting forth reasons against that intended match, and “ shewing how much it was thought the interest of “ King James to match his son to a Protestant Princess.” It were to be wished, that the learned Doctor had informed his reader, where Thuanus mentions the particular ascribed to him; and where, and when, Sir Dudley

the only one, who in years was fit for the Prince, having been formerly promised to Lewis XIII. of France. The negotiations with Spain on this point will appear at large from an excellent relation of them, to be found in the Appendix, drawn up by Sir John Digby himself. The last proposition was for a sister of the French King; and what progress was made in the treaty upon it has been shewn above.

With regard to any unlawful passion for women, to the temptations of which the Prince's youth and situation peculiarly exposed him, his historian, who knew him, and observed him much, assures us, that having been present at great feasts made in the Prince's house, to which he invited the most beautiful ladies

Carleton's *Memorial* was printed. And here it will not be improper to correct a mistake of Dr. Thomas Fuller in his *Appeal of injured Innocence*, Part II. p. 101, where he remarks, that Dr. George Hakewill, Archdeacon of Surrey, was *outed of his Chaplainship for his opposing the match* [with the Infanta of Spain] *when first tendered to Prince Henry*. But the Historian has confounded that Prince with his brother Charles, to whom Dr. Hakewill, his Chaplain, having in the beginning of August 1621 delivered, without the King's knowledge, a discourse against the Spanish match, he with his brother William the Lawyer, Mr. Thomas Murray his Highness's Secretary, and all, who were found to be privy to it, were committed to custody. *Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi I.* p. 74. See likewise Sir Anthony Weldon's *Observations upon King Charles*, p. 217, 218.

See likewise Cornwallis's Discourse, *ubi supra*, p. 324.

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of the Court and City, he could not discover by his Highness's behaviour, eyes, or countenance, the least appearance of a particular inclination to any one of them; nor was he at any other time witness of such words or actions, as could justly be a ground of the least suspicion of his virtue. Though he observes, that some persons of that time, measuring the Prince by themselves, were pleased to conceive and report otherwise of him. It is indeed asserted, as a notorious truth, by the Writer of *Aulicus Coquinaria*^u, believed upon good grounds to be William Saunderson, Esq^w; Author of the *Complete History of Mary Queen of Scotland and his son and successor King James*, that the Prince made court to the Countess of Essex, afterwards divorced from the Earl, and married to the Viscount Rochester, before any other Lady then living. And Arthur Wilson^{*} mentions the many amorous glances, which the Prince gave her, till discovering, that she was captivated with the growing fortunes of Lord Rochester, and

^u Cornwallis's Discourse, p. 144. Edit. London, 1650.

^{*} He was a native of Lincolnshire, and Secretary to the Lord Roos, while he was Ambassador in Spain, and to the Earl of Harland, while he was Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. At the Restoration he was made Gentleman in Ordinary of his Majesty's Privy Chamber, and knighted. He died at Whitehall, July 15, 1676, aged 90, or more, and lies interred in Westminster-Abbey.

^{*} Life and Reign of King James I. p. 54. Edit. London, 1653. Fol.

grounded more hope upon him than the uncertain and hopeless love of his Highness, he soon slighted her. The learned and pious Antiquary, Sir Simonds D'Ewes, in a manuscript life of himself written with his own hand, and brought down to the year 1637^y, is positive, that *notwithstanding the inestimable Prince Henry's martial desires and initiation into the ways of Godliness*, the Countess, "being set on" by the Earl of Northampton, her father's "uncle, first caught his eye and heart, and afterwards prostituted herself to him, who first reaped the fruits of her virginity. But those sparks of grace, which even then began to shew their lustre in him, with those more heroic innate qualities derived from virtue, which gave the law to his more advised actions, soon raised him out of the slumber of that distemper, and taught him to reject her following temptations with indignation and superciliousness." But these authorities ought to have little weight, to the prejudice of the Prince's character, against the direct testimony in his favour from so well-informed a Writer as Sir Charles Cornwallis.

The immature death of the Prince concurring with the public apprehensions of the power of the Papists, and the ill opinion, which the nation then had of the court, gave

^y In the Harleian Collection of MSS. No. 646. p. 27.

immediate rise to suspicions of its being hastened by poison. And these suspicions were heightened by the very little concern shewn by some persons in great stations. *To tell you, says Richard Earl of Dorset in a letter to Sir Thomas Edmondess of the 23d of November 1612^a, that our rising sun is set ere scarcely he had shone, and that with him all our glory lies buried; you know and do lament as well as we, and better than some do, and more truly; or else you are not a man, and sensible of this kingdom's loss.* And it is certain, that this loss made so little impression upon the King and his favourite, that the Lord Viscount Rochester, on the 9th of November, three days after it, wrote to Sir Thomas Edmondess to begin a negotiation for a marriage between Prince Charles and the second daughter of France^a. But the Ambassador, who had more sense of decency, thought it improper to enter upon such an affair so soon after the late Prince's death^b. Mr. Beaulieu, Secretary to Sir Thomas Edmondess, in a letter of the 12th of November 1612^c, to Mr. Trumbull, then Resident at Brussells, after stiling the Prince "the flower of his house, the glory of his country, and the admiration of all strangers, which in all places had imprinted a great hope on the

^a MS. State Papers of Sir Thomas Edmondess, Vol. VIII. p. 547. ^a Ibid. p. 497. ^b Ibid. p. 619. ^c Winwood, Vol. III. p. 410.

“ minds of the well-affected, as it had already
“ stricken terror into the hearts of his enemies,”
adds, “ who perhaps (for of this lamentable
“ accident we have yet no particular relation)
“ fearing the growing virtues of that young
“ Prince, have used the traiterous venom of
“ their abominable practices to cut him off in
“ his youth. And this I do not apprehend
“ without cause, considering the several adver-
“ tisements, which I saw a month ago coming
“ out of England, Holland, and Calais, of
“ strange rumours, which were in these parts,
“ of some great and imminent practice in
“ hand, for the success whereof it was written,
“ that in some places our adversaries had made
“ solemn prayers: and out of Calais it was
“ especially advertised, that in your parts they
“ were in expectation of the death of some
“ great Prince. But alas! we did little ap-
“ prehend, that such ominous prognostica-
“ tions would have lighted upon the person of
“ that vigorous young Prince, whose extraor-
“ dinary great parts and virtues made many
“ men hope and believe, that God had reserved
“ and destined him, as a chosen instrument, to
“ be the Standard-bearer of his quarrel in
“ these miserable times, to work the restora-
“ tion of his church and the destruction of the
“ Romish idolatry.” Mr. Robert Naunton,
who was at this time soliciting a public em-
ployment, and in January 1617-18 advanced
to

to that of Secretary of State, in a letter from London of the 17th of November 1612, to Sir Ralph Winwood^d, Ambassador to the States General, has likewise a very remarkable passage. " Touching our *Palladium*, which
 " we have lost, I hold it neither fit to write
 " what I conceive, and less fit to be written to
 " your Lordship. It is given out by his con-
 " fidents, that he had a design to have come
 " over with the Palsgrave, and have drawn Count
 " Maurice along with him with some promises,
 " and done some exploit upon the place, that
 " shot the Palsgrave's Harbinger, and haply
 " to have seen the Landgraves's daughter, or
 " I know not what: that this he meant to
 " have done, whatsoever it was, *clam patrem &*
 " *senatum suum*: and hatching some such secret
 " design, which was made subject to miscon-
 " struction, it is now become abortive, like
 " that of Henry IV. of France. Sir Henry
 " Neville told me, he had vowed, that never
 " Idolater should come into his bed: and I
 " was ascertained, that in his sickness he ap-
 " plied this chastisement for a deserved punish-
 " ment upon him, for having ever opened
 " his ears to admit treaty of a Popish match." Sir Anthony Weldon^e suggests, that the Prince was poisoned; and Mr. Arthur Wilson^f coun-

^d Winwood, Vol. III. p. 410, note.

^e Court and Character of King James, p. 77, 78.

^f Page 62, 63.

tenances that notion, which is likewise adopted by Dr. Welwood^a; who in his *Memoirs*^b likewise, after stiling the Prince *the darling of mankind, and a youth of vast hopes and wonderful virtues*, remarks, that it was the general rumour at the time of his death, that his Highness was poisoned; and that there is in print a sermon preached at St. James's upon the dissolution of his family, that boldly insinuated some such thing^c. By this sermon Dr. Welwood must mean that of Mr. Hall cited above; in which, however, at least as it is reprinted in the London Edition of his works in 1617, in Fol. I have not met with any expression, that carries the least insinuation of that kind. The Writer of the *Memoirs* adds, that Sir Francis Bacon, in his speech at the trial of the Earl of Somerset, had some reflections upon the intimacy of that Lord with Sir Thomas Overbury, which seemed to point that way; there being several expressions left

^a Notes on Wilson in the Complete History of England, Vol. II. p. 689. 1st Edit.

^b Page 19, Edit. London, 1710.

^c Dr. Welwood, in his note on the *Complete History of England*, referred to above, adds, that in that Sermon *the preacher, who had been the Prince's Domestic Chaplain, made such bad hints about the manner of his death, that melted the auditory into a flood of tears, and occasioned his being dismissed the Court.* But for this last circumstance of Mr. Hall's *being dismissed the Court*, I find not the least shadow of any other authority than Dr. Welwood's.

out of the printed copy, that were in the speech. Bishop Burnet likewise^k tells us, that he was assured by Col. Titus, that he had heard King Charles I. declare, that the Prince his brother was poisoned by the means of the Viscount Rochester, afterwards Earl of Somerset.

But it will be perhaps sufficient to oppose to all such suggestions the unanimous opinion of Physicians, who attended the Prince during his sickness, and opened his body after his death; from which, as Dr. Welwood himself observes^l, there can be no inference drawn, that he was poisoned. To which may be added the authority of Sir Charles Cornwallis^m, who was well informed, and above all suspicion in this point, and who pronounces the rumours spread of his Highness's having been poisoned *vain*; and was fully convinced, that his death was natural, and occasioned by a violent fever.

^k History of his own time, Vol. I. p. 10.

^l *Ubi supra.*

^m Life, p. 81, 82. D. Leonel Sharpe likewise, in his *Oratio Funeris*, p. 10, 11. thinks those to be mistaken, who suspected the Prince to be poisoned. *Sunt, qui principem veneno sublatum suspicantur: sed illi forsitan benevolentia atque amore falluntur. Nam, ut medici dicunt, febris maligna principem juvenem ubi semel corripuisset, intra quatuordecim dies, ventriculis cerebri suffocatis, eheu! confecit atque consumpsit.*

A P P E N D I X.

NUMBER I. p. 21.

Feb. 19, 1601-2.

Rex serenissime & amantissime pater,

ANTE biennium * septimo scilicet meo natali ad majestatem tuam cœpi primum scribere, ut primos conatus meos, & quasi rudimenta scriptionis studiorumque meorum, tum temporis ostenderem. Nunc idem nono meo natali facio, cum ut majestas tua, quem in utrisque ab eo tempore progressum fecerim, intelligat, tum non obscurum officii mei testimonium habeat. Parum est enim bene incepisse, nisi primis extrema respondeant: Quod quidem de me futurum, modo Deus opt. max. mihi, ut cœpit, pergat esse propitius, confido; & majestatem tuam isthuc ipsum de me existimare vehementer cupio. Nam post discessum tuum Terentii Hecyram, Fabularum Phædri Librum tertium, et duos Libros selectarum Epistolarum Ciceronis edidici, ut jam in commendatorio Epistolarum genere præstare aliquid per me possim. Sed qualecunque id sit, Majestas tua, cum advenerit, judicabit, cui salutem ego perpetuam ex animo precari non desino.

Majestatis tuæ observantissimus, &c.

* 1599-600.

NUM.

Apr. 1603.

Rex serenissime & amantissime pater,

ET SI mihi dubium non fuit, quin majestatem tuam populus Anglicanus pro tuis summis in eam rempublicam meritis, pro amplissimâ familiæ dignitate, proque hæreditario successionis jure, regem facturus esset; tamen incredibili lætitiâ sum affectus, cum mihi nunciatum est tam vehementi omnium studio tantaque suffragiorum conspiratione eum honorem majestati tuæ esse delatum. Et quoniam verebar, ne subitus hic casus majestati tuæ eriperet facultatem videndi mei, quod tamen esset mihi exoptatissimum, putavi esse officii mei gratulationem meam scripto testari. Quod si per ætatis infirmitatem mihi non licet rebus gerendis obsequium atque operam eam navare majestati tuæ, quam expetit animus; saltem hoc, quod reliquum est, præstabo lubentissimè, nimirum, vota apud Deum assiduè interponam, ut hunc honorem velit fortunare, atque à tuâ majestate, tum ex tuâ majorumque dignitate, tum pro omnium popularium expectatione, administrari. Neque dubito quin ab hac amplitudinis accessione etiam magnus ad pristinum erga me amorem cumulus accedet, quem ut omnibus debiti cultus ac reverentiæ officiis demereri possim, eundem Deum rogare non desinam, quem majestati tuæ in præsentia itineris ducem, & deinceps perpetuum comitem, custodem, & adminiculatorem ex animo voveo.

Rex serenissime & amantissime pater,

CUM & publico strenarum hoc anni tempore missitandarum exemplo, & privatim annuâ meâ consuetudine monitus, necessitatem mihi impositam animadverterem, sacram majestatem tuam literario aliquo munere salutandi, nullum occurrebat aut convenientius tempori, aut studiis meis accommodatius, aut majestati tuæ (ut ego quidem existimabam) acceptius futurum, quam si carmine, novo scilicet scriptionis genere, ipsam donarem. Et quanquam re semel atque iterum tentatâ parum abfuerit, quin oneri succumberem; tamen me tum parentis amantissimi, tum regis humanissimi cogitatio tandem sustentavit. Audiveram enim Parentes Liberatorum nævos non excusare solum, sed interdum etiam exosculari; ac Deos ipsos minutissima tenuiorum dona ab animo grato profecta non aspernari. Atque duplici hac fiduciâ fretus existimavi majestatem tuam, & patrem mitissimum, & divinam in terris imaginem referentem, hæc qualiacunque Musæ meæ primordia boni consulturam, & Carmina non plane bona benignâ interpretatione meliora facturam. Vale.

Ad Regem Carmen.

Mi pater, & sacrâ Rex Majestate verende,
 Qua pater omnipotens & celsi Reçtor Olympi
 Fronte solet, micamve falis, vel thuris odorem,
 Aut musum & violas, inopis libamina dextræ,
 Accipere, et locupletem ipsis præferre hecatombis;
 Hac cape fronte meæ tenuis primordia Musæ,
 Vota quibus fundo ad Dominum, ut feliciter annus
 Incipiat,

Incipiat, multo *ſæ*licius exeat, huncque
Perpetuâ ſerie *ſæ*licia ſæc'la ſequantur.

NUMBER IV. p. 46.

Sereniſſime Princeps,

SUBMIſſE offero ſerenitati tuæ inſcriptio-
nes hitoricas Regum, majorum tuorum, à pri-
mo Regni conditu ad noſtra uſque tempora, in qui-
bus videas *ſæ*liciffima auſpicia exortus tui. Ad-
dō nunc dedicationem novam ſive renovatam potius
auguſtiſſimi nominis tui. Hoc gloriæ tuæ & meæ
felicitati datum; ut ego, tuorum minimus, primus
hoc Curriculum ingreſſus, Nomen tuum publicâ
Dedicatione Muſis noſtris conſecraverim. Quid ſi
hæc ſerenitati tuæ grata fuiſſe aliquâ ſignificatione
Intellexero, ad majora excitabor propediem edenda
ſub auſpiciis feliciffimi nominis tui, Deo volente,
qui te æternum ſervet ſoſpitetque. Ex Academiâ
Regiâ Andreapolitanâ in Scotiâ iſſis Kalendis Juliis
anno CIOCCIV.

Serenitati tuæ

Devotus & ſubditus,

JOHAN. JONSTONUS,

Profeſſor Regius.

NUMBER V. p. 62.

Illuſtriſſime Princeps,

VIX decem horæ interceſſerunt inter ſalutem
& perniciem omnium noſtrum; ſed Deo æ-
terna gloria, qui conjurationem poſt hominis natos

teterrimam tam brevi tempore detexit ac dissipavit. Triplicem ut inde doctrinam sumes tibi suadeo, princeps ; primam humilitatis, secundam gratitudinis, tertiam cautionis. Humilitatis, ut, quamvis sis primogenitus Regis maximi filius, tamen humanam felicitatem modestè habeas, quæ humanâ malitiâ, nisi Deus prævenisset, uno momento obteri potuisset. Sceleratum est sæculum ; & quisquis audet ipse mori, audet aliis inferre mortem : quisquis est contemptor vitæ suæ, est dominus alienæ. Altera est gratitudinis, ut Deo servias, qui te servavit ; primum cor proditoris impellendo, ut prodicionem per literas (licet obscuriùs) indicaret ; deinde animum Regis movendo, ut in literis ignem subolferet. Et non tu gloriam reddes Deo, à quo salutem recepisti ? Tertia est cautionis, ut caveas a viperis, liberè dicam, a Jesuitis & Jesuitarum discipulis. Non omnes tibi papistas odiosos reddo, quorum aliquos fideles credo ; sed eos tantum, quos Jesuiticus, potius dicam Diabolicus, Spiritus afflavit. Sine dubio fuit aliquis Jesuita fax hujus Incendii. Parmenonis tam scio hanc esse technam, quam me vivere. Duplici veneno turgēt Invidiæ & Malitiæ : Invidiæ, quæ bonis cruciatur ; Malitiæ, quæ malis delectatur alienis ; & quod gravius est, publicis. Primus Mundus diluvio periit, secundus peribit Incendio, ut ex prophetiâ Rex pius observavit. Exorti sunt scelerati in Scotiâ parricidæ ; sed sceleratiores in Angliâ. Illi Augusti quinto Regem regiamque stirpem baptisandam in sanguine ; hi quinto Novembris cum Rege Regiâque Stirpe Britanniam universam baptisandam in igne censuerant. O prophanos Sacerdotes ! Sic illi diluvium Orbi nostro, hi postremum Incendium inducere cogitarunt. Ergo non perirent Anglia

glia & Scotia, nisi peperissent? Nisi natos haberent, hostes non haberent? Nisi matres essent, incolumes perpetuò permanerent? O matrum optimarum foecunditatem pessimam! Jesus Christus Regem, principem, proceresque Regni servet ab hac viperinâ progenie, ut servati à Deo Deo serviamus.

Celsitudini tuæ jure meritoque addictissimus

LEONELLUS SHARPE.

NUMBER VI. p. 77.

DE BEO tibi plurimum, consanguinee & cancellarie dilectissime, pro humanissimis, quas non ita pridem ad me dedisti, literis, quibus amorem erga me tuum satis abunde, licet judicium parcius, testificatus es. Nam quæ mihi tam ab animo, quam à corpore cumulate tribuis, ea tantum abest mihi adscribenda ut existimem, ut contra tibi, magno alioqui judici ac juris justitiæque consulto, de hac re malè judicatâ litem non immerito moveri posse sentiam. Cum verò illud ipsum qualecunque judicium ab affectu manare compertum habeam, facere non potui, quin et de benigno hoc errore mihi plauderem, & tibi gratias hoc nomine à me deberi agnoscerem. Non ignoro vestrum talium, qui in senatu & curiâ familiam ducitis, encomia monitorum instar esse nobis ad præclara omnia capeffenda excitandis. Quod quidem ut à nobis aliquando fiat, quo laudum hæc commemoratio non ab amore magis quam à judicio profecta credatur, clementissimus Deus serio nobis orandus est, cui re-
rum

rum mearum felicem eventum, te reiique publicæ
 vestræ statum ex animo commendo. Ex Aedibus
 divi Jacobi 4 Id. Febr. 1606.

Tibi Amicissimus,

HENRICUS.

NUMBER VII. p. 79.

Serenissime Princeps,

Dignitatis tuæ & officii mei valde videor im-
 memor, qui minus opportunâ literarum mis-
 sione feriis tuis studiis et cogitationibus quotidianus
 interpellator obstrepam. Verum filere non patitur
 recentis erga me beneficii tui recordatio. Tene
 isto fastigio, ætatis vere, exercitiorum assiduitate;
 submissis an sepositis Regiis fascibus, illam multa-
 rum (nec vana sint vota) gentium olim victricem
 dexteram calamo admovisse, paria in scribendo fac-
 turam? Istud profecto scriptione præstitisti, omnes,
 ut intelligeremus, illum demum te arbitrari verum
 esse idoneumque populorum pastorem, qui hu-
 manitate Majestatem suavi didicerit mixturâ tem-
 perare. Certissimum hujus tui est judicii argu-
 mentum amor ille singularis, quo natale solum
 constantissime prosequeris, ornas, auges, immo
 diutino patris optimi tuique desiderio satiscens, &
 pene enectum, refocillas & foves. Utinam in tuo-
 rum pectora posses penetrare. Non ita pridem vi-
 didisses quanta isthic omnium essent gaudia, quam
 sincera tui veneratio & cultus, cum nunciaretur
 indignanti aure tibi auditas, & alacri erectoque

E e

vultu

vultu & animo damnatas, tuaque voce confossas improborum calumnias, quibus Scotorum, hoc est, tuam arctissimo & peculiari imprimis titulo, gentem, pro linguæ intemperantiâ temerè proscindebant. Macte, serenissime princeps, ista animi magnitudine, & in tuos affectu; testare posteris nullum firmitus esse imperii fulcrum mutuo principis subditorumque amore. Sic fiet, ut famæ tibi gloriæque æternitatem, & tuis perpetuam solidamque pacis & tranquillitatis fruitionem, parias & stabilias. Desino plura scribere, sed non Deum obnixè venerari & orare, ut tibi aspiret, te regat & æternum beet. Vale non. Aprilis, 1607.

Celsitudinis vestræ studiosissimus

humillimusque servus,

DUNFERMELYNE.

N U M B E R VIII. p. 98.

Rex serenissime & amantissime pater,

SEPTIMUS agitur annus, ex quo cœpi primum ineuntis anni kalendis serenissimam Majestatem tuam literario aliquo munere salutare. Nunc continuatis tot annorum circa studia laboribus, quemadmodum majoris operæ quidpiam à me merito expectari posse videtur, ut expectationi huic non desim, tentare volui, quid in Menandri poetæ vetustissimi sententia ex artis præceptis confirmandâ mei tenuitas ingenii permetteret. Argumentum

ejusmodi

ejusmodi est, à quo industriæ in dicendo aut acuminis in differendo magnam laudem non spero: certe pietatis & obsequii non mediocre testimonium, præsertim a patre amantissimo & benignissimo, impetraturum me non despero.

NUMBER IX. p. 105.

Rex serenissime & amantissime pater,

DUÆ mihi erant æque justissimæ causæ, propter quas Majestatem vestram scripto salutare citius debueram; una perpetua, ut cultum obsequiumque à me debitum quam officiosissime testatum facerem; altera recens, ut pro inopinatâ venandi facultate gratias maximas haberem. Sustinui tamen a scribendo manum aliquantisper, dum insperatæ hujus benignitatis fructum aliquem gustassem, sperans futurum, ut ipsa oblectationis in venando perceptione animum mihi ad gratias alacriorem invenirem: quod quidem mihi usu venisse mehercule agnosco, ideoque quantas maximas animus meus capere potest, à gratias me deberi M. V. jam nunc intelligo. Non quod sim nescius plurima eaque multo majora Majestatis vestræ beneficia in me identidem fuisse collata: verum quemadmodum *curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent*; & licet ad ingentium beneficiorum memoriam obmutescerem & obstupescerem sæpenumero ea animo recolens, pro leviculo hoc tamen gratitudinem animo conceptam verbis expressam impiis cupiam. Verum eam non in ore magis quam in mente perpetuo futuram Majestati V. persuasissimum esse scio, sicut ego de pristino suo in me studio atque

affectu nihil esse remissuram compertissimum habeo, atque ut id quam diutissime esse posset, Deum opt. max. ex animo precor. 4 id. Apr.

NUMBER X. p. 119.

O Decus nostrum,
 ————— Quas dicere grates,
 Quasve referre parem?

QUID enim mihi in universitate rerum possit esse satius, quam à C. V. literas easque syngraphas amoris accipere? Atque adeo multis parasangis vestra clementia meum inutile studium officiumque superavit, ut quid aut quomodo scribam, aut quid omnino non scribam, mihi non exploratum habeo.

Ἀεξεταὶ ἐνδοθὶ δῶμος.

Sed Harpocratem ago: vestrae tamen C. summas omni modo gratias debeo debeboque semper, assidue preces fundens Deo opt. max. ut fausto, quo C. V. inceptit, pede progrediatur. Illam verò ingressa est, & quasi propemodum viam consummavit, quæ ad honorem, quæ ad virtutem, quæ ad immortalitatem ducit. Quare cum nihil magis in votis sit, quam sapientiam vestram perspicere, ingenium vestrum suspicere, vestra censurâ doceri & corrigi, in vestro iudicio acquiescere, liceat mihi supplici à C. V. nodi cujusdam, qui inter legendum occurrit, solutionem exorare. Tacitus inter laudes Agricolaë hoc enumerans, quod *frumenti & tributorum autionem vel exactionem mollivit*, addit, namque per
 ludibrium

ludibrium assidere clausis horreis, & emere ulro frumenta, & vendere pretio cogebantur: divortia itinerum & longinquitas regionum i dicebatur, ut civitates a proximis hibernis in remota & avia deferrent, donec quod omnibus in promptu erat, paucis lucrosum fieret. Addebitatur, quid sibi vult assidere clausis horreis per ludibrium, &c.? Si lumen huic loco C. V. præferre dignetur, in quo alias æternum fortasse caligarem, Deum flagito, ut mentem hanc C. V. qua ad optima optimosque accensa rapitur, fervet.

C. V. in æternum devotissimus,

JOHANNES HARYNGTON.

Ignoscat C. V. (quæ est vestra summa humanitas) meæ pudendæ jejunitati; vestrarum enim literarum nitor & mirâ concinnitas (ut ingenuè fatear) me meam puerilem exilitatem agnoscere facile cogit.

NUMBER XI. p. 125.

NÆ tu homo es lepidus, qui me literarum tuarum initio partim ob ingenii, partim ob judicii acumen, cumulate laudibus effers; moxque difficilem scriptoris nodum mihi proponis solvendum, ut inde quantum utroque destituar facile appareat. Num me credis esse eum, qui nodos solvere, ænigmata interpretari, arduorumque scriptorum difficultates explicare possim? Fieri potest ut his talibus factis Davi personam induere merito videare; ego Cædipum me non esse ingenuè confiteor. Utrum in tuâ ipsius arenâ dimices, necne, ipsi tibi

videndum est: et me, quod in alieno foro litigem, ignorantiam meam profiteri æquissimum est. Ego, qui in omni humaniorum literarum genere novitius sum atque tyrunculus, quique ex ignorantiae tenebris pedem vix movi, cum intelligerem nihil me nisi tenue, humile, & angustum sapere, non ausus sum unquam Tacitum inspicere, quem prudentiâ admirabilem, brevibus & acutis sententiis refertum, stylo, pro meo captu, nimis obscurum, ab omnibus prædicari audiveram. Quando tamen me in hunc campum provocas, te lento licet pede sequi mihi decretum est. Cœpi enim paucis ab hinc diebus Agricolæ vitam legere diligenter, ut cum ad eum, quem mihi proponis, nodum pervenero, animi mei sententiam facilius aperiâ. Interea non abs re putavi unum aut alterum ejusdem narrationis locum, sed multo faciliorem, tibi inspiciendum offerre, quod in eorum sensu assequendo mihi planè non satisfaciâ: nempe in his verbis non longè a principio. [Nec Agricola licenter more juvenum, qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque segniter ad voluptates & comæatus, titulum tribunatus & inscitiam retulit.] Non est mihi satis perspectum, quomodo hæc verba *retulit titulum tribunatus & inscitiam* cum superioribus cohæreant, nisi *in retulit* sit *δολογία*. Rursum ibi dicitur [Agricola naturali prudentia, quamvis inter togatos, facilè justeque agebat] Hæreo quid illud *sit inter togatos*, utrum ipse fuerit è togatis; an potius quod homo militaris jus inter togatos dicebat. Plura sunt id genus alia, quæ in præsens omitto, teque interim valere jubeo.

NUMBER XII. p. 122.

SPLENDENTE sole heliotropium floret, & caput erigit; abeunte vero mæsto quodam vultu se inter folia, quasi in tenebris, abscondit: ita quid mihi in hac vitâ unquam fuit jucundius, illustrissime princeps et domine, quam in oculis vestræ celsitudinis vivere, et vestri favoris radiis continue frui? Quid acerbius, quam sine conspectu Solis in terris mei, quam solitarie & in caligine peregrinari? Quid aut quomodo scribam,

Nil nisi Vota supersunt.

Hæc tamen sunt mei doloris levamina, primum, ut hac meâ Regionum perëgratione & rerum experientiâ tandem aliquando fiam aptior perficiendis V. C. mandatis, quæ adeo mihi sacrosancta sunt, et semper erunt, æque ac Romanis sacra imperii pignora. Deinde, quod mihi feliciter contigit, V. C. meritas virtutes coram principibus prædicare. Hoc quidem officium fateor me fecisse, et facturum lætius & erectius, brevi tamen, ut solent qui terrarum situs parvâ tabellâ depingunt. Ignoscas, illustrissime princeps et domine, si meis balbutientibus loquelis vestri nominis splendor aliquo modo diminitus fuerit. Quod ad cætera attinet, dabo certè operam omni meâ curâ & industriâ, ut vestræ celsitudini sit nota omnis dierum & itinerum meorum ratio; sæpius annulo figens oscula, tanti vestri favoris, in quo omnes meas fortunas esse positas judico, insigni, quem in sinu meo noctes atque dies gero gessurusque sum,

Dum spiritus hos reget artus.

C. V. servus devotissimus,

JOH. HARYNGTON.

E c 4

NUM

NUMBER XIII. p. 123.

MAGNA parte Belgii vel Inferioris Germaniæ intra has septem septimanas, illustrissime princeps & domine, jam perlustratâ, tribus principum aulis, totidemque vîsîs academiis, cum civitatibus quibusdam amplissimis, oppidis munitissimis, castris & propugnaculis fortissimis, quæ de politia, de consiliis, de viris autoritate, prudentiâ & doctrinâ pollentibus, de militiâ, de præsentî rerum statu, de urbium situ, de populi moribus, observare potui, scriptis pro meâ virili Latinè mandavi, ut V. C. cui me meaquæ studia omni modo merito debeo, omnium mearum dierum (sicut par est) tempore opportuno reddatur ratio. Utcunque enim meæ ipsius tenuitatis sum bene conscius, nolo tamen me unum esse ex iis, qui voluptatibus turpiter indulgendis, vel novis oculos pascendi desiderio, peregrinas oras adire et peragrarè solent. Omnî certè, illustrissimè princeps & domine, vigiliantiam curabo, ut ex rerum usu aliquid prudentiæ comparando, V. C. voluntati dignius & sapientius tandem morem gerere vel inservire possim. Hoc unicum est summa meæ spei, & ad omnes sustinendos labores incitamenti satis. Non possum plura, illustrissime princeps, sic festinat et interpellat hic Grammatophorus. Habet C. V. Epistolam subito conscriptam: ignoscat mihi & meis (quæ est vestra summa semper in me mansuetudo) sicut solet; & ut me favore magis magisque indies beare dignetur, supplex precor,

V. C. in perpetuum servus devotissimus,

JOH. HARYNGTON.

NUM.

NUMBER XIX. p 124.

NESCIO certe, illustrissime princeps & domine, an unquam hæc literulæ ad manus V. C. sint venturæ; in præsentiarum enim magnâ sollicitudine afficior, quod de salute V. C. his 11. Septimanis per literas à parentibus (sicut soleo) ne verbum quidem audiverim. Conjectura mea, vel injuste esse interceptas, vel aliquo infortunio interiiisse, meam mentem aliquo modo liberat à metu gravioris mali. Scripsi ad V. C. a Francofurto decessurus Heidelbergam. Ibi & in Basiliensi Academia aliquot consumpsi dies audiendo professores, & conferendo. Inde omni festinatione petii Florentiam. Accessi tamen post diem nuptiarum, sed ante præcipuas solemnitates, de quibus libellum quendam hodie editum ad C. V. misi, ut perspiciat singula, quæ propter adventum Ducis Mantuæ denuo sunt repetita. Quod ad meas privatas observationes attinet, nimis fortasse pueriles, omni vigiliantia et curâ laboro, ut tandem omnium mearum dierum ratio à V. C. probetur.

Non video causam, illustrissime princeps & domine, diu manendi in Italiâ, eoque magis, quod desiderio redeundi per Gallias capior, ut brevi iterum per vestrum singularem & constantem in me favorem mea priore felicitate fruam, & in oculis V. C. reliquum meæ vitæ cursum conteram. Interim omni, qua fieri possit à servo devotissimo, contentione Deum opt. max. flagito, ut V. C. omni modo servet incolumem.

Florentiæ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$

Nov.

V. C. servus devotissimus,

JOH. HARYNGTON.

NUM-

Serenissimus Rex, Pater tuus, Dominus meus clementissimus, cum me archivis publicis præfecisset, pro innatâ suâ erga subditos benevolentia sæpe mandavit, ut suæ suorumque majorum, regum Scotiæ, leges in unum volumen redactæ, ab erroribus, situ, & squalore vindicarentur. Intelligit enim Rex prudentissimus, legum cognitionem non solum ipsis regibus, sed etiam universo populo, imprimis necessariam esse. Illi enim, secundum leges, populum in officio continent, bonis præmia, malis pœnas, juxta delicti quantitatem, infligunt. Hic vero metu & formidine pœnarum, ac præmiorum desiderio, in officio concors legitimè vivit, regibus obedientiam, & Deo suum cultum tribuit. Regiæ igitur Majestatis mandatum, ut par est, secutus in eum laborem diligenter incubui; leges dispersas in unum collegi; errores emendavi, in patrium sermonem transtuli, et effeci (nisi fallor) ut pristino nitore restitutæ ab omnibus facile intelligi possint. Quid præterea præstiti, aliorum esto judicium.

Has autem ad te, illustrissime princeps, mitto, ut eas, cum per otium licuerit, legas & intelligas, ne in peregrinis legibus civis, in domesticis verò peregrinus videare. Et ut benigne eas accipias ab homine tibi ignoto, sed post Deum & Regem patrem tuum tibi devinctissimo, omni quâ possum animi demissione peto. Faxit Deus, ut non solum paternorum regnorum, sed etiam virtutum & religionis successor fias, & Theodosium Imperatorem imiteris, qui non tam gratias Deo agit, quod Imperator

perator esset, quam quod Christianum imperatorem Deus esse cum voluit. Edinburgi, Octob. 5, 1609.

T. C. addictiss. & ad omnia obsequia paratiss.

JOANNES SKENE.

NUMBER XVII. p. 218.

ORDERS established to be observed by all gentlemen and officers of the Prince's Household*, viz.

THE Gentlemen of the Prince's chamber are to see the Prince duly served, and shall command the Grooms, and others of the bed-chamber whatsoever, to execute their offices carefully, and to give their diligent attendance, forbidding any ragged or unsweet persons, or such as are not allowed in the book signed by the King, to do any manner of office in the Prince's chamber, or to approach his person at any time.

Item, The Gentlemen aforesaid shall see the Prince decently arrayed and disarrayed; and that for the health of his body, all things be ordered by their good discretion and foresight; wherein if any thing be defective or wanting, they shall certify Sir Thomas Chaloner thereof, that speedy remedy may be provided thereunto.

Item, The said Gentlemen, or any of them, shall have authority to control any, that shall

* The parchment roll, containing these orders, had belonged to Sir Julius Cæsar, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Master of the Rolls, and was bought by me at the sale of his manuscripts, December 14, 1757. The want of a date to these orders leaves it uncertain, whether they were not antecedent to his Highness's being created Prince of Wales.

misbehave themselves, by pressing uncivilly to the person of the Prince, or into any of the private chambers, appointed either for his learning or other private exercises, or shall misgovern themselves, in any unseemly speech or behaviour, in the presence of the Prince.

Item, The said Gentlemen shall wait always next unto the Prince's person, neither shall any, whatsoever, presume to carry the Prince out of the house, before warning given to Sir Thomas Chaloner, that he, with a convenient number of Gentlemen, may attend him.

The ordering of the Prince's Chamber.

The Grooms of the chamber shall give diligent attendance in the privy-chamber, at six of the clock in the morning, and eight in the evening, or earlier, if occasion require, to be ready to do such offices, as appertaineth to them; namely, to make the fires in the privy-chamber and bed-chamber, to warm the Prince's apparel, make his bed, air the chambers, and keep them sweet and cleanly, or to do any other service they shall be appointed unto about the Prince, and especially to have regard, that they themselves be neat and handsomely apparelled, not unseemly approaching the Prince, with their doublets unbuttoned, or their hose untied.

It is also ordered, that some of the Grooms shall at all times of the day be waiting in the privy-chamber, if the Prince be not abroad at his exercise, as well to be in readiness, if they are to be employed for the Prince's service, as to supply the place of Gentlemen Ushers, forbidding all others to come into the privy-chamber, or withdrawing-chamber, the Gentlemen of the chamber
only

only excepted, or such as the Prince shall call for, or upon some just occasion shall be admitted by Sir Thomas Chaloner: and if the Prince for his recreation sake, or other occasions, is to be absent for some hours from the chambers aforesaid, some of the Grooms shall cause all the doors to be locked, and to be ready to attend against the Prince's return.

The Grooms shall lie nightly on a pallet in the privy-chamber, except there be Gentlemen in ordinary of the privy-chamber, who then shall undergo that charge, which they shall early remove, providing that the chambers be strowed, aired, and made clean, before the Prince come out of his bed-chamber.

Item, That the Gentlemen of the chamber only shall meddle with apparelling of the Prince, or such as shall be deputed thereunto by the King's Majesty.

Also one of the Grooms of the Prince's chamber shall diligently attend on the Quiery, as soon as it is brought into the privy-chamber, suffering none to approach the same, to whom it appertains not by their office.

Orders for the Presence-Chamber, and chambers where the Prince will be private.

The Gentlemen Ushers and Grooms of the chamber are to forbid any to enter into those chambers, whither the Prince is retired for his study or exercise, the Gentlemen of the chamber only excepted, and such as are appointed to instruct his Highness, or to learn with him.

Item,

Item, The Gentlemen Ushers shall be careful to see and inform all such, as are to do service in the Prince's eye, to perform their duties, and to have an especial regard, that cleanliness be observed, and if any do behave themselves unreverently or unseemly in the Prince's presence, in lewd talk, or over familiar behaviour, as pressing too near him, &c. they shall admonish them thereof accordingly.

Likewise, the Gentlemen Ushers are to foresee, that none be lodged in the Princes house, but such only, as are, by the orders and customs of the King's house, to have lodging or furniture allowed them; and that Sir Thomas Chaloner be made acquainted with the disposing of the lodgings at every remove, and no keys to be delivered but by his assent and direction.

Item, The Gentlemen Ushers also, at every remove, be careful, that such, as are by their places to give the nearest attendance on the Prince, shall be lodged as near him as conveniently may be.

Item, None, that ought to do service to the Prince, shall come booted into the presence-chamber, except it be at such times as the Prince is to ride abroad, or hath lately been returned from riding, that they could not have time to shift themselves.

The Gentlemen Cup-bearer, Carver and Sewer, shall at Eleven of the clock in the forenoon, and Six at evening, be ready attending in the presence-chamber, to receive directions for the Prince's service, by the Gentlemen Ushers, as shall be requisite.

Item, The Gentlemen Ushers, at divers fit times, together with the Clerks of the Cheque, are to visit the tables, and if they find any, that are not allowed

to have their diet in the house, they must discretely reform that disorder.

Item, The Gentlemen Ushers shall have authority to visit all the chambers of the Prince's house, and if they find any uncleanness, which may breed infection or other diseases, they shall admonish them to amend it, and if they find any servants or pages to have no beds, they shall give information thereof, that they may be billeted in the towns nearest at hand.

Item, If they find any, that after admonition shall still continue to make any places noisome, they shall not allow them, from that time forward, any lodging whatever in the house.

They shall also forbid any whosoever, that is attendant on the Prince, to lodge any boys, lackeys, footmen, or sickly persons, or such as have not shift of apparel and linnen, in the house.

And to the end the Prince may not be unguarded, either when he is abroad, or in his presence-chamber, or elsewhere, when attendance is to be required, the Gentlemen shall wear their usual weapons of rapier and dagger; and have respect, that in attending him, they do not by any uncivil action give occasion of offence through want of due respect.

The two Pages are nightly to lie in the nether end of the presence-chamber, and at least one of them to be present there to supply the room of Quarter-Waiter; they shall make fires in the presence-chamber, air and keep it clean, and those outerchambers also, where the Prince useth his study or exercise, and to be ready to do all that appertains to their office, by the direction of those, that are appointed to command them. When Quarter

Waiter

Waiters are allowed, then the Pages shall not serve in that place.

If any within the precincts of the chief courts, or places where the Prince or his servants are usually to repair, do by any uncleanly means, as making water, &c. make them unsweet, after warning given, he shall be thought unfit to be entertained in the Prince's house.

Whosoever shall contemptuously or negligently behave themselves to the Gentlemen Ushers, in the execution of their office, upon complaint made, and admonition given, if they continue their former courses, they shall be dismissed.

Item, None whatsoever, without especial licence, shall lodge any in the Prince's house, or receive such, as are not in the list of the Prince's ordinary servants, to lodge in their chambers.

The Gentlemen Ushers and Quarter-Waiters, shall always before meals clear the presence-chamber of strangers, that the Prince may take his repast quietly, and give warning to the Usher of the guard and porters to do the like in their charges.

The Groom Porter's man shall, at times convenient, bring wood and coals, and such things, as by his office are necessary, for the Prince's service, to some place appointed, where the Grooms and Pages shall receive them.

If any use to demean themselves in the courts or other places, which are in the Prince's view, unreverently, by playing or other sports, the guard and porters shall forbid them.

And forasmuch as private and extraordinary playing at cards, dice, and such like games, commonly breedeth great inconveniency, therefore none ought in their chambers to use any gaming.

Directions

Directions for the Guard.

Item, Certain of the guard shall watch nightly, and thrice in the night or oftener, if occasion require, go their rounds, to hearken if any ill rule or disorder be in the house or near it; and after the shutting in of the gates, they shall search all the corners and by-places, that if any boys, masterless men, or other person, that is not of the Prince's retinue, be found, they apprehend and commit them to the porter's lodge.

Also two of the guard, with their halberts, shall attend at the gates to assist the porters in executing their office, and the orders appointed to be observed by them.

The guard shall not suffer any strange serving man, or other stranger, to come into the great chamber; and if by chance any do pass them, the ushers and pages shall not permit them to enter the presence.

At half an hour after ten, before dinner, and half an hour after five, before supper, when the gates are shut, they, which wait at the gates, are to repair to their fellows, and be in readiness to bring up the Prince's service, suffering no stranger to approach it, or such, unto whom it appertaineth not to meddle therewithal.

Item, When the Prince is to ride abroad, upon notice given, they shall have their horses in readiness to attend upon the Prince; and when he is in the house, they shall diligently keep guard in the great chamber, suffering none to pass through it, who is not well known, or hath been admitted to enter by Sir Thomas Chaloner.

An establishment of orders for the porters.

The porters are to be careful, that the great gates be not opened, except it be for the bringing in of such things, as shall be necessary for the provision of the household, and presently shall shut them again, leaving the wicket only open to pass and re-pass in and out.

The porters shall never be both at once absent from their charge, giving diligent attendance and regard, that they suffer none to enter in at the gates but such only, as are contained in a roll delivered them, or shall hereafter, by warrant, permitted to have recourse hither.

Item, They are to examine such, as are unknown persons, from what place they come, and what assurance they can give, that they come not from infected places; and having informed themselves, with whom they desire to speak, before they permit them to enter, they shall give the party notice thereof, who shall go out of the gates during this dangerous time of infection, to confer with such friend or stranger, if they come for their own private business; but if they be men of very good note and quality, and such as are to be employed in any service of the Prince, the principal officers may permit them to enter, for dispatch of their affairs only, provided that it be not at the hours assigned to keep the wicket close, wherein none shall be admitted but by Sir Thomas Chaloner.

If any strangers, that are not of good note and quality, or such as are not admitted by Sir Thomas Chaloner, be walking in the court, or other place within the house, when the wicket is appointed to

be locked up, the porters shall warn them to depart.

The porters shall cause all strangers, serving men and others, that are not men of quality, and suffered to enter by Sir Thomas Chaloner's licence, to leave their weapons at the gate.

Whosoever shall offer to set up any booth near the gates, or to sell fruit or any thing near the the same, shall be warned by the porters to depart presently; which if they refuse, they shall speedily give Sir Thomas Chaloner notice thereof, and they shall enquire also, whether any booths for victualling, or uses disallowable, be set up in any place near the Prince's house, and give information thereof as aforesaid.

And because divers of the Prince's under officers are to be lodged abroad, whose service is such, as they must be let in at the gates early in the morning, the porters shall, therefore, at five of the clock in the morning in summer, and at six in winter, open them the wicket, and they being entered, shut it up again, until such time as the household is risen, and the guard have taken their places in the great chamber, which in summer shall be at seven, and in winter at half an hour past seven, and the gates shall be without fail closed at nine of the clock at night, and the keys delivered to Sir Thomas Chaloner.

Always at half an hour past ten in the morning, and half an hour before six in the evening, the wicket shall be closed, and such as shall be near the gates warned to repair to divine service; which warning if any refuse to obey, the porters shall not permit them to enter until the tables be risen, and in like sort the gates shall be kept shut until

one of the clock in the afternoon, and seven at evening in the summer time; for in winter, viz. unto the first of May, the wicket shall be shut from the closing of daylight, and not opened, except it be to let in or out such of the house, as shall have occasion to repair to any of the Prince's servants for the necessary business of the household.

Item, If the porters know any that ought to lodge within the Prince's house to lie out of it, without the licence of Sir Thomas Chaloner, they shall certify the same unto him.

Item, If they know, or be credibly informed, that any have conversed with infectious persons, or have lately been in any infectious place, they shall not suffer him or them to enter within the gates, until they have acquainted Sir Thomas Chaloner therewithal.

Item, They shall diligently view and mark such, as come in and out at the gates, both that they may take notice of their persons, and of such things as they bring in or carry out with them, that no plate be carried forth, or other stuff or provision imbezzled.

For the stable, or such as lie out of the Prince's house, by billet or otherwise.

The Avenor shall suffer no lackeys, boys, women or others to be about the stables, that are not of the Prince's ordinary grooms, or servants to the gentlemen, that are by his Majesty permitted to have a certain number of horses in the stable.

Orders shall always be taken at every remove, that the Prince's horses being first placed, such gentlemen, as by service in the Prince's chamber ordinarily to attend on his Highness, and have allowance

allowance for their horses, shall be next served, if any room be spare.

If any do purloin the hay or provender from any horses, or wilfully make waste thereof, or sell it, and take girths or other furniture from men's saddles, wherewithal he ought not to meddle, he shall be dismissed from his service in the stable.

Such as have no beds shall give in their names to the Harbinger, that they may be billeted; and in case they refuse to be lodged, they shall be dismissed: notwithstanding, some one or two shall by turns lie nightly in the stable, to be ready to prevent any hurt that may come by fighting of the horses, or other inconveniencies.

Whosoever shall draw women, or others, to haunt about the stables, that are not by sufficient warrant to be there, shall be dismissed.

Also all night-walkers, drunkards, quarrellers, disobedient and disorderly persons, shall be dismissed, upon due proof of the quality of their offence, except there be appearance, by their submission, of amendment.

In the winter season, or other times, when candle light is required, none shall carry any candle loose, or stick it on any wall or post, or near to any such thing, as may easily, by mischance, take fire. Likewise none shall keep ill rule in any house or town, where they are billeted, as drinking, playing, or using other disorderly courses, at hours and time inconvenient.

None of the Prince's retinue, or other servants, shall keep any boys, lackeys or footmen, about the stable, or in the towns adjoining, whose names they do not certify to the Clerk of the Check, who shall give notice thereof to Sir Thomas Chaloner.

Orders generally to be observed by the whole household.

Item, That none lodge any strangers, or such as are not of the Prince's retinue, within the Prince's house.

At the hours of half an hour after ten, and half an hour after five, all men shall repair to divine service, whose office do not necessarily restrain them from that duty.

No officer or other shall presume to bring any stranger into the presence-chamber, or other place, where the Prince shall be private, without licence demanded of Sir Thomas Chaloner.

Item, That none shall be a busybody, to raise sedition or any murmuring: if disorder or any discontent grow through any default, it shall be every man's duty, that understands it, to advertise Sir Thomas Chaloner thereof.

When the Prince is walking abroad, or on horseback, none shall presume to press unto him, but such as are the King's and his Highness's sworn servants, who ought to have respect, that they behave themselves according to their ranks and places wherein they serve the Prince, and as gentlemen of discretion, that know, unto whom it appertains to be next his person.

And whensoever the Prince is in any journeying, or other pastime on horseback, the gentlemen, his servants, shall attend him in a convenient distance, having an eye to follow, and wait on him, which way soever he bendeth.

None of the Prince's servants shall depart from the house to lodge abroad, or to be absent for any occasion

occasion or necessary business, without first having had licence from Sir Thomas Chaloner.

If any change his servant, already enrolled in the Check roll, he shall give Sir Thomas Chaloner notice thereof, before he receive him into the house, together with the name of him that departeth, and of him that is entertained.

After that the Prince is retired into his chamber, the ushers shall cause every man to depart from thence, and to retire to their lodgings, that no rumour or offensive noise be heard in the house.

If any having two offices ought by the virtue of one of them to be lodged within the house, they shall not lodge any servants with them, who are not allowed them in the book signed by his Majesty; neither shall they use any occupation within the house, or suffer their servants, so employed, to resort to them; neither shall they entertain any, for whose good behaviour they will not be answerable.

If any person strike another, within the house, he shall be punished according to the statutes of the King's household; and if he draw any weapon, he shall loose his service.

The Clerk of the Check shall truly and circumspectly execute his office, and nightly deliver the names of such as are absent or haunt the house or table, being not allowed by Sir Thomas Chaloner.

The principal officers, in every office, shall see that their offices be well exercised, and kept to the Prince's honour; and that no extortion, bribery, or unfitting rule, be suffered in the same.

All gentlemen, that have places about the Prince's person, shall provide to have sufficient horses or geldings,

geldings, to be in a readines to attend the Prince whensoever he shall ride abroad, or have occasion to use them.

No person, of what estate or condition soever he be, shall have any service of the court at meal times, to their chambers or out of the gates, without warrant, but that they keep the tables and places appointed them for their diet.

All those of the Prince's retinue, as well as such who are not employed in his service, who shall presume to lodge themselves, or any others, in any town or house, near the Prince's house, without billet or the licence of Sir Thomas Chaloner, or being so billeted, shall remove their lodging without a new billet, upon notice given, shall be warned by the constables of the parishes to remove; and in case, that any having neither warrant nor billet to lodge any such, do, upon warning given them, continue their misdemeanour, the Justices of the Peace shall severly punish them, and cause the parties so lodged to avoid immediately, or, upon their refusal, extend the rigour of the law against them, as they will answer at their perils.

None shall entertain his friend, kinsman, or other, in any town or lodging near the Prince's house, or give occasion, by their acquaintance, to any, to repair thereunto oftener, or for longer time, than their necessary business importeth, and shall be appointed by Sir Thomas Chaloner.

None shall bring any into the house, under colour of seeing the Prince, without leave demanded of Sir Thomas Chaloner.

The reversion left at the waiters tables, and other officers, shall not be taken or bestowed by any, but
by

by such, as are or shall be deputed thereunto, except it be to relieve such, as are allowed in the book of the household, who, by sickness or other occasion, are not permitted to enter within the gates. Wherefore, whosoever shall presume, under pretence thereof or other colour, to maintain hangbys, boys, or others, with the alms, which ought to be reserved for the poor, he shall be dismissed his service.

In giving alms, especial regard shall be had, that vagrant persons be not suffered to intermingle themselves with the poor of the parishes adjoining; and that the alms be distributed in an open place, distant a convenient space from the gates or entries, where the household is to go in or out, or have occasion usually to resort.

Item, The Gentlemen Ushers, and Clerk of the Check, shall certify to Sir Thomas Chaloner the names of all such, as shall presume to lodge, or retain such, as ought not to lodge in the Prince's house, or are not contained in the book signed by his Majesty; which certificate Sir Thomas Chaloner shall send unto some of the Lords of the Council, if upon his admonition they reform not their offence.

Item, It is the King's will and pleasure, that every one speedily dismiss his boys and pages, and furnish himself with personable men of good qualities, and keep no more servants than is allowed them in the book signed by the Lords; and in case any have boys to keep their horses, they shall not be suffered to lodge or eat within the house.

Whosoever shall wilfully visit any sick persons, whose disease may be contagious, or such, as come from those, that are supposed to be infectious, or
yd receive

receive cloaths or other things from them, whereby infection may be taken, he shall be forbidden to come near the house, or to confer with any appertaining thereunto, for the space of a month at the least, or longer time, as shall seem requisite to Sir Thomas Chaloner.

Whosoever shall grudgingly or disobediently execute his office, or refuse to submit himself to the ordinances already established, or such as upon just cause shall be hereafter published or annexed thereunto by Sir Thomas Chaloner, he shall either be suspended by Sir Thomas Chaloner, from executing his office, or for his wilful behaviour lose his place, according to the quality of his default.

And to the end that no man shall plead ignorant of any part of these ordinances established, or that shall hereafter be thought necessary to be added thereunto, Sir Thomas Chaloner shall publish them to the household, and deliver one copy thereof to the ushers and another to the principal officers, who shall be ready to shew the same to any that require it, and to give such, as offend, or are ignorant of the orders, true information thereof, when they see or hear that they break them.

Sir Thomas Chaloner, and the other principal officers, shall, upon pain of his Majesty's high indignation, from time to time, give information to some of the Lords of the King's most honourable Privy Council, of the behaviour of such, as attend the Prince, to the end that the dutiful may be rewarded, and the disobedient removed.

Item, The holy communion shall be celebrated four times in the year at the least, according to the rules of the Church of England, and one of the Prince's

Prince's Chaplains shall, a week or a fortnight before, give warning thereof, that all men may prepare themselves accordingly.

If any feign any excuse to be absent at the times appointed, for the celebration of the holy communion, or shall wilfully forbear, he shall be dismissed of his service.

Orders for his Highness's Chapel*.

Henry P.

FIRST, for the honour and service of God, every month two Chaplains shall be appointed to attend on his Highness and his household, who shall follow the orders used in his Majesty's house, and shall not depart from their service, without leave obtained, and supplying their place by such, as the Chamberlain to his Highness shall allow of.

The Confessor shall duly administer the communion unto the household the first Sunday in every month, whereof notice shall be given by the said Confessor some fourteen days before every such time, to the end those, that are to communicate, may prepare themselves for the same.

And the said Confessor shall every day, at a convenient hour, read divine service in the said chapel unto the household; and especial notice shall be taken by the yeomen of the vestry of those, that shall omit, or at any time fail (being in the house) to repair to divine service, and to the sermons, that there shall be preached, to the end, that due animadversion may be used to such defaulters, without they be impeded by their necessary

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 252. Vol. 642. fol. 254, verso.

attendance in their offices, or by some other very urgent occasions.

The yeomen of the vestry shall be careful, that upon days appointed for sermons, the chapel be decently ordered, reserving one side thereof for his Highness's officers; and shall have especial regard, that the seats be not pestered and taken up by men of mean quality, but that there may be convenient room for his Highness's servants.

When his Highness is to go to the chapel, the gentlemen, whose service is in the presence-chamber, shall go before, and his chief officers shall go next his person, and after his person those of the privy-chamber and bed-chamber.

If any man shall wilfully forbear to receive the holy communion in manner, as is aforesaid, or at the least twice in the year; that is to say, at Easter and at Christmas; and being admonished thereof, shall not within convenient time conform himself, and receive the same in such reverent and religious manner, as is fitting, he shall be dismissed his Highness's service, and commanded to depart his house.

The like order shall all masters observe with their servants, if they refuse or neglect the same.

There shall be no gaming or exercises used within the court, or near the gates, in the time of divine service or sermons: and if there be any, after admonition, that shall continue their said play or exercise at such time as is aforesaid, then the porter shall inform the chief officers of their contempt, to the end they may give them such reproof and chastisement, as in their discretion shall seem fit.

Item, One of the yeomen of the vestry shall take a note of all such, as receive the communion, as well of masters as of servants, and deliver it to the

the officers of the white staves, to the end it may be known, who have omitted to receive, that order may be taken accordingly.

Item, The Gentlemen Ushers both of the privy-chamber and presence, when the Prince shall be in his oratory at morning and evening prayers, shall not permit the gentlemen and others to remain within the said chamber, but shall cause them to repair unto the said oratory, where they shall give their attendance in such devout and reverent manner, as appertaineth; and shall use no talking, nor make any other noise, whereby either their own devotions may be diverted, or that of others impeded.

Orders for his Highness's Privy-chamber*.

THE gentlemen of the privy-chamber, at their times appointed for their waiting, shall give their due attendance, and four of them at least shall lie nightly in the privy-chamber, to be in readiness upon any occasion, wherein their service may be used, and their beds to be removed every morning by the grooms. Neither shall any of the gentlemen's servants enter into the privy-chamber with their apparel or other necessaries, but deliver them at the door to the groom for them.

That four of the grooms of the privy-chamber shall at all times of the day be waiting in the privy chamber, to perform such services as appertaineth to them; and during their attendance there, according to the antient order of the King's house, shall forbear to wear their cloaks and swords.

The Gentlemen Ushers of the privy-chamber, or one of them at the least, shall give their atten-

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 252. and Vol. 642. fol. 255, verso.

dance in the privy-chamber, to see all things there in good order against his Highness's coming into the same; and that none shall enter or come into the privy-chamber, but such, as shall be allowed by his Highness under his assignation, and such as are his Highness's sworn servants for that chamber.

Orders for the Presence-chamber.

TH E Gentlemen Ushers, Daily Waiters, and Quarter Waiters, shall not suffer any to enter into the presence-chamber, unless they be such of his Highness's servants, and other men of quality, as are fit to have access in the said place, and shall have a care to see the said chambers well furnished with gentlemen, that strangers and men of quality, that shall resort unto his Highness's court, may not find it empty.

Also the Gentleman Usher shall be careful to see and inform all such, as do service in the Prince's eye, that they perform their duties; and they shall have a special regard to reprove such, as shall be so hardy as to behave themselves unreverently before the Prince, either in speech or action, as pressing too near his person, or approaching the state, &c.

The Gentlemen Cupbearer, Carver and Sewer, shall be ready attending in the presence-chamber every day before eleven of the clock in the morning and six in the evening, there to receive direction from the Gentlemen Ushers, concerning his Highness's service.

The pages of presence are to lie every night in the lower end of the presence-chamber, and always to be in readiness to make fires, to * * the chamber, and to receive direction from such, as are

to command them in any matter concerning his Highness's service. After that the Prince is retired to his lodgings, the Gentleman Usher within a convenient time shall cause every man to depart to their chamber out of the presence and privy-chamber, to the end that no offensive noise or rumour be made in the house; and that at eight of the clock in the evening service for all night be brought up, and the traverse be drawn. That one of the Gentlemen Ushers of the presence-chamber shall always keep to the waiters table, and be there ready with the waiters to sit down immediately after the Prince riseth from his repast; and provide, that there be good order, as well in receiving the diet, as in civil and good behaviour, by the gentlemen allowed to that board. And that he suffer not any of them to bring in gentlemen and strangers, by which the board should be pestered: only the carver, or with his allowances, according to the antient custom of the table, to admit of one gentleman at a time, and no more: and that none allowed at this board shall have more than one man to attend him there: and that neither the Carver, Sewer, Gentleman Usher, nor other in ordinary at his table, shall give away any meat, but that the same shall be all safe and untouched kept by the page appointed to the same.

A Note of such, as are to sit at the Waiters-table, being of his Highness's servants *

A Gentleman Usher, Daily Waiter.
The Cup-bearer, Carver, and Sewer.
Four Gentlemen of the privy chamber.

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 293. fol. 203. and Vol. 642. fol. 256. verso.

Five Grooms of the bed chamber.

The Prince's page.

Four Grooms of the privy chamber.

Two Pages of the chamber.

And every of them to have a man, except the two pages.

Also it is his Highness's pleasure, that the rest of the gentlemen not dieted at the waiters board shall be thus distributed.

The Cup-bearer, Carver, and Sewer, that wait not that day, to sit with his Highness's chamberlain.

The four other gentlemen of the privy-chamber, and the usher of the same, two of them to be with the groom of the stole, and the rest with the treasurer and comptroller; every of them are allowed one man, where they take their meat.

Orders for his Highness's guard.

THE yeomen of the guard shall diligently keep guard in the great chamber, suffering no stranger to pass through, unless they be well known.

Also two of them shall, with their halberds, attend the gate, to assist the porters to execute their office and orders, appointed to be observed in time of infection, or other occasions.

They shall be especially careful to keep the chamber free from ten of the clock in the morning until one, and from four in the evening until seven; that his Highness may quietly take his repast in the presence.

The

The prices of flesh, as the Prince payeth, and the weight, as they are agreed for with the purveyors.

An ox should weigh 600 lb. the four quarters; and commonly 9 l. 10 s. or thereabouts.

A mutton should weigh 46 lb. or 44 lb. and they cost by the stone 2 s. 3 d. the stone being 8 lb.

Veals go not by weight, but by goodness only: their price is commonly 17 s. or thereabouts.

Lambs at 6 s. 8 d. the piece.

The names of the Prince's Highness's servants belonging to the chamber, with their wages, and board-wages*.

	Wages.			
Chamberlain.	l.	s.	d.	
Sir Thomas Chaloner	66	13	4	— — Diet.
Secretary.				
Adam Newton	—	—	—	} Diet or board-wages.
Groom of the Stole.				
Sir David Murray	—	22	6	8 } Diet or board-wages.
Cup-bearers.				
Roger Palmer	—	—	20	0 0
Francis Godolphin	—	—	20	0 0
Sir Thomas Waynman, Extraordinary.				

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 252.

		Wages.		
Carvers.		l.	s.	d.
Sir Arthur Mainwaring	20	0	0	0
Edward Salter — —	20	0	0	0
Sewers.				
Sir Thomas Verney —	20	0	0	0
Humphrey Courtyere	20	0	0	0
— Leggate, Extra.				

Gentlemen Ushers of the
Privy-chamber.

Sir Robert Darcy —	20	0	0	} — — Diet;
Sir William Erwyne	20	0	0	

Gentlemen of the Privy-chamber in Ordinary.

Sir Peregrine Bertie	Sir Andrew Murray
Sir William Fleetwood	Sir John Levifon
Sir Philip Cary	Sir Robert Car
Sir John Danvers	Mr. Moore
Sir Thomas Woodhouse	Mr. Clare
Sir John Wentworth	Mr. Southcote
Sir George Goring	Mr. Dallington
Sir Thomas Ereskine	Mr. Inneys.
Sir Edward Lewis	

Gentlemen of the Privy-chamber Extraordinary.

Mr. Bridges	Sir William Maynard
Sir Thomas Mildmay, Knt. and Bart.	Sir Thomas Cornwall
Sir Henry Peyton	Sir Richard Tichborne
Sir Henry Bowyer	Sir William Douglas
	Sir Robert Philips

Sir Robert Yaxeley	Mr. Henry Younge
Sir Francis Leigh	Mr. ——— Stevens
Sir Francis Wortley	Mr. ——— Walsingham
Sir Thomas Panton	Mr. ——— Colbourne
Sir George Ramsfy	Mr. ——— Glemman
Sir William Alexander	Mr. ——— Savage
Mr. ——— Pawlet	Mr. ——— Ashfield
Mr. ——— Brocket	Mr. Robert Knowles
Mr. James Murrey	Mr. John Woodward
Mr. ——— Blunte	Mr. Nowell
Mr. ——— Conock	Mr. Tufston.
Mr. ——— Gerrarde	

Grooms of the Bed-chamber.

	Wages.			
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
William Haydone	— 13	16	8	} Board-wages and Livery.
John Sandlaufe	— 13	16	8	
Thomas Barchemore	— 13	16	8	
David Ramsfy	— 13	16	8	
Henry Gibbe	— 13	16	8	
Page of Honour.				
Archibald Primrose	— 21	10	4	

Gentlemen Ushers Daily-
Waiters.

Anthony Abyngton	— 20	0	0	} — — Diet.
Walter Alexander	— 20	0	0	
John Lumley	— 20	0	0	

Teacher of Musick.

Walter Quine	— 50	0	0
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Bow-bearer and Master of the Hounds.

	Pages of the Chamber			l.	s.	d.
Nich. Drake	—	—	—	13	16	8

Grooms of the Privy-chamber in Ordinary.

	Wages.			Livery.		
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
John Harrifon	—	—	13 6 8	26	13	4
John Young	—	—	13 6 8	26	13	4
Mich. Cavendish	—	—	13 6 8	26	13	4
Thomas Trotter	—	—	13 6 8	26	13	4
Thomas Davis	—	—	13 6 8	26	13	4
Robert Hammond	—	—	13 6 8	26	13	4

Grooms of the Privy-chamber Extraordinary.

— Herbert, John Wydope, Simon Roberts.

Gentlemen Ushers, Quarterly-Waiters.

	Wages.			Diet.
	l.	s.	d.	
Peter Newton	—	—	10 0 0	}
James Shaw	—	—	10 0 0	

Barber.	Wages.			Board-wages.			Livery.		
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Walter Meek	20	0	0	48	13	4	26	13	4
Pages of the Bed-chamber.									
Rob. Murray	53	4	0	Diet or Board-			26	4	6
Hugh Henne	53	4	0	Wages.			26	4	6
	Pages								

Pages of the Chamber.

	Wages.			Diet.	Livery.		
	l.	s.	d.		l.	s.	d.
Thomas Pett — — —	40	0	0	}	4	13	4
Henry Draper — — —	40	0	0		4	13	4
Robert Lee — — —	40	0	0		4	13	4
John Chelsham — — —	40	0	0		4	13	4

Keeper of the Library.

	Wages.		
	l.	s.	d.
Edward Wright — — —	30	0	0

Physician.

Dr. Hammond — — —	140	0	0
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Apothecary.

Ralph Clayton — — —	30	8	4
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Chirurgion.

Lewis Rogers — — —	45	12	6
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Grooms of the Great Chamber
in Ordinary.

John Evans — — — —	53	4	0	}	Diet.
Henry Prescot — — — —	53	4	0		
Thomas Henne — — — —	53	4	0		
Thomas Kenvet — — — —	53	4	0		
Bennet Kyble — — — —	53	4	0		
Anthony Hylden — — — —	53	4	0		
John Drewe — — — —	53	4	0		
William Weedon — — — —	53	4	0		

Groom of the Great Chamber Extraordinary.

William Pryde.

Groom Porter.

		Wages.			} Diet.
		l.	s.	d.	
Thomas Cornwallis	— . —	53	4	0	}
And for his man	— — —	26	8	0	

The Robes.

Christ. Lenman, Clerk of the Robes and Wardrobe.

	Wages.			} Diet.	Livery.			
	l.	s.	d.		l.	s.	d.	
Alex. Wilson, Yeoman	100	0	0	}	40	0	0	
John Harte, Groom	—	53	4		0	40	0	0
Gawine Bowman, Page	40	0	0		0	20	0	0
George Beale, Page	—	40	0		0	20	0	0
Teacher to Dance.								
Thomas Giles	—	—	50	0	0	0	0	

Wardrobe of Beds.

	Wages.			} Diet.
	l.	s.	d.	
Hugh Bower, Yeoman	100	0	0	}
John Fince, Groom	—	53	4	

Keeper of the Closet.

Henry Burton	—	—	100	0	0	} Diet with the Chaplains.
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Chaplains, that attend by two and two every month.

Dr. Milbourne
Dr. Sutton
Dr. Hall
Dr. Fownes

Dr. Swaile
Dr. Prideaux
Dr. Kylby
Dr. Willet

Dr.

Dr. Snowdon	Mr. Milwood
Mr. Bayly	Mr. Priore
Mr. Eaton	Mr. Whiting
Mr. Lee	Mr. Brooke
Mr. Barlow	Mr. Cropley
Mr. Middleton.	Mr. Smith
Mr. Lancafter	Mr. Chapman
Mr. Daye	Mr. Jones.

Muficians.

Dr. Bull	Mr. Hearne
Mr. Lupo	John Ashby
Mr. Johnson	Valentine Sawyer
Mr. Mynors	Matthew Johnson
Mr. Jones	Edw. Wormall
Mr. Ford	Thomas Day
Mr. Cutting	Sig. Angelo.
Mr. Stinte	

Comedians and Players.

Thomas Towne	Anthony Jeffes
Thomas Downton	Edward Colbrande
William Byrde	William Parre
Samuel Rowley	Richard Pryore
Edw. Jubye	William Stratford
Charles Maffye	Francis Grace
Humphrey Jeffes	John Shanke.

Treasurer.

Wages.

l. s. d.

Sir Charles Cornwallis, Knt. — 80 0 0 Diet.

Comptroller.

Sir John Hollis — — — 72 0 0 Diet.

A P P E N D I X.

Cofferer. Wages.

Sir David Foulis — — — 60 6 0 Diet.

Clerk Comptroller.

Richard Maudley — — — 32 0 0 Diet.

Valette Hoftyer.

Richard Kymne, Yeoman — — — 100 0 0 Diet.

Master of the Horse.

Sir Robert Douglas, Knt. — — — —

Esquires.

Sir William Webb, Knt. — — — 20 0 0 } Diet.

Mr. Hetley — — — — 20 0 0 }

French Equerries.

Monf. St. Anthoine, Monf. La Cofte,

Monf. Beauclerc.

John King, Master of the Prince's Ship.

John Reynolds, Master-Gunner.

Robert Tyndall Gunner.

Mr. Inigo Jones, Surveyor of the Works.

Mr. Smith, Pay-master and Overseer of the Works.

George Blastone, Keeper of the Riding-House at St. James's.

The

Dinner

The copy of the book signed by Prince Henry, for the allowance of Diet, Wages, Board-Wages, Rewards, and Liveries, belonging unto his Chamber, Household, and Stables: Anno Domini 1610*.

For the Prince's Highness's Breakfast.

Manchet †	2	Beef	1 service
Cheat fine ‡	2		
Cheat	4	Mutton	1 service
Beer	3 gallons		
Wine	1 pitcher	Chickens	2

Upon a Flesh Day.

Dinner.

Supper.

Manchet fine	5	Manchet fine	5
Cheat fine	4	Cheat fine	4
Cheat coarse	12	Cheat coarse	12
Beer and Ale	10 gallons	Beer and Ale	10 gallons
Wine	3 pitchers	Wine	3 pitchers
Mutton boiled	2 services	Mutton boiled	1 service
Veal boiled	2 services	Veal boiled	1 service
Chickens boil.	3	Chickens boil.	3
Pigeons boiled	4	Pigeons	4
Beef	1 service	Mutton roast	2 services

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 252, Fol. 5. and Vol. 642, Fol. 241.

† Manchet, according to Harrison, in his *Description of England*, prefixed to Hollingshedd, p. 138. is the first and most excellent Bread, which we commonly call white Bread.

‡ Cheat, according to the same Writer, or weaten bread, is so named, because the colour thereof resembleth the grey or yellow of wheat, being clean and well dressed; and out of this is the coarsest of the bran, usually called gurgeons or pollard, taken.

Dinner.

Dinner.		Supper.	
Veal	2 services	Veal roast	2 services.
Shoulder of Mutton	} 1	Leg of Mutton	1
Leg of Mutton		1	Tongue
Goose	1	Capon	1
Capon	1	Chickens	5
Chickens	5	Lapwings	3
Partridges	2	Partridges	2
Conies	3	Larks	18
Lamb	quarter	Conies	3
Lapwings	3	Lamb	quarter
Conies to bake	1 pye	Conies to bake	1 pye
Pears	1 pye	Tongues	2
Chewets	1 service	Pears	1
Custard	1	Dulcets	4 services
Tart	1	Tart	1

The collation after Supper.

Manchets	—	—	—	1
Beer	—	—	—	2 gallons.
Wine	—	—	—	1 pitcher.

Diet for the Prince's Highness, viz.

Upon a Fish Day.

Dinner.		Supper.	
Bread, Beer, Ale and Wine, as upon a Flesh Day.			
Chickens boil.	4	Chickens boil.	4
Mutton boiled	2 services	Mutton boiled	1 service
Veal boiled	1 service	Veal boiled	1 service
Lamb boiled	quarter	Lamb	quarter

Dinner.

Dinner,

Supper.

Shoulder of	}	1
Mutton roast		
Veal roast		2 services
Leg of Mutton		1
Capon in grease		1
Chickens		5
Partridges		2
Lapwings		3
Larks		18
Conies		3
Pears		1 pye
Custard		1
Tart		1
Ling		1 service
Pike		1 service
Carp		1
Whitings		1 service

Mutton roast		2 services
Veal roast		2 services
Capon		1
Chickens		5
Partridges		2
Snipes		5
Conies		3
Lapwings		3
Pears		1 pye
Dulcets		1 service
Tart		1
Ling		1 service
Pike		1
Carp		1
Whitings		1 service
Haddocks		1 service

A Diet of one mess of eight dishes to the Chamberlain; one mess to the Treasurer; one mess to the Comptrollor; one mess to the Secretary; and one mess to the Groom of the Stole.

Upon a Flesh Day.

Dinner.

Supper.

Manchets fine		1
Cheat		8
Beer		4 gallons
Gascoigne-wine		1 pitcher
Sack		
Beef and	}	1 service
Mutton		
Veal roasted		2 services

Manchets		1
Cheat		8
Beer		4 gallons
Gascoigne-wine		1 pitcher
Sack		
Mutton boiled		1 service
Mutton roast		2 services

Dinner.

A P P E N D I X.

Dinner.		Supper.	
Capon in greafe	1	Capon in greafe	1
Chickens	5	Chickens	5
Suits	5	Cocks	2
Lamb	quarter	Lamb	quarter
Custard	1	Dulcets	1
Tart	1	Tart	1

Diet to the Chamberlain, Treasurer, Comptrollor, Secretary, and Groom of the Stole.

Upon a Fish Day.

Dinner.		Supper.	
Bread, Beer and Wine, as upon a Flesh Day.			
Ling and Cod	2 services	Ling and Cod	2 services
Pike	1	Pike	1
Whiting	1	Whiting	1
Gurnard	1	Gurnard	1
Soals	1 pair	Soals	1 pair
Plaice	1 service	Plaice	1 service
Custard	1	Dulcets	1 service
Tart	1	Tart	1
Butter sweet	1 lb.	Butter sweet	1 lb.

A Diet of one mess of six dishes to the Cofferer; one mess to the Clerk Comptrollor; and one mess the chief Clerk of the Kitchen.

Dinner.		Supper.	
Manchet fine	1	Manchet fine	1
Cheat	6	Cheat	6
Beer	3 gallons	Beer	3 gallons

Dinner.

Dinner.

Supper.

Gascoigne-wine	1 pitcher	Gascoigne-wine	1 pitcher
Sack		Sack	
Beef and Mutton	} 1 service	Mutton boiled	1 service
Veal roast		2 services	Mutton roast
Capon	1	Capon	1
Conies	2	Conies	2
Custard	1	Dulcets	1 service
Tart	1	Tart	1

A Diet of one mess of five dishes to the Gentlemen Ushers Daily-Waiters; one mess to the Equerries; and one mess to the second Clerk of the Kitchen.

Dinner.

Supper.

Cheat fine	1	Cheat fine	1
Cheat coarse	4	Cheat coarse	4
Beer	2 gallons	Beer	2 gallons
Wine	1 pitcher	Wine	1 pitcher
Beef	1 service	Mutton boiled	1 service
Veal	1 service	Mutton roast	1 service
Capon coarse	1	Capon coarse	1
Conies	1	Dulcets	1 service
Baked meats	1	Conies	1

A Diet of one mess of four dishes to the Clerk of the Spicery; one mess to the Avenor; one mess to the Chaplains; one mess to the Robes; and one mess to the eight Grooms of the Great Chamber.

Dinner.

Supper.

Cheat fine	1	Cheat fine	1
Cheat coarse	3	Cheat coarse	3
Beer	2 gallons	Beer	2 gallons

Dinner.

Dinner.		Supper.	
Beef	1 service	Mutton	1 service
Veal	1 service	Mutton roast	1 service
Conies	1	Conies	1
Baked meat	1	Dulcets	1 service

A Diet of one mess of three dishes to the Gentlemen Ushers of the Privy-chamber, and six mess of Household Officers, four to every mess.

Dinner.		Supper.	
Cheat coarse	3	Cheat coarse	3
Beer	1 gallon	Beer	1 gallon
Beef	1 service	Mutton boiled	1 service
Veal roast	1 service	Mutton roast	1 service
Conies	1	Conies	1

A Diet of three dishes unto Mr. Connok, when he shall wait upon the Prince.

A Diet of one mess of three dishes to the standing Ward-robe, during the Prince's Highness's being at Richmond.

A Diet of one mess of two dishes to the Gentlemen Usher, Quarter-Waiters; one mess to the Pages of the Bed-chamber; one mess to the Ward-robe of Beds; and one mess to the Groom Porter.

Dinner.		Supper.	
Cheat coarse	2	Cheat coarse	2
Beer	1 gallon	Beer	1 gallon
Beef	1 service	Mutton boiled	1 service
Conies	1	Conies	1

A Diet of two dishes to the Keeper of the House;
once in the Day, viz. per Dinner.

Cheat coarse	2	Veal	1 service
Beer	1 gallon	Conies	1

A Diet of one dish to the Laundress for the body;
and one dish to the Clock-keeper, viz. per
Dinner.

Cheat coarse	1	Veal	1 service
Beer	half a gallon.		

For the Yeomen of the Guard.

Cheat coarse	14	Beer	2 gallons
Beef or Mutton	1 service.		

A declaration of the bouge of court of every particular allowance to be served to any person being lodged within the Prince's court; and in absence the bouge to cease*:

MR. Chamberlain, Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Secretary, and Groom of the Stole, every of them, to have for their bouge of court *per diem* one manchet, one cheat-loaf, and one gallon of beer; and from the last of September to the last of February, half a pound of white lights, three torches for the week, four tailsheids, and four faggots *per diem*; and from the first of March till the first of October, to have the moiety of the said white lights and wood, and three links *per septimanam* in winter.

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 642. Fol. 253. verso.

Mr. Cofferer, Mr. Clerk Comptrollor, and Chief Clerk of the Kitchen, every of them to have for their bouge of court *per diem*, one cheat loaf, and one gallon of beer; and from the last of September to the last of February, half a pound of white lights, four tailsheids, and four faggots: and from the first of March till the first of October, to have the moiety of the said white lights and wood, and two torches and three links, *per septimanam* in winter.

All Knight's lodged within the court, and Gentlemen of the Privy-chamber, Cup-bearers, Carvers, Sewers, Gentlemen Ushers, Daily Waiters, Grooms of the Privy-chamber, Clerks of the Spicery, Avenor, second Clerk of the Kitchen, Physician, and Chaplains; to every lodging, where one or more of these be lodged, for their bouge of court *per diem*, one cheat loaf and one gallon of beer: and from the last of September till the last of February, half a pound of white lights, two tailsheids, and two faggots; and from the first of March to the first of October to have the moiety of the said white lights and wood.

Gentlemen Ushers, Quarter-Waiters, Robes, Wardrobe of beds, Chirurgeon, Apothecary, and Confessor, and the standing Ward-robe at Richmond, for the time of his Highness lying there; every one to have for their bouge of court *per diem* one cheat loaf, one gallon of beer. And from the last of September to the last of February a quarter of a pound of white lights, two tailsheids, and two faggots. And from the first of March to the first of October, to have the moiety of the said white lights and wood.

Officers

Officers of the household, four of them to every mess. Every mess to have for their bouge of court *per diem*, one cheat loaf and one gallon of beer, and from September to the last of February, a quarter of a pound of white lights, two tail-sheids, and two faggots; and from the first of March to the first of October, to have the moiety of the said white lights and wood.

No bouge to be increased. And it is his Highness's will and pleasure, that no bouge shall be increased to any person or persons whatsoever, more than is contained in this our book signed; nor any other allowance than of necessity hath been and must be used for the dressing and serving out of the kitchen of all the aforesaid diets allowed by us.

Allowance of waste.

And it is his Highness's will and pleasure, that the honourable allowance of waste, viz. of thirty loaves of bread, forty gallons of beer, and one service, one pitcher of wine, having been formerly allowed *per diem*, shall have continuance, charging our officers to take order for the disposing thereof daily, that the same may be served at the bars, for our honour, without purloining or embezzling.

No child, page, scourer, or turnbroche to marry. And it is his Highness's will and pleasure, that no child or page of any office, or scourer, or turnbroche in the kitchen, do from henceforth presume to marry, upon pain of loss of their general place. And that such persons, in whom by virtue of their offices the gifts of any of the said places do rest, do not presume to bestow any of the said places upon any person being married, as aforesaid, upon pain of our gracious displeasure.

Allowance of riding-charges in winter-journies.

And where divers of our household servants are sometimes employed in attending some extraordinary journey in winter, for which we understand they have not received any entertainments; our will and pleasure is, therefore, that it shall be lawful for our Treasurer or Comptrollor, together with the advice of our other officers, to give, by bill of comptrolment, unto any such person or persons, being employed as aforesaid, such farther allowance of wages or expences in riding-journies, either by day or otherwise, as at their discretion shall seem fit.

A brief declaration of what yearly pensions, and to whom his Highness did grant the same, payable out of his Highness's Treasure, from the time of his creation until the first day of November 1612*.

		l.	s.	d.
1610	To John Cockburn, Gentleman Extraordinary of the Privy-chamber	40	0	0
March	To Solomon de Caux	100	0	0

His Highness's Musicians.

1611	To John Bull, Doctor of Music	40	0	0
June	To Robert Johnson	40	0	0
	To Thomas Lupo	40	0	0
	To John Mynors	40	0	0
	To Jonas Wrench	40	0	0
	To Thomas Day	40	0	0

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7009.

To

l. s. d.

	To Valentine Sawyer — —	40	0	0
	To Thomas Cutting — —	40	0	0
	To John Sturte — — —	40	0	0
	To Thomas Ford — —	30	0	0
	To John Ashby — —	30	0	0
	To Edward Wormall — —	20	0	0
	To Matthias Johnson — —	20	0	0
	To Thomas Lydiar, M. A.	26	13	4
August	To John Boisclare, one } of the Esquires of his } Highness's Stables — }	50	0	0
Sept.	To Francis de Champs, } Gent. — — — }	40	0	0
1611	To Thomas Ford, one of } his Highness's Musicians, } by way of increase to his } former pension — — }	10	0	0
March				
1612				
April	To George Sommer, Gent.	100	0	0
May	To Wm. Osbolstone, B. D.	50	0	0
June	To James Primrose and } Margaret his wife during } their lives — — }	100	0	0
	To John Loiseau de Jour- } nal Parisian — — }	20	0	0
	To Abraham Van Nifelt, } Engineer — — — }	200	0	0
July	To Abraham Vander Doort	50	0	0
	To Constantine de Servi —	200	0	0
August	To Jerom Hearne, one of } his Highness's Musicians }	20	0	0
October	To Sir Tho. Erskine, Knt.	100	0	0
	To Robert Dallington, Esq;	100	0	0
	To Henry Gibbe, Esq; —	140	0	0

	l.	s.	d.
To Francis Godolphin, Esq;	100	0	0
To Ralph Clare, Esq; —	100	0	0
To David Ramsey, Esq; —	140	0	0
To John Sandilands, Esq;	140	0	0
To Tho. Burchmore, Esq;	140	0	0
To Tho. Davis, Esq; —	60	0	0
To Thomas Trotter, Gent.	40	0	0
To Robert Young, Gent.	40	0	0

N U M B E R XVIII. p. 224.

Touching Recusants*.

Reasons. Law,
and Justice.

THE grant intended will not be good nor warranted in law, as may appear, in that, heretofore, the King's Majesty was graciously pleased to be informed touching such grants of penalties, forfeited by penal Statutes, whether they were good and warrantable in law and conveniency; and otherwise to forbear such grants. And signification thereof was made by the Lords of the Privy-council to all the Judges; as they conferred, and resolved and certified their opinions and judgments thereupon, that such grants be not good; which is reported and set forth in print by the Lord Coke, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7009. Fol. 25.

In matter of profit.

The project and reasons offered of this suit contain no certainty of number or quality of persons, from whom the profit should arise, but only by conjecture.

Experience teacheth, that the revenues and profit of this kind have declined, and are like more and more to decay.

The rent offered (being more than the revenue now hereof raised) and the charge of the prosecution (considering withal the multitude of agents, that must be employed, and the shifts, crosses, delays, and oppositions, that will incur) are like to drink up so much of the profit, that in likelihood *materiam superabit opus*.

The desperate, traiterous, malicious minds of many like to be offended, provoked, and exasperated thereby, give just cause, as heartily to thank God for your princely fortitude and resolution, so also earnestly to pray for your preservation and safety.

Touching Re-
cusants.

Projects and
answers.

The substance
of that, which
was delivered
concerning re-
cusants.

The answers to that, which is set
down concerning Recusants*.

I. That many
are concealed,
and not con-
victed.

I. There cannot be many con-
cealed, considering the means
provided to reveal them, which
are these:

The Church-Wardens of every
town are bound upon a pain, and
by their oath, upon their charge
at every visitation, to present all
within their parish.

The ordinaries at every assizes
certify under their seal to the
Judges all, which are presented
throughout their diocess.

The Constables, upon a pain,
are to present them all at the
Quarter-Session in every county;
and the Jury then at the assizes
sworn to inquire; for the body of
the county are charged to indict
them there and at the general
assizes.

And the Church-Wardens and
Constables are to have reward for
their presentments.

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7009. Fol. 25.

And the Judges do take care, that all, which are convicted, be certified into the Exchequer.

2. That of those, which are convicted, their forfeitures are not duly satisfied, viz.
 3. Their debt will grow due between their conviction and seizure.
 4. Their lands and goods not seized.
 5. Or if seized, then many undervalued.
 6. And the values, as they be for-
2. The Recusant doth forfeit 20 l. a month, from the time of his conviction until the seizure of his lands and goods. But since the statute made in 1 and 3 Regis it hath not been resolved, whether that debt be gone by the King's seizing the land.
 4. This is seldom omitted, unless the King accept the 20 l. per month.
 5. It is true, they are for the most part undervalued, especially where they are given away; in which case the prosecutors procure as low a value as they can, that, if they keep the lands, which they seldom do, they may have the better pennyworth in paying a small rent to the King; or, if they sell them for money, they may have the more money.
 6. If the King should not be answered the values, as the lands be

forfeited, not answered. be seized, there could not be any revenue of 6000 l. established, as in the note it is affirmed.

7. The forfeitures upon Outlawries. 7. The forfeitures upon Outlawries are not much, or now rather nothing, because since 28 Eliz*. which is 24 years ago†, that conviction hath not been used.

8. By breach of their confining, having of sumners or recusants in their houses, or retainers. 8. The forfeitures by breach of confining upon the statute of 35 Eliz. is not much; because none go out of their limits, without a warrantable licence, which is easily gotten. For servants and sumners few offend. For retainers there is no forfeiture, unless they know them to be recusants, which is hard.

9. By their relapse. 9. Nothing forfeited by relapse without a new conviction, which seldom happens.

10. By their wives recusancy neglected or not sought for. There be many things mistaken in that, which is delivered.

* 1586.

† 1610.

The forfeiture is set down to be a third part of their lands and all their goods :

Where it is, two parts of their lands and leases, and all their goods.

The forfeiture is set down to be given by the statute of 35 Elizabeth:

Where it is given by 38 Eliz., and confirmed 3 Regis.

It is set down, that there is an established revenue of 6000 l. *per annum*:

Where there is not any revenue established, although it may be, the revenue being cast up, what it comes to *communibus annis*, may come to a medium of 6000 l. or thereabouts.

The benefit, which might accrue any way over and above that, which is already found and answered, may appear by the premises, can neither by concealed nor convicted Recusants answer the informations.

The agents in this business, which must be many, in respect Recusants are spread over all the realm, would, with their charges and otherwise, take away above the one-half of this benefit; and the residue will not be had without clamour and careful pains.

But whatsoever the benefit might be, we hold it not fit, that the Prince's Highness should have any hand, or shew himself, in this business, to have the uttermost forfeitures of penal laws inflicted upon the offenders of this kind.

Answer

Answer to objections of the learned Council (*).

May it please your Highness,

IT is objected underhand (which the authors thereof dare not approve, or make good in public writings or manifestation) that this Grant touching Recusants is not warrantable in law; whereunto is annexed in shew, both a confirmation of the Lords of his Majesty's privy-council; as also a pretext of some project set forth by the Lord *Coke*, now Lord Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas.

For answer whereunto, I offer unto your Highness's all piercing judgment and consideration, that, if the matter now projected, were fit to come in public question and demur, whether this Grant may be honourable for your Highness to pass; three to one of his Majesty's honourable privy-council will think this book, as it is now drawn, both honourable, and desire, that your Highness should proceed therein.

And touching the book now put in print, the book itself will speak, that it doth not include any disparagement, or least distaste to this Grant intended; but rather conceives a great displeasure from his Majesty concerning such Grants, as either have, or hereafter shall pass, to give Recusants liberty and toleration, under the terms of money-bought composition: Which doth augment the credit and worth of this Grant now intended by your Highness, considering your princely purpose to cut off the like corruptions and inconveniencies of composition.

* Harleian MSS. Vol. 7009.

And, whereas, the presuming trust of such, as your Highness most employs in your greatest and weightiest causes, spreads itself beyond the bounds of common respect to honour and honesty (which they seem, like two-faced Janus, most to regard, even to carry fire and water in one hand) so far forth as to make comparison betwixt this Grant and many odious and contemptible Grants, that have, or may hereafter pass, concerning the oppressing of the best, and the most dutiful, and obedient subjects of this state, under the colour of prosecuting the penal statutes, I might humbly desire your Highness would vouchsafe to cast your eye upon the answers, I have heretofore made to these and the like frivolous and vilipended objections in writing, which, without arrogancy or presumption, I may confidently affirm to stretch without the compass of any honest and commendable reply. And because they have not seen those answers, it may haply fall within their conceits, that they may the safer obtrude these indirect secondings to their former propositions and proceedings. Therefore, if it may please your Highness, to let them have the perusal of those notes, with special command, that they shall briefly and suddenly in writing under their hands answer the same, I think they will not undertake that task; and if they do, they shall be answered fully to my credit, and sufficiently to their shame and scorn.

Concerning the errors and misdemeanors of such agents, as have been employed heretofore in the like occasion; it is true, that in many Grants passed, some gross abuses to the honour of God, the public good of this realm, and hindrance of his Majesty's profit, have been committed in that kind.

The

The reason of this abuse and misdemeanor offered is two-fold: first, in that his Majesty being utterly ignorant of the manifold wrongs and deceits offered before his entrance, commanded still the care and charge of those businesses to them, that most injuriously defeated the late Queen of her due in that behalf.

Secondly, whereas it pleased his Majesty to pass to many private subjects many several Grants touching Recusants, the Patentees desirous of something, ignorant of all things in that kind, commended the prosecution of their Grants to vain and base spirits, which made prey of both his Majesty's honour and their intended good, under the terms of composition with the Recusant; a thing most hateful to God, and all the best and religious subjects of this state.

Both these inconveniencies and wrongs your Highness may prevent; for the very quality and nature of this Grant is to occur the deceits and abuses offered them by them, that were put in trust both before and since his Majesty's reign: and also, to take away all matter of base and ignoble composition betwixt the Recusant, the Patentees, and their Agents. For it is rightly to be conceived, that if the Patentees, such as had Grants, had not, for present desire and thirst after profit, been contented to have suffered their Agents for their present good to make composition, no corruption or abuse could have been committed by their Agents or Solicitors.

Now, this Grant of your Highness is clean contrary; for it admits of no such base composition, but aims chiefly at an honourable conformity of the offender, according to the true meaning and intent

of the good and wholesome laws and statutes, in that behalf made and provided, being the honourablest project, that ever was or can be proceeded in. My reasons remain with your Highness at large; and therefore I spare to add more in this point.

To omit all frivolous and idle discourses (if this shall be accounted any) the matter of the project is, that your Highness should give his Majesty, *communibus annis*, more for the passing of this book than his Majesty yet ever received; and yet notwithstanding shall not detain, deduct, or withdraw, by any grievous oppression or taxation of any penal statutes, from the good subject, or, which is more, from the bad, but what only his Majesty, if he were squarely dealt withal, might and ought to receive.

That no Under-solicitor or Agent can defeat either his Majesty in this course intended, or defraud your Highness. Hereby it may appear, that he shall but have (as before I have set down) allowance after such a proportion and rate, as your Highness shall think fit, without fifty pounds expence to your Highness's coffers, *omnibus viis & modis*, and then, *materiam non superabit opus*.

The last point is composed of such intricate harshness, as requireth some Delphian oracle to make construction of the same. And it were convenient the author should explain himself therein: for, in my opinion, it implies neither fidelity, common honesty, nor secrecy. Only I may not omit to lay open Mr. Stephens thus far, that he should entertain me, left to solicit and give him directions concerning this book, with such outward regard, yea, false and flattering thanks, for being so careful (to use his own terms) to spend so much travel in a cause,

cause, that concerned your Highness so greatly both in honour and consequence of profit; and yet now should under-hand persuade your Highness, that it is against law, honour, and profit. Greater dissembling was never heard of in this earth; which, with my most humbly devoted service, I commend to your most wise and princely consideration, concluding always, that if your Highness shall trust lawyers (though your own supposed) they will ever for gain prove, in effect, other men's servants, not yours.

NUMBER XIX. p. 236.

Letters from Sir EDWARD CONWAY to Mr. ADAM NEWTON.

(*) Honourable,

YOU have given me so much encouragement, that you vouchsafe my scribbling, as, until you reform me, I am like to importune you, when I have not so good warrant as now, that I am to account to you afresh my endeavour with the painter, with whom I spoke two days since, and and do find him still balanced between his council, that would have him wholly rely upon conditions to be made by Sir Noel Caron, and his affection to put himself upon the reward of the Prince, and his necessity to be aided with money, and guided to the Court. The man is naturally phantastical something, and the multitude of propositions hath amazed him. My wish is, that my master were contented and served any way, and therefore I would not incline him by labour to my way, but farther him in which way he would choose. If it be thought fit to command me any thing in his; I do attend that with duty and industry.

• Harl. MSS. Vol. 7002.

I am

I am now to entreat a favour at your hand. His Highness desired a model of an open coach, which I have bespoken and put in hand; the body and head of such a coach, in no point differing from his Excellency's, lining and covering excepted. Now I hear Sir Edward Cecil hath prepared a head for a coach of his exceedingly well done, which he intends to the Prince. His was finished before my coming over hither, and then I make account his Highness is satisfied in that point already, and so I should offer an unseasonable duty. I beseech you, Sir, give me your knowledge or advice in this point; for as I will do all the parts of duty and service, so would I not willingly do impertinent or unacceptable duty.

And now my pen is at the paper, I will let you see how the common people, in which rank I am, do conceive of the present affairs of the world.

The Count Maurice, who often remembers my gracious master with infinite honour and expectation, is now in Zealand, with more affection than hope, to compound thoroughly the jealousies and misunderstandings between that Province and Holland. These Provinces to stand must have unity; and to keep that, they must have full contribution from the particulars and the general, that so they may pay their army, in which only consists their real authority. Their army cast once aside, upon every offence and jealousy, they will fly in a thousand pieces; and must of course; for besides the unruliness of a multitude, they have not a formed and grounded government. If the Count Maurice cannot effect the work, the wisdom of our State must foresee the evil and their interest in it; and his Majesty must interpose his authority in time.

The

The affairs of Germany seem to form to peace. Leopoldus being clean down, Matthias in Prague with forty cornets of horse and some foot, the Emperor at his devotion, the succession of the Empire like to be so too, Matthias seems fair with the Protestant Princes, and handles moderately and fair with the other party; yet it is discourf'd how the Bishop Elector, and others of the Roman Catholics, were in fear and in arms, and that the forces of Leopold were, with the connivance of the Emperor, rais'd to dispose and assure the succession of the Empire upon Leopold; and that both the levies of Spain in Italy, and of the Savoyard, were for the affairs of Germany: and how the Pope and the Jesuits, and all parties, will let the affairs so smoothly settle to Matthias, is not yet well assured.

The offences between Spain and the Duke of Savoy were ever conceived to be rather formed than real. The King of Spain collects all these levies of Spaniards and Italians together. Savoy disarms not, nor doth undertake any thing, and by protestation satisfied the Queen of France, that he purposeth not any attempt against Geneva, or the Cantons, in the protection of France, but collects his army together for reasons of state known to him, of which he prays the Queen not to be jealous. Those reasons of state we must expect.

The Queen of France favouring the Jesuits, as she doth, displacing the Protestants, advancing the old Leaguers, will in a little time force a combustion.

The matches between France and Spain are conceived to go on, and the Queen of France hath excused herself for the breach of the Marriage with the Prince of Savoy; and the Duke of Savoy hath taken time to advise himself upon some parts of the

excuse. But the most quick and important point of all, is the overture of a marriage for the blessed Lady Elizabeth with the son of Savoy. The very Treaty of that will shake France, the Low-Countries, and the Protestants of Germany. I do long very much to hear how it is propounded, recommended, or hearkened unto. There will not want plausible arguments, and such as may sound admirably to the honour of our nation, and the particular honour and noble humour of our master: But there must be more than sound. Affection, faith and duty to our master, makes me say to you in confidence, that nothing of greater consequence can be propounded, than about the match of that blessed and gracious Lady; nor can there rise from any place more doubtful and considerable points, than from such an alliance with Spain. I see earnest faith and duty, out of how humble thoughts soever it comes, may bring forth presumption; so I will presume no farther. I confess my fault, and pray excuse. I know all things, that are my hard lessons, were long since your alphabet. In faith, Sir, I am the humble and hearty servant, in all duty, of his princely Highness. I beseech you to keep me alive in his memory, until my execution of his large commandments may imprint me better there. Your favours that way have made me proud of your love. Your countenance in that kind shall make me rejoice to do you service, and to take comfort in every advancement of your honour; and when you honour me with your commandments, I will give you proof of my thankfulness, and undoubted testimony, that I am,

Faithfully at your commandment

To serve you,

Brill, this 7th of April,

1611.

EDW. CONWAY.

Sir,

I Have troubled you so much in relation of my execution of his Highness's charge, and your instructions, as I will not multiply your trouble by excuses, but rely upon your favour to beg his Highness's pardon for me, and excuse me to yourself: And now give the trouble your encouragement hath pulled upon you.

The affairs of these parts are in a great calm. These Provinces stand in the sea, and the mariners proverb is, "The skies are then brooding a storm." For the church's sake, for our neighbourhood, for our interest, I will hope better. His excellency hath moved little profit by his endeavours in Zealand. Each Province seeks itself: few or none the public good. Utrecht is mastered, but not won, or well quieted. Friseland hearkens after the conformity of Zealand, and will govern itself accordingly; which is like to give no good example.

We say here, that Spinola is returning to his charge, and with commission to treat farther with these States, and even to conclude a peace. This will rather inflame the pride and questions of these Provinces, that temper them, and give opportunity to the Spaniard party to bait their hooks afresh for partisans. If there be such a handling, it will raise important considerations for our State, and his Majesty shall have just cause, not only to provide for his interest in these parts, but to foresee, and that with a great deal of providence and caution, the many and great points it will concern his State in.

Here they speak both of reducing and casting troops of horse and foot.

The next week is expected the assembly of the States. The propositions there will give some light of the temper of humours and affections, and shew to what ends the most will tend. If I can observe any thing, that may concern, in honour or other interest, my princely Master, I shall err rather in diligent, than slack relation.

The Elector Palatine is now in Friseland with the Count William of Nassau, daily expected at the Hague in his way to England. You know his errand, and of what side he is. He is wished all success. If the other proposition be renewed or advance, I will satisfy your request, to let you know the opinion of this world: but every day's trouble is enough for itself.

You hear how strong the Duke Matthias is in Prague; that he is King, and what he will. Those of the religion prosper under his government for the present. I doubt yet, if some disorder in France divert it not, you will see, that the Pope, Spain, and Savoy, will not suffer the affairs of Germany and that Empire to settle so. The affairs of Kingdoms and States have not their growth like apples, bud and ripen in a year. Yet I am persuaded, within a year you will see some change in the face of those affairs.

From Amsterdam there are letters come, but I never am confident upon the first report; but it is written for certain, that to the Texell is come in a ship, that reports there hath been a great blow struck between the King of Denmark and Swedish forces: that the King of Denmark's forces have had no great advantage: that there are divers ships at sea to come to the Texell, from whom the truth and particulars will be had. I am sorry for these beginnings of war between those Kings;
and

and I see a great deal of difficulty for his Majesty and his Highness. Consideration of State must incline them by all means to suppress that war, which is so dangerous for Christendom, the Polander being ready to make use and advantage of every occasion, that shall be presented; and a more violent or more dangerous neighbour cannot be let in, than he would in all appearance prove. The league and alliance must incline us to Denmark, if violence will require part-taking; but no travel nor industry would be spared to desist the cause without blows, if it be possible; but if force must do it, and that his Majesty will command and call his forces thither, if his Highness employ or recommend his, I offer myself to his memory, and lay myself and all I am at his commandment. And I intreat you also, and so doth my brother, that you of your favour will not suffer him to be forgotten, if his Highness recommend any to that service; and that you will sometimes favour him with a word, that he may live in his Highness's memory, until his faithful service may approve him.

I have spoken with the painter of Delft, who hath been wonderfully confounded with the variety of propositions, and troubled, that he hath not received answer of his letters from Sir Noel Caron; but now he is fully resolved to go into England, and to give himself wholly to his Highness's service, and depend upon his reward. He hath not deferred his coming for want of money; for I have been ready to furnish him. Now he only stays to know his Highness's pleasure, when he may come to be of use to him; and when he shall receive the knowledge of the day, he hath sworn to be before that day at the Brill, and there to attend only the

first wind; Monf. Caron hath taken no order for him for the money. Forty Pounds will I see him furnished with here, and you may repay it in London; so as now his coming depends only when you will appoint. I have been speaking to buy some good pieces of painting; but this people will as easily be bought out of their humour of drinking, as out of their affections to a picture. There was one piece at Rotterdam, for the master workman's sake that made it, of some reputation, and was to be sold, and I glad to hear of a price set upon a piece of work, that was antient and recommended, I bought it; and when it came home, the story invited me to present it to you, that are Secretary to the most hopeful, powerful and glorious earthly Prince, it being the representation of four the most faithful, glorious and excellent Secretaries that ever were to the infinite incomprehensible Prince. I cannot judge of the workmanship: if it be good, it is as I wish it; if it be ordinary, let it serve for this to prove to you, that I have no skill in any kind of painting; and that my art is only singleness of heart and plainness, in which I confess your favours, for which I am, and ever will be,

Your's in all to serve you,

EDWARD CONWAY.

S I R,

TO shew, that soon as I have health, I have diligence, the wind serving, and here coming a ship at passage for Colchester, I send these letters by my footman that way. Your picture is in a ship, that comes directly for London, and will go hence

hence on Thursday, if the wind remain good. If this bearer be dispatched from you before that ship arrive, I have given order to William Simmons, box-maker, at the sign of the Hand and Hatcher, to receive it and deliver it.

Brill, this 4th of
June, 1611.

S I R,

THE wind coming yesterday suddenly good from hence into England, as I was in purpose to take the opportunity of a ship passing by our haven, to direct to you a letter of the painter's of Delft, with the English of the same; even as I had first put my pen to paper, I had word brought me, that the Ambassador of Great Britain, Sir Ralph Winwood, and my brother Vere, the Governor of this town, were come to visit me. So with more haste and confusion than I desired, or, I confess, became me, I wrote to you a letter, all but the superscription, and left it to my servant to put it up into a paper, together with this inclosed. But he having much of my private business to direct into England, made up in haste the letters, and left out these, the chief subject of my letter to you. I do not see almost what use the painter of Delft can be of to our master, until towards the end of August, that the progress ends. But I leave that to his Highness's pleasure and your direction, which I shall readily obey, in this and all things. I pray you pardon the error I made, by trusting a servant's care in any point, that hath reference to his Highness's service, or shew of my respect to you; in both which I will ever use all

duty and faithfulness, answerable to my profession,
to approve myself,

Brill, in great haste,
this 11th of June,
1611.

Your's in all to serve you,

EDWARD CONWAY.

S I R,

MY hope is, that his Highness, the rather by
your mediation, and you of your courtesy,
have both before this forgiven and forgotten the
tedious trouble I gave you with my long letters.
You may see by those, that in points of my duty
I neither think of pains or good manners.

I shall ever account not only my endeavour, but
my life, happily employed to move acceptable
issues in the affairs and commandments of my
master. It is of comfort to me, that you are pleased
to advertise me, that his Highness vouchsafes my
service in business, that hath not a prosperous issue,
from whencesoever the impediment comes. It is
well with the instruments, if they have no blame.
In my duty to his Highness, I cannot do less than
wish, that since the conception came from a royal
Prince, and the purpose was to an excellent person
both in birth and merit, and that so large know-
ledge hath been taken of it, it should not be let
fall. I am confident, that the Count Maurice will
receive it as honour and favour to him, with sense
of his particular obligation to his Highness. It can
be no dishonour to the other. I see not, who of envy
or jealousy should seem to be against it; and it is
agreeable to the constancy and power of his High-
ness's purpose, that he perform it. As I know it

to

to be my duty not to meddle with my master's business, without his instructions; so, if I be commanded, I will use faith and ready obedience.

The painter of Delft is resolved to be ready to come at the time you will assign him. Therefore I pray you know his Highness's pleasure, and appoint your time, and give me order, either to pay him his 40*l.* or take order for it by such way, as you shall think best. You may be pleased to make this reckoning, that he must attend a wind to come hence; and that he must be ten or twelve days in London, to make his preparations before he can work. You will advise, therefore, to appoint your time for his coming accordingly. To so dull an instrument, as I am, you cannot be too particular in your directions, which I will attend in devotion to observe and obey them.

You have so able instruments from all parts of the world, to inform our master, through your hands, as I doubt to trouble you, rather than to serve his Highness, or satisfy you with any thing from me. But tell me of my faults, and I will mend them.

Monf. Barnevelt is now returned to the Hague, and the assembly speaks together on Monday next. We expect those of Zealand, of whose conformity we have little hope to settle the contributions and affairs of the Provinces, which need that unity, which the Spaniard would dissolve with much gold.

They expect here, that some deputies from the Archdukes will come hither to propound a final peace; and to that the most apparent difficulty is the opening the river of Antwerp, a point needful and precious to those Provinces, and of ill consequence

quence for these, for diversion of the trade from Holland.

You hear, that the Archduke Albertus will stand to be King of the Romans; and that Spinola shall shortly be in those parts to countenance that business, and to assist the intended conclusion of peace with these parts. You see how Matthias the King plays the Lion, and how the Emperor is the Fawn: how Matthias composeth his affairs with Leopoldus by a marriage.

And now that word *marriage* remember us how freely these men discourse of the marriages to be propounded between Spain and England, and Savoy and England. Many are of opinion, that Spain will never proceed really, because of the Pope and the Jesuits, that hold us for heretics, and make it a glory for Spain not to have matched so at any time. If Spain quit that point, it must be for matter of consequence; and that of most high consequence with them, is degrees to the Monarchy. The considerable points in either of those matches are of infinite weight, honour, safety, praise, present and to come depending upon them, with a weight of conscience at every one of them. If I had the boldness and the warrant of my judgment to be worthy to be admitted to it, I should trouble his Highness and you with a great deal of freeness on this subject: but you are happy, that I have not the presumption, and so you scape the punishment of weak opinion delivered in ill character and style.

The Count Maurice hath letters, that the Duke of Saxe is dead. He having left no children, hath freed his Majesty from the private obligation to his pretence, if those affairs of Juliers should not settle

settle in peace, as they are likely enough to do. Yet do we hear, that there is lately discovered a practice upon three of the chief towns, and indeed the keys of the country, with a Spanish intelligence.

I know I have overtroubled you. I intreat your pardon, though your commandment be a part of the cause.

I will beseech you, to continue and increase my bonds to you, by keeping me alive in his Highness's memory; and, when opportunity shall be offered, making me happy by his commandments, wherein I may serve him; and for your favour you shall ever have power to command,

Your's,

Faithfully in all to serve you,

Brill, in haste, this
7th of July, 1611.

EDWARD CONWAY.

S I R,

I Have conceived it better duty, and more good manners, not to write at all, than to trouble your serious affairs with impertinent lines of so ill character as mine. But now methinks it is time to mind you of the painter of Delft for direction, when you precisely desire he should come to be at London; for upon your direction he now only attends, his purpose being both in the journey, and his time there, to submit him wholly to the pleasure of his Highness. For the 40*l.* it may please you to signify, whether your will be, that I shall pay it here, and receive it again in England; or whether you by any other do take order for his furnishing.

Now,

Now, Sir, I am to intreat a great favour of you, that will be pleased to help me to exprefs my humble thankfulnes to his Highness, for a great and high grace he hath vouchsafed me; first, in rejecting the complaint of one Bannington against me; and then, as Bannington informs, for making some defence for me to his Majesty. Truly, Sir, my reputation is dearer to me than my life; and the height of reputation lies before those judges; so as my own conscience, his Majesty, and his Highness is all with me both present and to come. It shall ever be a work proper for our excellent master to defend his innocent faithful servants. That my sincerity may the better appear to you, and that his Highness may be the better informed, I presume to send you herewith a copy of that answer the Governor hath given, upon examination of the cause, to his Majesty's letters, which I wonder how Bannington procured, considering the justice of my act had been before through so many trials sifted. The only reverence of his Majesty's recommendation and compassion hath made me able to suffer the pride of his behaviour and clamorous speeches, without being my own revenger; and also to be content to mediate for him, on whom I bestow the place freely, a part of a benevolence, and to join with the Governor to supply the rest, to make him a present, to excuse our duties to his Majesty, that moved, so far beyond any just pretence of Bannington, as the offer is more than nothing. But this he refused with so much contempt and threatning, as he is mad, or we have lost our senses.

I make bold also to send you herewith a note taken out of the commissary's book of musters, shewing

shewing his disorderly deficiencies. I may confidently say I have spent 10000*l.* more in the condition of a soldier than ever I have received or profited by it. I have many witnesses, and my estate feels it, that I have aided and relieved many for their good service to their Majesties done, without any relation to my particular interest. If in this case of Bannington's, or in any other within seventeen years, that I have had charge, it can be proved, that I have neglected the merit of any man, or for malice have displaced any, or for any the least kind of gain placed any, or for partiality placed any unworthy, I will suffer punishment, and make treble satisfaction. With an upright heart I declare it, I have in the exercise of my charge, ever sought the King, and not myself. Yet this man shameless is returned again to clamour again. If he be heard and encouraged in it, howsoever through duty my innocency suffer, I shall have just cause to think it to be a most miserable condition to serve upon such terms, that not to have regard of his Majesty's service, nor to obey his pleasure expressed in ordinances and commandments, is an undutiful and un-
thing; and to do it is a fault, though with a great deal of patience. Such is only my fault in this business: and my humble suit unto his Highness is, that of his grace he will please, by such ways as shall seem best for his goodness and wisdom, that his Majesty may have such right understanding of me, as the unjust clamour of an impudent person, by his Majesty's compassion, may not ground an evil persuasion of me. I should not dare to make so high a suit, but by the warrant of my own humility and knowledge of my innocency; and of my humble thankfulness, I will say this
duty

duty and truth, all my powers and my whole life are vowed to the obedience of his Highness's service.

The affairs of the Empire are not yet settled, though articles accorded between the Emperor and his brother Matthias. Those of Aken by no means will understand the Archdukes insinuation, that they are in their protection. Those of Aken seem resolute, and the Jesuits press and sharpen the Archdukes as much as they can. Those of Munster land refuse the bishop given them by Colen, and are like enough to desire to stand of themselves with the alliance and protection of these Provinces, who have sent their deputies to them, and are like enough to favour them, and also those of Aken. These sticks across may burn out our day.

We hear diversely of the success and state of the affairs of the two Kings before Colmar, each party having their factions here, that deliver things according to their affections. But I spake with a ship, that came freshly from Copenhagen, that tells, that he saw the Vice-admiral of Sweden brought in prisoner, I mean the ship; and the Swedish Ambassadors had then order to go farther into the country.

The communication of these Provinces hath been hitherto of very little fruit. The conclusion and resolution will discover much of the hope and possibility of their prosperity and declination.

If I have over-wearied you, forgive me; and if my hand be over-hasty for you to reach, let me know so, and I will use another's: and if it be possible for me to be of so much worth, as I may be of use to you, I pray you command me freely: for both by my hearty affection, and your own noble worth

worth and desert, I stand bound to serve you, and to approve myself

Yours in all at your commandment,

Brill, the 13th of
August, 1611.

EDWARD CONWAY.

S I R,

ALL my powers are well employed, when they move any thing to the contentment of our gracious master. It is honour to me, that his Highness vouchsafes to receive the expression of my faith; and I confess a great obligation to you, that you aid my rude lines with a good interpretation. The Governor's care and mine shall ever be, so long as the charge is with us, to maintain and render the garrison in our charge to the honour and use intended. The defects to us made known, with the ways of remedy, our part is then to attend diligently opportunities, and in all events to do and suffer with faith and duty.

Touching one to cover the coach, I have, according to your direction, accorded with a fit and skilful workman, who only attends the making of some buckets and necessaries, which are conceived would hardly be found in England. Within ten days he will go hence towards England. I have agreed with him as cheap as possibly I could, that is, for six shillings a day, if he find himself, or five shillings a day, if he have his diet. When he follows the Count Maurice in the army, he hath so much. He makes account in six weeks he will finish the work, if the requisite materials be prepared for him. If there be any more requisite to
trouble

trouble you concerning him, he shall bring it with him.

The painter of Delft is so fantastical, as I cannot yet get his conditions; but he promiseth to resolve within six days, so as I hope when the saddler comes, to give ground to resolve upon, and to send his Highness's pleasure, which shall be obeyed as far as my power.

I cannot say the affairs here are settled, and well in order; and yet is there not apparent disorder worth the noting to you; and to make judgment to you of the future, is to hazard to prove wise or a fool, according as new accidents shall produce the effects.

The apparent danger the town of Aix was in by the execution of the Emperor's ban, and the divers consequences both of the Archdukes acting, and this State's and other Princes, that would have been jealous of the issue of those levies, do all stand at pause upon the death of the Emperor, who hath amassed a great treasure for his brother Matthias, whom he most hated, who is most likely to be Emperor, and Albertus not out of hope to be King of Romans. When the electors, and administrators of the Empire, have settled their judgments, we shall begin to see to what ways and ends they will incline.

Vorstius, in whose cause the King hath not many hearts and much honour, is now here at the Hague; and although the pretence be only to purge himself in some points in question between some private ministers and him, yet his passions and parts are so great, as may hazard in time the unity of the Provinces; for the broaching and fostering of those opinions and factions hath not been without design to shake the foundation of this government

vernment, by bringing in a freedom of all kinds of religion.

Sir, I know how important these Provinces are to our Kingdom; and without breach of duty, I may not leave to remember to you, who are the faithfullest secretary to my Prince and master, that it is a most necessary wisdom to keep power and credit here. Power is by the nation continued in the pay of the States; and by the cautionary towns: Credit by an honourable reputation of virtue and affection, and ability to aid and favour them. For the first, as occasion shall be offered, I will call upon you. For the second, it seems to me to be a fair opportunity, and very seasonable, if his Highness would think of the obligation he intended to the brave Prince Maurice, to call him to the Order of the Garter. I protest unto you, I have no particular interest, but as conceiving it proper for the honour and service of our master: and I should be glad to carry the suit and message, as I did that, with faith; and conceiving it to be a good service and duty, shall be glad to receive and obey all commandments, that shall be laid upon me in it.

The French Ambassador hath not yet had audience. Many good patriots fear his business will be new, and dangerous overtures, and having relation to some treaties with Spain and the Archdukes.

There is now come to the Hague a young Duke of Brunswick, a fine gentleman. He came in the company of the Count of Ernestus, whose Lady is safely delivered of a son.

It pleased you in your's to say, that his Highness would answer my suit. It shall be a Princely grace done to a faithful and humble-hearted servant.

This grace and honour is dearer to me than any profit. With my whole life I will pay my duties to my master; and you, to whom I must acknowledge the instrumental part of the good and honour I receive, shall receive such real testimony of my thankfulness, as shall serve to make you esteem me worthy to be accounted in the number of your friends and affectionate servants, that shall have freedom to rely upon your favours; to which recommending myself, I beseech the Almighty to bless your counsels to the glory of our master and your own honour, according to the hopes and wishes of

Your most affectionate to serve you,

EDWARD CONWAY.

This day Vorstius hath petitioned the States for his leave to depart their Provinces, and I doubt not but will be accorded it.

Hague, this 28 January, 1611.

S I R,

BY the contentment I take to do these little offices, I find how great happiness it would be to me to spend my best powers and whole life in the obedience to our excellent master, to whom all the good in me is due both by right of subjection, vows, and bonds of humble affection and service.

I send you this bearer, a soldier by trade, and skilfully practised to cover an open coach. The contract I have made with him, I formerly wrote

to you: but to refresh your memory, I have in this inclosed expressed it.

What use shall be made of the man, and his Highness vouchsafing of my dutiful obedience and endeavours, I do refer to your favour, to which as I attribute much for the great grace I have received hitherto, so will I wait all opportunities to acknowledge and pay much to you by love, by faith, and all the works of thankfulness.

I have spoken with the painter of Delft, and find him keep his affection and inclination to make a journey into England for his Highness's service. But he loves himself and his acquaintance so well, as can hardly resolve how to value his time and his skill. This was the time he took to bring me his resolute demand, that I might receive your advice upon it. But yet he is not come, and I may in part excuse it. The weather is so here between frost and thaw, as boats cannot pass. My next must be of that subject.

Here we conceive, that the French Ambassador keeps yet the ground of his ambassage to himself. He hath laid forth some of his accomplishments, and some artifices to make the matches between France and Spain not to be had in jealousy here; and to shew first, that they are only treated to do their business the better; and that the conclusions are far off, uncertain, and at the choice of persons like to use their own fancies, and the occasions, that then shall present themselves. Yet in all events these men shall have faith and league kept with them, and fruit ever by the friendship of France.

But many fear the drift is to make these men neglect the favours of his Majesty, or to be neglected of him, to rest upon the alliance of France, to bring in free exercise of all religions, and so to

compound the affairs of Spain and them at the devotion of France.

You see how the affairs of the Empire are of necessity suspended. There are many subjects for questions to rise on between the brothers. How these will be quenched or inflamed, we see not yet; and until some motions to the one or the other may appear, judgment cannot be made by me, that see but with common eyes, and those of the dullest sight, especially when I must lay that judgment before you, my honourable friend, whose larger information of these things from better hands doth prepare your abler understanding to foresee that, which I shall not guess at before the relation of the act done.

From Spain, and all other parts but Great-Britain, opinion is moved, that the King of Spain will pursue strongly the marriage of our blessed Princess: and that thereupon the intended treaty with the German Princes shall be suspended.

From hence they discourse, that although the King of Spain cannot in the world find so great blessing in a woman as in that Lady, and that it would serve him to do his affairs admirably; yet it is hardly to be believed, that the Most Catholic King, the fair child of the Pope, and the dear sovereign and humble subject of the Jesuits, will ever marry with one by their church counted an heretic. It is also compared with many counsels and proceedings of Spain, that spare no way or subject to do their business by; and their turns served, never want excuses and pretexts to disengage themselves, or at least plead a reason: which were a cruel scorn, and perchance a disadvantage to other matches, either in time or reputation:
and,

and, if it be possible to succeed, to draw after it, so many considerations and consequences of difficulty and tenderness, as if I could not have implicit faith in the infinite wisdom and blessedness of his Majesty, and in the providence and judgment of his faithful council, I could not without fear think of the treaty. But the confidence I have of the wisdom and blessing of his Majesty, and his royal issue, makes me in humble contentment expect good from all the action, that shall concern them, moving from their royal wisdoms, and handled by their faithful council about them, wherein you have a happy part to act, which I beseech the Almighty to bless to his glory.

I beseech you, that my faith and duty be continued in the memory of his Highness, as his humble servant, that desires nothing more than occasions to obey him in, and by the grace of his favour to be made able to shew you, how thankful a heart you have possessed yourself with, that studies, not by protestations, but by real actions and duties, to prove, how I am

Your's in all to serve you;

EDWARD CONWAY;

It is not well with me, when I am constrained to use another's hand; for which I yet beg your pardon.

Brill, this 14 February, 1611.

S I R,

THE haste of this bearer, together with my ill hand, made me omit in my former letter a point, that I now willingly impart to you, having a quarter of an hour's time given me.

We received it here from good hands, that the King of Poland makes himself exceeding strong both in horse and foot, and all provisions of war, with a resolution to attempt the kingdom of Sweden, where the King is young and unsettled; and if that kingdom shall find themselves attempted on one side by the war from Denmark, on the other side by the King of Poland, necessity will constrain them to range themselves to one or other party; and reason and probability is most for their natural King; since, without any great miracle, the opportunity, the power, and the activeness of that King of Poland considered, it is possible for him to be master, not only of Sweden, but of a large extent in those parts, in less than six months. It is not to be doubted but that the King of Poland is in religion a Jesuit; in league and combination with the Pope and with Spain; and so not only a declared enemy to the reformed Churches and neighbour States, which concerns the kingdom of Great-Britain, not only by expectation of the world, that his Majesty, for his greatness and virtue, should be moderator in this end of the world: but it doth concern, and will deeply concern, the welfare and interest of the kingdom of Great-Britain.

His Highness cannot do any act more suitable with his virtues, more honourable for his Majesty, more for the safety of the Churches, and piety of his own glorious state, than to digest this affair well by himself and his private council, and the
faith-

faithful councils of the State ; and then to move his royal father to mediate a reconciliation between the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden ; at least such a deposition of arms, as Sweden may wholly attend his defence against Poland.

It may be objected, that, in case of danger, those it concerns most nearly, should seek aid. The King of Sweden, that may be (for yet there is none) is young, unsettled, and perhaps knows not in what persons, in what councils to be confident. And for the Princes of Germany, their altercations in the Empire, their slow and disjointed affections and proceedings, is apt to err in points of real wisdom and good manner. Those of the Low Countries, who come next to be concerned, have also their divisions and factions amongst themselves, and begin to sleep in their security with Spain, who certainly must share deep in the prosperity of Poland. But if by necessity, sloth, or want of wisdom, or good affection, all men abandon the good cause, it is then most time, and most virtue, to be diligent and stiff in the good work. A more pious, a more honourable, or more profitable, hath not presented itself in many years, than this appeasing of this war between two Princes of the religion in this time, when the enemies of the religion do think they have spread such nets to overthrow her, as she shall not escape. But God, I know, will preserve her, and by his instruments, our royal King and his royal issue.

And thus, you shall ever see my faith guide me to affect peace or war, as it shall be most for the glory of God, and honour and safety of my King and my master, with whom I pray you employ all your power for the effecting of this honourable work.

Pardon, and beg pardon for me, for this freedom I use, which never proceeds from me but attended with faith and humility.

I complain not, that I have not once heard from you in three months: but I confess I have longed to hear both of his Highness's health, and how I remain in his gracious memory; and how you continue your favour to

Your's in all at your commandment,
 Brill, 19th of March,
 1611.

EDWARD CONWAY.

S I R,

I Was now about to have taken the boldness (yet with all reverence) to have written to his Highness, but I conceive it to be better duty, and the same thing, to deliver it to you his faithful secretary, that his Highness may so with more ease know, how the people in these parts say, that the Council of Spain have done their business exceedingly well; the matches between Spain and France being published in their ports with all triumph. That France gives a reason of these matches on their part for want of other alliances, that of Great Britain being suspected to them in respect of the pretences to France; the German Princes poor and divided; Italy far off; and these Seven Provinces so ready to run to Spain, as they only have gotten the start of them, and now ready to bring them thither by their mediation.

That overtures of treaty, to change the truce into a peace, are undoubtedly already propounded by
 the

the same persons, that first attempted the former treaty.

Further, they say here, that all these strange points of doctrine divulged have been fostered and countenanced to press the general liberty of religion to all sectaries, and amongst the rest, to the Roman Catholics, who are not few in these Provinces; and that point gained, there is no impediment to these men's peace with Spain. For the glory of the Catholic King being saved in that point, and his use and end assured by that admittance (provided that he be but acknowledged to have these men disarmed) he will give them a blank signed, in which they shall form their own other conditions. To induce these men, there is the just pretences of Spain to them, liberty of conscience shall be granted, with the exercise of religion to all kinds, freedom of traffic, and ease of impositions; and fear of a war, if they do not.

It is said, that Spinola, accompanied with another noble of Spain and the Count Bucquoy, came with commission into France, and so to the Archdukes: that great sums of money are made over for these parts: that great levies of men are likewise to come down: that the purposes are to change the truce into a peace; to turn the affairs of Germany to their advantage, and so as the younger son of Spain may succeed in the Empire; and so these forces will serve both to keep in awe the Princes of Germany, and sway those projects to their purpose; and also to terrify these men to a peace, to which they apply themselves with so much delight and affection, as, if Spain have but patience a year or two, rather than take up arms, they will take on any conditions.

It is said, that Spinola hath likewise charge to pass into England, to treat about the marriage of the lady Elizabeth: and it is observed, that just about that time the journey of the Duke of Bouillon is deferred. It is conceived, that the overture and treaty is not really meant from Spain, but only to amuse, until their other business in hand have passage.

This position is held for granted, that Spain pretends to the monarchy; that if he make himself master of the Low Countries so far, as to have use of their harbours and shipping, he will make no doubt to attempt Great-Britain.

If it shall be possible, and found good by his Majesty, the Defender of the Faith, to give his blessed and gracious daughter into Spain, and her children to be bred up in that religion; and for the Catholic King to be dispensed with to match with a blessed Christian Princess, the dangers his Majesty and his royal issue are exposed to from the Spanish and Jesuitical practices are such, as I tremble to think of them.

His Highness, as a counsellor to his royal father, as heir apparent to the Crown, as having the expectation and hope of the world cast upon his excellent worth and powers, is called upon, not only to observe these passages, but to be provident in them as the most faithful watchman and remembrancer to his Majesty; and foreseeing, that a small industry and force turns by inconveniencies, which once come and seated, will not be remedied but with infinite difficulty.

You, in your place, have an honourable office to discharge, and a glorious part to act. You shall find, that the industry and artifices will be very great to move his Majesty to contemn these States,

States, and as great to divert the affection and dependency of these men from his Majesty, and by that means to cast them for counsel and confidence upon France, and so into the power of Spain.

There are many ill-affected in this State: so are there many worthy patriots; for their sakes, for the consequence and interest, it is to be wished and hoped, that his Majesty will break all these designs, and keep his interest in these Provinces, and cause to be maintained their unity in their ecclesiastical and politic government; though with some extraordinary care, and an appearance of force, which will be no farther requisite, than by the countenance of it to keep the evil-affected in awe, and the good in heart and life.

I am glad, that at length we ratify the treaty with the Princes of the religion, his Majesty's Ambassador being to go on his way towards Colen for that effect. I should be more glad to hear, that his Majesty did give countenance and encouragement to the Protestants in France. And while that the inward affairs of these Provinces are not so well joined, as were to be wished, it would come exceeding seasonably, and advantageously for his Majesty's service, if the Count Maurice did receive some marks of his Majesty's favour, and some obligations from his Majesty and our master.

You see whither my faithful duty and humble affection hath carried me, under this hope, that his Highness will make a gracious construction, and favourable use of it towards me, whose life and powers are wholly moved to his service.

My confidence in you is such, that you will not only make the best interpretation of me, and use for me, but exercise your favour so much towards me, as to reprove me by your letters for what
you

you find impertinent, rude, or over bold, by that way of your favour to increase my bonds of duty to you, in which I covet nothing more than your commandments, and occasion, whereby to approve myself.

March the 19th,
1611, old stile.

Your's in all to serve you,

EDWARD CONWAY.

S I R,

THE first of April I received your's with his Highness's inclosed. I take it for a great deal of honour and happiness to be commanded by his Highness, nothing being so proper for a faithful servant as matter of obedience, where faith and industry may be acceptably exercised.

The Count Maurice was at Arnheim, three days journey from hence, the solemnities of the christening then not ended. I presently, as this bearer can tell you, began my journey thitherward, and by accident met his Majesty's Ambassador upon his return from thence; so as finding, that the overture was already made from the King, and that, for some late accidents concerning Vorstius, every favour offered or treated from Great-Britain to the Count might be by the seditious party misconstrued, I conceived it my best way of duty to discharge this office laid upon me without any notice to those, that wait but advantages. I therefore left this gentleman at Utrecht, and hope he will make no ill construction of me; and, if he should, I pray you help me to satisfy him, that the neces-

sity

fty of my master's service, as I understand it, required my handling it in that kind.

I have presumed to make a particular and tedious relation to his Highness of the manner of my address to the Count Maurice, as also of the discourse that past. I am so far from troubling you with the repetition, as I beseech you to excuse me to his Highness for that, which is either impertinent or ill-polished. I will presume to recommend to you what I think may serve our master to his end, to make it appear his work, and most acceptable to the Count; first, that he may be chosen without farther difficulties; and then the knowledge given by his Highness to the Count himself of his Election, and by his Majesty, or his Highness, to the States; and when the Order shall be sent, some principal and noble person may be employed in that service, this people and those of Germany holding those circumstances of form as a principal part of the honour of the matter.

I do in this, as I will ever do in all things, seek my master and his honour in his business, and not myself.

If any thing shall happen, wherein his Highness would give intimation or receive information, upon commandment or instruction from his Highness or from you, I will hope to give a sincere and honest account of my faithful execution.

The Count Hanau is coming to you. We hope the business is so cleared, as the danger of a Spanish match is past. Believe it, Sir, the Spaniard, though a sleepy King, hath great designs; and the only way to break them indeed is the unity of these Provinces, and the preservation of his Majesty's interest in them; the firm alliance of those of the religion in Germany, and the maintenance of those of
the

the religion in France with good intelligence with them.

It is so precious a thing to me to be in the good grace of his Highness, as I continue my suit to you, to recommend me still; to believe of my faith to this, and so to assure it to him; and to be persuaded thus of me, touching yourself, that I do so acknowledge your past and continued favours, that, if ever I may have the opportunity, I will not spare my uttermost power; but employ it so freely in your service, as it shall serve to approve me to be

Brill, this 8th of April, 1612,
old stile.

Your's faithfully to serve you,

EDWARD CONWAY.

S I R,

IT is not easy for me to express the comfort I receive by your letters and my bonds, which I acknowledge for them. It were unthankfulness in me not to observe what passage you make me to stand in his Highness's memory and good opinion, which is my principal ambition and care of my life; and it shall be great unworthiness in me, whensoever I part from that due acknowledgment and respect, that belongs to you, or fail in faithful constancy to serve you, in all opportunities and your uses, with my whole powers and endeavours.

I beseech you assure his Highness, that duty and affection in me to his service will never suffer me to be over sensible of ill weather, or to stop at any difficulties, the possibility of my powers can break through. If my mean abilities can be so happy to set on work, by his Highness's commandments,

I shall

I shall hope, the blessing belonging to them will carry my weakness through.

I foresaw, that his Majesty's zealous opposition of Vorstius had so much offended some principal great ones of this State, as they would be apt to formalise any exceptions, and misinterpret the purpose of his Majesty in the honour to be done to Count Maurice. You have seen their answers and their impertinent and indiscreet demands; but they are commons, and insensible of the perfection of honour, civility, and thankfulness; and although their estate gives them pride unduly to think themselves equal in all, yet since the work is honourable and seasonable for many good respects, I doubt not but his Majesty, in his true greatness and royalty, will pass by their mechanical proceeding, and of compassion to them, and for his own good purpose, satisfy them: to which his Highness may be pleased to bring as much help, as he shall think good, if it be not already done, because the Count Maurice is wholly assured, that the purpose of this great honour and favour is sprung from his Highness, and hath been cherished and brought on by him to the growth it is at: for which, if the Count Maurice's protestations may be taken, he is, and ever will be, the thankful servant of his Highness; and as he hath intreated me often and lately to receive and deliver those protestations, so did he declare and purpose to assure them under his hand.

I am exceeding glad to hear from you, that those, whom it most concerns, affect not the match with Florence, a match indeed far unequal to the Prince of Wales. And what is a sum of money, where other circumstances concur not? A crown, a province, that would extend dominion, or open

a passage to extension, or were a bulwark of defence, were considerable amongst difficulties. But a limited sum with the inconveniencies, that present themselves in that or the like matches, deserve not dispute.

To you, with whom I am free, and in points of my duty to our master, to whom I owe all faith and clearness, I can never remember to you too often, that Spain tends to the monarchy. That the greatest obstacle to that design is the mighty defender of the faith, the King of Great-Britain, whose kingly greatness, though blest with all requisite virtues in the powers of his own mind, and with the most glorious and hopeful issue that ever King had, and these seconded with warlike nations, his subjects; yet, according to human counsels, requires alliances and assistance, even for reason of state, concerning proper good; besides, that the defence of the faith requires protection of neighbours, if our own interest went not with it. But infallibly the interest of Great-Britain is now in dispute in these alliances, treaties and peace handled, conceived and projected.

I am glad to hear, and long may it be seen, that his Majesty will hold in heart and comfort those of the religion in France, keep in devotion those of the churches of Germany, and keep his interest in these Provinces. A match with contrariety of religion will never carry those ends with it: for although his Majesty and his Highness will undoubtedly keep constantly their integrities in that point; yet one part will take so great discouragement, and the other such presumption, as may make troublesome, if not dangerous events.

I am not worthy to advise, but I am confident enough to wish, that when such a match shall be propounded to his Highness, he would reject it, with declaration, that he will not marry but with one of the religion; a point, that would so bind and assure all Protestants of Christendom to his Majesty and his Highness, as would ruin the project of the pretended Monarchy, and make such steps, and open such ways, as all, that is just and lawful for his Majesty or his Highness to pretend to amongst his neighbours, would offer itself, and be subject to them in a few years. You shall be sure, that the counsels of Spain will never, until such a declaration, cease all practices, if not to divert his Majesty and his Highness from those of the religion, yet to divide them as much as possible, and to cast jealousy amongst them. Withal you shall see, that they will spare no endeavour, cost, nor artifice, to move his Majesty to induce these Provinces to peace with Spain. The truce declares too much, how dangerous a peace will be, first to these Provinces; and then to all the Reformed Churches of Christendom.

You have a noble and happy condition, that are within distance to foresee and offer your help, not only to prevent inconveniencies, but to push forward the good works. God, that hath put aid and terror into the hands of his Majesty and his Highness, glorify himself in their great actions. My life is due, and shall ever be offered in the least of their motions.

Now, I pray you, pardon my tediousness. Continue to stay me in the good grace of his Highness, and keep me in your good favour, as you shall

ever find my faith and affection ready in all your commandments to approve me

Your's faithfully to serve you,

Brill, this 16th of
May, 1612.

EDW. CONWAY.

S I R,

IT is before and beyond all other occurrences this happiness, that your letters offer me the assurance, that his Highness vouchsafes my humble duty; and it is beyond all other bonds, that you recommend my faith and humble affection to his gracious acceptance. I am thankful to you for the work and for your letters, which have brought me the glad tidings.

Pardon me now to presume with you in a point of my particular. It hath pleased God to visit my wife with a long sickness, the recovery of which is hoped and advised to be found at Spa. With the knowledge of all those in these parts, to whom I or my place oweth any respect, I have resolved of that journey, and have also thought it my duty to give you knowledge how and where I bestow myself; with this knowledge farther, that I have taken such order, that if be so happy to be thought worthy of his Highness's commandments in any condition, within three days after signification given at the Brill, it will be with me at Spa; where, God willing, I will keep the readiness, which shall never depart from me, upon the first summons, to haste that way occasion and my duty shall direct me. And although there is no appear-

ance

ance of any default by my absence for two months, which is the longest time, God willing, I shall bestow in this purpose; yet, I beseech you, take me so in your protection and favour, as no sinister construction be received against me, since both in my affection and judgment I hold this true position, and that all particular respects and ends ought to give place to the real and needful duties. In the integrity of my purposes, as his Highness's humble servant in your favour, I shall go in all security.

I cannot give you much hence, nothing new. The election and all the ceremonies finished, we shall expect how the affairs of the Empire will settle or incline to alteration. The Ambassador of Spain, which hath been with the new Emperor, comes to Colen. There Spinola meets him, and there will be in his eyes Aix, Juliers, and Mulheim, three places of consideration; subject fit, if the wills be prepared, to make much combustion. These men are unwilling to apprehend it. Juliers, as it is now in state, cannot resist an attempt ten days. Mulheim now in working not defensible, and to be maintained by a company of undisciplined men. Aix of no great force neither by situation, art, or hands. So as considerable consequences, or immediately God must divert the purposes, or some or all of these good members of the Church will suffer.

The prosecutions and jealousies in France threaten that country with a bloody issue. And the overtures of peace, which are yet in Spinola's pocket, threaten these Provinces with a great deal of danger. God bless his Majesty of Great-Britain, and his royal issue; and they may and will balance all the affairs of Christendom.

I shall long exceedingly to hear of the happy establishment of those great offices of the Kingdom. God bless the counsel and choice to his glory, and his Majesty's honour and satisfaction.

When I am at the Spa, if I meet with any thing worthy of you, I will presume to trouble you with it. Now I intreat your pardon for this. I beseech you to help me to stand and go, if it be possible, in his Highness's favour; and I beseech you keep in your favour and good opinion, and make glad with your commandments,

Your's in all to serve you,
Hague, this 29th of
June, 1612.

EDWARD CONWAY.

S I R,

BEING returned from the Spa to the Brill, I think it my duty to give you the knowledge, that if my good fortune would offer occasion to honour me with his Highness's commandments, or to employ me in any particular of your's, you may know where to find me, that ever am prepared in affection and obedience to both those duties.

I conceive by that time this can find you, our gracious master will be at Woodstock. My faith to his service makes me not only wish myself worthy to serve him, but that all worthy men were like affected as myself; and all virtuous men were known to him in their several powers and affections, that so his Highness might make choice of his instruments, according to the measure of their faith and sufficiencies, and his particular uses and employments. I have therefore chosen this gentleman,

man, Sir Giles Bray, to bring this letter to you, by which I am an humble suitor to you, that you would be pleased to do me the favour, and him the honour, to present him to the kissing of his Highness's hands, and to make him known to his Highness, as a man in his rank fit to serve and obey him. I will therefore presume to make him known to you, even as I know him. He is descended from a noble family and well allied, born to an estate near Woodstock worth 1000 l. a year; lives there a Justice of the Peace; for his spirit, discretion, and other sufficiencies, equal with the best sort of his neighbours; to be commanded by his Highness; and for his honesty and integrity I dare engage myself. He is my wife's son by a former husband: yet this I protest, that interest hath not made me partial in the suit or relation; neither shall self-love, or particular interest, ever prevail with me to make me betray my master's service, or abuse your judgement. In that confidence I recommend him to your favour, and shall account grace done to him to be an honour to me, and multiplication of my bonds.

You hear how much the House of Austria is offended with the building of Mulheim, and how many counsels they have had to demolish that work, under pretext only to favour and assist Colen: but the point is of greater consequence and extention; the reputation of the parties being in question, which is a point, that Princes and States must be most careful of, as a powerful part in their affairs. Notwithstanding the Emperor's edict to the contrary, the work is gone on with more hands and haste; and, as they think, in defence: but if Spinola fear not the mutiny of his soldiers, when

they shall be drawn together (for they are behind with a great part of their pay) assuredly they will demolish that work; and then Brandenburg will see his fault to begin such a work without force to defend it: and Juliers will be in danger: for undoubtedly the Spaniard hath both that and greater works in deliberation, which threaten our State also.

We hear the Palatin resolves to come towards these parts within fourteen days after the return of Mons. Schomberg from his Majesty.

My affection to lay all I know before you, would draw on your farther trouble, but that I conceive it would be too old before it find you.

I beseech you pardon this; help to make me live in his Highness's memory and favour; keep me in your protection and good opinion, and command freely

Brill, the 8th of August, 1612,
old stile.

Your's faithfully to serve you,

EDWARD CONWAY,

SIR,

THIS long silence of mine hath neither proceeded of want of respect or affection to serve you, but a great and dangerous sickness hath mastered me, until now that the violence of the disease declines, and I begin, I thank God, to recover spirits and strength to be able to pay duties, where I owe them, and shall be made happy by the opportunities.

If my strength would serve me, I should recommend by you to our master a view of things, how in men's judgments they stand here, and in the neighbour parts, and how they are contingent opportunity to the State of Great-Britain upon those heads now in deliberation with the Spanish council; the reduction of Aix, the demolition of Mulheim, the disposing of Cleve and Juliers, the alteration of the present government of Embden to the power of the Count, and the subjecting of the United-Provinces, by a plausible peace by terror of a war, or by disuniting them in the disputes. But the rest of this must be reserved for another time, and some more increase to my strength.

The Palatin is now at the Hague, to whom I have not been able to pay the duties I acknowledge to him, and desire to perform. I hear he is a fine Prince, his stature inclining rather to tallness than little, his age respected: that he is of good presence, very well bred, and comely in all his actions both on horseback and afoot. His train is noble, yet, they say, wisely moderated, having regard to his possible stay in England; seven Privy-Counsellors, six Earls of his subjects, chiefs of their families; two young Earls pages of honour, three principal Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber, four Gentlemen pages, 25 Gentlemen of account, Preacher, Physician, the servants of these in lists, and the rest of his Highness's household (for so they stile him) make the full number 200. The Count Harry of Nassau his uncle purposeth to go with him: he is truly a brave and well-fashioned Prince, much affected to the great virtues of our master, and for many respects worthy of his knowledge

and favour. When you shall see and observe his person and parts, and consider the circumstances of his family and employment, I recommend it and them to your judicious handling.

My confidence is in his Highness's gracious inclination, and in your noble mediation to keep me living in his favour, which is my uttermost ambition by those ways, together with my faith and uttermost worth of my life and power, to be employed in his Highness's service.

I beseech you understand aright this bold freedom of mine with you; and then it shall be as sure argument of my resolution and affection, more easily and freely obey and serve you, in measure to approve myself thankfully to you for all your favours, and sincerely and truly

Your's at your commandment

Octob. the 3d,
1612.

to serve you,

EDW. CONWAY.

NUMBER XX, p. 278.

Augustissime & magnanime Princeps,

OMNES, quibus doctrina, virtus, aut ingenii gloria honestum nomen conciliant, certatim in eam laudatam ambitionem conspirant, ut aliquid in medium adferant, unde gratiam & benevolentiam tanti Principis demereri queant. Ego Professor Academicus nihil aliud in præsentia e literario censu depromere possum præter musarum sacra, quæ virginali verecundiâ suffusæ ferentatem tuam audent blandius exorare, ne dedigneris aliquid ipsis

otii

otii impartiri, quum à gravioribus curis feriari liber-
erit. Si scripti genius & sententiarum veritas atque
utilitas attentionem non elicerent, author tamen
non inter humillimos literarum cultores haud in-
dignus esset, quem placido vultu excipere, & non-
nullo favore complecti velles; quemadmodum antea
fecisti, quum me affabili sermone tuo dignatus es.
Ne quid dicam elatius, tale genus monumentorum
non vulgo nascitur, nec quotidie obveniunt Regum
filiis ejusmodi hæreditates; quanquam pudet pi-
getque me tot erratorum, quæ per typographi in-
curiam & imperitiam passim in tam exili opusculo
conspiciantur, magno meo cum dolore, qui prope
fœtum abolendum curassem, ne tam deformis in
heroum conspectum prodiret. Sed animum meum
recreat vestræ benignitatis aura, quæ spem certam
adspergit fere, ut aliena negligentia nobis nequa-
quam imputetur.

Videbit illic celsitudo vestra, si libello manus
admovere non dedignabitur, multa, quæ minimè
futura sint infrugifera ad imperii clavum rectè &
sapienter moderandum. Quanquam omnia tibi &
à naturæ beneficio, & à provisu patris, Regum
optimi sapientissimique, & ab inspectoribus stu-
diorum contigerunt, quæcunque principem supre-
mis laudum ac virtutum insignibus cumulare pos-
sunt; tamen inter victrices laureas hanc humilem
hederam tibi circum tempora serpere non invitus
patieris, meque in eorum numerum adsciscere
dignaberis, qui se suaque omnia vestræ serenitati
devoverunt. Scripsi sine dolo humillimus Au-
gusti Walliæ Principis cliens,

xi Junii CIOCCXII Lugduni Batavorum, **DOMINICUS BAUDIUS,**

NUM-

NUMBER XXI. p. 363.

THE funeral-proceſſion, as deſcribed in the account printed ſoon after, was as follows :

The representation of the Prince was laid upon the corps, and both together put into an open chariot, and ſo proceeded in the following manner:

Poor men in gowns, to the Number of 140.

Servants about 300,

of Eſquires,		of Barons ſons,
Knights,		Viſcounts ſons,
Baronets,		Earls ſons.

Two drums and a fiſe; their drums covered with black cloth, and ſcutcheons of the Prince's Arms thereupon.

Portſmouth Purſuivant of Arms,

The great ſtandard of the Prince, being a lion crowned, ſtanding on a chapeau, borne by Sir John Wynne Knt. and Bart. the motto thereon *Fax mentis honeſtæ gloria.*

The Prince's houſhold ſervants, according to their ſeveral offices and degrees, with tradesmen and artificers, who belonged to his Highneſs; about 306.

Trumpets,

The coronet of the Prince, being the three feathers in a coronet, with this motto, *Juvat ire per altum*, borne by Sir Roger Dallifon Knt. and Bart.

Servants about 360,

of Barons,

Viſcounts,

Earls, as well Engliſh as foreigners.

Ser-

Servants of the Duke of Lennox,
 The Lord Chancellor,
 Count Henry de Nassau.

Trumpets.

A banner of the Earldom of Carrick, borne by
 Sir David Foulis.

A horse led by an Equerry of the stable; the
 horse was covered with black cloth, and armed
 with scutcheons of that Earldom, having his
 cheiffron and plumes.

Servants about 80,
 of the Archbishop,
 Prince Palatine,
 Prince Charles.

Bluemantle Pursuivant of Arms.

A banner of the Earldom of Chester, borne by
 the Lord Howard of Effingham.

A horse led by an Equerry of the stable, covered
 with black cloth, and armed with scutcheons of
 that Earldom, having his cheiffron and plumes.

Falconers and Huntsmen,

Clerks of the Works,

Poultry,

Acatry,

Larder,

Spicery,

Kitchin,

Coffery,

Stable,

Avery,

Wardrobe,

Master of the Works,

Pay-master,

Clerk Comptroller,

} about 40.

Serjeants of the Vestry,
 Children of the Chapel,
 Gentlemen of the Chapel in rich
 copes,

} about 60.

Musicians, Apothecaries, and Sur-
 geons,

Doctors of Physic, 6.

The Prince's Chaplains, 24.

Portcullis Pursuivant of Arms,

A banner of the Dukedom of Rothesey, borne
 by the Lord Bruce, Baron of Kinloss.

A horse led by an Equerry of the stable, covered
 with black cloth, armed with scutcheons of that
 Dukedom, having his cheiffon and plumes.

Pages of the Chamber,

Gentlemen, the Prince's servants
 extraordinary,

The Prince's Sollicitor and Coun-
 cil at Law,

The Groom-Porter,

Gentlemen Ushers Quarter-

Waiters,

} about 80.

Grooms of the Privy-Chamber
 extraordinary,

Grooms of the Privy-Chamber
 in ordinary,

Grooms of the Bed-Chamber,

Pages of the Bed-Chamber, and

Prince's own Page,

Rouge Dragon Pursuivant.

A banner of the Dukedom of Cornwall, borne
 by the Lord Clifford.

A horse led by Mr. Henry Alexander, covered
 with black cloth, armed with scutcheons of that
 Dukedom, his cheiffon and plumes.

Gen-

Gentlemen of Count Henry and Count Palatine, viz,

Monf. Eltz,	Monf. Auckenften,
Helmftadt,	Gellu,
Colbe,	Wallyne,
Benefer,	Pellinger,
Adolfhein,	Berlipps,
Nenzkin,	Shott,
Walbron,	Wildenfton,
Waldgrave,	Croilefemore,
Fuetes,	Levinfton,
Curden,	Dothenes,
Berlinger,	Colbe,
Grorode,	Scultetez,
Cawlt,	Rampf,
Stenfels,	Dawnfier,
Ridzell,	Maier,
Helinger,	Wanebach.
Henbell,	

Prince Charles's Gentlemen.

Gentlemen of Prince Henry's Privy-Chamber extraordinary.

Knights and Gentlemen of his Highness's Privy-Chamber in ordinary, and of his Bed-Chamber, with sewers, carvers, and cupbearers.

The Prince's Secretary.

The Prince's Treasurer of the Houſhold, the Treasurer of his Revenue, and the Comptroller of his Houſhold, together, bearing their white ſtaves.

Rouge Croix Purſuivant of Arms.

A banner of the Principality of Scotland, with a label, borne by the Viſcount Fenton.

A horſe

A horse led by Sir Sigismond Alexander, covered with black cloth, armed with feathers of that Kingdom, his chieffron and plumes.

Baronets.

Barons younger sons.

Sir Edward Philips, Master of the Rolls, being the Prince's Chancellor, going alone.

Knights, Privy-Counsellors to the King, viz.

Sir John Herbert, Secretary,

Sir Julius Cæsar, Chancellor of the Exchequer,

Sir Thomas Parry, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Barons eldest sons.

Three trumpets.

Lancaster Herald.

A banner of England, France, and Ireland, quartered with Wales, borne by the Viscount Lisle.

A horse led by Sir William Webb Knt. covered with black cloth, his chieffron and plumes.

Earls younger sons.

Viscounts eldest sons.

Barons of Scotland.

Barons of England.

Lord Knevet,

Lord Arundel and War-
dour,

Lord Stanhope,

Lord Spencer,

Lord Danvers,

Lord Petre,

Lord Wotton,

Lord Norris,

Lord Hunsdon,

Lord North,

Lord Cavendish,

Lord Carew,

Lord Denny,

Lord Garrard,

Lord Hartington,

Lord Ruffel,

Lord Knollys,

Lord Compton,

Lord Chandos,

Lord Darcy of Chich.

Lord

Lord Sheffield,	Lord Rich,
Lord Wharton,	Lord Eute,
Lord Wentworth,	Lord Windsor,
Lord Montegle,	Lord Dudley,
Lord Stafford,	Lord Dacres,
Lord Morley,	Lord La War.

The bishops of Rochester,
 Litchfield and Coventry,
 Ely,
 Oxford,
 London.

The Earl of Exeter.

The Prince's Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Chaloner,
 alone, bearing the white staff.

The Lord Chancellor and Count Henry.

The Archbishop of Canterbury.

The great embroidered banner of the Union,
 borne by the Earls of Montgomery and Argyle.

A horse led, called *Le cheval de deuil*, covered
 with black velvet, and led by a chief Equerry, Mons.
 de St. Anthoine.

The Prince's achievements of honour, carried by
 officers of arms, viz.

The spurs by Windsor.

The gauntlets by Somerset.

The helm and crest by Richmond.

The targe by York.

The sword by Norroy King of Arms.

The coat by Clarencieux King of Arms.

The Gentlemen Ushers to the Prince, bearing
 their wands.

The corps of the Prince, lying in an open cha-
 riot, with the representation of him invested with
 riches of state of purple velvet, furred with er-
 mines; his cap and coronet on his head, and his
 rod

rod of gold in his hand. At his feet within the chariot sat Sir David Murray, the master of his wardrobe.

The chariot was covered with black velvet, set with plumes of black feathers, and drawn by six horses covered, and armed with scutcheons, having their cheiffrons and plumes.

A canopy of black velvet borne over the representation by six baronets.

Ten bannerets borne about the body by ten baronets :

Sir Boyle Finch,	Sir Anthony Cope,
Sir Thomas Monson,	Sir George Griesley,
Sir John Wentworth,	Sir Robert Cotton,
Sir Henry Savile,	Sir Lewis Tresham,
Sir Thomas Brudenell,	Sir Philip Tyrwhit.

Four assistants to the corps, who bore up the corners of the pall, *viz.*

The Lord Zouch,
The Lord Abergavenny,
The Lord Burghley,
The Lord Walden.

William Segar, Garter, Principal King of Arms, between the Gentleman Usher of Prince Charles, and the Gentleman Usher of the Prince Palatine.

Prince Charles, chief mourner, supported by the Lord Privy-Seal, and the Duke of Lennox, his Highness's train being borne by the Lord Aubigny, brother to the Duke of Lennox.

The Prince Elector, Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine, his train being borne by Mons. Schomberg.

Twelve Earls assistants to the chief mourner, viz.

Earl of Nottingham,	Earl of Suffolk,
Shrewsbury,	Worcester,
Rutland,	Suffex,
Southampton,	Pembroke,
Hertford,	Essex,
Dorset,	Salisbury.

Earls strangers, attendants on the Count Palatine.

Count Wigenstein,	
Lewis de Nassau,	
Levington,	
Hohenlo,	
Rhingrave,	
Erbach,	
Nassau-Scarburg,	
Le Honan Junior,	
Isinberth,	} Pages.
Solmes,	
Zeretin,	

The horse of state led by Sir Robert Douglas, Master of the Horse to the Prince.

The Count Palatine's privy-counsellors, viz.

The Count de Solmes,	Monf. Halmstadt,
Monf. Shouburg,	Monf. Shouburg Junior,
Monf. de Pleffau,	Monf. Landshot.

Officers and grooms of Prince Henry's stable.

The guard.

The Knight marshal and twenty servants, who kept order in the proceeding.

Divers Knights and Gentlemen, the King's servants, who came voluntarily in black.

NUMBER XXII. p. 402.

This discourse, which was never printed, is extant among the Harleian MSS *, but ascribed in the title to Sir Charles Cornwallis; but this might easily be disproved from many circumstances in the relation itself, if the discussion of that point were not too tedious, as well as unnecessary. Whom it was addressed to, does not appear.

A relation of the carriage of the marriages, that should have been made between the Prince of England and the Infanta Major of Spain; and also after with the younger Infanta.

S I R,

TH E charge, which I hold, having so necessary relation and dependency to that place, to which your wisdom and deserts have moved his Majesty to call you; I have thought it very fit in a matter of no less consequence, than a treaty of marriage for the Prince's Highness with a daughter of the King of Spain, because I know your Honour shall receive the carriage thereof severally and differently related from many Princes, his Majesty's allies, and from his Majesty's public ministers residing abroad, to set down truly and exactly the original course and issue of the business; to the end, that you, who, under his Majesty, are like hereafter to direct, may be fully acquainted with what formerly passed: And for that it is likely, that the manner of this treaty shall not only be given out,

but censures, according to the diversity of men's affections; and unto you, as unto the centre, where all advertisements meet, these contrarieties will come, I therefore desired to arm you with this truth, which as I affirm unto yourself, so am I ready to justify it to the world, if you shall have occasion; or that your wisdom shall think it fit to make more public use of this discourse; the which containeth in it so much truth, that I care not what eye see it, for that I know no man can contrary it. I shall therefore refer it to your Honour to make such use thereof, as shall best please you, either to inform others of those proceedings, or for your own private satisfaction, to which I chiefly intend it.

To set down unto your Honour perfectly, as well the introduction and beginning of this business, as the cause and issue, to which it is brought, I must crave leave to fetch it a little higher than my own time; yet dare affirm, that what I shall say therein doth contain as exactly the truth, as that, which hath passed by myself; for that I have received it from his Majesty's own mouth, and often from my Lord Treasurer; and have found it acknowledged by the principal ministers here.

Not long after the concluding of the peace betwixt his Majesty and the King of Spain, there fell out many causes of expostulation betwixt them, for divers wrongs offered to his Majesty's subjects, contrary to the article of treaty; as also for the readiness, which was perceived in the King of Spain to receive and favour persons ill affected to his Majesty and the State. And thereupon his Majesty was contented, that it should be plainly told unto this King's Ambassadors residing in England, that he

observed so strange a proceeding upon the new amity, as he had cause to suspect, that the former alienation was rather disguised for the contriving of some future ends, than so extinguished, as he might safely build upon such friendship. Whereupon many arguments being used by divers of this King's ministers in excuse of what had passed, imputing some things to the slow style of their proceedings in Spain, and some others to concurrency in matters of conscience with those persons, which made their retreat into the King's dominions: and for the better expressing and intimating of this King's clear and sincere affections towards his Majesty, both the Conde de Villa Mediana ^b in his time, and Don Pedro de Zuniga ^c since, declared and protested to know so much of the King their master, his good intents unto his Majesty, as if he would be pleased (according to nature and custom, by both which the man is to speak first) to begin a motion for a marriage betwixt the Prince of Wales and the Infanta, the same should be so well heard, as it should appear, that the King desired not only to continue in amity, but to unite himself by nearest alliance unto his Majesty.

To all which, though his Majesty could but return kind and thankful answers in the general; yet for many respects it pleased his Majesty to pass over all these occasions given him by those invitations, without making any particular answer, until the time of Don Alonso de Velasco ^d; yet Leiger

^b The Spanish Ambassador in England, who was recalled in September, 1605. Winwood, Vol. II. p. 133.

^c Who returned from his embassy in England about April or May 1610.

^d Appointed by the court of Spain to go Ambassador to England, in January 1609-10.

there;

there; who renewing those former overtures, his Majesty could no longer have remained in silence, but he must have given just occasion to retort that opinion of coldness upon himself, for which he had formerly challenged him. And here I can enter to speak of the sequel of the business upon my own knowledge.

In March 1611^e, the duke of Savoy sent an Ambassage to his Majesty, in which he gave commission to his Ambassador to make offer of the Prince of Piedmont for the Lady Elizabeth's grace, with insinuation likewise, how glad the Duke of Savoy would be, if the Prince of Wales would dispose himself to like of the eldest daughter.

To the first his Majesty made answer, that he would not refuse to treat thereof upon the Duke's own motion, if it were propounded single, as it had been formerly moved by the Ambassador of Spain. But if it came accompanied with the condition of reciprocal marriage for the Prince, his Majesty could herein give no answer, as not being yet resolved about the bestowing of him.

At the same time the Spanish Ambassador made the first overture for the Prince of Piedmont (for the motion thereof came from him, as so directed from the King of Spain, as he affirmed and shewed in writing) he said, that in case his Majesty should be pleased to make the like overture to the King his Master, for the Prince of Wales to match with the Infanta^r, he did assure himself, that his Majesty should receive a kind and honourable answer; intimating indeed, that the intent of this match with Savoy was to be as a foregoer of the match

[^c 1610-11. f Winwood, Vol. III. p. 291.]

betwixt the Prince and the Infanta: by which all difficulties in matters of religion might be facilitated, that the other might find the less stops and hindrances, when it should come to be negotiated.

Myself at the same time being appointed to come to be his Majesty's Leiger Ambassador into Spain, to supply the place, which had been two years vacant, with charge to procure some better satisfaction in the merchants businesses, than they had yet received; and being so near my departure, I had my instructions ready drawn and perfected, and had also taken my leave of his Majesty, thinking within very few days to have begun my journey. My Lord Treasurer, upon this new invitation of the Ambassador, sent one down to Royston unto his Majesty, to make him acquainted therewith. Whereupon his Majesty was pleased to give me order, how to behave myself in the business; and caused particular directions to be added and adjoined to my former instructions, wherein before there was no kind of mention of any such motion; an evident argument, that the overtures of the Ambassador, and the assurance he gave his Majesty, that the proposition should have all kind of acceptance, were the only motives, which led his Majesty to propound the match; this being the true manner, in which this business was by the Ambassador revived, and by which his Majesty and this King have proceeded.

At my arrival here in Spain, having procured audience of this King, after I had presented to him his Majesty's kind and affectionate salutation, with

In June, 1611.

A. M.

all

all princely offers of his love and friendship; I took particular notice unto him of the overture made by Don Alonso his Ambassador, and in his Majesty's name gave him thanks for yielding so clear and apparent testimony of his affection. And then I declared the extraordinary value and estimation of the Infanta in every respect; and that to shew his willingness to maintain the amity, and increase the alliance between them, he was willing to lay hold of that, which his Ambassador had intimated unto him: and therefore had given me instructions to proceed to propound a marriage unto him for the Prince of Wales, his Majesty's son and heir, with the Infanta his eldest daughter.

The King hereunto made answer, that these testimonies of his Majesty's love were very acceptable unto him; and told me, concerning this business, the Duke of Lerma should have order to treat with me.

Within two or three days after, the Duke of Lerma came home unto me at my house; to whom when I had signified how grateful it was to his Majesty, to understand of his good inclination towards him and his estate; I declared as much unto him, as formerly I had done unto the King; and told him, that herein the King had referred me to negotiate and treat with himself.

The Duke then began with a great protestation, how much he desired as great a strictness and nearness of amity and alliance, as might be, between the Crowns of England and Spain; and that by his means this proposition had been divers times handled both by the Condé de Villa Mediana, and since by Don Pedro de Zuniga;

also by Don Alonso, now resident in England: and that he well knew of how great consequence it were both for the good of Spain and of England, to be so nearly and so firmly united. One thing there was, which he apprehended as the greatest and only difficulty, which was the disparity of religion; for the accommodating whereof he would make no precise judgment, being a thing depending on the Pope, and in which neither the King nor the State here would make any certain determination.

I then made him answer, that the King, my master, would herein have to do with no other but the King and his ministers: and that I supposed, if the Pope's inclination had not already been tryed herein, and that there might be probability of giving way unto the match, I should have thought there would not have been given commission to Don Alonso de Valesco to give such encouragement to the King, my master, for the propounding of it: and that, if I were not much mistaken, I had heard Don Alonso say, that the match with Savoy had been already propounded to the Pope; and that he should seem not to be much adverse thereunto; which match I conceived had been a preparation and way-maker to the other.

To which the Duke replied, that the King dependeth on none but on the Pope; and that depending he could not, nor must not deny; neither could he proceed herein without the Pope's approbation. And as for the matter of Savoy, though the Pope should give way unto it, yet there would be great difference in these cases, in regard that there might be greater hopes of the Lady Elizabeth's conversion being matched to a catholic,

catholic, and being come to live in a catholic country: whereas, contrariwise, there might be great danger of the Infanta's perversion, she being to be matched, and so to be governed by a Prince, that was not catholic: the which if the King should suppose, he could not, nor would not do, though it were for the saving of his kingdom.

I seeing the Duke stand upon so strict terms, desired him not to mistake my manner of proposition, which was with these conditions and restrictions, that if this motion should not be received with full as much forwardness of disposition from the King of Spain, as by the King my master, in his desires of having it effected; this business would quickly be at an end. For that I have no commission to treat, until I should be assured, both that the proposition in general was very welcome unto them; and that they would undertake the clearing of such difficulties, as on their side might arise. So that unless this by them might be undergone, the issue of this business, I conceived, was like to be no other, but that the King my master had expressed a willingness to lay hold of any intimation, that this King should make, of working a greater nearness and strictness betwixt them.

The Duke then seemed to be a little altered with this my directness; and began to qualify his manner of speech, telling me, he well knew the great good and happiness, that might arise, not only to these crowns, but to the Christian world in general, if this match might take effect: and that, which he now had said, was not by way of answer, but by way of proposition of the only difficulties he foresaw. But that the King had given him order, that herein shortly I should receive answer; the

care whereof he would undertake; willing me to assure myself, that it should be such, as should be agreeable both to the King my master's honour and full satisfaction. Upon these terms we then parted.

I then suffered them to take the leisure of a month or six weeks, without using any new instance, until their stay was such, as I held it expedient to press them for their answer, and to make means for a new access unto the King, on whom I was commanded to wait at the Escorial. My audience with him was very short; being again referred by him to the Duke of Lerma, whom I then found very sick, in bed of a fever, and so offered to have attended him some day one hour of his better disposition. But he intreated me to sit down by him, and told me he would briefly signify unto me the substance of the King's answer, which should be more at large delivered unto me by Don John de Idiaques, who was there present.

He then willed me to signify to the King my master, that this proposition, which I had made, was very welcome and grateful unto this King, taking it as an assured testimony of his affection and good will unto him: and as he had found from the King a worthy and direct proceeding in the propounding of it; so would he use much sincerity and directness in the answer; for that the truth was, that before his overture made by me in the King's name for the Prince of Wales with the Infanta the Lady Anne, the King was elsewhere engaged: and that the reason, why my answer had been so long delayed, was to see, how other treaties, which were already on foot, proceeded; to the end, if the King should have found himself

free

free of such engagements and promises, as he had formerly made, he might have given that acceptance, which he desired, to this proposition; the which he now could not do, on the behalf of the eldest daughter the Lady Anne, because these promises and engagements, which he formerly had made, were proceeded in great likelihood of taking effect. But such was his particular desire of giving satisfaction to the King, that having other daughters born of the same father and mother, and so equal dearness and esteem unto him, that for either of them it should please the King to make a motion for the Prince of Wales (if that the King did think the matter of religion might be accommodated, and without danger of this King's daughter to be altered and perverted from her religion) the King would here be very willing unto it, and would upon his Majesty's answer herein, which he wished me to procure, give order for the negotiating herein to the King's full content.

He then told me what he said should be more amply delivered unto me by Don John Idiaques, to whom I might likewise say any thing I had to speak; for that his disposition was such, that with much pain he had forced himself thus much: and so I was accompanied to my chamber by Don John de Idiaques and Don Roderigo Calderon.

From Don John I received the same answer in effect, that I had done, though somewhat more enlarged; with whom though I held it to little purpose to argue or expostulate; yet when they urged the King's former engagements to be long before my overture, I replied, that I much wondered at it, since the motives, that had invited the King my master to this overture, had proceeded

ceeded from Don Alonso their Ambassador, now resident in England, who had not only formerly assured the King my master, that if he should be pleased to make this motion, it should receive a kind acceptance, and an honourable answer; but otherwise of late, upon the instant of my departure, he confirmed, that he was newly instructed from this King, that in case the alliance was then spoken of, not only not to refuse it, but embrace it, as a matter, that should be most agreeable to his King, if matter of religion might be accommodated.

Don Roderigo suddenly and peremptorily denied his having any such directions from hence, seeing it would not be, for that this treaty had been many months in speech^a. But Don John de Idiaques seemed to qualify, or rather wittily to excuse it, by taking of the general word *alliance*, seeing, it might be, he might have directions, in case the alliance of the Prince with Spain should be spoken of, he should not refuse it; for that it then was, and is still desired, though not particularly with the King's eldest daughter, concerning whom the King hath been already many months engaged by promise.

They seemed much to desire, that the King might rest satisfied with this answer, telling me, there was little advantage in the marriage of daughters; for that the King much esteemed, and would do as much for the younger as for the elder.

I told them, I knew not how the King my master might herewith rest satisfied; yet I could not but conceive many differences between the younger and eldest daughter:

^a See the Earl of Salisbury's letter of 5 Nov. 1611. Winwood, Vol. III. p. 301.

First, that kingdoms come not into division; and then that a Prince of nine years of age^b should be married to a Lady elder than himself; and another of eighteen^c should be moved to tarry for an Infanta of six years.

And this is the effect of that, which passed at that time, whereof I presently gave an account unto his Majesty, and thereupon received directions to make unto them this reply:

That the King my master had found their answer to contain in it so many incongruities and unexpected passages, that he had held it fit to call the King's Ambassador to a conference with the Lords of his Council, for the justifying of what had passed from him: and had likewise commanded me to understand from the King the reason of the proceedings, which he found both unsuitable to the expectation, and no ways to answer the promises of his Ambassador; for that he had not only in former times assured the King my master, that, if he should be pleased to propound a match for the Prince of Wales with the Infanta, the King's eldest daughter, he should receive a kind and honourable answer; but also very few days before my departure, he confirmed his former speeches in his King's name, acknowledging, that by a late direction from thence, he was newly instructed; that in case the alliance of the Prince of Wales were spoken of in England, that he should not only not refuse, but embrace it, as a thing, that should be most agreeable to his Majesty, if matter of religion might be accommodated.

Now the King my master seeing these encouragements, given by the Ambassador, so contrary to

^b Lewis XIII. of France.

^c Prince Henry.

what he found here; for having but two months before received assurance, that if he propounded the matter for the Prince with the Infanta Major, it should find acceptance, that he should now receive answer, that she was already disposed of, his Majesty could here but judge, that either this King's proceedings were not with that clearness that he expected; or that the Ambassador, whom the King my master had cause in all things to believe (having the public faith and credence of his King) had herein much exceeded. Wherein his Majesty desired first to receive satisfaction, for that he was advertised from myself, that some of the King's principal ministers here absolutely denied to me, that any such direction or commission was given to the said Ambassador. His Majesty therefore thought it fit to have this point cleared, whether he had any warrant from his King to speak what he had said or not. For that whensoever it should appear, that any public minister should so much forget himself, as to deliver that in the person of his master, which is but his own; or having spoken the truth, should afterwards be disfavoured by those, that employed him; one of these two things must follow, that he is either become unworthy of the place he holdeth by his own act; or made unworthy by his master.

Having delivered this both to the King and Duke of Lerma, from the Duke (in the King's name) I received this answer, that it was true, that his Majesty had great reason to take exceptions, and to be displeas'd with this manner of proceeding, if that their Ambassador had in this sort dealt with his Majesty; and that the blame and fault hereof must light upon the Ambassador, who had
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received no such commission nor direction from hence: telling me, that it was justice first to hear the Ambassador, before they would proceed against him; but in case he should not clear himself, but that he had proceeded in this manner, which I had set down, the course, which his King would take with his Ambassador, should both tully give his Majesty satisfaction, and sufficiently witness, that his King had given him no such commission.

He then desired to know the particulars, which I alledged the Ambassador had said to his Majesty; which I repeated unto him in this manner:

First, that upon the motion of the match with Savoy, he told his Majesty, that in case he would be pleased to make the like overture to the King his master for the Prince his Highness with the Infanta, his King's daughter, he did assure himself, that his Majesty should receive a kind and honourable answer.

Secondly, in April 1611, he confirmed his former speeches in the King his master's name, acknowledging to be newly instructed from Spain, that in case the alliance for the Prince's Highness were spoken of in England, he should not refuse it, but embrace it as a thing, which should be most agreeable to his King, if matter of religion might be accommodated.

Thirdly, and lastly, he confirmed in a conference with their lordships of his Majesty's privy-council, that he was warranted and authorised to hear and embrace any overture for the Prince's Highness, concerning the Infanta Major; and that upon just and reasonable conditions, so that a means might be made for the accommodating of matter of religion. All which conjunctions, with-

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out allowing something, and disannulling the rest, the Duke of Lerma in his King's name absolutely disavowed, denying, that any such commission had been given unto him.

The Duke then seemed much to labour to express his King's affections and good intents to his Majesty; alledging indeed, that it was true, that there had been formerly some speech of the conveniency of this match: but seeing it in no kind proceeded in, the King had taken the resolution, which was now likely to take effect, for the bestowing of his eldest daughter upon the King of France: but that all other means of entering into alliance with his Majesty, by bestowing any other of his daughters upon the Prince, his King had willingly offered, and was ready to perform, if matters of religion could be accommodated; asking me, whether I had no answer concerning this offer, which his King had made unto him.

I told him, I had received no direction at all; and thus for this time we concluded and parted, this being in the midst of September, *anno* 1611.

In the beginning of February next following, I having occasion, for many businesses of the merchants, to repair unto the Duke, after long discourse therein, he expressing an extraordinary desire, that things might be carried with such love and kindness betwixt their Majesties, that a great nearness might be wrought betwixt them, if it were possible, asked me, whether I had got no directions concerning his King's last proffer. I told him, no. Then falling into many discourses of having England and Spain united, he telling me, there were very few King's daughters now left in Christendom; and that in the matches of great Princes, there were

were commonly greater inconveniencies, than the disproportion of some few years: and urging me to speak what I conceived thereof, I told him, that out of the confidence I had in him, and for the expressing of my own good inclination of doing all good offices betwixt their Majesties, who, I conceived, were both well inclined to unite themselves more nearly, I would tell him both what I thought in this particular, and what would be the most profitable means of working such an effect.

I then said, that the King my master having only two sons, I supposed he would regard no one thing so much in the match of the Prince as the hope of a plentiful and speedy issue: and the Prince being already at man's estate, and this King's younger daughter not passing six years of age, he should be forced to stay the attendance of many years, and the prime of his youth be spent, before there would be any hope of issue by him. Which consideration, I apprehended, was the cause, which made his Majesty take so much deliberation in giving answer unto the proffer. But that if he should give me leave, merely as a private man, as having no other commission but the warrant dormant, which all Lieger Ambassadors have, to propound and discourse of all things, which they may think may tend to the increasing of amity and good correspondency betwixt the Princes, where they are employed, I should be glad to express my good intentions and desires in this thing, by declaring unto him all the most likely and profitable ways, which I could foresee, for the producing of such an effect: and so, amongst other things, told him, I supposed, that a daughter of Savoy being so suitable in years, and so near in blood to his King, might by being taken into his care, and being as it were adopted a

daughter of his, and made fit for him in regard of her fortunes, as she was in all things else, to be a wife unto the Prince, she might very well prove a fitting subject to set the mutual desires, which I conceived were in both their Majesties, of uniting themselves, on work.

The Duke thanked me very much, both for the free proceeding with him, and for the good inclination, that I expressed, of making a greater nearness betwixt their Majesties; telling me, he would of what I had said consider; seeming much to approve it, and shortly again would send for me, that we might confer farther thereof.

I earnestly intreated him, because that this was a meer project and proposition of my own, without any kind of authority or direction, that it might pass with much stillness and secrecy; and that if it should appear, upon better consideration, not convenient to be farther proceeded in, that it might die betwixt us two; lest otherwise my good intentions might perhaps turn to my prejudice: the which he was pleased not only to promise, but very solemnly to swear unto me.

Within some few days the Duke sent to call me unto him, and then signified unto me, how well my good intents and desires of doing all good offices were accepted; and particularly my last discourse, that I had with him; and that he would requite my kind proceedings with a real freeness: for that though the business of Savoy, whereof I had spoken, in his opinion might have much probability of taking effect, yet, as the case now stood, he thought the present no fit time to deal in it; for in regard that his King had made an offer of his own daughter, to which his Majesty had yet given no answer, he held it convenient, that this or any
other

other proposition of this nature might be respited and suspended, until the business of his King's own daughter were fully cleared, in which he conceived his Majesty had now taken much leisure; and therefore required me herein to require his Majesty's resolution.

Thereupon I wrote unto his Majesty, that in a little conference betwixt the Duke and myself, in which many discourses passed betwixt us, and I uttering my private thoughts of such things, as I held probable to produce a greater amity and nearness betwixt their Majesties, the Duke declared unto me, that the King his master was in expectation to receive from his Majesty a direct and certain answer, concerning the overture for a match between the Prince of Wales, and this King's second daughter.

I write unto you this passage, though it were a thing merely of my own, without any kind of instruction of his Majesty, for these two reasons:

First, that I am so desirous herein to set down the truth, that I would not conceal so essential a circumstance, though I were certain to incur great blame for it.

Secondly, for that this occasion drew from his Majesty his answer to the King's offer of his younger daughter; whereby the business being again renewed, hath been brought to that final issue, where I conceive it is likely to stand.

His Majesty, upon this instance of mine for his answer, first directed me to alledge the reasons, which had hitherto detained him from making any reply; and then to answer in this manner: That in the offer made by this King of his younger daughter, both as it was delivered unto myself, and like-

wife as it was confirmed by this King's Ambassador there, his Majesty still found this clause and condition inserted, that this King would be most willing to entertain a motion for a match betwixt the Prince of Wales, and any of his younger daughters, if matters of religion might be accommodated: and therefore to the end, that all proceedings betwixt them might be with much clearness, he commanded me to move this King, that he would be pleased to declare the intent of this clause, and what was meant and expected in the matter of religion; and why that difficulty was so often represented.

Thus much I delivered unto the King and the Duke of Lerma, from whom, after the deliberation of two months, I received this reply; that the King his master, out of the desire he had to make alliance with his Majesty, had consulted with the Pope and other grave persons, requisite for so weighty a business; and if, for the accommodating of matter of religion, the Prince would become a Roman catholic, he would willingly embrace and esteem him as his dear son.

I told him, that in such treaties and negotiations betwixt Princes, there was a great difference betwixt what might be wished, and what was resolutely demanded: and that I conceived the King rather expressed herein what he would be glad might be, than what he expected should be: but that my directions were to intreat this King, that he would be pleased to declare, not what he could wish, but what he would demand.

The Duke then answered, that without the Prince's being a Roman catholic, it was not possible, but that the perversion of the King's daughter must needs be hazarded: which for the world

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he would neither be the direct nor indirect cause of.

Hereupon I signified to the Duke, that the King my master had given me directions and instructions, how to behave myself, according to the answer I should receive : and therefore I intreated him for one day or two to give me leave to confer this answer with my directions ; and that he would give me access unto him, and procure me audience with the King, for the farther proceeding in the business, as the King my master had commanded me.

Within two or three days after, I was appointed to return again to the Duke, to whom at first I made this repetition of the answer, which the last day I had received from him : The which likewise he then again confirmed. I then desired him to consider some few grounds, which I should lay before him ; the which being pre-supposed, I conceived he could not think, that the reply, which the King my master had directed me to make, was not grounded upon much equity and honour.

The first thing I desired this King should consider, was, that when his Majesty dealt with him and his ministers, he presumed so much of the equity of this King's judgment, and promised himself so much of his affections and respect unto him, as he should never have from him any demand unworthy of him, or which this King should not think fitting to be propounded unto himself, were the King's my master's case his own.

The second thing, which I desired this King might know, and believe, was, that there was no Prince whatsoever more confident and certain in the truth of his religion, than the King my master was in his ; in which he was not only resolved to live and die, but of the protection and defence

thereof had by several means declared himself as far, and would ever be ready to adventure as much for the maintenance thereof, as any Prince living should do.

Thirdly, I desired it might be remembered, that though it be true, that the King my master caused the proposition for the Prince with the Infanta Major to be made; yet he was first moved and invited thereunto by the assurance, which this King's Ambassador gave unto him, how welcome this motion would be unto his master: and for that, which now hath passed in this of the second daughter, it hath been likewise stirred and moved from hence by the offer of her made by this King. And to this effect, being thus accompanied with these demands and conditions, I was out of these grounds, by direction of the King my master, to make this answer:

That whereas it is demanded, to match with this King's second daughter, that the Prince should become a Roman catholic, the King my master desires to refer it to this King's own judgment, what censure that King should deserve, both from the hands of God and the world, that having so many ways expressed his constancy and love to the faith and religion he professeth, should shew himself so full of impiety and dishonour, to persuade his son to make a change of his soul for a wife, or any earthly fortune whatsoever. And if this King would not for a world (as he professed) be either the direct or indirect cause of the hazard of his daughter's perversion; the King may be pleased to consider, that, if he be therein exact, as becometh a King in point of religion and honour, the King my master is likewise so in no less degree; and therefore hath commanded me plainly to declare, that though he
would

would not but make a kind of princely construction of the offer, which this King made of his daughter, as judging her most worthy of any Prince whatsoever; yet for this demand of the Prince's becoming a Roman catholic, the King my master holdeth it unworthy of him; and would absolutely refuse to bestow the Prince his son upon those conditions, were the person offered the sole heir of the Monarchy of the whole world.

Hereunto the Duke made little answer, not expecting, I conceived, so direct and conclusive a proceeding: Only he said, that his King did suppose, that God might have been pleased to have made this the means for the reducing of the Prince and England to the catholic religion. And so from the Duke I went unto the King, with whom I was appointed at that time to have audience: unto whom I made full and ample relation of the whole course of the business, and particularly signified unto him the answer, which in his name I had received from the Duke of Lerma; and likewise his Majesty's replies.

He told me, the Duke of Lerma had in all things proceeded, as he directed him; and therefore he would only confirm those answers, which I had already received from him.

Thus having made unto you a true and exact relation how this business hath hitherto been carried, I will refer the judgment hereof to your own wisdom: only these passages I would have recommended unto you as most remarkable:

First, that his Majesty's proposition for the King of Spain's eldest daughter was out of the several invitations of the Spanish Ambassador. Neither can the dishonour of these indirect proceedings be removed, but that another will neces-

fairly fall upon them. For if Princes shall not give credit and belief to the Ambassadors and public Ministers one of another, all means of negotiating betwixt them will be taken away. Herein they pretended the giving of his Majesty satisfaction; they have revoked their Ambassador, and likewise sent Don Pedro de Zuniga in the interim, until the coming of Don Diego Sarmiento, whom they have nominated for that employment.

Secondly, in the business concerning the second daughter, it never was in any kind any motion of his Majesty's; but merely on an offer of the King of Spain's: Which God, I conceive, appointed as a fitting and worthy means for his Majesty to make declaration, both to them here, and to the world, of his constancy and resolution in the professing and protesting of his religion.

So that I will conclude, that if any thing have passed herein less honourable or less sincere, than befitted the greatness of two such mighty Princes, there cannot so much as any reflection of it light upon his Majesty, whose proceedings clean through have been with all directness: Whereas they, if they may not justly incur censure of some falsehood, yet it cannot be but a great unluckiness therein unto them in a matter of so great consequence, to be forced to remove their Ambassador. Neither have they any advantage in point of honour, that a daughter, whose sex giveth ever the privilege to be sought, being offered, hath not been accepted.

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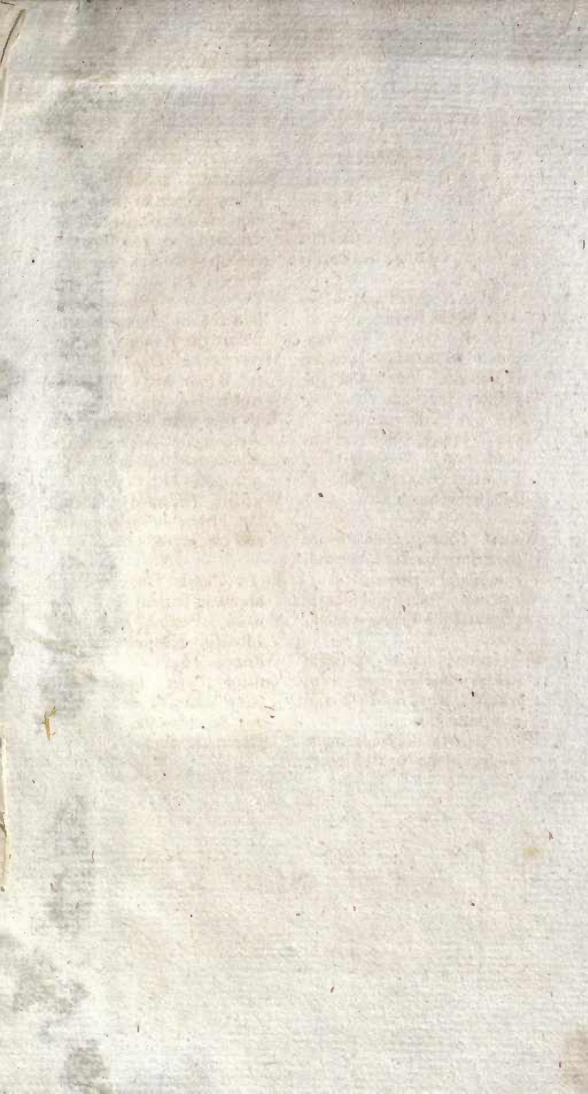
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