

## Fragmenta Regalia (1632?)

Sir Robert Naunton

### Transcript

British Library, Additional MS 22591, ff. 290r–305v

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Fragmenta Regalia or Obseruac[i]ons on [th]e late Queene  
Elizabeth of Famous memorye her Tymes & Fauorytes

To

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To take her in the Originall Shee was the daught[e]r of Henrye the 8: by Ann Bullein the Second of Sixe Wives which he had, and one of the Maides of honor, to [th]e divorced Queene Katherine of Austria: or as they nowe stile it Infanta of Spaine, and from thence taken into the Royall blood /

That shee was of A most Noble Extracte and royall by her Father, will not fall into question For on that Syde there was disimboyned in ther veynes by A confluence of blood, the verye abstracte of all the greatest houses in Christendome, and remarkeable it is considering that violent deser tion of the royall house of Brittain by the invac[i]on of [th]e Saxons and afterwards by the Conquest of the Normans, that by the Vicestitude of tymes, and throughe A contynuance allmost of A Thousand yeeres the regall Scepter should Fall backe into the Current of the old brittish bloude in the person of her renowned Grand Father Henrye the 7: togiether w[i]th whatsoeu[er] the Germane, Norman Burgundian Castallian and French atcheevem[en]t[es] w[i]th the intermarriages w[hi]ch 88: yeares had acquired and brought backe into the old regall line

By her Mother shee was of noe Sovereaigne descent, yet noble and very au[n]tient in the Familie and name of Bullein though some erroneously brand itt w[i]th A Citizens rise or originallie w[hi]ch was yett but of A Second Brother, whoe as it were divining of greatnes and Lustre to come to his howse was sent into the Cittie to acquire wealthe *ad edificandum antiquam domu[m]* vnto whose Atchievem[en]t[es] (For he was Lo[rd] Maior of London) fell in, as it was avered, both the Bloud & inherita[n]ce of the Elder Brother For want of yssue male, by w[hi]ch accu[m]lac[i]on the house within Few descents mounted in Culmen honoris, & was sodenlye dilated into the best Families of England and Ireland as Howarde Ormond Sackvile & divers others

Hauinge thus touched and nowe leaving her Stirpe, I come nowe to her person, and as shee came to the Crowne by the decease of her Brother and Sister

Vnder Edward shee was his and one of the darling of Fortune, for besides the Considerac[i]on of blood, there was betweene these two Princes A concurrency and Sympathie in their Natures and Affections togiether w[i]th that Celestiall Bonds; Conformitie in Religion w[hi]ch made them one & Freind[es] For the kinge ever called her his sweetest & dearest Sister and was scarce his owne man shee being absent which was not so betweene him and the Ladye Marye

Vnder her Sister Shee Found her condic[i]on much altered for it was resolved and her destinie had decreed to sett her an apprentize in the Schoole of Affecc[i]on and to drawe her th<sup>f</sup>ought[es] that Ordeall Fire of triall the better to Mould and fashio[n] her to rule and Soveraigntie, w[hi]ch finished and fortune calling to mynde that the time of her Servitude was expired gave vp her indentures and therew[i]th deliu[er]ed vpp into her Custodie A Septer and the reward of her patience w[hi]ch was about the Sixe and Twentieth yeare of her age, a time in w[hi]ch as for her externalls shee was full blowne, Soe was shee for her internalls growne ripe and seasoned by adversitie & in the excercise of her vertue. For it Seemes fortune meant

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noe more then to shewe her A peece of her varietie and cha[n]ableness of her nature, and soe to conduct her to her destiny fellicity

Shee was of personage Tall, of haire and complexio[n] faire and therew[i]th well favoured, but highe nosed, of Limbs and feature neate, w[hi]ch added to the Lustre of those exterior graces of a Statelye and Maiesticke comportemente, participating in this more of her Father then Mother, whoe was of an inferior Allay plauseible or as the French hath itt, more debonaire & affable vertues w[hi]ch might well suite with Ma[jes]tie and w[hi]ch desendinge as hereditarie to the daughter did render her of a more sweet[e]r temper, and Endearred her more to the Love and liking of [th]e people who gaue her the name and Fame of A most gracious and populer Prince. The Attrocitie of the Fathers nature being rebated in hers, by the Mothers sweeter Inclinac[i]ons, for to take and that noe more then the Character out of his owne Mouth hee never Spared man in his Anger nor Woman in his Lust

If wee searche further into her intellectualls, and abillities, the whole Course of her goverment desiphers them to admirac[i]on of posteritie, For it was full of Magnaminitie tempered with Iustice, pietie and pittie, and to speake truelie noted with one staine or taynte All her deprivac[i]ons either of liffe or libertie being legall and necessitated, Shee was learned (her Sexe and the tyme considered) beyond comon beleefe For L[ett]res about this tyme, and somewhat before began to be of esteeme & in Fashion, the Former Ages being overcast w[i]th the Mists and Foggs of the remane ignorance and it was the Maxime that overuled [th]e fore going Tymes that Ignorance was the Mother of Devoc[i]on

Her Warrs were a king Tyme more in the auxilliarie p[ar]t in assistance of Forraigne Princes and States then by invacion of anye till com[m]on pollicie advised it for A safer waye to Strike first and abroade then at home to expecte the Warre, in all which shee was fellicious and victorious

The change and the alterac[i]on of Religion vppo[n][th]e instance of her accession (the smoake and Fire of her Sisters Matydom[m]s Scarcelie quenched) was none of her least remarkable acc[i]ons, but the support and establishment thereof, w[i]th the meanes of her Subsistance amydst soe powrefull Enemies abroad, and thos many domestique practises, were mee thinkes works of inspirac[i]on and of noe humane providence, w[hi]ch on her Sisters departure Shee most religiouslie acknowledged, ascribing the glorye of her deliverau[n]ce to God alone, For shee being then at Hattfeild and vnder a guard, and the Parliament Sitting shee received [th]e newes both of the Queenes departing, and her owne p[ro]clamac[i]on by the generall consent of the house, and the publique suffrage of the people, whereat falling on

her knees (after a good time of respirac[i]on) Shee vttered this verse of the Psalme, *a domino factu[m] est istud et est mirabilis in oculis n[os]tres* w[hi]ch wee finde to this daye on the Stampe of her Gold, w[ith] this on her Silver *Posui deu[m] adiutorem meu[m]*

Her ministers and Instruments of State such as were *participes Curaru[m]*, and bore a great parte of the burden, were manie, and those memorable, but they were onely Favourites not Minions, such as acted more by her owne princelye rules and Iudgments then by their owne willes and appetites,

w[hi]ch

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which shee observed to the last For wee finde noe Gaveston Veere or Spencer to haue swaid alone during 44: yeares, w[hi]ch was A well Setled and advised Maxime, For it vallued her [th]e more, it awed the most secure, it tooke best w[ith] the people, and it Staved of all emulac[i]ons w[hi]ch are apt to rise and vente in obliquious accrimonie, even against the Prince, where there is onely admitted ito high administrac[i]ons a Maior palatij

The principall note of her raigne wilbee that shee ruled much by facc[i]on and parties, w[hi]ch shee herselfe both made vpheld and weakened as her owne greate Iudgment advised, for I disassent from the Comon and received oppinion that my Lorde of Leister was absolute and alone in her grace, and though I come somewhat Shorte of the knowledge of those tymes, yett that I might not rove and Shoote at Randome, I knowe it from assured intelligence that it was not soe for prooffe whereof amongst manye that I could pr[e]sent I will both relate a Storye and therein A knowne truthe and it was thus

Bowyer the gentleman of the blacke rodd being charged by her expresse com[m]aund to looke pr[e]ciselye to all admissions into the privye Chamber, One daye Staied A verye gaie Captaine & A follower of my Lord of Leisters from entrance for that hee was neither well knowne nor A sworne Servant to the Queene at w[hi]ch repulse the gentleman bearing highe on my Lords Favor, told him that he might perchance p[ro]cure him A discharge, Lei[ce]ster coming to the contestac[i]on said publiquelie, w[hi]ch was none of his wonte, that he was A knave, and should not contynue long in his Office, and soe turning about to goe into the Queene, Bowyer who was A bould gentleman and well beloved Stept before him, & fell at her Ma[jes]t[ies] Feete, related the Storye, and humblie craved her graces pleasure, and whether my Lord of Leicester was kinge or her Ma[jes]ty Queene, wherevnto shee replyed with her awonted Oathe Gods death. My Lord I haue wished you well But my Favor is not soe lockte vpp for you that others shall not pertake thereof For I haue manye Servants vnto whom I haue and will at my pleasure bequeath my Favor, & likewise resume the same, and if you thincke to rule heere I will take a course to see you forthe coming, I will have here but one m[ist]ris and noe M[aste]r, and looke that noe ill happen vnto him least it be severelie required at yo[u]r handes, w[hi]ch soe quailed my Lord of Leicester that his famed humilitie was long after one of his best vertues

Moreover Thomas Earle of Sussex and then Lo[rd] Cha[m]ber laine was his p[ro]fest Antagonist to his dying daye, and for my Lo[rd] of Hunsden and S[ir] Thomas Sackville after Lord Treasurer (whoe were all contemporaries) he was wont to saye of them that they were of the Tribe of Dann. and were *noli mee tangeres* Impling that they were not to be contested w[ith], for they were indeed of the Queenes neare kindred, from whence & in many more instances I conclude that shee was absolute & Sovereigne M[ist]ris of her grace, and that all

those to whom shee distributed her Favours were never more then Tenants at Will and stood on noe better ground then her princelie pleasure and their owne good behaviour

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And this allsoe I presume as a knowne observac[i]on [tha]t Shee was (though verye capable of cou[n]cell) absolute enough in her owne resoluc[i]on, w[hi]ch was euer apparrant even to her last, and in that of her Stiffe aversac[i]on to grau[n]te Tyrone the least droppe of her Mercie though earnestlie and freque[n]tly yea wrought on by her whole councell of State with very manye pressing Reasons: and as the State of her Kingdome then stood (I maye speake it w[i]th assurance) necessitated argum[en]t[es]

If wee looke into her inclinac[i]on as it was disposed either to munificence or frugallitie wee shall finde in them many no-table considerac[i]ons, for all her dispensac[i]ons were so poised, as thoughe discreatio[n] and Iustice had both agreed to Stand at the Beame, and to see them waighed out in due proporcion, the Maturitie of her yeares and Iudgment meetinge in or concurrencie, & at such an age as seldome lapseth to excesse

To consider them A parte wee haue not manye pr[e]sidents of her liberallitie, or of anye larg donatives to perticuler men, My Lord of Essex booke of Parkes excepted w[hi]ch was A princelie guifte, and some fewe more of A lesser Size to my Lord of Leicester, Hatton and others, her rewards consisted cheiffelye in graunts of leases of Offices and places of Iudicature, bur for readye monye, and in anye great Sum[m]es, Shee was very Sparinge, w[hi]ch wee maye partlie conceive was A vertue rather drawne out of necessitie then her nature, for shee had manye layings out, and as her warrs were lasting soe there Charg increased to her last period, and I am of opinio[n] with S[i]r Walter Raleigh, that those manye brave men of her tymes and of the Millitie tasted litle more of her bountie, then in her grace and good wordes, w[i]th theire due Entertaynem[en]t, for shee ever paid the Souldier well, w[hi]ch was the honor of her Tymes, and more then her greate adversarie of Spaine could performe, Soe that when wee come to the considerac[i]on of her frugallitie, the observac[i]on wilbe little more then that her bou[n]ty and it were soe woeven together that the one was suited by an hono[ra]ble waye of Spending, the other limited by A necessitated waye of Sparinge /

The Irish Acc[i]on wee maye call A Malladye & the co[n]sumption of her tymes, for it accompanied her to her Ende and it was of soe profuse and vast an Expencc, that it drewe neere A distemperature of State, and of passion in herselfe, for toward[es] her last shee grewe some what hard to please, her Armies being accustomed to prosperitie, and the Irish p[ro]secuc[i]on not answering her expectac[i]on and her wanted successe For it was A good while an vnthriftie or inAuspitious warre, w[hi]ch did much disturbe & mislead her Iudgment, and the more for that it was a pr[e]sident w[hi]ch was taken out of her owne patterne

For as the Queene (by waye of diversion) had at her coming to the Crowne, supported the revolted States of Holland, Soe did the kinge of Spaine turne the tricke on her selfe towards her going out, by Cherishing the Irish rebellion where it falls into considerac[i]on, what the States of [th]e kingdome And the Crowne revenues were then able to embrace & endure if wee looke into the Establishments of those Tymes with the

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liste of the Irishe Armie

Omitting the defeatures of Blackwater with all precedent expenses, as it Stood from my Lord of Essexs vnd[e]r taking to the Surrender of Kings Saile vnder the gennerall Mountioye, and somewhat after wee shall finde the horse and Foote troopes were for 3: or 4: yeares together much about 20000 w[hi]ch besides the Navall Charge, w[hi]ch was A dependent of [th]e same Warre. In that the Queene was then inforced to keepe in continuall paye a Stronge Fleete at Sea to attend the Spanish Coasts & Ports both to allaru[m] the Spaniard and to intercept his forces designed for the Irish assistance, Soe that the Charge of [tha]t Warr alone did cost the Queene 300000 li p[er] annu[m] and at least w[hi]ch was not the Moitie of her other disburcements An expence w[hi]ch w[i]th out the publike ayds the State and the royall receipts could not haue much longer endured w[i]th out of her owne frequent L[ett]res and Complaints to the deputie Mountioye for casheeringe part of that list as soone as he could, maye be colled, for [th]e Qu[een] was then driven into A Straite

Wee are naturallie proane to applaude the Tymes behinde vs and to villifie the present For the Current of her Fame carries it to this daye, how royallie and victoriouslye shee lived and died w[i]thout the greivance and grudge of the people yet that truthe maye appeare w[i]thout retrac[i]on from [th]e honor of soe great A Princesse It is manifest shee lefte more debt vnpaid taken vpp on the Credite of her privye Seales then her p[ro]genitors did or could haue taken vpp that way in 100: yeares before her, w[hi]ch was an enforced peece of State to lay the burthen on that horse w[hi]ch was best able to beare it at the dead lifte, when neither her receipts could yeild her releife at the pinche nor the vrgencie of her affaires indure the delays of Parliamentorie assistance /

And for such aides it is likewise apparent that shee receiued more and that w[i]th the love of her people, then anye two of her pr[e]decessors that tooke most (w[hi]ch was A fortune Stray ned out of the Subiect through the plausibillitie of her Comportem[en]t and as I would saye w[i]thout offence [th]e Prodigall distribuc[i]on of her grace to all Sorts of Subiects, For I beleue noe Prince living that was soe tender of honor, and soe exactlye Stood for the pr[e]servac[i]on of Soveraigntie, that was soe greate A Courtier of her people yea of the Com[m]ons and that stooped and descended lower in pr[e]senting her person to [th]e publike veiwe as shee past in her progresses and p[er]ambulations, & in the Eiacculac[i]ons of her prayers on the people, and trulye though much maye be given in praise of her p[ro]vidence and good husbandrie and that shee could on all good occasions abate her magnaminitie and therew[i]th comple w[i]th her Parlyam[en]t[es], and for all that come of at last both w[i]th honor and Profitte yett must wee ascribe some parte of the Comendac[i]on to the wisdom of the Tymes, and the choise of Parliament men, For I finde not that they were at anye tyme given to any violent or pertinacious dispute, the Election being made of grave & discret persons, not factious and ambitious of Fame, such as came to [th]e house w[i]th A Malevolent Spirritt of contenc[i]on but with A

pr[e]parac[i]on]

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preparac[i]on to consult on the publike good, rather to co[m]plie then to contest w[i]th Ma[jes]tye /

Neither doe I finde that the house was weakened and pestered through the admission of too manye young heades as it hath bine of later tymes, w[hi]ch remembers mee of [th]e Recorders Martyns Speech about the Tenth of our late Soveraigne Lord Kinge Iames when there were accompts taken of 40 gentleme[n] not aboue Twentie and some not exceeding 16: w[hi]ch moved him to saye, that it was the au[n]tient custome for old men to make lawes for young ones, but that then he sawe the case altered and that there were children elected into the great Cou[n]sell of [th]e Kingdome w[hi]ch came to invade and invert nature, and to enacke laws to governe their Fathers Saure Wee are the house allwayes tooke the Comon cause into their Considerac[i]ons, and they sawe the Quee had manye Tymes iust occasions and neede Enough to vse their assistance Neither doe I remember that the house did eu[er] capitulate or pr[e]ferr their private to the publike and the Queenes necessities, but waited their Tymes and in the First place gaue their supplie and according to the Exegencie of her affaires, yet sayled not at the last to obtayne what they desired, Soe that [th]e Q[ue]e[n] and her Parlyam[en]t[es] had ever the good Fortune to departe in Loue and in reciprocall Termes w[hi]ch are consideracons that haue beene soe exactlye observed in our last assemblies and they might and I would to God they had beene /

For considering the greate debte left on the kinge, & into what incumbrances the house it selfe had then drawne him his Ma[jes]tye was not well vsed, though I laye not the blame on the whole Suffrage of the house, where he had manye good Freind[es], for I dare avouch it had the house beene freed of halfe a dozen of populer and discontented persons such as (w[i]th the fellow who burnt the Temple of Ephesus) would be talked of though but for doing of Mischeiffe I am confident the king had obtayned [tha]t w[i]thin reason and at his First accession he ought to haue receiued freelye and w[i]thout anye condition

But pardon this digression w[hi]ch is heere remembered not in the way of aggravac[i]on but in true Zeale to [th]e publike good; and pr[e]sented in Caveat to future tymes, For I am not ignorant howe the genious and Spiritt of the kingdome nowe moves to make his Ma[jes]tye amends on anye occasion, and howe desirous the Subiect is to expiate that offence at anye rate Maye it please his Ma[jes]tye gratuslye to make triall of his Subiects affections and at what price they nowe value his goodnes and Magnaminitie

But to our purpose the queene was not to learne that as the Strengthe of her kingdome consisted in the multitude of Subiects, Soe the Securitie of her person rested in [th]e loue and Fidellitie of her people w[hi]ch shee polliticklye affected as it hath bene thought somew[ha]t beneath the haight of her Spiritt and her naturall Magnaminitie

Moreover it wilbe A true noate of her providence that shee could allwaies listen to her prophett for shee would not refuse the informac[i]ons of meane p[er]sons w[hi]ch proposed improvem[en]t[es], and had learned the Philosophie of hoc agere to looke into her owne worke of the w[hi]ch there is A notable exa[m]ple

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of one Carmarden an vnder Officer: of the Custome house who observing his tyme presented her w[i]th A paper shewing howe she was abused in the Vnder renting of the Customes and there w[i]th all humble desired her Ma[jes]tye to conceale him For that it did concerne two or three of her greate Cou[n]cellors [*Left margin: Leicester Burleighe Walsingham* ] whom Customer Smithe he he bribed with 2000 li A man Soe to loose the Queene 20000:li per

ann[um] w[hi]ch being made knowne to the Lords they gaue Stricte Order that Carmarden should not haue accesse to the backe Staires, till at last her Ma[jes]tye smelling the Crafte, and missing Carmarden, Shee sent for him backt him and encouraged him to Stand to his informac[i]on which the poore man did soe hansomelie that w[i]thin the Space of Ten yeeres he brought Smithe to double his rent or to leave the Customes to newe Farmers Soe that wee maye take this allsoe into observac[i]ons, that there were of the Queenes Cou[n]cell which were not in the Catalouge of Saintes

Now as wee haue taken A View of some perticuler Noc[i]ons, of her Tymes her Nature and necessities, it is not w[i]th out the Text to giue A Shorte touche on the helps & advantag[es] of her raigne, w[hi]ch were w[i]thout parrallels, For shee had neith[e]r husband, Brother, Sister nor Children to provide for, whoe as they are dependants of the Crowne soe doe they necessariye drawe livelihood from thence and doe often tymes exhaust & drawe deepe as it was in the Tyme of Edw[ard]: 3: and Hen[ry]: 4: tor then when the Crowne cannot, the publique ought to give them honorable allowance; For they are the honnor aand hopes of the kingdome / and the publique w[hi]ch enjoyes them hath alike interest w[i]th the Father that begatt them / and our Comon Lawe which is the Inheritance of the kingdome did ever of old p[ro]vide For the *Primo Genitus* and the eldest daughter Soe [tha]t the multiplicite of Courts and the greate charge w[hi]ch necessarilie follows A Kinge, A Queene, A Prince, and the royall issue was a thing w[hi]ch was not in *rerum natura* during the space of 44: yeares and by w[hi]ch Tyme was worne out of memorie and without the Considerac[i]on of the present Times In soe much that the Aides given to [th]e late right noble Prince H[enry] & to his Sister the Ladye Elizabeth were at the First generallie rec[eive]d For imposicons of A newe Coinage, yea the Late Composic[i]ons for knighthood by the Au[n]tient Lawe fell allsoe into A Taxe of Noveltie, For that it laie long covered in the Embers of division betweene the houses of Yorke and Lancaster, and forgotte[n] or connived at by the succeeding Princes, Soe that [th]e Strangnes of the observac[i]on and the difference of these latter raignes is, That the Queene tooke vpp much beyond the Power of law, w[hi]ch fell not into the murmure of the people, and her successors nothing but by warrant of the Lawe w[hi]ch neverthesse was conceived through disuse to be iniurious to [th]e lib[er]tie of [th]e Kingdome

Now before I come to anye Further menc[i]on of her Favorites, for hitherto I haue delivered but some obvious Passages thereby to prepare and smooth A waye for the rest that followed It is requisite that I touch on the reliques of the other raigne I meane the bodie of her Sisters Councell of State w[hi]ch shee retained intire neither removeinge nor

disco[n]te[n]tinge

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discontenting anye allthough shee knewe them avertse to her religion and in her Sisters Tyme perverse towards her person and private, during all her Troubles, and imprisonem[en]t A Prudence w[hi]ch was incompatible w[i]th her Sisters nature For Shee both dissipated and persecuted the Maior parte of her brothers Councell But this wilbe of certaintie that how compliable & obsequious soever Shee then found them, yet for A good Space shee made litle vse of their Councells more then in the Ordinarie cou[r]s of the board, For shee had A dormant Table in her owne princlye Brest, yett shee kept them together and in their places without any suddaine Change Soe that wee maye saie of them that they were then of the Courte, not of the Councell For whilst shee amased them by A kinde of permissiue disputac[i]on concerning the points controverted by both Churches Shee did sett downe her

owne gests w[i]thout their privitie, and made all her progressions *gradatim*, But soe that the Tenth of her Secretts with the Intents of her Establishments were pitcht before it was knowne where the Courte would sitt downe. Neither doe I finde that anye of her Sisters Cou[n]cell of State were either repugnant to her religio[n] or opposed to her doeings (Engleffeild M[aste]r of the Wards excepted) whoe w[i]thdrew himselfe from the Board and shortlye after fro[m] out of her dominions soe plyable and obedient they were to chang w[i]th the Tymes and their Prince, and of this there will fall in here A relac[i]on of recreac[i]on

Pawlett Marquesse of Winchester and Lord Treasurer had served then Foure Princes in as Various and changable Seasons that I maye well saye Tyme nor any Age hath yeilded the like presidente; This man being noted to growe highe in her Favor (as his place and experience required) was questioned by an intimate Freinde of his how he Stood vpp for 30 yeares together amydst the Changes and ruins of Soe many Cou[n]cellors and greate personages, whye quoth the Marquesse *Ortus Su[m] e Salice non Ex quercu[m]* I was made of the pliable Willow not of the Stubborne Oake. And truelye it seemes the Old man had taught them all espetiallie Will[i]am Earle of Pembroke, For they twoe were allwaies of the Kings Religion, and ever Iealous professors, of these it is said that being both younger Brothers yett of Noble houses they spent what was left them and came on Trust to the Courte, where vpon the bare Stocke of their witts they began to traffique for them selves and prospered soe well that they gott spent and left more then anye Subiect[es] from the Norman Conquest to their owne tymes, wherevnto it hath bene prittilie repied that they lived in a tyme of dissolucio[n]

To conclude them of anye of the Former raigne it is saide that these two liued & dyed cheiflye in her grace and Favor

The later vppon his Sonnes Marriage w[i]th the Lady Kath[arine] Grey was like vtterlye to haue lost himselfe, but at [th]e instance of the consum[m]ac[i]on appr[e]hending the insafetie and daunger of an intermarriage w[i]th the blood royall he fell at the Queens Feete where hee acknowledged his presumpc[i]on w[i]th teares, and proiected the cause and the fivorce together, and so quicke he was at his worke for it Stood him vpon that noe repudiac[i]on of the Lady should bee, hee clapte vpp A Mariage for his Sonne

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the Lord Herbert w[i]th Marye Sidney daughter to S[i]r Hen[ry] Sydney then Lord Deputie of Ireland, the blow falling on Edward late Earle of Hertfford whoe to his Cost tooke vpp the divorced Ladye of whom the Lord Beawchampe was borne and Will[i]am now Earle of Hertfford is descended

I come nowe to pr[e]sent those of her owne Election w[hi]ch shee either admitted to her Secretts of State or tooke into her grace and Favor of whom in their Order I crave leave to give vnto posteritie A Cautious descripc[i]on w[i]th A Short Character or draught of the Persons themselves, For w[i]thout Offence to others I would bee true to my selfe their Memories and merritts distin guishing these of the millitia from the Togati, and of both theis shee had as manye and those as able ministers as any of [th]e p[ro]genitors

It wilbe out of doubt that my Lord of Leicester was one of the First whom shee made M[aste]r of the Horse, he was the youngest Sonne then living of the Duke of Northumberland beheaded *Primo Mariae* his Father was that Dudlye w[hi]ch our historyes couple w[i]th



Empson, and both soe much enfamed for the Catterpillers of the Comon wealth during the raigne of H[enry] 7: whoe being of A noble extract was executed the first yeere of H[enry] the 8: but not thereby soe Extincte, but that hee left a plentyfull estate and such a Sonne whoe as the Vulgar speakes itt would liue w[i]thout the Teate for out of the ashes of his Fathers infamie hee rose to bee A Duke and as highe as subiecc[i]on could permitt or Sou[er]aigntie endure, and though hee coulde nott not Finde out anye palliacon to assume the Crowne in his owne person, yet he proiected and verye neare effected itt For his Sonne Gilfford by entermariage w[i]th the Ladye Jane Graye and soe by that waye to bringe it about into his Loynes, observac[i]ons w[hi]ch though they are beyond vs and seeme imp[er]tin[en]t to the Texte, yet are they not much extravagant, For they must lead and shew vs how the after passages were were brought about w[i]th the dependances, and on the hinges of a Collaterall work manshipp/ And truelie it maye amaze A well settled Iudgm[en]t to looke backe into theis Tymes and to consider howe this Duke could attaine to such A pitche of greatnes, his Father dying in ignominy and at the gallowes, his Estate co[n]fiscate, and that for peeling and poling by the Clamor & Crucifige of the people / But when wee better thinke vpon itt, we find that he was given vpp but as a sacrifice to please [th]e people not for any offence committed against the person of [th]e Kinge, Soe that vppon the matter he was a Martyr of [th]e Prerogatiue, And the king in honor could doe noe lesse then give backe to his Sonne the privilidges of his Bloud, w[i]th the acquiring of his profession/ For he was A Lawyer, and one of the kings Cou[n]cell at Lawe / before he came to be in *Interiorib[us] Consillijs* where besydes the licking of his owne Fingers, hee gott the Kinge A Masse of Riches, and that not w[i]th the hazard, butt w[i]th the losse of his liffe and Fame / For the kings Fath[er]s sake, Certeine it is that his Sonne was left riche in purse & braine, W[hi]ch are good Foundations and Fuell to ambition, and itt maye be supposed he was on all occasions well heard of the kinge as A person of marke and compassion in his Eye,

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But I finde not that hee did putt vpp for Advancem[en]t during Henryes Tyme (although A Vast Aspirer and A provident Storer) It seemed he thought the Kings Raigne was muche given to the disease {} of the falling Sicknes, But espyeing the tyme fitting and the Soveraigntie in the handes of a Pupill Prince, he then thought he might as well putt vpp for it was the best, and A Purse w[i]th a head peece of A Vast extent, he soone gott honor, And noe sooner there, but he began to syde it w[i]th the best, even w[i]th the Protector, And in concluio[n] gott his and his Brothers heads, Still aspiring till he expired in the losse of his owne / Soe that Posteritie maye, by reading the Father and grand Father, make Iudgm[en]t of the Sonne, For wee shall finde that this Rob[er]t (whose originalls we haue nowe tracted, the better to pr[e]sent him) was Inheritor to [th]e Genius and Craft of his Father, And Ambrose of the Estate of whom heere after wee shall make some short menc[i]on

Wee take him nowe as hee was admitted into the Court and the Queenes Favor, where he was not to seeke to playe his part well and dexteriouslye, but this playe was cheifly at the Foregame (not that he was A learner at the latter game) but he loved not the after witt For they report (and I thincke not vntrulye) that he was seldome behind hand w[i]th his Gamesters, and that they allwayes went awaye w[i]th [th]e losse

Hee was A verye goodlye person, Tall and singuler well featured, and all his youthe well Favoured, and of A sweet aspect, but high Fore headed, w[hi]ch (as I should take it) was

no discomendac[i]on, But towards his latter end (w[hi]ch w[i]th olde men was but A midle age) hee grewe high Coloured & redd faced, Soe that the Queene in this had much of her Father, & (excepting some of her kindred and some few that had handsome witts in Crooked bodyes) shee allwayes tooke p[er]sonage in the waye of her Elecc[i]on For the people hath it to this daye in A Proverbe / King Henry lived A man / Beeing thus in her Grace shee called to mynde the suffering of his au[n]cest[o]rs both in her Fathers and Sisters Raigne, and restored his and his Brothers Blood, Creating Ambrose, the Elder, Earle of Warwicke and himselfe Earle of Leicester, And hee was *Ex primitijs*, or of her First choyce, Soe he rests not there, but long enjoyed her Favor, and therew[i]th {in rich} what hee listed till Tyme and Emulac[i]on (the Companions of greatnes) had resolved of his period, And to cover him att his setting w[i]th A Clowd att Corneburye, not by soe vyolent A Death and by the Fatall sentence of Iudicature, as that his Fathers and Grand Fathers was. But (as it is suggested) by [th]e poyso[n] w[hi]ch hee had pr[e]pared for others, wherein they report him a rare Artist / I am not bound to give ~~knø~~ Credit to all vulgar Relations, or to the Lybills of his Tymes, w[hi]ch are comonlye Farst and Falsified, Suitable to the Muodes and humours of men in passion and discontent, But that w[hi]ch leads mee to thinke him noe good man is (amongst other of knowne Truth) that of my Lord of Essex his death in Ireland, and the mariag of his Ladye yett living, w[hi]ch I forbear to presse, in regard

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that he is long since dead, & others living who[m] it may concerne

To take him in the observac[i]on of his L[ett]res & writtings, (w[hi]ch should best sett him off) For such as haue fallen into my handes: I never yett sawe A Stile, and Phraise more seeming Religious, and fuller of Straynes of Devotions, And were they not sinceere, I doubt much of his well being, and I maye doubt hee was too well seene in the Aphorismes and principles of Nicholas Florentyne, And in the reaches of Cæsar Borgia, And hitherto I haue onely toucht him in his Cou[r]tship I conclude him in his Lance

Hee was sent governor by the Queene to to the vnited States of Holland, were wee read not of his wonders, For they say hee had more of Marcurie then Mars, And that his devise might haue beene w[i]thout preiudice to the great Cæsar *veni vidi revidi*

His Corivall before menc[i]oned was Thomas Radcliffe Earle of Sussex whoe in his Constillac[i]on was his direct opposite, For he was indeed one of the Queenes Martiallists, and did her very good service in Ireland at her First accession, till shee recalled him to the Courte, where shee made him Lord Cha[m]berlaine but he played not his game w[i]th that cuning and dexteritie, as Leicester did, whoe was much the more faciate Courtier though Sussex was thought much the honester man and farr the better Souldier, but he laye to open in his guard

Hee was A goodlye gent[leman], and of A brave and Noble nature true and constant to his Freindes and Servants, he was allso of A verye Noble and au[n]tient Lenyage, honored through many discents by the Title of Viscounts Fitz=Watters, Moreou[er] there was such an Antiphatye in his nature, to that of Leicesters, That being altogither in Courte, and both in highe Employments They grewe to A direct Fewde, and were in Continuall opposic[i]on, the One setting the watch and the other the sentinell, each on thother Acc[i]ons and motions. For my Lord of Sussex was of A great Spiritt (w[hi]ch backt w[i]th the Queenes speciall Favor

& supported by A great and au[n]tient Inheritance) could not brooke the other empire, In soe much as the Queene vpo[n] Sundrye occasions, had somewhat to doe to appease and attone them, vntill death p[ar]ted the Competic[i]on and lefte the place to Leicester, whoe was not long alone w[i]thout his rivall in grace and Com[m]aund / And to conclude this Favorite it was his Speech to his Freinds Family ors and kindred vpo his Death Bedd

I am now passing into another World, And I must now leave you to yo[u]r Fortunes and to the Queenes Grace and goodnes, but beware of the Gypsye (meaning Leicester) For he will bee to hard for you all, you know not the Beast soe well as I doe /

I nowe come to the next w[hi]ch was Secretarye Will[i]am Cicill, For on the death of the old Marquesse of Winchester, hee came vpp in his roome, A person of most subtile and active Spiritt, whoe thoughe hee Stood not alltogether by waye of Contestac[i]o[n], or making vpp of A partie or Facc[i]on, For hee was whollye intentiue to the Service of his Mi[st]r[ess]. And his dexteritye experience and merritt challenged A Roome in the Queenes Favor, w[hi]ch eclipsed the others overseeming greatnes & made it appeare that there were others whoe Steered and Stood att the helme besides himselfe, and more Starrs in the Firmame[n]t of her grace Then Vrsa Maior or [th]e beare w[i]th [th]e ragged Staffe

Hee was borne as they saye in Lincolne Shire Butt as

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some vpon knowledge Auerre of A you[n]ger Brother of the Cecills of Hertfford Sheire, A Familie (of my owne knowledge) though private, yet of noe meane antiquitie, whoe being exposed and sent to the Cittie (as poore gentlemen vse doe their you[n]ger Sonnes) hee came to be A Rich man on London Bridge, & purchased in Lincolne sheire where this man was borne / Hee was sent too Cambridge, then to the Inns of Courte. And soe came to serue the Duke of Somersett in the Tyme of his Protectorshippe as Secretarye, and hauing A Pregnancye to greate Inclynacons he came by degrees to A higher Conversac[i]on with the Cheefest Affaires of State and Cou[n]cell. But vpon the fall of [th]e Duke, he Stood some yeares in Vmbrage and w[i]thout ymploym[en]t, till the State found and needed his abillities / And though wee find not that he was taken into anye place During Queene Maryes Raigne, vnlesse as some haue said / towards the last / yet [th]e cou[n]cell on severall Tymes made vse of him, and in the Queenes entrance he was admitted Secretarye of State: Afterwards he was made M[aste]r of the Courte of Wards, the Lord Tr[reasur]er, A parson of most Exelent quallities and abillities, And indeed the Q[ueen] began then to want and seeke out men of both garbs, And soe I conclude and ranke this great Instrum[en]t of State amongst the Togati/ For he had not to doe w[i]th the Sword, more then [th]e great pay M[aste]r and contriver of the Warr w[hi]ch shortlye followed, wher in he accomplished much through his Theoricall knowledge at home, and his intelligence abroad, by vnlockinge the Cou[n]cells of the Queenes Enemies

Wee must nowe take it (and that for Truthe) into observac[i]on, that vntill the xth of her Raigne {} her Tymes were calme & serene though sometimes A litle overcast / as the most glorious Sunrising are subiect to shaddowings and droppings, for [th]e Clouds of Spaine and vapours of the holye league began then to disperse and threaten her Felicitie, Moreover shee was then to provide against some Intestine Stormes, w[hi]ch began to gather in [th]e very hearte of her kingdome, all w[hi]ch haue A relac[i]on and correspo[n]dencye each w[i]th

the other to disthroane her, and to disturbe [th]e publique tranquillitie, and there w[i]th all (as A Principall Marke) the Established Religion For the name of Recusant began then, and first to be knowne to the world, And vntill then the Catholiques were noe more then Church Papists, But now comau[n]ded by the Popes expresse L[ett]rers to appeare and forbear Church going, as they tendered their holye Father, and the Romaine holye Catholique Church their Mother / Soe that it seemes the Pope had then his Aymes to make A true muster of his Children / But [th]e Queene had the greater advantage, For she likewise tooke Tale of her Appostate Subiects, their Strength and how manye there were had had given vpp their names to {B~all}, whoe then by [th]e hands of some of his Proselites, Fixed his Bulls on the Gates of Paules, w[hi]ch discharged her Subiects of all Fidelitie, and layd seige to the Receiued Faithe, And soe vnder the Vayle of the next Successor, to replant the Catholique Religion / Soe that then the Queene had A newe Taske and worke in hand that might well awake her providence, and required A muster of men of Armes as well

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as Courtshipps and Councells, For the Tyme then beganne to growe quicke and actiue, fitter for Stronger Motions then those of the Carpett and measure, And it will be A true note of her Magnaminitie, That shee loved A Soldier, and had a propention in her nature to regard and allwaies to grace them w[hi]ch the Courtiers taking into their Cō<sup>ob</sup>seder<sup>v</sup>ac[i]on, tooke it as an Invitac[i]on to wynn honor, together w[i]th their Mi[st]r[ess] Favor by exposing themselves to the Warrs, especialye when the Q[ueen] and the affaires of the kingdome Stood in some necessitie of the Soldier (For wee haue manye Instances of the sallyes of the Nobillitie and gentrye yea and out of the Courte, and of her prime Favorites) that had anye touch or Tincture of Mars in their inclinac[i]ons, and to Steale away w[i]thout lycence or the Queenes privitye) w[hi]ch had like to haue cost some of the[m] deere, soe pr[e]dominant were their thoughts and hopes of honor growne in them, and as wee maye truelie observe in the Eruptions of S[i]r Phillipp Sidney, The Lord of Essex, Mountioy and oth[er]s, whose absence and the manner of their erupc[i]ons was very detestable vnto her / whereof I can heerevnto add a true, and noe Imp[er]tin[en]t Storye And that of the last

Mountioy whoe haueing twice or thrice Stolne away into Brittanie, where vnder S[i]r Iohn Norris he had then A Co[m]panye, without the Queenes leave or privitye, Shee sente A Messenger vnto him, w[i]th a Strict charge to the generall to see him sent home / when he came into the Queenes pr[e]sence, shee fell into A kinde of reuyling demau[n]ding how hee durst goe over w[i]th out her leave, serve mee soe (quoth shee) any more, and I will laye you fast enough for runing / you will never leave vntill you are knockt o'th head, as that inconsiderate fellow Sidney was, you shall goe when I send you / In the meane tyme see that you lodge in the Courte (w[hi]ch was then at Whithall) where you maye followe yo[u]r Booke and read and discourse of Warrs /

But to our purpose, It fell out happilye in those, & (as I maye saye) to these Tymes, That the Queene, during [th]e calmes of her raigne, was not idle nor Rockt A Sleepe w[i]th security for shee had beene very provident in the Rep[ar]acon and augme[n]ta con of her Shipping and munition, And I knowe not whether by A foresight of pollicie, on an Instinct it came about, or wheth[er] it was an Acte of her owne Compassion / But it is certeine she sent Levyes and noe small Troopes to the assistance of [th]e Re volted States of Holland, before shee

had receiued any affront from the king of Spaine, that might deserue or tend to a breach or hostilitie, w[hi]ch the papist to this daye mainetaine, was the provocac[i]on and Cause of the after Warrs But omittinge what might be said to this pointe, Those Netherland Warrs were the Queenes Seminaryes and Nurseryes of very many brave Souldiers, And soe were like th wise the Civill warrs of Fraunce / whither shee sent 5 severall Armies / the FenceSchooles that Invred the youth and gallantrye of the kingdome, And it was A Militia wherein they were daylye in acquaintance w[i]th the discipline of the Spaniards whoe were then turnd the Queenes inveterate Enemies

And thus I haue taken into observac[i]on her *Dies*

*Halcionæ*

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*Halcionæ* Those yeeres of hers that were more serene & quiett, then those that followed, w[hi]ch though they were not lesse propitious, as being touched more w[i]th the pointe of honnor and Victorie, yett were they troubled and overclowed ever with Domesticke and Forraigne Machinacons. And (as itt is alreadye quoted) they were such as awakened her Servants & made her to cast about to defend rather by Offending, And by Waye of diversion to pr[e]vent all Invasions, then to expect the[m] w[hi]ch was A Peece of Cuning of the Tymes, And w[i]th this I haue noted the Causes a Principia, of the Warrs following & likewise pointed to the Seed Plott[es] from whence shee tooke vpp those braue men and plants of honor w[hi]ch acted on the Theater of Mars, & on whom shee disperst the Rayes of her grace w[hi]ch were p[er]sonns (in their kindes) of rare Vertues And such as might (out of the height of merritt) pr[e]tend interest in her Favor, of w[hi]ch ranke [th]e nu[m]b[er] will equall (if not exceed) that of the Gown men, In recount of whom I proceed w[i]th S[i]r Phillip Sydney

Hee was the Sonne of Henry Sydney Lo[rd] Deputie of Ireland and President of Wales, A person of great parts, and in noe meane grace w[i]th the Queene, His Mother was Sister to my Lord of Leicester, from whom wee maye coniecture how the Father Stood vpp in place of honor and imployment, soe [tha]t his discent was apparentlye Noble on both sydes, And for his Educac[i]on it was such as travell and the vniversities could afforde and his Tutors infuse, For after an incredible p[ro]ficiencie in all the Species of learning, he left the Academicall life, for that of the Court, whether he came by his Vncles Invitac[i]on framed aforehand by A noble report of his accomplishm[en]t[es], w[hi]ch together w[i]th the State of his person framed by A naturall p[ro]p[er]n[ci]on to Armes, he soone attracted the good opinion of all men & was soe highlie prised in the Esteeme of the Queene, that she thought the Courte deficient w[i]thout him, And whereas (throughe the Fame of his desert) he was in election For the Kingdome of Pole / shee refused to further his pr[e]ferm[en]t, not in emulac[i]on of his advancem[en]t, but out of Feare to loose the Iewell of her tyme, Hee married the daughter and sole heire of S[i]r Frauncis Walsingham then Secretarye of State / a Ladye destined to the Bed of Honor, whoe / after his deplorable Death at Zutphen in the Lowe Countreyes where he was governor of Vulshing, & att the Tyme of his Vncle Leicesters being there, was maryed to my Lord of Essex, And since his death to my Lord of St Albanes all persons of the Sword and otherwise of great honor & vertue

They haue A verye quaint and factious Figment of him, That Mars and Mercurye fell at Varyence whose servant he should bee, And there is an Epigramatest that saith, that Art and

nature had spent their Excellencie in his Fashioning, & fearing they could not end what they had begun, they bestowe[n] him on Fortune, And nature Stood mute and amased to see her owne worke, But these are the Petulances of Poetts Certaine it is that hee was A Noble and Matchlesse Gent[leman] And it maye be iustlye saide of him (w[i]thout the Hyp[er]bolyes of Fiction) as it was of Cato *vtinensis*, that he seemed

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to be borne to that onely he went about, versatalis Ingenij as Phutrach hath it, But to speake more of him were to make him lesse

SirFrauncis Walsingham (as wee haue said) had the honor to bee S[i]r Phillip Sidneyes Father in Lawe, Hee was A gent[leman] at First of A good house, but of A better Educacion, and from the vniversitie travelled for the rest of his learning, Hee was doubtles the onely linguist of his Tymes, but knew best howe to vse his owne tongue / hereby he came to be employed in the cheefest affaires of State / Hee was sent Ambassador into Fraunce, and Staied there Leiger long in the heate of the Civill Warrs, and att the same Tyme that Mounseur was heere A Suitor to the Queene / And if I bee not mistaken, hee played the verye same parte there as since Gondamore did heere, Att his returne hee was taken in Principall Secretarye and for one of the great Engynes of State and of the Tymes, high in the Queenes Favor, and a watch full Servant over the safetie of his M[ist]r[i]s , They note him to haue had certeine curiosities and secrett wayes of Intelligence aaboue the rest / But I must confesse I aam to seeke wherefore hee Suffered Parrey to playe soe long as hee did w[i]th the hooke, be fore hee hoysed him vpp, and I haue bine a litle curious in the search thereof though I haue not to doe w[i]th the *Arcana regalia Imperij*, For to knowe is sometymes A Burden, And I remember it was *Ovids Crimen aut Error*, That he sawe too much, But I hope these are Collateralis of noe dainger

But that Parrye hauing an intent to kill the Queene made the waye of his accesse by betraying of others, & impeaching of the Preists of his owne Correspondencye, and thereby had accesse and conference w[i]th the Queene (and oftentimes Familiar and private discourse w[i]th Walsingham) will not be the quære of the misterye, For the Secretarye might haue had Ends of discoverye on A further maturitye of Treason But that after the Queene knew Parryes Intent, whye shee should then Admitt him to private discourse and Walsingham to suffer it (considering the Condic[i]on of all Asassines) and to permitt him to goe where and whether hee listed, and o[n]lye on the securitie of A Darke sentinell sett over him, was A peece of reache and hazard beyond my Appr[e]hension, I must againe p[ro]fesse, that I haue read many of his L[ett]res (for they are com[m]on) sent to my Lord of Leicester and Burleigh out of Fraunce, conteyning manye true passages and secretts, yet if I might haue been behoulding to his Cyphers (whereof they were full) They would haue told prettye tales But I must close him vpp and rancke him amongst the Togati, yet cheiffe of those that layd the Foundac[i]on of the French & Dutch warrs, w[hi]ch was another peece of his Fynesse and of the Tymes, w[i]th one observac[i]on more / That he was one of the great allayes of the Austrean embracem[en]t[es], For both himself and Stafford that pr[e]ceded him might well haue been co[m]pared to the Feind in the Gospell, that sowed his teares in the night, Soe did they their Seedes of division in the darke, And it is A liklye report they Father of him at his returne, That [th]e Queene said vnto him w[i]th some sensibilitie of [th]e Spanish

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designes in Fraunce / Maddam I beesech you be content and Feare not, The Spaniard hath A great Appetite, & an excellent digestion, But I haue fitted him w[i]th A bone for these 20: yeeres, that yo[u]r Ma[jes]tye shaall haue noe cause to doubt him, provided that if the Fire chance to slake w[hi]ch I haue kindled, you wilbe ruled by mee, and nowe and then cast on some of yo[u]r English Fuell which will revive the Flame

My Lord Willoughby was one of the Queenes First sworde men, hee was of the au[n]tient extract of the Bartewes, But more honorable by his mother, whoe was the dutches of Suffolke /

Hee was A great M[aste]r of the Art Millitarye and was sent generall into Fraunce, and Comaunded the Second Army of Five that the Queene had sent thither in Ayde of the Frenche I heard it spoken, That had he not sleighted the Courte, butt applyed him selfe to the Queene, hee might haue enioyed A plentifull porcion of her grace, And itt was his saying (and it did him noe good) That he was none of the Reptillia, Intimatinge That he could not creepe on the ground, and that the Cou[r]te was not his Element, For indeed, as he was A great Souldier, Soe was hee of A suitable magnamiminitie, and could not brooke the obsequiousnes and assiduitie of the Courte, and as he was then somewhat descending from youth, happliyee hee had an *Animam reuerendi*, and to make a safe retreat /

And nowe I come to another of the Togati Sir: Nicholas Bacon, an Arch Peece of witt and wisdome / Hee was a gent[leman] and A man of Lawe, and of great knowledge therein, whereby together w[i]th his after p[ar]te of learning and dexterity, Hee was promoted to be keeper of the greate Seale, and being of kine to the Treasurer Burleighe, had allsoe the helpe of his hand to bringe him into the Queenes great Favor For he was abundantlye facetious, w[hi]ch tooke much w[i]th the Queene, when it was suted w[i]th the Season, as he was well able to iudge of his Tymes, hee had a verye quaint saying, and hee vsed if often to good purpose, That he loved the iest well, but not the losse of his Freinde / he would saye that thoughe hee knewe That *vnusquisque suæ fortunæ favor*, was A true & good Principle, yett the most in number were those [tha]t marrs themselves, But I will never forgiue that man that looseth himselfe to be ridd of his iest

Hee was Father to that refyned witt, w[hi]ch since hath acted a disasterous parte on the publique Stage, and of late sate in his Fathers Roome as Lord Chancellor, Those that lived in his Age, and from whence I haue taken this little Moddell of him, gives him A lively Character, and they decypher him for another Solon, and the Synon of those Tymes, such A one as able Instrum[en]t, And it was his Comendac[i]on that his head was the Maull (for it was a very great one) and therein he kept the wedge, that entred all knottyee peeces that came to [th]e table, And now I must againe fall backe to smooth and plaine away to the rest that is behinde but not from my purpose

There were about this Tyme Two Ryvalls in the Queenes

Favour

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Favour old S[i]r Frauncis Knowles Comptroller of [th]e House And S[i]r Henry Norris, whom shee had called vpp at Parlyament, to sitt w[i]th the Peeres in the higher house, as Lo[rd] Norris of Piccott whoe had Married the daughter and heire of the old Lord Willams of Tame,

a Noble person, and to whom in the Queenes adversitie, shee had bene Comitted to safe Custody, and from him had receiued more then ordinarye observac[i]ons

Now such was the goodnes of the Queenes nature, [tha]t shee neither Forgott the good turnes receiued from [th]e Lord Willams neither was shee vnmindfull of this Lord Norris whose Fath[er] in her Fathers Tyme, and in the busynes of her Mother, dyed in A Noble Cause & in the Iustificac[i]on of her Innocencye

My Lord Norris had by his Ladye an Ample yssue, w[hi]ch the Queene highlye respected, For he had Six Sonnes and all Martiall and brave men / The First it was Will[i]am his eldest and Father to the late Earle of Berksheire, S[i>r] Iohn Vulgarlye called Generall Norris, S[i>r] Edward, S[i>r] Thomas S[i>r] Henrye, and Maximilian, men of haughtie Courrage, & of great experience in the Conduct of Militarye affaires, And to speake in the Charecter of their Merritt, They were persons of such Renowne and worth, as future Tymes must out of duetie owe them the debt of an honorable memorye /

Sir Frauncis Knowles was somewhat of the Queenes affinitie, and had likewise noe incompetent yssue, For hee had allsoe William his eldest, and Since Earle of Banburye S[i>r] Thomas, S[i>r] Robert and S[i>r] Frau[n]cis , If I be not a litle mistake[n] in their names, and their marshalling / And there was allsoe the Ladye Lettice A Sister of theise, whoe was First Cou[n]tis of Essex and after of Leicester, and those were allsoe brave men in their Tymes and places / But they were of the Courte & Carpett, & not led by the Genius of the Campe

Betweene these two Families, there was (as it falleth out amongst great ones once Competitors of Favor) noe great Correspondencie, And there were some Seeds eith[er] of emulatio[n] of distrust cast betweene them, w[hi]ch (had they not been disioyned in the residence of their p[er]sonns, as that was the Fortune of their Employ[men]t[es] (the one Syde attending the Courte, The other the Pavilion) Surelye they would haue broken out into some kind of hostilitye, or at least they would haue Introyned & Rastled one in the other. like Trees cyrcled w[i]th Ivey, For there was A Tyme that both these Fraternities beeing mett att Courte, when there passed A Challeng betweene them at certaine exercises / The Queene and the old man being Spectators, w[hi]ch ended in A Flatt quarrell amongst them all, And I am p[er]swaded (though I ought not to Iudge) that there were some Reli ques of this fewd, that were long after the Causes of one Familyes (allmost vtter) exterpac[i]on, and of the other in p[ro]sp[er]itie, For it was a knowne Truthe, That soe long as my Lord of Leicester lived, whoe was tha mayne pillar on the one syde, as hauing marryed the Sister (none of the other syde tooke any deepe rooting in the Courte) though other

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wise they made their waye to honor by their Swoordes, And that w[hi]ch is of more Noate (Considering my Lord of Leicesters vse of men of Armes) being shortlye after sent governor to the Revolted States and noe Souldier himselve / is that hee made noe more accompt of S[i>r] Iohn Norris A Souldier then deseruedly famoused, and trained from A page vnder the discipline of the greatest Captaine in Christendome, the Admirall Castilion And of Comaund in the French and Dutch Warres allmost 20 yeers

It is of Further observac[i]on, That my Lord of Essex after Leicesters decease Thoughte Initiated to Armes, and honored by the generall in the Portugalls Expedition, whether out of



Instigac[i]on (and as it hath bene thought) or out of Ambition and Iealiousie to be Eclipsed and over Shadowed by the Fame & Splender of this greate Comaunder / never loved him in sen ceritie / Moreover, and certaine it is, he not onlye Crusht, and vpon all occasions queld the growth of this brave man & his Famous Bretheren / But therew[i]th drewe on his owne fatall End / by vndertaking the Irish Acc[i]on, in a Tyme when he left the Courte Emptye of Freindes, and full fraught with his profest Enemies, But I forbare to extend my selfe in any Further Relac[i]on vpon this Subiect, as hauing left some notes of Truthe on theis Two Noble Families, w[hi]ch I would pr[e]sent & therew[i]th touch somewhat w[hi]ch I would not (if the Equitie of the Narrac[i]on would haue admitted an omission

Sir Iohn Parret was A goodlye Gent[leman], and of [th]e sword, and he was of A very au[n]tient discent / as an heire to many extracts of Gentrye, espetically from Guy de Bryan of Lowherne / Soe was he of A Vast Estate / and came not to the Courte for want / And to these {adnments} he had [th]e indowme[n]ts of Courage, and high of Spiritt / had he lighted on [th]e allay and temper of discretion, The defect whereof w[i]th A natiue Freedome and boldnes of Speech, drew him on to A Clowded setting, and layd him open to the Spleene and advantage of his Enemies amongst whom S[i]r Christopher Hatton was p[ro]fest, Hee was yet A wise man And A brave Courtier, but roughe and p[ar]ticipating more of Actiue then sedentary Motions, as being in his installac[i]on destinated For Armes, There is a quærie of some denotac[i]on, howe he came to receive the Foyle, and that in the Catastrophre, For he was Strengthened with honorable allyances. and the prime freindshipps in Courte, my Lord of Leicesters and Burleiges both his Contemporayes and Familiars, But that there might bee (as the addage hath itt) Falsitie in Freindshipp, And wee may rest satisfyed [tha]t there is noe dispute against Fate

And they quote him for A person that loved to Stand too much alone, and on his owne leggs of too often recessed & discontinuance from the Queenes pr[e]sence, A Fault which is incompatible w[i]th the wayes of Courte and Favor He was sent Lord Deputie into Ireland as it was then appr[e]hended, For a kind of haughtines in spiritt and repugnancye, in Causes or as others haue thought the fittest person then to bridle insole[n]cy of the Irish And probale it is, that both theise considering

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the swaye [tha]t hee would haue at the Bord and had in the Queens Favour, concured and did A litle conspire his remove, and his Ruyne / But into Ireland he went, where he did the Queene { } very great and many services, if the surplusage of the measure did not abate the value of the merritt, as after Tymes found that to be noe paradoxe, For to saue the Queenes Parte (w[hi]ch both her selfe and my Lord Tr[easur]er Burleighe ever tooke for good services / hee imposed on the Irish the Charge of bearing their owne Armes, w[hi]ch both gave them the possession, and taught them the vse of weapons, w[hi]ch proved in the End to A most Fatall worke, both in the p[ro]fusion of Blood and Treasure

But at his returne, and on some accompt sent home before, touching the Estate of that kingdome, The Queene powred out assiduuous Testimonyes of her grace towards him, till by his retreat to his Castle of Carry where he was then building, and out of A desire to be in comaund at home (as he had bine abroad) together w[i]th the hatred and practise of Hatton, then in high favor, whoe not long before hee had too bitterlye taunted for his dau[n]cing,

he was accused of high Treason, and for high wordes, and a Forged L[ett]re condemned / Though the Queene on the newes of his Condemnation, Swore by her wonted oathe, That the Iurye were all knaves, And they deliu[er]d it w[i]th assurance that on his returne to the Tower after his Tryall, he said w[i]th Oathes and in Furye, to the Lieutenant S[i>r Owen Hopton, what will the Queene suffer her Brother to be Offered vpp as a Sacrifice to the Envye of my frisking Adversaryes. w[hi]ch being made know[n]e to the Queene, and the warrant for his execuc[i]on tendered & some what enforced, She refused to signe it, and swore hee should not dye, For he was an honest and A Faithfull man, And surelye (though not alltogether to sett vp one rest and Faithe vpon tradicons and vpon old reports) as that S[i>r Tho[mas] Parrett His Father was A gent[leman] of the privye Chamber to H[enry]: 8: and in the Courte married A Ladye of great honor of the Kings Familiaritie, w[hi]ch are presumptuous in some implicac[i]on, Butt if wee goe A litle Further and compare his picture, his quallities Gesture and voyce, with that of the Kings, w[hi]ch memory retaynes yett amongst vs, they will plead Stronglye that hee was A Subreptious Child of the Blood royall

Certaine it is hee lived not long in the Tower, And that after his deceasse / S[i>r Thomas Parrett his Sonne (then of noe meane Esteeme w[i]th the Queene) hauing before maryed my Lo[r]d of Essex Sister, Since Cou[n]tisse of Northumberland, had restituc[i]on of his Bloud, though after his deathe allsoe (w[hi]ch imedi atelye followed) The Crowne resumed the Estate and tooke advantage of the Former Attainder, And to saye the Truth, The Preests Forged letter was att his arraignem[en]t thought but as Fiction of Envye, and was soone after explead by the Preists owne Confession.

But that w[hi]ch most exasperated the Queene and gaver advantage to his Enemies, was (as S[i>r Walter Raleigh takes into his observac[i]on / wordes of disdaine, For the Queene by Sharpe and reprehensiu L[ett]res had netled him, & there vpon sending others of Approbac[i]on, Commending his Service &

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Intimating an Invacion From Spaine, w[hi]ch he noe sooner pervsed, but he said publiquey in the great Chamb[er] at Dublyne, Loe now shee is readye to pisse herselfe for Feare of the Spaniard, I am againe one of her White Boyes, wordes which are subiect to valious construcc[i]on, and tended to some disreputac[i]on of his Sovereigne, And such as maye serve for Instrucc[i]on to persons in place of honor and co[m]maund, to beware of the vyolences of nature, espetiallye the exorbitances of the tongue, And soe I conclude him w[i]th this double observac[i]on, The one of the Innocencie of his Intenc[i]ons / exempt and cleere from the guilt of Treason and disloyaltie / The other of the greatnesse of his heart, For at his arraignem[en]t he was soe litle deiected, w[i]th what might be alleaged and proved against him, That rather he grewe troubled w[i]th Choller, and in A kind of exaspirac[i]o[n] dispised the Iurye (though of the Order of knighthod and of the spetiall gentrye) clayming the priviledge of tryall by the Peeres and Baronage of the Realme, Soe pr[e]valant was [tha]t of his natue Genius and the haaughtines of his Spirritt, w[hi]ch accompanied him to his last, And till w[i]thout any diminuc[i]on of Courage, it brake in Peeeces the Cordes of his Magnaminy For he dyed Sodainely in the Tower, and when it was thought [th]e Queene did intend his Enlargm[en]t w[i]th the restituc[i]ons of his possessions, w[hi]ch were then very great & comparable to [th]e most of [th]e Nobillity

Sir Christopher Hatton came into the Courte (as his opposite, S[i]r Iohn Parrett was wont to saye) by the Galyard, for hee came thither as A private Gent[leman] of the Inns of Courte in A maske, and for his Activitie and person w[hi]ch wass tall and p[ro]porconable, taken into her Favor, hee was First made ViceChamberlaine, and shortly after advanced to the place of Lord Chancellor, A gent[leman] that (besydes the graces of his person and dauncing) had allsoe the v addition of a strong and subtile capacitye, one that could soone learne the discipline and garbe both of the Tymes and Courte, The truthe is hee had a larg p[ro]porc[i]on of Guifts and Endowm[en]t[es]. But to much of the Season of envye, and he was A meere Vegetable of the Courte, that sprang vpp at night and sancke againe at his Noone

My Lord of Effingame, Though A Courtier betimes, yett I finde not that the Sunshine of her Favour brooke out vppon him, vntill shee tooke him into the Shipp, and made him Highe Admirall of England, For his extract it might suffice that he was the sonne of A Howard and a Duke of Norffolke

And For his person A goodlye Gent[leman] and the Tymes had anye, if nature had not been more attentive to compleate his person, then Fortune to make him ritch, For the Tymes co[n]sidered (w[hi]ch were then actiue) and A long Tyme after lucratiue, he dyed not wealthie, yet the honester man, though it seemes the Queenes purpose, was to tender the Occasion of his Advancem[en]t, and too make him Capable of more honor, w[hi]ch at his returne fro[m] the Cadize Acc[i]on shee co[n]ferred vpon him creating him Earle of Nottingham, to the great discontent of his Colleague my Lord of Essex, whoe then grew excessiue in the appetite of his Favour, and the Truthe was, soe exorbitant in the Lymitac[i]on of [th]e Sou[er]aig[n] aspect / that it much alienated the Queenes grace from him &

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drew others together, w[i]th the Admirall to a Combinac[i]on and to conspire his Ruyne, And though as I haue heard it fro[m] that p[ar]tie (I meane the Admiralls Faction) That it laye not in his proper power to hurt my Lord of Essex, yet he had more fellowes, and such as were well skilled in setting of the Gynn. But I leave this to those of another Age

It is out of doubt That the Admirall was A good honest & brave man, and A Faithfull servant to his M[ist]ris, And such A one as the Queene, out of her owne princelye Iudgm[en]t knewe to be A fitt instrument For her Service, For shee was noe ill p[ro]ficient in the reading of men, as well as bookes, and his Sundry expedic[i]o[n]s as that aforemenc[i]oned and 88: doth expresse his worth & manifest the King<sup>Queen</sup>s Trust, and the opinion shee had of his Fidilitie & co[n]duct, Moreover the Howards were of the Queenes allyance and Consanguinitie by her Mother, w[hi]ch swayed her affection and bent it towards this great house, and it was a p[ar]te of her naturall propenc[i]on to grace and support au[n]tient Nobillitie, where itt did not intrench neither invade her Interest For on such trespasses shee was quicke and tender, and would not spare any w[ha]t soever, as wee maye obserue in the Case of the Duke and my Lo[rd] of Hertfford whom shee much favoured & countynau{r}'ct till they attempted the forbidden Fruite The Fault of the Last being in [th]e Seveerest interpr[e]tac[i]on but A trespass of encroachment, But in the First it was taken for a Royott against the Crowne and her owne soveraigne power, and as I haue ever thought, th cause of her aversion against the rest of that house, and the Dukes great Father in Lawe Fitz=Allen Earle of Arundell, a person of the First rancke in her Affections, before these and some other Jeali osyes made

A sep[er]ac[i]on betweene them, This noble Lord, and Lord Thomas Howard since Earle of Suffolke standing alone in her grace, The rest in her Vmbrage

SirIohn Packington was A Gent[leman] of noe meane Familie, and of Forme and Feature noe wayes dispiseable, For hee was a brave Gent[leman] and A verye fine Courtier, And for the Tyme w[hi]ch he stayed there (w[hi]ch was not lasting) very highe in her grace, but he came in and out, and through disassidueritie drew [th]e Cu[r]taine betweene himselfe and the light of her grace, and then death over whelmed the Remnant and vtterlye deprived him of recovery And they saye of him That had he brought lesse to the Court then hee did, he might haue carryed awaye more then he brought, for he had A Tyme on't but all husband of oppertunitie

MyLorde of Hunsdoun was of the Queenes neerest kindred, & on [th]e decease of Sussex, both he and his Sonne successivelye tooke the place of Lo[rd] Chamberlaine / hee was A fast man to his Prince, and Firme to his Freindes and Servants, And though he might speake bigg, and therein would be borne out, yett was he not the more dreadfull, but lesse harmefull, and farr from the practise of my Lord of Leicesters Instructions, for hee was downe right, and I haue heard those that both knewe him well, & had interest in him, saye merrilye of him, That his Lattine and dissimulac[i]on were both alike, & that his Custome of swearing & obscenitie in speaking, made him seeme a worse Christian then he was, and A better knight of the Carpett then he could be, As hee lived in A ruffling Tyme, soe he loued sword and buckler men, and such as o[u]r Fathers were wont to call men of their hand[es], of w[hi]ch he had many brave gent[lemen] that followed him, yet not taken For a

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populer or daungerous p[er]son, And this is one that stood amongst the Togati, of an honest Stout heart, and such A one as vppo[n] occasion would haue fought for his prince and his Countrye, For he had [th]e Cha[r]ge of the Q[ueen]s p[er]son both in the Court & in [th]e Campe at Tylburye

SirWalter Raleigh was one that it seemes Fortune had pickt out of purpose, of whom to make an Example, as or to vse as her Tennis Ball / therefore ro shewe what she could doe, For she tost him vpp of nothing, and to and froe to greatnes, & fro[m] thence dou[n]e to litle more then [tha]t wherein shee found him, a bare gent[leman], not [tha]t hee was lesse, For hee was well discended and of good Allyance, but poore in his begining / And For my Lord of Oxffords iest of him, For the Iacks and vpstart, wee all knew it favoured more of Emulac[i]on and his humor, then of Truthe, And it is A certeine noate of [th]e Tymes, that the Queene in her choyce never tooke into her Favor a more newe man or A Machanick as Comines observes of Lewis [th]e 11: who who did serve himselfe w[ith] p[er]sons of Vnknowne parents, such as new were Oliver the Barker, whom he treated Earle of Du[n]joys and made him ex secretis consillijs & alone in his Favor & Familiaritye

His approches to the vniversitie & Inns of Courte were the grounds of his Improvem[en]t, but they were rather excursions then Seeges or sittings downe, For he stayed not long in A place, & being the youngest brother, and the house deminisht in its Patrimonye , Hee foresawe his owne destinye, that he was first to rolle / through want, and disabillitie to subsist otherwise before he could come to repose, and as the Stone doth by long lying <sup>to</sup> gather Mosse / He first

exposed himselfe to the Land Service in Ireland, a Militia w[hi]ch then did not afford him Food and Rayment (For it was every verye poore) nor patient to Staye long there / though shortly after hee came thith[e]r againe vnder the Com[m]aund of my Lord Grey (but w[i]th his owne Colors Flying in the Feildes) hauing in the Intrim cast a new chance, both in the lowe Cou[n]tryes, and in A Voyage to Sea, And if ever man drew vertue out of necessitie it was hee, and therew[i]th was hee the greate example of Industrie, And though he might haue taken [tha]t of [th]e Marchant to himselfe *per Mare per terras currit mercator ad indos*, hee might allsoe haue had that Truth with the Philosopher *Omnia mea mecum porto*, For it was A longe Tyme before hee could bragg of more then he carryed at his backe, And when hee gott on the Winning Syde, it was his Com[m]endacons [tha]t hee tooke paines for itt, & vnd[er]went many various adventures for his after perfecc[i]on, and before hee came into the publique note of [th]e world / *per varios cæsus pertot ad Crumina verum* Not pulled vp by Chance, or by any gentle Admittance of Fortune, I will breifflye declare his natiue p[ar]ts, and those of his owne acquiring, which were the hopes of his rying

Hee had in the outward man a good pr[e]sence in A handsome and well compacted person, A Strong Naturall witt, And A better Iudgm[en]t, w[i]th A bould and plausible Tongue, whereby hee could sett out his p[ar]ts to the best Advantage, And to those hee had the adiuncts of some generall learning, w[hi]ch by deligence he in forct to A great augmentac[i]on & perfecc[i]on, For he was an Indefatagall Reader whether by Sea or Land, and none of the least observer both of Men and Tymes, And I am somewhat p[er]fident, [tha]t among the Second Causes of his growth. That varyance betweene him and my Lo[r]d Grey Generall, in his Second discent into Ireland was A principall, For it drew them both over to the Councell Table, there to plead their owne cause, where w[ha]t advantage hee had in the Case in Controu[er]sy, I knowe not, But hee had much [th]e bett[e]r in the Manner of telling his tale, in soe much as the Queene and the Lords tooke noe sleight marke of the Man & his p[ar]ts, For from thence he came to be knowne, and to haue accesse to the Queene and

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the Lords, And then we we are not to doubt, how much A will complie and learne the waye to progression, And whether or noe my Lord of Leicester had then cast in A good word for him to the Q[ueen], w[hi]ch would haue done him noe harme, I doe not determine But true it is hee had gotten the Queenes Eare in a tryce, and shee began to be taken w[i]th his elocuc[i]on, and loved to heare his reasons to her demaunds, and the Truth is, shee tooke him For a kind of Oracle, w[hi]ch netled them all, yea those [tha]t he relyed on begann to take this his Soddaine Favor for an alarum and to be sensible of their owne Supplicac[i]on and to reiect his, w[hi]ch made him shortly after sing, Fortune my foe &c. Soe that Finding his Favor declyning, and falling into A recesse, hee vndertooke A new p[er]igrinac[i]on to leave [th]e *terra infirma* of the Courte, for [tha]t of the Warrs And by delyning himselfe, and by absence, to expell his and the passion of his Enemies, w[hi]ch in Court was A newe Device of recovery but hee then knew there were some ill Office done him that hee durst not attempt to amend by any other waye then by going A Syde, thereby to teach Envye A newe waye to forgetfullnes, and not soe much as to thinke of him, howsoever he had it allwayes in Mynd never to forgett himselfe , And his device tooke so well, That in his returne hee came in (as Rams doe by going backward) w[i]th the greater Strength, and soe continued to her last great in her grace, and Captaine of the Guard, where I must leave him, but w[i]th this observac[i]on, That though

he gamed much at the Court, yett he tooke it not out of the Exchequor, or meereleye out of [th]e Queenes Purse, but by his witt, and by the helpe of the Prerogatiue, For the Q[ueen] was never p[ro]fuse in delivering out of her Treasure, but paid monye and most of her Servants p[ar]te in mony and the rest w[i]th grace, w[hi]ch, as the Case stood, was then taken for good payment, leaving the arreare of Recompence due to their Merritt to her great Successor w[hi]ch paid the[m] all w[i]th advantage /

Sir Foulke Greuill Since Lord Brooke, had noe meane place in her Favor neither did he hold itt for any Short Tyme or Tearme, For if I be not deceived, hee had the longest lease and the Smoothest tyme w[i]thout rubbs of any of her Favorites, Hee came to the Courte in his youth and prime (as that is [th]e Tyme or never) hee was a brave Gent[leman] and honorably desended fro[m] Willoughby Lord Brooke, and Admirall of H[enry] 7: neith[e]r illiterate, for he was, as he would often p[ro]fesse, A Freinde of S[i>r] Phillipp Sydnye, and there are of his now extant, some Fragments of his pen, and of the Tymes, w[hi]ch doe interest him into the Muses, & w[hi]ch shewes the Queenes Election had ever A noble Conduct and it motions more of vertue & Iudgm[en]t then of Fancye /

I Finde that he neither sought For nor obtained any great place of pr[e]ferrm[en]t during all the Tyme of his attendants, neith[e]r did hee neede itt, For he came thither backt w[i]th A plentifull Fortune, w[hi]ch (as himselfe was woont to saye) was the better held together by A sing<sup>l</sup>e liffe, wherein hee lived and dyed, a constant Courtier, and of the Ladyes

MyLord of Essex (as S[i>r] Iohn Wooten A gent[leman] of great p[ar]ts and p[ar]tlye of his Tyme and retenue obserues) had his intro duc[i]on by my Lord of Leicester, whoe had married his Mother, a tye of affinitie) w[hi]ch besydes A more vrgent obligac[i]on, might haue invited his care to advance / his Fortunes being then (and through his Fathers infilicitie) growne lowe / But that [th]e Sonne of A Lord Ferris of Charley, viscount Herefford and Earle of Essex (whoe was of the au[n]tient Nobillitie and Formerly

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of the Queenes good grace) could not haue A Roome in her Favor w[i]thout the Assistance of Leicester, was beyond the Rule of her Nature, w[hi]ch (as I haue elsewhere taken into observac[i]on) was ever inclinable to Favor [th]e Nobillitie / Sure it is that he noe sooner appeared in Courte, but hee tooke w[i]th the Queene and the Cou[r]tyers, And I beleeeve they all could not choose but looke through [th]e sacrifice of the Father on his living Sonne, whose Image, by the Remembranc[es] repr[e]sented to the Courte, and offered vpp as A saeriffee subiecte of Compassion to all the Kingdome.

There was in this young Lord (together w[i]th A most goodly person) A kinde of Vrbanitie or innated Curtesie, w[hi]ch both wonne the Queene, and too much tooke vpe the people to gaze on the new addopted Sonne of her Favor And as I goe along, it were not amisse, to take into observac[i]on two notable quotacons

The First was A Vyolent Indulgence of the Queene (which is incident to old age) where it encou[n]ters w[i]th A pleasinge and suitable obiect toward[es] this great Lord, [th]e w[hi]ch argued *non p[er]petuiti*.

The Second was A Fault in the object of her grace, my Lord himselfe, whoe drewe in too fast, lik[et]h<sup>e</sup> A Child sucking & ou[er] V'berious Nourse, And had there beene A more decent decoru[m] observed in both or either of these, w[i]thout doubt the vnitie of their affections had been more pertinentminant, and not soe in and out as they were, like an Instrument ill tuned and lapsing to discord /

The greater Error of the Two (though vnwillinglye) I am co[n]strayned to impose on my Lord of Essex, or rather on his youth and none of the least of the blame on those that Stood Sentinells about him, whoe might haue advised him better, But that like men Intoxicated w[i]th hopes, They likewise had suckt w[i]th [th]e most of their Lords Receipte / And soe like the Cæsars would haue all or none / A rule quite contrarye to Nature, And of most Indulgent Parents, whoe, though they maye expresse more affectio[n] to one in the abundance of bequests, yett cannot forgett some Legacies and Iust distributnes and devidents to others of [th]eir begetting, And how hatefull partiallitie proves, eu[er]y dayes expences tells vs, out of w[hi]ch Com[m]on Considerac[i]on might haue Framed to their handes A Maxime of more discretion, for [th]e Conduct & managem[en]t of [th]eir newe grac't Lord and Maister

But to omitt that of infusion, and to right to truthe, my Lord of Essex, even of those that truelye loved and honored him was noted for too bould an ingrosser, both of Fame and Favor and of this / without offence to the living or treading on [th]e sacred Vrne of the Dead, I shall present A Truthe and A passage yet in Memorye

MyLord Mountioye (whoe was another Child of her Favour) being newlye come to courte And then but S[i]r Nicholas Blunt, (For my Lord Will[i]am his Elder Brother was then livinge) had the good Fortune one daye to runn well at Tilt, And the Queene was therew[i]th soe well pleased, that she sent him in Token of her Favor A Queene att Chesse of Gold richly enamilled, w[hi]ch his Servants had the next daye fastened on his Arme w[i]th A Crimson Ribband, w[hi]ch my Lord of Essex as hee passed through the pr[i]vye Chamber espying, w[i]th his cloke cast vnder his Arme the better to commend it to the view, enquired what it was, and what Cause there fixed, S[i]r Foulke Grevill told him, itt was the Queenes Favor, w[hi]ch the daye before and after the Tilting shee had sent him, whereat my Lo[rd] of Essex in A kinde of Emulac[i]on, and as though hee would haue lymitted

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her Favor said, Now I p[er]ceiue every Foole must haue a Favour This bitter publique affront came to S[i]r Charles Bunts eare, who sent him the Challenge, w[hi]ch was accepted by my Lord, and they mett neare Marybone parke where my Lord was hurt on the Thigh and disarmed, The Queene missing the men was very curious to learne the Truthe / And when at last it was whispered out she swore by Gods death it was fitt that some one or other should take him downe and teach him better Manners, otherwise there would bee noe rule with him, And heere I note the inition of my L[ords] Fre[n]dship w[i]th Mountioye, w[hi]ch the Queene herselfe did the Coniure /

Now for fame wee need not goe farr, For my L[ord] of Essex hauing borne A grudge to generall Norris, who had vnwittingly Offered to vndertake the Acc[i]on of Brittanie w[i]th fewer men then my Lord had before demau[n]ded, on his returne w[i]th victorye and a glorious Report of his Valor, the was then thought the only man for the Irish Warrs, wherein

my Lord of Essex soe wrought by dispising the nu[m]ber and quallitie of the Rebels. That Norris was sent over w[i]th A Scanted Force, ioyned w[i]th the Reliques of the veterne troops of Brittanie, of Sett purpose / and as it fell out to ruyn Norris, And the Lord Burrowes by my Lords p[ro]curem[en]t sent at his heeles and to Comaund in Cheiffe, and to confine Norris onely to his government of Mou[n]ster, w[hi]ch broke the greate heart of [th]e Gen[er]all, to see himselfe vndervalued and vndermynd by my Lord and Burrowes, w[hi]ch was (as the p[ro]verbe speakes, *Imberbes docere Senes*

Now my Lord Burrowes in the begining of this p[ro]secuc[i]o[n] dyed, wherevpon the Queene was fully bent to haue sent over my Lord Mou[n]tioye, w[hi]ch my Lord of Essex vtterlye disliked, and opposed w[i]th manye reasons, and by Argum[en]t[es] of co[n]tempt towards Mountioye (his then p[ro]fessed Freinde and Familiar) Soe pr[e]dominant was his desire to reape the whole honor of closing vpp that warrs and all other / Now the waye being opened and plained by his owne Endes, and therew[i]th his fatall distrucc[i]o[n] leaving [th]e Q[ueen] and the Courte (where he stood impr[e]gnible and firme in her grace) to men that long had sought & watched their Tymes to giue him the Tripp And could never finde any oppertunitye but this is of his absence, and of his owne Creation, And these are the true observations of his Appetite & inclynac[i]o[n], w[hi]ch were not of anye true p[ro]porc[i]o[n], But hurried & transported w[i]th an over desire & thirstynes after Fame, And that deceit full Fame of popularitie, And to help on his Catastrophie I observe likewise two Sorts of people that had a hand in his Fall / The First was the Souldier, w[hi]ch all flocked vnto him, as if it were foretelling of A Mortallitye, and are comonly of blunt and of too rough Cou[n]cells, and manye Tymes dissonant from the toane of the Courte and State /

The other Sorte were of his Familie and Servaunts, & his owne Creatures, such as were bound by the rules of safety and obligac[i]o[n]s of Fidelitie to haue looked better to the Steering of that boate wherein them selves were carryed, and nott haue suffered it to Fleet and runn A ground w[i]th those emptie Sailes of Fame and Tumor of popularitie and applause, Me think[es] some honest man or other That had but the Office of brushing his Clothes might haue whisp[er]ed in his Eare, My Lord looke to it, This multitude that follow you will either devour you or vndoe you. Strive not to rule and over Rule all, For it will cost hott watter, and it will p[ro]cure Envy, And if needs yo[u]r Genius must haue it soe / Lett the Cou[r]te and the Queenes pr[e]sence be

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yo[u]r Station, For yo[u]r absence must vndoe you /

But as I haue said They had suckt to much of their Lord[es] Milke, And instead of w[i]th drawing, the blew the Coales of his Ambition, and infused into him, to much of the Spirittie of glorye, yea and mixed the goodnes of his Nature w[i]th a touch of Revenge, w[hi]ch is ever accompaned w[i]th A distynye of [th]e same Fate, of this Number there were some of insufferable Natures among them, that towards his last gaver desp[er]ate advice, such as his integritie abhorred, and his Fidilitie forebad, amongst whom S[i]r Henrye Wootten noates w[i]thout Iniurye, his Secretary Cuffe, as A wild Man and of a p[er]verse Nature / I could allso name others, That when he was in the right Cou[r]se of Recou[er]ye, Settling to Moderac[i]o[n], would not suffer A Recesse in him, but Stirr<sup>e</sup>d vpp the dreggs of those rude humors, w[hi]ch by Tyme and his owne Iudgment he thought to repose and give them all



A Vomitt, And thus I conclude this Noble Lord as a mixture betweene p[ro]sp[er]itie and Adversitie once the Child of his greate M[is]tris favours, But the Sonne of Bellona

MyLo[rd] of Buckhurst was of the Noble house of the Sackviles and of the Queenes consanguinitie, And his Father was S[ir] Richard Sackvile, Or as the people then called him Fill=Sackvile, by Reason of his great wealth, and the vaste Patrimonyes he left to his Sonne, whereof he spent in his youth the best parte, vntill the Queene by her frequent admonitions diverted the Terrent of his p[ro]fusion / hee was A verye Fine Gent[leman] of p[er]son and endowm[en]t[es] both of Art and nature, but without Measure magnificent, till on the turne of his humor, & [th]e allay that his yeares & good Councell had wrought vpo[n] those im[m]ode[r]at Courses of his youthe, and [tha]t height of spirritt inherent to his house / And then did the Queene as A most iudicious & Indulge[n]t Prince, when shee sawe the Man grew Stayd and settled, gaue him her assistance and advau[n]ced him to the Treasureshippe where he made amends to his house for his mispent Tyme both in the increasem[en]t of State and honor w[hi]ch the Queene co[n]ferred vpon him, together w[i]th the oppertunitie to remake him selfe, and thereby to shew that this was A Child that should haue A Share in her grace, and tast of her bountie

They much comended his elocution, but more [th]e Excelle[n]cy of his Penn, For he was A Scholler and a p[er]son of a quicke dispatche (Facutyes that yet runn into the Bloud) and they saye of him that his Secretaryes did litle for him by waye of Indict ment, wherein they could seldome please him, he was so facete and choice in his phrase and Stile, And for his dispatches, and the Content he gave to Suitors hee had A decorum seldome since put in practis, For he had one of his Attendants [tha]t tooke into a Rolle the names of all Suitors w[i]th the date of their first addresses, And these in their Orders had hearing, soe that A Fresh man could not leape over his head, that was of A more au[n]tient addic[i]on, except in the great affaires of [th]e State

I Finde not, that he was anye wayes insnared in [th]e factions of the Courte, w[hi]ch were all his Tyme Strong, and in eu[er]y mans Note, the Howardes and the Cicills of the one p[ar]te, my Lorde of Essex &c on the other, For, hee had the Staffe of the Treasure fast in his hand, w[hi]ch once in the yeare made them all beholding to him / And the Truth is, as he was A wise man, and a Stoute, he had noe reason to be A p[ar]taker, For he stood sure in bloode and in grace, and was wholye ententive to the Queens Service, and such were his abillities, that shee receyved Assiduous p[ro]f[es] of his Sufficiencie, and it hath bine thought, hee mighte haue

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more cuning Instrum[en]t[es]: but none of A more strong Iudgem[en]t and Confidence, in his wayes, w[hi]ch are Simptom[m]es of Magnaninitie, wherevnto mee thinkes his Motto hath some kinde of Reference Aut nunqu[am] tentes, aut p[er]fice As though he would haue Characted in A word the genius of his house, or exprest some what of A higher Inclynac[i]on, then laye w[i]thin his Compasse that he was a Courtier is apparent, For hee Stood allwayes in her Eye and in her Favor

My Lord Mountioye, was of the au[n]tient Nobillitie, but vtterlye decayed in the Support thereof, his Patrimony through his GrandFathers Excesse in the Acc[i]on of Bullein, his Fathers Vanity in searche of the Philosophers Stone, and his Brothers vntimelye

p[ro]digallitie, All w[hi]ch seemed by A ioynt Conspiracye to ruyne the house, and alltogether to Annihilate it /

As hee came from Oxford, hee tooke the Inner Temple in the waye to the Courte whether hee noe sooner came, but w[i]thout askinge, hee had A prittie Strange kinde of Admission, w[hi]ch I haue heard from A discreet man of his owne, and much more of [th]e Secrets of those Tymes, Hee was then much about of Tweentye yeares of A Browne Hayre, A sweet Face, and most neate Composure, and tall in his person, the Queene was then at Whitt Hall, & at dynn[er], whether he came to see the Fashion of the Courte. The Queene had Soone found him out, and w[i]th A kinde of an affected Frowne, asked the Ladye Carver, what he was, Shee Au[n]swered shee knewe him not, Insoemuch as an Inquire was made, one from the other whoe hee might bee, till at length it was told the Queene, hee was Brother to the Lord Will[i]am Mou[n]tioye

This Inquisic[i]on w[i]th the Eye of Ma[jes]ty Fixt vpon him, as shee was wonte to doe, and to daunt men shee knewe not, Stir'd [th]e Blood of this young Gent[leman], in soe much as his Collor came & went w[hi]ch the Queene observing, call'd him vnto her, and gave him her hand to kisse, Incouraging him w[i]th gracious wordes, and newe lookes, And soe diverting her Speeche to the Lordes and Ladyes, shee said that shee noe sooner observed him, but shee knewe there was in him some Noble Blood, w[i]th some other expressions of pittye towards his house, And then againe demaunding his name Shee said Fayle you not to come to the Courte and I will bethinke my Selfe to doe you good

And this was his inlett, and the begining of his grace, where it falls into Considerac[i]on, [tha]t though he wanted not witt, and Courage, For he had verye Fine Attractyves, as being A good peece of A Scholler, yett were they accompanied with the Retractivess of Bashfullnes, & A naturall Modestie, w[hi]ch as the Waue of the House, and the Ebb of his Fortunes then Stood, might haue hindered his Progression, had there not bene Reinforced by [th]e infussio[n] of Sou[er]aigne Favor, & the Q[ueen]s gracious Invitac[i]on

And that it maye appeare howe lowe he was, and howe much [tha]t heretique necessitie will worke in the deiection of good Spirritts, I can deliver itt with assurance, that his exhibic[i]on was very Scant, vntill his Brother dyed, w[hi]ch was shortly aft[e]r his admission to the Courte, And then was it noe more, then 1000: Markes p[er] Ann[um], wherew[i]th he lyved plentifully, and in A Fine Garbe, & w[i]thout anye great sustentac[i]on of [th]e Queene, duering all her Tymes / And as there was in his nature, A kind of Backwardnes, w[hi]ch did not befreinde him, nor suite w[i]th the Motion of the Courte, Soe there was in him an inclinac[i]on to Armes, w[i]th A humor of Travelling, and gadding abroad w[hi]ch had not some wise men about him laboured to remove, & the Queene herselfe layd in her Comaunds, he would out of his Native p[ro]penc[i]on haue Marr'd his owne Markett, For as

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hee was growne by Reading by Reading (wherevnto he was much addicted) to the Theorie of A Souldier / Soe was he strong lye invited by his Genius to the acquaintance of the practise of the Warre, w[hi]ch were the Causes of his excursions, For he had A Companie in the Lowe Cou[n]tyes, From whence he came over, w[i]th A Noble acceptance of the Queene, but somew[ha]t restlesse in honorable thoughts, hee Exposed himselfe againe, and agayne, and would presse the Queene w[i]th the pr[e]sentes of Visitinge his Companie, soe often

till at length, he had a flatt denyall, & yett hee Stole over w[i]th S[i]r Iohn Norris, into the Acc[i]on of Britta[n] w[hi]ch was then A hott, & Active Warre, whom hee would alwayes call his Father, honoring him above all men, and ever bewayling his Ende / Soe Contrary he was in his Esteeme, & valuac[i]on of his greate Com[m]aund, to that of his Freinde my Lord of Essex, till at last the Queene began to take his decessions for Contempt and Confined his Residence to the Courte and her owne pr[e]se[n]ce, And vppon my Lord of Essexs Fall, soe confident shee was in her owne princelye Iudgement, & [th]e opynion shee had co[n]ceyved of his worthe, and conduct, that shee would haue this Noble Gent[le] man, and none other, to finish the & bringe the Irish Warrs to A prosperous End, For it was a Propheticall Speech of her owne, that it would be his Fortune and his honor to cutt the Threde of that Fatall Rebellion, and to bring her in peace to the grave, wherein shee was not deceyved, For he Atcheived it but with much paines and carefullnes, and not w[i]thout the Feares and manye Ielousies, of the Courte and Tymes, wher w[i]th the Queenes Age, And the Malignitie of her setting tymes were replete: And soe I come to his Deare Freinde in Cou[r]t Mr Secretary Cicill, whom in his long absence From Cou[r]te hee adored as his S[ain]t, and Courted for his onelye Mecenas, both before, and after his dep[ar]ture from Courte, and dureing all the Tyme of his Com[m]aund in Ireland, well knowing that it laye in his power, & by A word of his Mouthe, to make or Marre him

SirRobert Cecill since Earle of Salisburie, was the Sonne of the Lord Burleighe, and the Inheritor of his Wisedome, and by degrees successor of his places, and Favors, though not of his Landes, For he had S[i]r Thomas Cecill his Elder Brother, since Created Earle of Exeter / Hee was First Secretarye of State then M[aste]r of the Wardes, and in the last Raigne, came to bee Lord Treasurer all w[hi]ch were the Stepps to his Fathers greatnes, and of the honor hee left to his house /

For his person, he was not much beholding to nature, though<sup>h</sup> somewhat For his Face, w[hi]ch was the best parte of his out syde, But for his insyde it maye be said and w[i]thout Solescismee, that he was his Fathers owne Sonne, and A pregnant p[ro]ficient, in all his discipline of State

Hee was A Courtier from his Cradle, w[hi]ch might haue {ma} made him betymes, yett at the Age of 20: and vppward, he was Farre shorte of his after proffe / But expos'd, and by change of Clymate, he soone made A shewe of what hee was, and would bee, he lived in those Tymes, wherein the Queene had most need and vse of Men of waight, and amongst manye able ones, this was A Cheiffe, and hauing taken his Sufficiencie, From the Instructions, w[hi]ch begatt him, and the Tutershipp of the Tymes, and Courte, w[hi]ch were then the Accademyes of Arte, and Cun[n]ing, for such was the Queenes Condic[i]on From the 10: or 12: of her raigne, [tha]t shee had the happynes to Stand vpp, whereof there is A Former Inclynac[i]on though environed w[i]th more Enemies, and Assaulted

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with more dau[n]gerous practises then any Prince of her tymes and of manye Ages before, neither must wee in this her preservac[i]on, Attribute to much to humayne pollicies, For [tha]t God in his omnipotent providence, had not onelye ordeyned thos secu[n] darye meanes, as instrument of the workes; but by an evident manifestac[i]on that the same worke, w[hi]ch he acted was A well pleasing Service of his owne, out of A peculiar Care had decreed the

protection of the Worke Mi[st]r[i]s, and therevnto added his Abundant Blessing vppon all, and whatsoever shee vnd[e]rtooke, w[hi]ch is, an observac[i]on of satisfacc[i]on to my selfe, that shee was in the right, though to other nowe breathinge vnder the same Fortunes<sup>une</sup>, and Frame of her government. it maye nott seeme an Aniadu[er]sion of anye worth, But I leave them to the p[er]ill of their owne Follye /

And soe againe to the great M[aste]r of State, and [th]e Stafe of the Queenes declyning age / what thoughe his crooked p[er]so[n] could not promise any great supportac[i]on, yett it carryed thereon A head, and A great head peece of A Vast Content, and therein it seemes, nature was soe deligent, to compleate one and the best p[ar]te about him / As that to the p[er]fecc[i]on of his Me morye, and intellectualls, shee tooke Care allsoe of his sence, And to putt him in *Linceos occules*, or to pleasure him [th]e more, borrowed of Argus, soe to give to him A p[er]spective sighte, And for the rest of his Sensitive Vertues, his pr[e]decessour Walsingham, had left him A receipt to smell out what was done in the Conclave, and his good old Father was soe well seene in the Mathematicques, as that he would tell you through out all Spayne, everye Porte, everye Shipp with their bu[r]the[n]s whether bound, what preparac[i]on, what impedim[en]t[es] For diver sion of Enterprises, Councells, and Resoluc[i]ons, and the were many soe, as in A litle Mapp, how docible this little man was, I will pr[e]sent A tast of his Abillities

My Lord of Devonsheire vppon the Certainetye that the Spaniard would Invade Ireland, w[i]th A Strong Armie, had written verye Earnestlye to the Queene, and the Cou[n]cell, For such supplyes to be timelye sent over, that might enable him, to March vpp to the Spaniards, if hee did Land, & follow on his p[ro]secution, w[i]thout diverting his intenc[i]ons against the Rebels / S[i]r Robert Cecill, besides the generall dispatche of the Councell (as hee often did) wrote this in private / For theis two began then to loue deerelye

My Lord out of the Aboundau[n]ce of my affection, & the Care I haue of yo[u]r well doing, I must in private put you out of doubt (For of Feare, I knowe you cannot bee Sencible otherwise, then in the Waye of honor) that [th]e Spania[r]d will not come vnto you this yeere, For I haue it from my eare what his pr[e]parac[i]ons are in all his Portes, and what hee cann doe / For be confident, hee beareth vpp a Reputac[i]on, by seeming to imbrace more then hee can gripe, But the next yeere, be assured he will cast over vnto you some for lorne Troopes, w[hi]ch howe they maye bee Reinfforced beyond his pr[e]sent Abillitie, and his First intenc[i]on, I cannot as yet make any Certeyne Iudgment But I beleeve out of my Intelligence, [tha]t you maye Expect their Landing in Munster, and the more to distract you, in severall places, As att K[ing]s Sayle, New haven, and Baltamore, where you may be sure,

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(com[m]ing From Sea) they will First Fortifye, and learne the Strength of the Rebels, before they doe take the Feilde, Howsoever (as I knowe you will not) lessen not yo[u]r Care, Neither yo[u]r deffence / And whatsoever lyes within my power to doe you, and the publique Service, rest thereof assured

And to this, I could add much more, but it may (as itt is suffice) to pr[e]sent much, as his Abillities in the Penn, that hee was his Crafts M[aste]r, in Forreigne intelligence, And for domestique Affayres, as hee was one of those, that satt att the Sterne to the Last of the

Queene, Soe was hee none of [th]e least in Skill, and in the true vse of the Compasse, And soe I shall onely Vindicate the Scandall of his death and Conclude him For hee departed att St Margaretts, neere Marleburrough in his Returne From the Bathe / As my Lord Viscou[n]t Cra[n]borne my Lord Clifford, my Selfe, his Sonne, and Sonne in Lawe, and manye more can wittnes / But that the daye before hee sounded on the waye, was taken out of his Litter and layde into his Coache, was A truthe, out of w[hi]ch that Falshood Conserning the Manner of his deathe, had its derivac[i]on thoughe nothings to the purpose, or to the preiudice of his worth

Sir Frauncis Veere, was of the Auntient, and [th]e most noble Extracte of the Earles of Oxfford, and it may bee a question, whether the Nobillitie of his house, or the honor of his Atchivem[en]t[es] might most commend him, But we haue An Authentique Rule to deuide the doubt (*Nam genus et proauos, et que non Fecimus ipsi, vix ea nostra vóco*) For though hee were an honorable slipp, of that au[n]tient Tree of Nobillitie, w[hi]ch was noe disadvantage to his Vertue, yett hee brought more glorye, to the name of Veere, then hee tooke of Bloude Fro[m] [th]e Familie

Hee was amongst all the Queenes Sword men, inferior to none, but superior to manye, of whom it maye bee said to speake much of him, were the waye to leave out some what [tha]t might add to his prayse, and forgett more, [tha]t would make for his honor

I Find not that hee came much to the Courte, for he lived almost p[er]petuallie in the Campe / But when hee did noe man had more of the Queenes Favor, and none lesse enjoyed, For he Sildome troubled it w[ith] and Allarums of supopla[n] tac[i]on / his waye was in another Sorte of vndermyning, They report [tha]t the Queene, as shee loved Marshall men, yet would Courte this Gentleman assoone as he appeared in her prese[n]ce And surelye hee was A Soldier of great worthe, & Com[m]aund 30: yeares in the Service of the States, and xx: yeares over the English in Cheefe, as the Queenes generall / And he that had seene the Battaile of Newporte, might there best haue taken him, and his Noble Brother my Lo[rd] of Tilbury to [th]e life

My Lord of Worcester, I haue heere put last, butt not least in the Queenes Favor, he was of the au[n]tient & noble house Bloude of the Beawffordes, And of her Grand Fathers Lyne by the Mother, w[hi]ch the Queene would not Forgett (especialye where there was an incurrencye of old Blood, with Fidilitie) A mixture w[hi]ch even Sorted w[ith] the Queenes nature And though there might appeare somew[ha]t in this house, w[hi]ch might avert her grace, though not to speake of my Lo[rd] himself but in due reverence, and w[ith] honor I meane contrarietie, or suspition, in religion, yett the Queene ever respected this house, and principallie this Noble Lord, whom shee First made master

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of the Horse, and then admitted him of her Cou[n]cell of State /

In his youthe, parte wherof he spent before hee came to Recide at Courte, he was A very Fine Gent[leman], and the best horseman and Tilter of the Tymes, w[hi]ch were then the ma[n]like and Noble Recreacons of the Courte, and such as tooke vp the Applause of Men, as well as the praise and Comendac[i]ons of Ladyes, and when yeeres had abated those Exercises of honor hee grewe then to be A faithfull and p[ro]found Cou[n]cellor, And as I haue placed him

last, Soe was hee the last Lyver of all the Servants of her Favor, and had the honor to see his renowned M[ist]ris and all them layd in the places of their Rest And for him selfe, after A liffe of A verye Noble, and remarkeable Reputac[i]on, hee dyed Ritche, and in A peaceable old Age, A Fate, [tha]t I make the last, and none of my Slightest observacons, w[hi]ch fell not on manye of the Rest, For they expired, like vnto lights, blowne out, w[i]th the snuffe Stricking, not Com[m]endablye extinguished & with an offence to the Standers by

And thus I haue delivered vpp this my poore Essaye or litle draught of this great Princesse, and her Tymes, w[i]th the Servants of her State, and Favor / I cannot saye, I haue Finished it, For I knowe how defectiue, and imp[er]fect it is, As lym'd onlye in the Originall Nature, not w[i]th the Active Blemi shes, and soe left it as a Taske, Fitter for remoter Tymes & the Sallyes of some boulder Pensill to correct that w[hi]ch is a misse, and drawe the rest vpp to liffe / As for mee to haue endeavoured itt, I tooke it into Considerac[i]on, how easelye I might haue dash't in, to much of the Straine of pollution, and thereby haue defaced that little w[hi]ch is done / For I p[ro]fesse I haue taken Care, soe to m[aste]r my Penn, that I might nott (*Ex animo*) or of sett purpose, discourler Truthe, or anye of [th]e p[ar]ts thereof, otherwise then in Concealem[en]t

Happelye, there are some, w[hi]ch will not approve of this Modestie, but will censure itt For pusillanimitie, and w[i]th that Cun[n]ing Artist to drawe their Lyne further out of att length, and vpon this of myne, w[hi]ch maye (w[i]th somewhat more Ease) bee effected, For that the Frame is readye made to their hands, And then happelye, I could drawe one in the Middest of theirs, but that Modestie in me For biddes the defacem[en]t[es] of men dep[ar]ted, whose posteritie, yett remayning enjoyes the merritts of their virtues, and doe still live in their honor And I had rath[er] incurr the Censure of Obruption, then to bee Consciuous, and Taken in the Manner of Sinning by Eruption, and of Trampling on the graves of persons att rest, which living we durst not looke in the Face, nor make o[u]r redresses vnto the[m] oth[er]wise then with due regards to their honors, and reverence to their Vertues /

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### Other manuscript witnesses

- British Library, Egerton MS 3876, ff. 45v–110v
- British Library, Harley MS 3787, ff. 110r–131v
- British Library, Lansdowne MS 254, ff. 225r–251r
- British Library, Harley MS 1704, ff. 77r–143r
- British Library, Harley MS 5141, ff. 46r–81r
- British Library, Harley MS 6842, ff. 21r–53v
- British Library, Stowe MS 161, ff. 156r–211v
- British Library, Stowe MS 278
- Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 28, Box 1, Folder 4, item 3
- Beinecke Library, Osborn b36, ff. 1r–59v
- Beinecke Library, Osborn fb40, ff. 21x–113x
- Beinecke Library, Osborn fb41, ff. 63r–80r
- Beinecke Library, Osborn fb43, ff. 1x–60x
- Bodleian Library, MS Malone 20, ff. 1–79
- Folger Shakespeare Library, MS G.a.11, pp3–64
- Folger Shakespeare Library, MS G.b.1, pp114
- Folger Shakespeare Library, MS G.b.19, ff52

- Folger Shakespeare Library, MS G.b.2, ff. 18r–69v
- Houghton Library, fMS Eng 705, ff. 2v–28r
- Houghton Library, fMS Eng 705.1, ff92
- Nottingham University Library, Ga 12712
- Northamptonshire Record Office, IL 1239
- Somerset Archives, DD\SAS/C795/SX/28, pp1–87
- Senate House, University of London, MS 286, ff118
- The National Archives, SP 14/69, /58

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<https://mpese.ac.uk/t/NauntonFragmentaRegalia.html>