



DUDLEY CARLETON, VISCOUNT DORCHESTER
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THE LETTERS
of
JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

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1. TO DUDLEY CARLETON.

[*S. P. Dom., Eliz., cclxiii, 99.*]

[London, June 11, 1597.]

Goode Master Carleton, I know you lookt longe ere this time to have heard from me, and so might you well have don, yf Painter the post had not kept your letter of the eight of May aseasoninge till the sixt of this present June. I received a litle billet before, by your sister Williams,¹ in the way of an interim till you had better leasure, but presently upon yt went to Askot² where I met with your brother Carleton³ (comming from the buriall of your uncle Goodwin,) ⁴ who told me Tobie Mathew⁵ had shewed him a letter from you wherin you complained much of want, and what narrow straights you were like to be driven to, marvayling you had toucht no such matter in your letters to him: and therewithall began to dilate to me what he had don and could do for you, but the conclusion was that his abilitie is not to supplie all wants, and therefore you must trust to yourself and make your owne fortune. I replied litle to yt but only in generall termes, the rather because I hope yt is but a borrowed complaint to distast younge Mathew from following you into Fraunce, then for any true cause. I am exceding glad to heare how well you are entertained by my Lord Ambassador:⁶ of whom I presumed no lesse, for though I alwayes knewe him to be *paucorum hominem*, yet he hath ever shewed himself an honorable fast frend where he found vertue and desert. Master Evers⁷ is in Ireland with the Lord Borrough⁸ between whom and Sir John Norris⁹ there is lately a solemne pacification made with

¹ Elizabeth, wife of Alexander Williams.

² Ascott, Oxfordshire, the home of Michael Dormer (knighted, 1604).

³ George Carleton of Huntercombe, Oxfordshire.

⁴ Brother of Carleton's mother, and son of John Goodwin.

⁵ Knighted, 1623. Son of Tobias Matthew, Bishop of Durham, and later Archbishop of York.

⁶ Sir Anthony Mildmay, ambassador to Henry IV.

⁷ Cousin of Ralph, third Lord Eure or Evers, Lord Warden of the Middle Marches.

⁸ Thomas, fifth Lord Burgh, appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1597.

⁹ Lord President of Munster, second son of Henry, first Lord Norris of Rycote.

much counterfet kindenes on both sides. The old Deputie¹⁰ is come home very fat they say both in body and purse, having made a luckie conclusion of his government with the overthrow and death of Feffe Mackhugh¹¹ an auncient and troublesom rebell: upon which service he made three knightes at his comming away, viz. Calistenes Brooke, Thomas Maria Wingfeld, and one Trevire¹² a Welchman. Sir Thomas Norris¹³ lady was lately brought abed there of three daughters, which the Lord Norris¹⁴ imputes to the fertilitie of the soyle, and exemplifies yt by a mare he sent two yeares ago to his sonne Thomas that brought two foales. We have great preparation here for a sea viage,¹⁵ which troubles our discoursers how or where yt shalbe imployed: the common sort talke of Callais, others of the ylands of Tercera, but the most likelie in mine opinion, is to set upon the King of Spaines navie whersoever they can finde yt, or to meet with the Indian fleet. Theyre whole number consists of fifteen of the Quenes shippes, besides the two Spanish shippes that were taken the last yeare, (which be new fashioned after the English manner), and of two and twentie men of warre of Holland, and some fowre and twentie flieboats and hoyes that serve for cariage of men and vitayles. They have with them 4000 prest men, and 1200 muskettiers that come with Sir Fra: Vere out of the Low Countries: the voluntaries are thought will rise towardses 2000. The erle of Essex¹⁶ is generall both at sea and land, the Lord Thomas¹⁷ Viceadmirall, Sir

¹⁰ Sir William Russell (created Lord Russell of Thornhaugh, 1603), fourth son of Francis, second Earl of Bedford. He was Lord Deputy from 1594 to 1597. "Russell was called home; and in his place was substituted Lord Deputy Thomas Lord Borrough, a sharp man, and full of courage, but of little skill in the warres; and this beyond the opinion of all men, and altogether against the expectation of Norris, who in respect of his deserts, and skill in military matters, had promised to himselfe this place . . . and now overcome with griefe of minde, fell sicke, and shortly after died." (Camden, *Annales*, p. 482.) Queen Elizabeth wrote his mother a beautiful letter of condolence, September 22, 1597. (S. P. Dom. Eliz., cclxiv, 118.)

¹¹ At the Glynnnes, May 8, Feogh MacHugh was captured and his head presented to the Lord Deputy. (Sir William Russell's Journal in *Carew MSS.*, 1598-1600, p. 259.)

¹² Sir Calisthenes Brooke, Sir Thomas Maria Wingfeld, and Sir Richard Trevor were knighted May 8.

¹³ Fifth son of Henry, first Lord Norris of Rycote. Later in the year he succeeded his brother as Lord President of Munster.

¹⁴ Henry Lord Norris of Rycote.

¹⁵ The expedition usually known as the Islands Voyage. The leaders hoped to destroy the Spanish war fleet in the harbor of Ferrol or at sea, to capture the treasure and merchant fleets from the West and East Indies, and to establish a foothold in the Azores. Their plans failed, and in October they returned to England.

¹⁶ Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, Queen Elizabeth's troublesome young favorite.

¹⁷ Thomas Lord Howard of Walden (created Earl of Suffolk, 1603).

Walter Raleigh¹⁸ rereadmirall, who is newly restored to the executing his place in court of captaine of the garde. The erle of Southampton,¹⁹ the Lord Mountjoy²⁰ and the Lord Rich²¹ go as adventurers, though some say the Lord Mountjoy is to be lieutenant-generall at land. The erle of Darbie,²² the Lord Gray,²³ the Lords Windsor²⁴ and Compton²⁵ pretend likewise to go but yt is thought shall not get leave: the provisions are hastened on very fast and yt is sayde the erle of Essex takes his leave at court on Sunday next the 12th of this present and hopes to be gon within ten dayes after. The presse of gentlemen wilbe very great, but I will not stand to set downe any but one or two of your acquaintance, that is your cousin Mighell Dormer whom I can by no meanes yet disswade, and Hugh Beston²⁶ that stands to be Treasurer of the jorney though I doubt he shall not be troubled with much receipt, for I am half of our Doctors²⁷ opinion that warrants him yf he have yt, that a well saddled rat may cary all his accompts. But his true errand is to be knighted assone or before Sir Peter Evers,²⁸ neither doth he dissemble yt greatly to his frends but sayes merelie he hath ben a scabd squire a great while, and could now be content to be a paltric knight the rest of his time. Sir John North²⁹ died here on Sunday last, and is thought to have left his lady but a meane widowe. Sir Thomas Wroughton³⁰ went likewise much about the same time, and old Duns³¹ when I was in Oxfordshire. Sir John Payton is lately made lieutenant of the Towre, and Sir Henry Cocke either is or upon the point to be sworne Coferer of the Quenes houshold. Phillip Scudamore³² is very forward and like to have Mistris Lovell³³ the last Coferers widow, to the great dislike of

¹⁸ He had been forbidden the court because of his marriage five years before.

¹⁹ Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton.

²⁰ Charles Blount, eighth Lord Mountjoy (created Earl of Devonshire, 1603).

²¹ Robert, third Lord Rich (created Earl of Warwick, 1618).

²² William Stanley, sixth Earl of Derby.

²³ Thomas, fifteenth Lord Grey of Wilton.

²⁴ Henry, fifth Lord Windsor of Stanwell.

²⁵ William, second Lord Compton (created Earl of Northampton, 1618).

²⁶ Hugh Beeston (knighted, 1603).

²⁷ William Gilbert, who in 1601 became physician to Queen Elizabeth. At this time Chamberlain had lodgings in his house on St. Peter's Hill.

²⁸ Knighted, 1603.

²⁹ Son of Roger, second Lord North. His wife was Dorothy, daughter of Sir Valentine Dale.

³⁰ Of Broad Hinton, Wiltshire.

³¹ Presumably Edmund Dunche of Wittenham, Berkshire, father of William Dunche. Cf. Letter 17.

³² Knighted, 1603.

³³ Dorothy, daughter of Michael Greene, and widow of Gregory Lovell, Coferer of the Royal Household.

some of his best frends. And your Lady Umpton³⁴ is in parlee with Master George Sherly of Northampton or Lecestershire. This term here was one Longe a captaine of Somersetsshire condemned in the Star-chamber in 500 markes and to stand on the pillorie for chopping and making portsale³⁵ of his souldiers. We have here a new play of humors³⁶ in very great request, and I was drawn alonge to yt by the common applause, but my opinion of yt is (as the fellow sayde of the shearing of hogges) that there was a great crie for so litle wolle. This is all I can bethinke me of for the present neither can you chuse but be reasonable satisfied, for what you want in waight you have in measure. Yet is the greatest newes behinde that I am upon a viage into Ireland with Master Wallop,³⁷ who with his wife, her mother, and your cousen Lytton have so earnestly intreated me, that partly at theyre request and partly being weary of ydlenes I have yeilded, and hope to be setting forward within this moneth and to be here againe before Bartlemewtide. You be like enough to heare of me before I go yf here be ought worth writing. Your sister Alice is close prisoner at her ladies; the rest of your frends are in state as you left them and so wishing you all health and goode hap I bid you farewell. From London this longest day of 1597.

Yours most assuredly

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

To my assured good frend Master Dudley Carleton attendaunt on the Lord Ambassador for her Majestie at Paris.

³⁴ Dorothy, daughter of Sir Thomas Wroughton, and widow of Sir Henry Unton, who died ambassador to France, March 23, 1596. She became Shirley's second wife. August 3, 1598., Carleton wrote Chamberlain, "I have been at Broad Hinton and stayed four days with Lady Unton, who beautifies her sorrow with all the ornaments of an honorable widow." (S. P. Dom., Eliz., celix, 93.)

³⁵ Public sale to the highest bidder.

³⁶ Probably "The Comedy of Umers" mentioned by Henslowe and performed nine times during May and June by the Admiral's Men at the Rose. Henslowe's play was almost certainly Chapman's *An Humorous Day's Mirth*, the earliest extant play of this type. (Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, i, 52 et passim; Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, i, 460; Parrott, *The Comedies of George Chapman*, p. 685; Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, iii, 251.)

³⁷ Henry Wallop (knighted, 1599). His father, Sir Henry Wallop, was then Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Corbet of Morton-Corbet, Shropshire. Her mother was Anne, daughter of Oliver Lord St. John, widow of Robert Corbet, and wife of Rowland Lytton (knighted, 1603) of Knebworth. Lytton's mother was Anne Carleton, aunt of Dudley Carleton.

2. TO DUDLEY CARLETON.

[S. P. Dom., Eliz., cclxvii, 5.]

[London, May 4, 1598.]

I am newly returned from Knebworth,¹ whence I made the more haste that I might answer your letter from Ostend of the 9th of Aprill. I wrote to you much about the time of your departure, which how yt came to your handes God knowes, as likewise what shall become of this, which I write at all adventures, for here is nothing but solitude *ante ostium*, nobody at home neither at your brother Williams² nor my Lady Northes.³ Your sister Alice they say is in the country; belike there is somewhat a brewing, and this is all I can tell you of household matters. Now touching your owne common wealth, I do not greatly like the course you are in, and yet hard beginnings commonly prove best, but still me thinckes you are out of your way as longe as you carry but the title of a souldier, and therefore unles your stomacke serve you the better, or that you see great probabilitie of well-doing, *Cedant arma togæ*, retire in time, and yf nothing els will take, reserve that course for *ultimum refugium* at a dead lift. Master Secretary⁴ returned the first of this moneth somewhat crased⁵ with his posting jorney; the report of his fathers daungerous estate gave him winges, but for ought I can learne the old mans case is not so desperate but he may hold out another yeare well inough. Most of his followers shipt themselves at Nantes and came away by longe seas, and were well coursed and almost taken by fowre or five Spanish shippes of Bluet, but yet arrived safely at Sandwich; himself came overland to Caen and so to Portemouth. Dr. Harbert and his train are not yet come to towne but I heare they be in England. The successe of this jorney is not fully knowne but thus far, that yt hath staide the French king from going thorough with Spaine and made him pause at least. The States offer to maintaine him 4000 men in Picardie,

¹ The Hertfordshire seat of Rowland Lytton.

² Alexander Williams, who lived in Little Britain.

³ Presumably the widow of Sir John North, or his stepmother, the wife of Roger, second Lord North, whose London house was in Charterhouseyard.

⁴ Sir Robert Cecil, who had been sent to divert the King of France from a separate peace with Spain. John Herbert, Master of Requests, and Sir Thomas Wilkes accompanied him as commissioners. Henry IV signed the treaty April 22 upon condition that it should not be published until a month later, for he wanted the English commissioners first to leave the court. The peace was publicly proclaimed May 26. (Birch, *Memoirs*, ii, 372; Cheyney, *A History of England*, ii, 447.)

⁵ Ill.

32. TO DUDLEY CARLETON.

[S. P. Dom., Eliz., cclxxv, 89.]

[London, October 10, 1600.]

Goode Master Carleton, I have missed you so often and so narrowly in the country, that I made sure account to have better fortune and to have founde you here at my comming to towne about the beginning of this weeke, but here I am worse then before, for I cannot learne where nor when to looke after you. This towne is as empty as yf yt were dead vacation, no body at the Doctors,¹ no body in Powles,² *solitudo ante ostium* in Little Britain,³ and all as close and quiet as yf yt were mid-night. I could be melancolike but for certain reliques of a merry progresse that run up and downe in my remembrance and will not out till they be committed *tutis auribus*, and laide up in safe custodie, and therefore I longe for your comming, as well for your companie as to disburthen my self of many odde stories and adventures. You have ben wisht for more then once, and in more then one place, where I have ben, but specially at Knebworth⁴ and Farley.⁵ Here is litle forrain newes but only speach of a great blow the French king hath received in Savoy but the particulars are not yet knowne. The fable that Sebastian king of Portugall shold be alive is revived, and as freshly talked and beveled in the exchaunge as ever it was, and they say further that the king of Spaine hath lately don great execution in Portugall. The carraques are come home very rich from the East Indies, and so are the Quenes ships that lay for them at the ylands poore enough. Our marchants are in hand to send fowre very goode ships and two pinnasses to seeke traffique in the East Indies. One Ben: Woode an adventurer that hath ben out these fowre yeares and had taken great riches in the South Sea to the value of two millions and better, in his returne homeward was driven to that want that they were faine to eat one another, and forced at last to put into Porto Ricco, where all that were left are taken and theyre wealth lost.⁶ Out of the Lowe Countries we have nothing at all, but

¹ The house of Dr. William Gilbert on St. Peter's Hill. Cf. Letter 1.

² St. Paul's Cathedral, the meeting-place of Londoners.

³ Alexander Williams and his wife, Carleton's sister Elizabeth, lived there.

⁴ The Hertfordshire house of Rowland Lytton.

⁵ Farleigh. Cf. Letter 31.

⁶ A Spanish letter found among the papers of Hakluyt throws light on this tragedy. (*Cambridge History of English Literature*, iv, 114.)

that we wold faine kepe the treaty of peace on foote, which otherwise were like enough to fall to the ground. Here is a great ambassador⁷ come from Moscovie who hath not yet had audience but shall shortly now the court is setled at Richmond, whether they say yt came yesterday. The erle of Essex is here and at Barnelms.⁸ His frends make great meanes that he may run on the Quenes day⁹ and are very confident to see him shortly in favour: you may beleve as much of yt as you list but I nere a whit: for till I see his licence for sweet wines renewed (that expired now at Michaelmas) or some other substantiall favour aunswerable to yt, I shall esteem words as winde and holy water of court. The erle of Southampton¹⁰ and the Lord Gray¹¹ are come out of the Lowe Countries unhurt, though yt were constantly reported they had fought and spoyled each other. We heare that Sir Rob: Mansfeld¹² and Sir John Heydon two Norfolk knights have slaine one another in the feild.¹³ Yt shold seem by the number and the manner of theyre hurts (the one having sixe, the other fowre) that they ran at tilt with theyre rapiers. Yt is every day expected that Sir John Stanhop shalbe made chauncellor of the Duchie. Sir Wal: Raleigh hath ben in Gersey to take possession of his new government.¹⁴ His lodgings at Durham House were almost burned the other day with fire that began in the stables. A peece of the south battlements of Powles fell downe lately and kild a carmans horse without doing more harme. Here were five or sixe souldiers handt the last weeke in divers quarters of this towne for running from theyre captaines. Sir Ant: Sherly with his Persian ambassage is gon into Germanie to the emperor and other Princes to sollicite a legue against the Turke. I can bethinke me of nothing els so that with my best wishes I commit you to God. From London this 10th of October 1600.

Yours most assuredly

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

To my very goode frend Master Dudley Carleton geve these at Ricot or elsewhere.

⁷ Gregory Ivanowich Meklin arrived in London September 18. He had audience October 14.

⁸ Barn Elms, Surrey, a house of the Earl of Essex.

⁹ November 17, the day of Queen Elizabeth's accession.

¹⁰ Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton, a supporter of the Earl of Essex.

¹¹ Thomas, fifteenth Lord Grey of Wilton, who was hostile to Essex.

¹² Sir Robert Mansell.

¹³ Both survived the duel. Cf. Letter 33.

¹⁴ Sir Walter Raleigh had recently been appointed Governor of Jersey.

Archbishop,¹⁴ the Lord Admirall,¹⁵ the Lord Chamberlain¹⁶ and divers other of the counsaill were of yt. The world expected great matters of such an autenticall¹⁷ hearing, but in conclusion the woman scaped better cheape¹⁸ then was looked for, having only sentence of separation *a mensa et thoro*. Sir Rob: Drury is committed to the custodie of Alderman Saltingstall,¹⁹ for speaking and hearing certain buggswords²⁰ at his being in Fraunce as is pretended,²¹ but this is rather thought to be colour²² then true cloth. Little Britain²³ remembers you with all kindnes: I am going to morrow God willing to Knebworth where I know you wish us a mery Christmas, and we *pour la pareille* will wish you many goode yeares. From London this 22th of December 1600.

Yours most assuredly

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

To my assured goode frend Master Dudley Carleton geve these at the Haghe.

36. TO DUDLEY CARLETON.

[S. P. Dom., Eliz., cclxxviii, 27.]

[London, February 3, 1601.]

Goode Master Carleton: Till your letter came that brought Christmas commendations, I looked dayly for you, for so did the housekeeper of Puddlewharfe¹ informe my man when he went to learne how I might send to you, and found the letter I wrote before my going to Knebworth not sent away, at my return from thence two or three dayes within the terme, which did not quite discourage me, and made me presume that yf I shold write, you woold kepe your old wont, and meet yt or misse yt by the way, and I was the rather perswaded, because in yours (other-

¹⁴ John Whitgift.

¹⁵ Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham.

¹⁶ George Carey, Lord Hunsdon. ¹⁷ Authentic, authoritative.

¹⁸ "Better cheape" = "cheaper."

¹⁹ Sir Richard Saltenstall. ²⁰ Terrifying words.

²¹ Asserted. ²² Pretense.

²³ Alexander Williams and his wife, Carleton's sister Elizabeth, who lived in Little Britain.

¹ The London house of Sir Edward Norris was at Puddle Wharf.

wise stored with much goode matter) you made no mention at all whether you meant to abide at the Haghe, or remove further or return: but now upon pause of seven or eight dayes after the receipt of your letter, seing I heare no more, will defer no longer but shoote one arrow after another, and let them take theyre fortune. Sir Gerrard Harvy with his Lady, mother, and sisters, kept theyre Christmas at Knebworth, where I had much goode companie of his brother John, and ran over many old stories of you and Ostend. Your cousen Lytton is in towne and tarries all or most part of the terme: your brother Carleton came yesterday: and your cousen Acton² is looked for within two or three dayes to come and sojourn in Little Brittain.³ For matter of newes I know not where to begin, unles I shold continue a petti chronicle from my last: which though yt be somewhat laborious, and perhaps wilbe unwelcom to send you *cramben bis coctam*, yet to punish myself for flattering my ydlenes, and seeking to excuse yt, I will make yt my penaunce. Upon Twelfth Day the Quene feasted the Moscovie ambassador,⁴ who hath ben since invited to divers other places, and taken his pleasure abroad in hunting. During the holydayes here was the Duke of Bracciano (cheife of the familie of the Orsini by Rome) that came into Fraunce with the new Quene his cousen germane. The Quene entertained him very graciously, and to shew that she is not so old as some wold have her, daunced both measures and galliards in his presence. He was feasted by the Lord Burleigh for some favor shewed to Will: Cecill or his other sonnes at theyre being in Italie: and shold have ben by the Lord Treasurer,⁵ and by Grayes Ynne that made preparation of shewes to entertain him, but he made such haste away that they were disappointed. The Quene at his parting sent him a cup of gold of sixscore pound and a jewell, for the which he gave the bringer Michael Stanhop a chaine of fowrescore pound. He went hence to visite the Archduke,⁶ and Infanta, leaving behinde him a generall report of a very courtlike and compleat gentleman. Somwhat more than three weekes since the Lord Gray and earle of Southampton had a little bickering in the Strand on horsebacke, for the which the Lord Gray was committed to the Fleet and hath lien there till yesterday that he was relesed, notwithstanding all the frends he

² Joyce Carleton, Dudley Carleton's half-sister, married Edward Denton. Their daughter Jane married Edward Acton of Elmeley, Worcestershire.

³ At the house of Alexander Williams and his wife, Carleton's sister Elizabeth.

⁴ Meklin.

⁵ Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst.

⁶ Albert of Austria and his wife, the Infanta Isabella.

could make. During his restraint the old Countesse of Bedford⁷ died, and left him not above 300^{li}. The greatest part of her wealth she bequeathed to younge Norris,⁸ and yet the world sayes by that he hath discharged her funeralles and other legacies, there will not be 3000^{li} left for his share. The earle of Pembroke⁹ died a fortnight since leaving his Lady¹⁰ as bare as he could and bestowing all on the young Lord¹¹ even to her jewells. Michaell Henneage died in Christmas and his office of keping the records in the Towre was promised to Dr. James¹² of the court, but he followed him within a fortnight after, and now Lambert¹³ of Lincolnes Ynne hath the executing of yt but not the graunt. In the absence of the lord chamberlain¹⁴ Sir John Stanhop was appointed to serve as vicechamberlain, which most men interpret to be a goode step to the place. One Radney¹⁵ of Somersetshire, nephew to Sir Ed: Dier was lately knighted, but whether he were overjoyed with that dignitie or overawed with the love of Mistris Pranel,¹⁶ (whom he woed and could not obtaine) or as some say so doted upon a greater mistris, that his braines were not able to beare the burthen, but have plaide banckrout and left him raving. We have great speach of building twelve gallies, fowre by the Quene, two by this citie, two by Essex, Suffolke, Norfolke and Lincolnshire, two by Kent, Surry, Sussex, and Hamshire, the rest by Somerset, Devonshire and Cornwall: for the speach is that the Spaniards are to bring more gallies along with them into the Lowe Countries and we must learne to fight with them after theyre owne fence. Yt was reported awhile that they were severed by tempest and twelve or fifteen sayle of them cast away on the coast of Irland but there is no great credit geven to yt. But we heare for certain that two Spanish fregates arrived at Sligo with powder, munition and mony to furnish the rebells. The Lord Deputie hath don some pretty exploits of late upon some petty rebells about Dublin: and surprised the castle of one Fellom Mac-Feof¹⁷ and taken his children but himself and

⁷ Bridget, widow of Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford.

⁸ Francis, son of Sir William Norris. Later in the year he succeeded his grandfather as Lord Norris of Rycote.

⁹ Henry Herbert, second Earl of Pembroke.

¹⁰ Mary, sister of Sir Philip Sidney, "Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother."

¹¹ William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke.

¹² John James.

¹³ William Lambarde, Keeper of the Records at the Rolls Chapel, and author of *Perambulation of Kent*.

¹⁴ George Carey, Lord Hunsdon.

¹⁵ Sir George Rodney, son of Martin Rodney and Jane Dyer, half-sister of Sir Edward Dyer.

¹⁶ Cf. Letter 35.

¹⁷ Phelim McFeagh O'Byrne.

his wife escaped very narrowly. He hath likewise defeated and slaine the greatest part of the followers of Fellom Mac-Toole¹⁸ another notable rascall and taken him prisoner. Sir Richard Wingfeld¹⁹ the marshall of Ireland is lately dead there. We are here coyning base money for Ireland, hoping thereby to hinder the rebells from providing theyre wants from abroad; but I pray God yt worke no worse effect, and some men begin to feare yt is but a preparative to purge our owne mony of the best juice. The new fort at Plimmouth was lately defaced and blowne up with powder: the Dunkirkers are very busie all alonge that coast, and take prizes even in the very harbour. They stay thereabout to convoy the Spaniards that are comming for the Lowe Countries. Here be privie seales for 20000^{li} come among the straungers, which mony is to be repaide by the States. We have much speach of a new master of the rolles, and yt is thought Sergeant Heale²⁰ bids best for yt: but Justice Gawdie,²¹ Secretarie Harbert,²² Dr. Caesar,²³ the atturny of the wardes,²⁴ the atturny of the Duchie,²⁵ and Thomas Spencer are in some consideration for yt: the matter troubles the Lord Keper²⁶ very much, for he hath lately had some schooling about yt, but yt seemes he cares not greatly who [gets yt] so Heale may misse yt. The Quene hath made choise [of our] Doctor²⁷ for her phisition, but he is not yet sworne. I dou[bt our] colledge²⁸ wilbe dissolved, and some of us sent to seeke our fortune. Dr. Dove²⁹ deane of Norwich is made bishop of Peterborough. The earle of Rutland and the earle of Hartford stand in election whether shalbe sent into Fraunce to congratulate with the new Quene. Yesterday a sonne of Harry Butlers of Hartfordshire stabd one Russell (a kinsman of my Lord of Bedfords that married Mistris Skidmores sister) in my Lordes yard and he died presently: Butler escaped thorough the Covent garden and is not yet heard of. Your cousen Alford hath married one Momparson³⁰ late husband to the old Lady Dudley.

¹⁸ Phelim McToole.

¹⁹ This is an error. March 29, 1600, Sir Richard Wingfield was appointed marshal of the army in Ireland, was confirmed in the office by King James, was created Viscount Powerscourt in 1619, and died in 1634.

²⁰ John Hele.

²¹ Francis Gawdy (knighted, 1603), Justice of the Queen's Bench.

²² John Herbert.

²³ Julius Caesar.

²⁴ Thomas Hesketh (knighted, 1603).

²⁵ Sir John Brograve or Blagrave, Attorney of the Duchy of Lancaster.

²⁶ Sir Thomas Egerton.

²⁷ William Gilbert. Cf. Letter 1.

²⁸ Household. Chamberlain lived with Dr. Gilbert.

²⁹ Thomas Dove.

³⁰ Elizabeth, daughter of John Oglethorpe of Newington, Oxfordshire, and widow of John Alford of Fawley, Buckinghamshire, married Richard Mompasson (knighted, 1603). His first wife was Mary, sister of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, and widow of Edward Lord Dudley.

Our Lady Wallop³¹ is with child, to the no small joy of all the beholders. I remember nothing els but that the crosse in Cheape³² is going up, for all your vicechancellor of Oxford,³³ and some other od divines there have set downe theyre censure against yt. We have dayly here many new experiments made, as the last weeke one came hopping from Charing Crosse into Powles bounde in a sacke, and this morning another caried up a horse and rode upon him on the top of Powles steeple: with divers other such wagers, and among the rest Green that was lately your cousen Lyttons man hath set up a printed paper and doth challenge all commers at wrastling. When I was now bidding you farewell your brother Carleton comes in and prayes me to put in his commendations, and to tell you that your place in Oxford will tarry for you one yeare more. Vive vale. From London this third of February 1600.

Yours most assuredly

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

To my very goode frend Master Dudley Carleton geve these at the Haghe or elsewhere.

37. TO DUDLEY CARLETON.

[*S. P. Dom., Eliz., cclxxviii, 110.*]

[London, February 24, 1601.]

Goode Master Carleton, Yours of the 14 of this present found so redy passage that I marvayle how ours at other times stay so longe by the way. This is my fourth letter since the middle of January that I came from Knebworth, besides one I sent at my going thether, and yt is straunge to me that our yll newes shold flie so fast as to overtake you in five dayes, when our ordinarie letters can not find the way in five weekes. I was out of the way when your letter came, and when the

³¹ Wife of Sir Henry Wallop of Farleigh.

³² In Cheapside was one of the crosses set up by Edward I in 1290 to mark the stages of his journey to Westminster with the body of Queen Eleanor. In 1581 the cross was partly demolished by citizens. Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London, in 1600 proposed to have it rebuilt; the Puritans objected, but the Queen and the Council supported him.

³³ George Abbot, Master of University College.

messenger gave warning of his sodain departure, for the covie¹ is now dispersed, and we are driven to seeke our feeding farther of, our doctor being alredy settled in court, and I redy to go to Askot, and there and in such like places to lead a country life, so that you must take a short pittance, sith I am so shortened in time. I wrote you in my last² as well as I then could, the beginning and progresse of our troubles and as many particulars as I could bethinke me of in such hudling haste. No doubt you have many relations there by this time of all that happened, and you must excuse me yf I do not ingulfe my self into a longe narration without a constant settled winde to carry me thorough. I do not well remember whether I sent you word of Tom Leas³ traiterous enterprise to possesse himselfe of the privie chamber, which he communicated to Sir Henry Nevill⁴ that married my Lord Treasurers daughter and to Sir Rob: Crosse,⁵ who revealed him both atonce, and he being apprehended confest his meaning was but to have gotten the Quene to have signed a warrant for the noble mens deliverie, wherin yf he had found difficultie he knew not what wold have followed, and those shold have ben guiltie of any harme might come to her that had hindred his attempt, but at his arraignment though he were confronted by Sir Rob: Crosse and the rest, yet he stooode to the deniall, affirming his intent to be only to have angred her for one half howre that she might have lived the merrier all her life after, and in this tune died the 17 of this present at Tiborne, very resolutely and to seeming religiously. The 19 hereof the earles of Essex and Southampton were arraigned at Westminster, before the Lord Treasurer Lord high Steward of England for that day, and 25 of theyre peeres wherof were 9 erles and 16 barons. The only matters objected were his practise⁶ to surpris the court, his comming in armes into London to raise rebellion, and the defending his house against the Quenes forces: to the two later he answered that he was driven for safety of his life, to the former that yt was a matter only in consultation and not resolved upon, and yf yt had taken effect yt was only to pros-

¹ Dr. William Gilbert's household. Cf. Letter 36.

² This letter, doubtless telling of the Essex outbreak of February 8, is missing.

³ Captain Thomas Lee, "a kinsman of Sir Henry Lea the famous Knight of the Garter, a man of remarkable boldnesse, captaine of a company in Ireland, . . . and devoted to Essex." (Camden, *Annales*, p. 542.)

⁴ Mary, daughter of Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, married Sir Henry Neville, son of Edward, sixth Lord Abergavenny. He succeeded to the title in 1622.

⁵ "A captaine of a ship." (Camden, *Annales*, p. 542.)

⁶ Plot.

trate himself at her Majesties feet, and there manifest such matters against his enemies as should make them odious and remove them from about her person, and recall him to her former favour. This was the summe of his answer, but delivered with such bravery and so many wordes, that a man might easilie perceve that as he had ever lived popularly, so his cheife care was to leave a goode opinion in the peoples mindes now at parting. But the worst of all was his many and lowde protestations of his faith and loyaltie to the Quene and state, which no doubt caught and carried away a great part of the hearers, but I cannot be so easilie led to beleve protestations (though never so deep) against manifest proofe, yet I must needes say that one thing sticks much in many mens mindes, that whereas divers preachers were commaunded the Sondag before to deliver to the people among his other treasons that he had complotted with Tirone, and was reconciled to the Pope; and wheras Master Atturney⁷ at Tom Leas arraignment, averred the same combining with Tiron, and that he had practised by the meanes of seminarie preists with the Pope and the king of Spaine to be king of England: there was no such matter once mentioned at his arraignment, and yet there was time enough for yt, from nine a clocke in the morning till almost seven at night. At his coming to the bar his countenance was somewhat unsettled, but after he was once in, I assure you I never saw any go thorough with such boldnes, and shew of resolution, and contempt of death, but whether this courage were borrowed and put on for the time, or naturall yt were hard to judge. But I heare he begins to relent and among other faults to acknowledge and be sory for his arrogant (or rather as Master Secretarie⁸ well termed yt to his face) his impudent behavior at his arraignment: and which is more, to lay open the whole plot, and to appeach divers not yet called in question. His execution was expected on Saterdag, then yesterday, now to morrow or on Thursday.⁹ Most of the counsaile have ben with him these three or fowre dayes together. The earle of Southampton spake very well (but me thought somewhat too much as well as the other) and as a man that wold faine live pleaded hard to acquite himself, but all in vaine for yt could not be, wherupon he descended to intreatie, and moved great commiseration, and though he were generally well liked, yet me thought he was somewhat too low and submisse, and semed too loth to die before a prowde ennemie. Here have yet no more ben brought to triall, save nine the next day to

⁷ Edward Coke.

⁸ Sir Robert Cecil.

⁹ He was executed February 25.

the kinges bench bar, but six of them were caried back again without triall, and only Sir Ed: Bainham,¹⁰ John Littleton of Worcestershire and one Cap: Orwell¹¹ were condemned, but not yet executed, for yt is thought my Lord himself shall first lead the way, and then they shall follow thicke and threhold. Yet the generall opinion is there wilbe no great executions, for the Quene is very gracious and inclines much to mercy. Since I wrote last Savill of Eaton, Deane Woode, Dr. Fletcher,¹² Dr. Hawkins¹³ and divers others are committed to private custodie, and Sir Bromley¹⁴ to the Towre; yt is feared Sir John Scot¹⁵ may follow him. Sheriffe Smith¹⁶ and his wife are likewise in durance, and is thought are in daunger of misprision, once he is set beside his offices and another alderman, and another sheriffe chosen in his roome. Yt may be there be divers other things I should impart to you, yf either I had leysure, or that they came redilie to hand, but they can be of no moment, and I have gon beyond that I thought I could have don when I began. Your cousen Lytton is here with his trained band of 300 and other captaines with some 2000 men of the neighbor shires here about, and we have continuall watch and ward day and night in armes thorough the citie, and these straungers at court and places adjoyning. I thancke you for your large and liberall letter, but yet I heare not what course you meane to take with yourself, whether you come backe, or go for Italie: which way so ever you take I will wish you all prosperitie and so end. From London this Shrovetewsday the 24 of Febru: 1600.

Yours most assuredly

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

To my very goode frend Master Dudley Carleton geve these at the Haghe.

¹⁰ "A most lascivious man, and a contemner of Magistrates." (Camden, *Annales*, p. 549.)

¹¹ George Orell, "an old soldier." (Birch, *Memoirs*, ii, 496.)

¹² Giles Fletcher, author of *Licia*, Treasurer of St. Paul's for expressing sympathy for Essex was committed to the custody of Thomas Lowe, Alderman of London. He was soon released.

¹³ Henry Hawkins, civilian and diplomatist, was committed to the custody of Robert Lee, Alderman of London.

¹⁴ Sir Henry Bromley of Worcestershire, son of Sir Thomas Bromley, who in 1587 died Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was a brother-in-law of Sir John Scott.

¹⁵ Sir John Scott of Nettlestead, Kent. His wife was Katherine, daughter of Thomas Smythe of Westenhanger, Kent, and sister of Elizabeth, wife of Chamberlain's friend, Sir Henry Fanshawe of Ware Park, Hertfordshire.

¹⁶ Thomas Smythe (knighted, 1603) and his wife, Sarah, daughter of William Blount. He was the second son of Thomas Smythe of Westenhanger, Kent.

38. TO DUDLEY CARLETON.

[S. P. Dom., Eliz., cclxxix, 91.]

[London, May 27, 1601.]

Goode Master Carleton, I am driven to such straights that I know not what to say, but *quid scribam aut non scribam?* The uncertaintie of your stay, my long absence from this towne, the unluckiness of my letters to be lost or overlooked, and the difficultie of finding fit messengers have almost quite discouraged me, and made me a truand *en vostre endroit*, for so will I acknowledge yt to you, howsoever to others I could salve and make all whole with passable and pregnant excuses, but with so goode a frend I will never disguise but tell the plaine troth, and (which is worst) without hope of amendes; for I know not how to redeeme that is past with future diligence, being (since the dissolution of our societie) ¹ become altogether a countriman and not appearing here but as termer. I could dilate longe upon this theme, but having very short warning of my Lord of Northumberlands ² departure, I am forced to knit up all I have to say in a narrowe roome and time and rather acquaint you with particular affaires, then any publike busines, which you may better learne of this bringer, who as your sisters tell me is to go this night and now yt is even supper time, so that you must accept in goode part whatsoever comes next to hand in this hudling haste. Your frends have not ben unmindfull of you, for upon the first bruit ³ that Master Cecill ⁴ shold go ambassador ligger into Fraunce, your cousen Lytton ⁵ was with him to make your way, but both he, Master Bodley,⁶ Sir Rob: Sidney, Sir Ed: Wotton, Sir Tho: Parry, Sir Ant: Mildmay, and some others that were named in that place having flatly refused or avoyded yt, as yet *sub iudice lis est* which of them or whether any at all is to be sent. In the meane time Master Winwood ⁷ supplieth the place and hath the Quenes letters to the French king for his credence. Sir Harry Nevill ⁸ is in the Towre which at first made many men thincke

¹ Dr. William Gilbert's household. Cf. Letters 36, 37.² Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland.³ Report.⁴ Presumably Edward Cecil (knighted, 1601; created Viscount Wimbledon, 1626), third son of Thomas, second Lord Burghley.⁵ Rowland Lytton.⁶ Thomas Bodley.⁷ Ralph Winwood.⁸ Sir Henry Neville, ambassador to France, 1599-1600, imprisoned for complicity in the Essex rebellion.

he shold come to his aunswer, but this whole terme having past without any arraignment, makes me thincke there shalbe no more bloude drawne in that cause, the rather for that there is a commission to certain of the counsaile to raunsome and fine the lords and gentlemen that were in the action, and have alrede rated Rutland ⁹ at 30000^l, Bedford ¹⁰ at 20000^l, Sands ¹¹ at ten^m, Mouteagle ¹² at 8000, and Cromwell ¹³ at 6000, Catesby ¹⁴ at 4000 marks, Tresham ¹⁵ at 3000 markes, Percies ¹⁶ and Mannors ¹⁷ at 500^l and 500 marks; the rest at other summes *et sic de ceteris*. Only my countryman Massam ¹⁸ is not yet dispatcht, nor knowes not his paine. Our two new knights of the garter the earle of Darbie ¹⁹ and the Lord Burghley ²⁰ were installed yesterday at Windsor. The earle of Marre ²¹ went away the last weeke and left behind him the report of a courtly and well advised gentleman. The Lord Zouch ²² is come out of Gernesey being sent for as is thought to go ambassador into Scotland. The Moscovie ambassador ²³ tooke his leave at court on Sunday was sevenight like a dauncing beare and is gon homeward. The Spaniards have taken a rich ship worth 40000^l of our Turkie marchants comming out of the Levant. There is a commission for a new sale of the Quenes lands. The Lord Cobham ²⁴ hath married the Lady of Kildare ²⁵ but I heare of no great agreement. Here were lately 15 or 16 youths of goode houses taken as they were going over to the seminaries. Antony Bacon died not long since but so far in debt, that I thincke his brother ²⁶ is litle the better by him. I heare that Sir Ed: Norris shold be dangerously sicke. He was noted of late

⁹ Roger Manners, fifth Earl of Rutland.¹⁰ Edward Russell, third Earl of Bedford.¹¹ William, third Lord Sandys.¹² William Parker, fourth Lord Monteagle.¹³ Edward, third Lord Cromwell.¹⁴ Robert, son of Sir William Catesby of Lapworth, Warwickshire.¹⁵ Francis Tresham, brother-in-law of Lord Monteagle.¹⁶ Sir William and Sir Josceline Percy, sons of Henry, eighth Earl of Northumberland.¹⁷ Francis Manners, brother of Roger, fifth Earl of Rutland. He succeeded to the earldom in 1612.¹⁸ William, son of William Masham, Sheriff of London in 1583.¹⁹ William Stanley, sixth Earl of Derby.²⁰ Thomas Cecil, second Lord Burghley.²¹ John Erskine, second or seventh Earl of Mar of the Erskine line, ambassador from James VI of Scotland to Elizabeth.²² Edward, eleventh Lord Zouche of Harringworth, Deputy-Governor of Guernsey.²³ Meklin.²⁴ Henry Brooke, eighth Lord Cobham.²⁵ Frances, daughter of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, and widow of Henry Fitzgerald, twelfth Earl of Kildare.²⁶ Francis Bacon (knighted, 1603).

to make mony by all meanes possible as though he had some great enterprise or purchase in his head. The younge Lady Compton²⁷ is brought abed of a sonne, and yet the hardhead her father²⁸ relents nere a whit. I send you here these shreds as patternes, that by these gentlemens meanes that come over with my Lord of Northumberland you may match them out of the whole cloth. I go to morrow to Knebworth²⁹ though I came lately thence about the middle of this last terme, being sent for from Askot³⁰ some three weekes before to meet your cousen and Mistris Lytton at Farley³¹ about a match for my wife³² which is since dispatcht with younge Gifford³³ a kinseman of her owne: she asked me kindly for you, and willed me to remember her to you. Your cousen Lytton with her two daughters the Lady Wallop³⁴ and Mistris Cary³⁵ are all with child and my cousen Stukeleys wife³⁶ comes in to make up the messe. Kate Cheyney is toward a husband, and Master Edmunds³⁷ your good frend, hath married a sole daughter of one Woode clerke of the signet. You see this is a great yeare of wiving and childing; yf you were here you were like inough to be in daunger of one of them, and the other not impossible as Master Winwood wrote me lately of a priest at Paris that is with child at this instant. I know I have forgot many things and put that last that I meant first, but you must *æqui bonique consulere* whatsoever cannot now be amended and so wishing you all health and goode hap, and to know how you will settle and how I may send, I bid you farewell this 27 of May 1601. From my lodging at Wingfeld House in more then post haste.

Yours most assuredly

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

To my especiall goode frend Master Dudley Carleton geve these at the Haghe or elsewhere in Holland.

²⁷ Elizabeth, wife of William, second Lord Compton.

²⁸ Sir John Spencer. Cf. Letters 16, 19.

²⁹ The Hertfordshire house of Rowland Lytton.

³⁰ Ascott, Oxfordshire, the house of Michael Dormer.

³¹ Farleigh, Hampshire, the seat of Sir Henry Wallop.

³² Winifred Wallop. Cf. Letter 26.

³³ Sir Richard Gifford of Sombourne, Hampshire.

³⁴ Elizabeth, wife of Sir Henry Wallop of Farleigh, and stepdaughter of Rowland Lytton.

³⁵ Anne, stepdaughter of Rowland Lytton, and wife of Adolphus Cary, son of Sir Edward Cary of Aldenham, Hertfordshire.

³⁶ Elizabeth, daughter of John Goodwin of Over Winchingdon, Buckinghamshire, a relative of Carleton. She was the wife of Thomas Stukeley, son of Hugh Stukeley and his wife, Chamberlain's sister Elizabeth.

³⁷ Thomas Edmondes married Magdalen, daughter of John Wood.

39. TO DUDLEY CARLETON.

[London, July 8, 1601.]

Goode Master Carleton: I am glad you are so well lodged and settled at Paris, where I hope my letters shall have better lucke and meanes to finde you out for though you complaine not, yet I must accuse my extraordinarie yll fortune since your last going over, that though by reason of my absence I wrote not so often, nor as yt were weekely, (as I was wont to do,) yet of those I did write I cannot perceve that halfe are come to your handes, and I take the losse of the last more impatiently then the rest, which (by your sisters meanes) was committed to Master Burgoin that went over with the earle of Northumberland: for therein I certified you of Sir Ed: Norris sicknes and some other things I was willing you shold know. I wrote not since that time by reason of the uncertainty of your abode, and your brother Carleton (who was here in the terme) made full account, you wold be here without fayle: which I could have wished had so fallen out, for I perceve by him that Sir Edward is not so thoroughly recovered, but that he is in daunger of a relapse, which yt were goode you listened after: for though he had dealt very kindly and bountifully with you yf he had gon in his last sicknes, yet I am perswaded your presence had doubled his kindenes, for I presume he had as much confidence in you as in Captain Wainman and Cap: Whiddon,¹ whom he had made his executors. I know nothing more in this matter then I had from your brother, who no doubt hath certified you of all to the full, yf he have written since that time; or els Master Bolton,² yf he be so kinde to deale plainly with you: wherefore in my opinion yt were not amisse (yf you understand Sir Edward to continue still crasie)³ to take the first opportunitie or least invitement to come over and be about him, but you are best able to geve yourself counsayle in this case, and I at my going to Askot within these three or fowre dayes, will learne what I can and geve you advertisement, and cause your brother to do the like. Your sister Williams and her crew went to Aldersbrooke in Whitsonweeke, so that I saw them not since I delivered them my last letter to you to be sent, which (as I say) I am

¹ Sir Richard Wenman and George Whiddon.

² William Boulton wrote Carleton telling him that his master, Sir Edward Norris, had made his will, and left Carleton a lease of £60 a year and some money. (S. P. Dom., Eliz., July 11, 1601.)

³ Ill.

Upon the posts lingering I have kept this letter open a day or two longer in which space I have learned that the bullet is lately cut out from under the bone of Sir Fra: Veres eye, and that he is perfectly cured. The Quenes letters have wronge from him a captaines place in the Briell for Warberton the pencioner. I forgot to write you that Clarke the gentleman-usher died before Mighelmas. Your old frend Captaine Calfhill²⁰ was employed in the Quenes ships, and came home sicke to Plimmouth before the rest of the fleet: where he was brought very lowe and leane, but upon his recoverie, and his stomacke comming to him againe, he so laid about him, that they say he burst with eating. The Lord Keper²¹ is gon into the countrie upon pretence that the small poxe be in his house, but some will needs suspect that to be *non causa pro causa*. The Quene dined this day at Master Secretaries,²² where they say there is great varietie of entertainment prepared for her, and many rich jewells and presents. Yt is somewhat spoken of about the court that they heare no oftener out of Fraunce, and you are counted but slacke there amonge you but this is to your self and so kepe yt. *Iterum atque iterum vale*. This 6th of December 1602.

57. TO DUDLEY CARLETON.

[S. P. Dom., Eliz., cclxxxvi, 13.]

[London, December 23, 1602.]

Goode Master Carleton, I am litle beholding to the post that brought Master Winwods letters and yours of the 23th of the last and 7th of this present: for he kept them a whole weeke in his hand after his arrivall, so that I had scant leysure to run over the inclosed discourse, for that your brother was to go that day homeward, and Sir Edward Norreis went away not past two dayes before. A third of the 12 of this present I receved three dayes since. In aunswer to all which I can say litle for the present, being full fraught with splene and indignation of such unworthie usage, and he were a wise man could tell what were best to

²⁰ Perhaps Toby Caulfeild (knighted, 1603), son of Alexander Caulfeild of Great Milton, Oxfordshire.

²¹ Sir Thomas Egerton.

²² Sir Robert Cecil's house in the Strand.

be don in the case, but at all adventures I wold you had sett all at sixe and seven in the instant, and left him¹ in the lurch: whereas now *lupum auribus tenes* and it is alike difficult and daungerous to hold or let go. I understand Master Winwod is to come shortly away, but I doubt his absence will not remove the mischeife, for there is some further matter of degenerate jealousie that will not endure your sun shold dimme his torch. Howsoever yt be I looke for no goode ende of so bad beginnings, but wish you to resolve some other way, and what course soever you take shall have my voyce, for I know yt wilbe grounded upon reason and judgement; and no man can give you better advise then your self, because all circumstances and your owne inclination (which is not the least point to be considered) are better knowne to your self then to any looker on, but yf you rest unsatisfied in your self, and relie more upon other mens opinion I dare not alone undertake such a taske that requires the heads and hands of all your best frends. I am going to morrow to kepe Christmas at Knebworth,² whether I am so vehemently urged, that yt were no goode manner to forsake them now in theyre solitarines, havinge alwayes had so great part of theyre pleasure and plentie. I mean not to stay there long, and whatsoever we can hammer out there together you shall heare by my next. I make full account that when your honorable frend³ shall understand the whole matter, he will not be quiet till he see you better provided: and that this disgrace will double his care and kindnes towards you. I have pacified Wat Cope in shewing him what you write touching his papers: Master Secretarie⁴ did him a very extraordinarie favor to admit him a partner in his entertainment to the Quene and to permit him to present her with some toyes in his house, for the which he had many fayre wordes, but as yet cannot get into the privie chamber, though he expect yt dayly. You like the Lord Kepers devises⁵ so yll, that I cared not to get Master Secretaries that were not

¹ Sir Thomas Parry, the ambassador at Paris, who had left England unwillingly and only after many delays. Carleton, as one of his secretaries, had preceded him. Thomas Edmondos wrote Carleton: "I dealt with him concerning you and the others named to be his secretaries, and he promised not to wrong you nor pester himself with men of their extravagant condition. Master Winwod is to stay there some months, until it be tried how your master will discharge the business." (S. P. Dom., Eliz., July 7, 1602.)

² Rowland Lytton's home in Hertfordshire. Lytton's wife had died recently.

³ Sir Edward Norris, to whom Chamberlain was requested to mention Parry's treatment of Carleton.

⁴ Sir Robert Cecil. Cf. Letter 56.

⁵ The devices presented at Sir Thomas Egerton's house at Harefield, Middlesex, July 31-August 3. (Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, iv, 67-68.)

much better, saving a pretty dialogue of John Davies⁶ twixt a maide, a widow and a wife, which I do not thincke but Master Saunders hath seen, and no doubt will come out one of these dayes in print with the rest of his workes. The Lord Admiralls⁷ feasting the Quene had nothing extraordinarie, neither were his presents so precious as was expected, being only a whole suit of apparell, whereas yt was thought he wold have bestowed his rich hangings of all the fights with the Spanish Armada in eightie eight. These feastinges have had theyre effect to stay the court here this Christmas, though most of the cariages were well onward on theyre way to Richmond. The Quene christned the French ambassadors daughter, by her deputie the Lady Marquise,⁸ the countesse of Worcester⁹ and the Lord Admiralle being the other assistants. There is some fertile planet abrode that layes downe our Ladies so fast, for the Lord Thomas Howards,¹⁰ Sir Rob: Sidneys¹¹ and young Mistris Hatton¹² are all in the straw, and the Lady Wallop¹³ with our Mistris Anne or Smith¹⁴ are prettelie forward. You may tell Master Saunders that the Bishop of London,¹⁵ Sir John Scot and the Lady Hatton¹⁶ were gossippes to Master Fanshawes sister¹⁷ and have made another grand Christopher.¹⁸ Here is a buzze alredy that the Lord of Northumberland¹⁹ shall go to the christening of your Fille de France.²⁰ Yf yt so fall out, you may bethinke your self what use might be made of yt. Dr.

⁶ John Davies, author of *Orchestra* and *Nosce Teipsum*. (*Ibid.*, iii, 248-249.)

⁷ Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham. Cf. Letter 56.

⁸ Lucy, daughter of Thomas Cecil, Lord Burghley, and wife of William Paulet, fourth Marquis of Winchester.

⁹ Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon, and wife of Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester.

¹⁰ Katherine, daughter of Sir Henry Knyvet of Charlton, and wife of Thomas Lord Howard de Walden.

¹¹ Barbara, daughter of John Gamage of Coity, Glamorganshire.

¹² Alice, sister of Henry Fanshawe of Ware Park, Hertfordshire, and wife of Christopher Hatton (knighted, 1603) of Kirby, Northamptonshire, kinsman and heir of Lord Chancellor Hatton, who died in 1591.

¹³ Elizabeth, stepdaughter of Rowland Lytton, and wife of Sir Henry Wallop.

¹⁴ Presumably Anne, wife of William Smith, and sister of Chamberlain's friend, Dr. William Gilbert.

¹⁵ Richard Bancroft.

¹⁶ Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Cecil, second Lord Burghley, widow of Sir William Hatton, and now the wife of Edward Coke, Attorney General.

¹⁷ Presumably the "young Mistris Hatton" of the preceding sentence. Chamberlain sometimes let several days intervene between beginning a letter and finishing it.

¹⁸ This child probably died in infancy. The eldest surviving son was also named Christopher and was baptised at Barking, Essex, July 11, 1605.

¹⁹ Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland.

²⁰ Cf. Letter 56.

Mount²¹ master of the Savoy is lately dead and Dr. Neale²² Master Secretaries chaplain hath his roome. We heare that Ostend had almost ben betrayed by the Sergeant Major, who is apprehended and sent to the Haghe.²³ Tirrell²⁴ was almost taken again in a straight but for the unluckie going of of a peece whereat he tooke the alarme and got away, but some of his companie paide the reckening. Our commissioners²⁵ at Breme they say are comming home over land and cannot agree with the Danes. Alderman Skinners eldest sonne²⁶ having spent the most part of that he had and bought a place in Barwicke, hath ben tampering with somewhat that he is called in question for, and clapt up close prisoner in the Gatehouse. The small pockes drave the Lord Keper²⁷ into the countrie, but his house continueng still infected, he and his Lady are returned and lodge at the Rolles.²⁸ There is no shew of any great doings at court this Christmas. Sir Walter Raleigh hath caried away the Lord Cobham, the Lord Compton and others to Sherbourn, and Sir John Harrington²⁹ meanes to kepe a royall Christmas in Rutlandshire having the earles of Rutland and Bedford, Sir John Gray and Sir Harry Carie with theyre Ladies, the earle of Pembroke, Sir Robert Sidney and many moe gallants. Yesterday when no body lookt for yt Sir Edward Wotton was made Controller³⁰ and Sir William Knolles translated Treasurer. The litle gentlewoman without Creplegate³¹ sends you word that her mother marvayles she cannot heare of you. I have sent you here an almanach that you may see how our yeare passeth away, which I wish as happy to you as I wish to my self, and so being redy to horsebacke I commit you to God. From London this 23 of 10^{ber} 1602.

Yours most assuredly

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

To my assured frend Master Dudley Carleton geve these at the Lord Ambassadors in Paris.

²¹ William Mount.

²² Richard Neile, ultimately Archbishop of York.

²³ Cf. *Cal. Salisbury MSS.*, xii, 498, 506, 515.

²⁴ Cf. Letter 55.

²⁵ Cf. Letter 51.

²⁶ John Skinner, son of Thomas Skinner, Lord Mayor of London in 1596, bought the chamberlainship of Berwick of Sir John Carey, later third Lord Hunsdon.

²⁷ Sir Thomas Egerton.

²⁸ The Rolls House in Chancery Lane. The site is now occupied by the Public Record Office.

²⁹ Of Exton, Rutlandshire.

³⁰ Of the Royal Household.

³¹ One of Carleton's sisters.

Spaine hath sent out eight men of warre to way-lay and intercept him yf he chaunce to touch at the Terceras or thereabout: and some are comming to the coast of England. One Griffith¹⁵ a Welch pirate is lately taken at Corke in Ireland and his lands which some geve out to be 500^l a yeare geven to the Lord Gray¹⁶ to hold him up a while longer. The last I wrote you was about the tenth or eleventh of this present, and I sent yt (with a booke or two) by one Gresham that kepes a bugle shop in St. Martins.

To my assured goode frend Master Dudley Carleton geve these at the Lord Ambassadors in Paris.

62. TO DUDLEY CARLETON.

[S. P. Dom., Jac. I, i, 6.]

[London, March 30, 1603.]

Sir, I have not written since I receved yours of the 8th of this present after your stile, for we were held in suspence and know not how nor what to write, the passages being stopt,¹ and all conveyance so daungerous and suspitious. I make no question but you have heard of our great losse before this come at you: and no doubt but you shall heare her Majesties sicknes and manner of death diversly related: for even here the papists do tell strange stories, as utterly voyde of truth, as of all civill honestie or humanitie. I had a goode meanes² to understand how the world went, and finde her disease to be nothing but a setled and unremovable melancholie, insomuch that she could not be won or perswaded neither by the counsaile, Divines, phisitians, nor the women about her once to tast or touch any phisicke: though ten or twelve phisitians that were continually about her did assure her with all manner of asseverations of perfect and easie recoverie yf she wold follow theyre advise. So that yt cannot be saide of her as yt was of the Emperor Adrian that *turba medicorum occidit regem*, for they say she died only

¹⁵ Perhaps Piers Griffith, who died in 1628.

¹⁶ Thomas, fifteenth Lord Grey of Wilton.

¹ On account of Queen Elizabeth's death, March 24.

² His friend, William Gilbert, physician to the Queen.

for lack of phisicke. Here was some whispering that her braine was somewhat distemperd, but there was no such matter, only she held an obstinate silence for the most part, and because she had a persuasion that yf she once lay downe she shold never rise, could not be gotten to bed in a whole weeke till three dayes before her death: so that after three weekes languishing she departed the 24 of this present being our Ladies eve between two and three in the morning, as she was born on our Ladies eve in September: and as one Lee³ was maior of London when she came to her crowne, so is there one Lee⁴ maior now that she left yt. The archbishop of Caunterburie,⁵ the bishop of London,⁶ the Almoner⁷ and other her chaplains and Divines had accesse to her in her sicknes divers times, to whom she gave goode testimonie of her faith by word, but specially towards her end by signes when she was speachles, and would not suffer the archbishop to depart as longe as she had sence, but held him twise or thrise when he was going and could no longer indure both by reason of his owne weakenes and compassion of hers. She made no will, nor gave any thinge away, so that they which come after shall finde a well stored jewell house and a rich wardrobe of more then 2000 gownes with all things els aunswerable. The nobilitie and counsaile came from Richmond that morning and before ten a clock had proclaimed Kinge James at White-hall, Templebar and so forward in Cheapside and other places. Sir Rob: Carie was the first that of his owne motion carried newes of her death into Scotland. The next day the Lords sent Sir Charles Percy and Thomas Somerset with the proclamation and letters to the Kinge: and yesterday Master Carie⁸ a master of the chauncerie and Master Lakes⁹ were dispatcht about other busines. There is much posting that way and many run thether of theyre owne errand, as yf yt were nothing els but first come first served, or that preferment were a goale to be got by footmanship: among whom Nevill¹⁰ that pretends to be Lord Latimer and earle of Westmorland, Sir Henry Bromly, Sir Thomas Challoner, John Davies the poet and Payton¹¹ the lieutenants sonne of the Towre hope to be with the foremost. We attend¹² him here with great devotion and begin to thincke long till we have him. The Lords have sent to know his pleasure whether he will come by land or sea, for which purpose there be eight or

³ Thomas Lee or Leigh.

⁴ Robert Lee.

⁵ John Whitgift.

⁶ Richard Bancroft.

⁷ Anthony Watson, Lord Almoner and Bishop of Chichester.

⁸ George Carew.

⁹ Thomas Lake.

¹⁰ Edward Neville. Cf. Letter 12.

¹¹ John, the son of Sir John Peyton.

¹² Await.

ten ships redy that were going for the coast of Spaine, but do now tary to kepe the narrow seas. Surely the counsaile dealt very providently and beyond that that was to be expected or hoped for in so sodain an accident: and no doubt but God did direct them seing all things past so quietly and in goode order. During the Quenes sicknes some principall papists were made sure, and some daungerous companions clapt up, among whom Sir Edmund Bainham was committed to the Marshalsee for some desperat speaches (they say) against the Kinge: but yt shold seeme there was no great matter, for I heare he is now at libertie again. Here was a rumor two dayes since that the Lord Beauchamp¹³ stooode out and gathered forces, but yt was a false alarme for word is come since that his father was one of the formost in his countrie to proclaime the Kinge. The counsaile went on Satterday to Richmond and that night late brought the corps with an honorable attendaunce to Whitehall where the houshold remains: the body was not opened but wrapt up in seareclothes and other preservatives. Sir Henry Davers was dispatcht on Sunday to carrie the proclamation into Ireland, whence we have heard nothing a goode while. Your old frend and acquaintaunce Dr. Doyly¹⁴ died about a fortnight since, and Sir Harry Killegre¹⁵ much about the same time. Archimbald Douglas¹⁶ the Scot that had ben a dealer and jugler on both sides, died here likewise in a goode howre before he was afraide. The Lord Chandos¹⁷ that had secretly married the Lady Strange and younge Egerton¹⁸ the Lady Frances her sister do now publish theyre mariage and make no more daintie. We heare the Archduke¹⁹ hath great store of men, shipping and gallies at Sluse, and because yt is knowne that Spinola²⁰ hath ben covertly in Zeland and taken view and measure of theyre dikes yt is supposed that he hath some desseign to cut theyre sea-walles and drowne the whole yland. The Dunkirkers have ben very busie with us of late, and betwene Quinborow and Lee tooke three pinckes comming from Flushing wherof one was better worth then ten thowsand pound. We heare that the kinge of Denmarks brother that married the Muscovites daugh-

¹³ Edward, son of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford. Through his mother, Lady Catherine Grey, he was a possible candidate for the succession.

¹⁴ Thomas D'Oyly.

¹⁵ Sir Henry Killigrew.

¹⁶ Archibald Douglas, grandson of John Douglas, second Earl of Morton, was concerned in the murder of both Rizzio and Darnley. In 1586 King James of Scotland sent him as an ambassador to Queen Elizabeth.

¹⁷ Grey Brydges, fifth Lord Chandos, married Anne, eldest daughter of Ferdinando Stanley, fifth Earl of Derby.

¹⁸ John Egerton married Frances Stanley.

¹⁹ Albert of Austria.

²⁰ Ambrose, Marquis of Spinola.

ter the last yeare is dead wherof our marchants are nothing sory. The kinge of Denmarke is dayly looked for in Scotland, and yf he come before the kinge get thence yt is thought he will come along with him. The Lady Wallop²¹ was brought to bed of a daughter here in towne the 23 of this moneth. The Lord Cobham is even now taking poste to go toward the kinge and do his wonted goode offices: but the Lordes do so little like his going that I thincke his errand wilbe there before him, or soone overtake him. This alteration hath reculed²² Master Winwods imployment till the kings coming or some commission from him. I know not whether you have seen the kings booke²³ before, but I send yt at all adventures, for yt is new here. The other booke will serve when you have leysure to laugh, for both in the matter, and manner of setting yt downe you shall finde pretty knavery. Your frends are all in goode health and so wishing to you, I commit you to Gods holy protection. From London this 30th of March 1603.

Yours most assuredly

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

To my assured goode frend Master Dudley Carleton.

63. TO DUDLEY CARLETON.

[S. P. Dom., Jac. I, i, 21.]

[London, April 12, 1603.]

Sir, Yt may be you have not heard of Sir Edward Norris his sicknes, wherof though I can send you no certaintie, (I meane touching the daunger or hope of recoverie) yet I thought goode to geve you this notice as a matter that neerely concernes you, and that wold require your presence yf you may be spared: and of that minde are your other frends who have likewise to confer with you about another busines, wherin I can say litle, but only of a foolish prejudicate fansie of mine owne, and therefore will leave yt to your owne discussing. I confesse all likelihoods and

²¹ Elizabeth, stepdaughter of Rowland Lytton, and wife of Sir Henry Wallop of Farleigh, Hampshire.

²² Forced back, delayed.

²³ *Basilicon Doron*. Cf. Letter 53.

towards you. In truth I forgat to tell you of yt till now, so that yt you have no notice of yt by other meanes, you may do well in your next letter to him to make mention of yt as from me. We heare that the King begins to disgest his late losse,² and seemes to have no more feeling of so rude a blowe, but geves order that the younge Prince³ be kept within a stricter compasse then the former, and not to exceed his ordinarie in diet or followers, or any other course of shew or charge: from Roiston he was to go yesterday to the Lord Chamberlains new house at Audley End,⁴ from whence we expect some resolution in some matters that have hung so long in suspence, but fall backe, fall edge, I am fully resolved not to wearie nor trouble myself any further with the greedie and anxious attending the yssue of such uncertainties. The crie runs now these two dayes full and whole with Sir Thomas Lake:⁵ the beginning of the weeke was all with Sir Fra: Bacon, and the later end of the last with a new man never named before, which was Sir Fulke Grivell, who came in so freshly that he was certainly saide to be as yt were in possession; thus you may see how we are caried about with every wind, and indeed I never knew the like varietie and uncertaintie of report and discourse. The same rumors we have about the Lord Treasurer who alters almost every day, and now is lighted on the Lord Cooke⁶ as most likelie and there hath rested alreedy fowre dayes. The counsaile have ben busied all this weeke in examining certain persons about reports geven foorth touching some differences shold fall out at the counsaile table twixt the Lord Archbishop⁷ and the Lord Privie Seale.⁸ Divers have ben committed (as they say) to close prison for yt among the rest one Varney and one Minors of the court, Sir Richard Cocks sonne to the bishop of Ely,⁹ with some others of Grayes Ynne and other places. The world doth mervayle how such a matter shold be taken so hainously, and thincke *vix Priamus tanti*. Baylie¹⁰ that made the sermon I wrote you of the last weeke was before them on Monday, and how he behaved himself I know not but he was dismissed without disgrace, and walkes the streets. On Sondag night seven seminarie priests brake out of Newgate and I heare not of any of them

² The death of Henry, Prince of Wales.

³ Prince Charles.

⁴ The house of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk, near Saffron Walden, Essex.

⁵ For the post of Principal Secretary.

⁶ Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas.

⁷ George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury.

⁸ Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton.

⁹ Lancelot Andrewes.

¹⁰ Lewis Bayly. Cf. Letter 154.

taken again but one. Much about the time of the Princes sicknes there was a chapter of the garter held or to be held wherin the Count Palatin¹¹ and the Grave Maurice¹² were to be elected into the order. The last weeke Norton¹³ the Stationer died of this new disease, leaving a great estate they say as well in land as goods. Yt is observed that without any blasing star or other extraordinarie signe this hath ben a dismall yeare to great personages, and that within the compasse of litle more then twelve moneths, we have lost an emperor, a king of Sweden, a Quene and a daughter of Spaine, a Quene of Denmarke, a prince of Britain, a duke of Orleans, a duke of Venice, two electors, besides our litle great Lord Treasurer,¹⁴ the Count Soissons, Count Hanaw and others. This day Sergeant Dodderidge¹⁵ is made a Judge of the Kings Bench and Sergeant Nicolls¹⁶ of the Commonpleas. So with all due remembrance to my goode Lady I commend you to Gods holy protection. From London this 26th of November 1612.

Your Lordships to commaund

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

I have made shift to send you Sir Walter Copes oration.

To the right honorable Sir Dudley Carleton knight his Majesties Ambassador at Venice.

156. TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.

[S. P. Dom., Jac. I, lxxi, 65.]

[London, December 17, 1612.]

My very goode Lord: Since I wrote last I have receved two of yours dated the 6th and the 20th of November. Touching the advertisement from the Haghe I know not what to aunswer.¹ For mine owne part I

¹¹ Frederick, who was soon to marry the Princess Elizabeth.

¹² Count Maurice of Nassau.

¹³ John Norton.

¹⁴ Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury.

¹⁵ Sir John Doddridge.

¹⁶ Sir Augustine Nicolls.

¹ On November 20 Carleton wrote that Winwood had written him of a rumor, started probably by Wotton, that he wished to be called home from

am sure I have geven no cause of venting any peice of that desseign, and for the Agent yt never came within my conceit, neither can I ymagine whence yt shold proceed, unles yt were from some great ones to whom perhaps yt might be imparted by way of assistance: or rather to tell you my opinion plainly, yt is most likely to be some *caquet des femmes*, which be too busie and entermeddle too much on all sides. The next day after the terme Sir Richard Cockes² and five others were fined in the Star-chamber some at 3000 marks, others at a 1000 and the least at 500, for reporting or hearing somewhat concerning the Lord Privie Seale,³ who there made a long speach in his owne purgation: but howsoever these fines be executed or no (as most men beleve they will not, but that only yt was don *in terrorem*) yet the precedent is thought straunge, and the Lord hath got no great advantage, but only this, that men must learne not to speake of great ones *ni en bien ni en mal*. Baylie⁴ the princes chaplain that made the suspicious sermon at St. Martins was injoynd by the counsaile to explaine himself in the same place, which he did the Sunday following and that so soundly that in a very great audience he made the matter much more plaine, relating the whole matter as yt passed at the counsaile table, with justifieng and offering to make prooffe or bring his authors for what he had saide. Divers other preachers have ben busie in the same kind, and how yt comes to passe or upon what grounds I know not, but they take the alarme, and begin to speake freely, or at least so feelingly that they make themselves understoode though they kepe within compasse, so that I perceve yt is not goode *irritare crabrones*, or to meddle with these pulpit-hornets as our Doctor was wont to call them. The same day the princes funerall was kept here, there was a solemne obsequie for him at Oxford with a sermon and a funerall oration⁵ after yt at St. Maries and the like⁶ in the afternoone at Christ Church, both which places were hangd and furnished with blacks, and they have set out a booke of Latin elegies and funerall verses.⁷ Our Cambrige men are nothing so forward nor officious only I heare of some verses are set

Venice in the hope that he might succeed Winwood at The Hague, and that his place at Venice might best be filled by an agent, "without the charge or quality of an ambassador." On November 27, however, he wrote that he thought the report had been started by Sir Thomas Lake for the purpose of helping him.

² Cf. Letter 155.

³ Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton.

⁴ Cf. Letters 154, 155.

⁵ By Richard Corbet of Christ Church. (Birch, *Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, p. 366.)

⁶ By William Goodwin, Dean of Christ Church. (*Ibid.*, p. 365.)

⁷ *Iusta Oxoniensium*, London, 1612, and *Luctus Posthumus*, Oxford, 1612.

out or geven to some few but not publikly sold⁸: but they are now very busie in preparing exercises and playes against the Palgraves⁹ comming who is expected there soone after Christmas. The Lord Lile¹⁰ hath lost his eldest sonne Sir William Sidney of the small pockes, which were well come out and yet he went away on the sodain; he hath now but one sonne¹¹ left. Old Sir Thomas Sherly,¹² Will Stafford,¹³ and Sir John (or Ajax) Harrington¹⁴ are dead of late. Master Rossingham¹⁵ came some three weekes since out of Spaine, so Spagnolised, that I scant knew him till he saluted me. I heare the cheife cause of his returne was the death of his wife. Master Trumball¹⁶ (as I understand) is to come over shortly, and shalbe sworne clarke of the counsaile. The King came from Roiston to Tiballs on Tewsday and is expected here about the end of this weeke or the beginning of the next. We looke now dayly for the naming of new officers, and Sir H. N.¹⁷ was never neerer the marke, which yf he hit not now I will beleve no more secret assurances. Sir Henry Savile comes to towne to morrow or next day to Sir Edward Hobbies house in the Blacke Friers, and there to kepe Christmas and tarrie the most part of this winter, which hath ben hitherto so wet and warme as I never knew the like. Sir Fraunces Bacon hath set out new essayes, where in a chapter of deformitie the world takes notice that he paints out his late litle cousin¹⁸ to the life. Sir Harry Wotton hath printed a sheet of paper for an apologie in the matter objected to him by Schoppius,¹⁹ and dedicated yt to Velser of Augusta. I have ben promised a sight of yt once or twice but cannot yet light upon yt. There was a priest one Latham or Mollineux handg at Tiborne some ten dayes since, who died very confidently or rather indeed desperatly in such a cause. The matter is not well handled in mine opinion, to suffer them

⁸ *Epicedium Cantabrigiense in obitum immaturum semperque defendum Henrici illustrissimi principis Walliæ*, London, 1612.

⁹ Frederick, Elector Palatine.

¹⁰ Robert Sidney, Viscount Lisle.

¹¹ Robert, who upon his father's death in 1626 became the second Earl of Leicester.

¹² Sir Thomas Shirley or Sherley of Wiston, Sussex, father of Sir Anthony, Sir Thomas, and Sir Robert.

¹³ William Stafford, second son of Sir William Stafford, and younger brother of Sir Edward.

¹⁴ Sir John Harrington of Kelston, Somersetshire, epigrammatist and letter-writer, translator of *Orlando Furioso*, and author of the Rabelaisian *Metamorphosis of Ajax*.

¹⁵ Edward Rossingham.

¹⁶ William Trumbull, agent to the Archduke Albert at Brussels.

¹⁷ Sir Henry Neville.

¹⁸ Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury.

¹⁹ Cf. Letter 151.

to brave and talke so liberally at theyre execution. And this beeing
I can bethinke myself of, with all due remembrance to my Lady I com-
mend you to the protection of the Almighty. From London this 17th
of December 1612.

Your Lordships to commaund

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

To the right honorable Sir Dudley Carleton knight his Majesties Amba-
sador at Venice.

157. TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.

[S. P. Dom., Jac. I, lxxi, 70.]

[London, December 31, 1612.]

My very goode Lord: Upon the receyt of your letter of the 27th of
the last I made an errand to Sir Henry Savile, (who with his lady and
theyre whole houshold lies at Sir Edward Hobbies house in the Black
Friars,) and acquainted him with the summe of what you had written
in your two last touching some tricke that might be put upon you by
occasion of your frends desire to have you neerer, and some conceit grown
(you know not how) that you mislike the place where you are.¹ He
made very light of yt, and wold have you do likewise and not to appre-
hend, and cast doubts where there is no daunger: for mine owne part I
was much of that opinion before, and am now thoroughly confirmed by
his approbation, for I never heard the least inckling of any such meaning
towards you: indeed I come not neere court nor counsaile, where many
things are don and in dooing that come not within my kenning: but yet
for ought I could ever perceve there is no probabilitie for any such course.
Master Waake² courts yt daylie and me thincks shold smell yt out yf
there were any such matter: he was yesterday to take a journey into the
countrie for eight or ten dayes to visit his frends, yf the fowle weather
did not hinder him: some busines he hath that belike finds slowe dis-
patch, so that he cannot make that haste backe that at first he pretended
but sure I am deceved yf he do not, or may do you as goode service here

¹ Cf. Letter 156.

² Isaac Wake, Carleton's secretary.

(the times standing as they do) as yf he were with you, and therefore I
perswade him to tarrie some time and take leysure. I put him and your
brother Williams in mind this last day to make demaund of allowaunce
for your mourning: I found that Sir Thomas Edmonds and Sir Rafe
Winwod were in hand withall and obtained, though theyre bills were
not rated, but I make account they shall get 100^{li} at least. These holy
dayes have brought foorth no new officers, yet theyre hopes stretch out
from day to day, but I am so tired with expectation, that I have quite
geven them over, the rather for that I heare the commission for the
Treasurie is renewed which was made at first but for sixe moneths: yet
Sir Thomas Lakes on Sondag last outstripped his competitors by one
step, by reading the contract twixt the Palgrave and the Lady Elizabeth,
which is the part of a principall Secretarie *praire conceptis verbis* in such
solemne busines. But they say he had translated the wordes of our com-
munion booke into French so badly, and pronounced them worse, that yt
moved an unseasonable laughter as well in the contractors as the standers
by, which was soone silenced by the Archbishops grave interposing him-
self, and with an audible voyce using these very words, The God of
Abraham, Isaacke and Jacob blesse these nuptialls, and make them pros-
perous to these kingdomes and to his church. I heare the Scotts take
not so great joy in this match, but ever since the death of the late Prince
have wisht and propounded that she shold be bestowed on theyre Marquis
Hamilton,³ so that they might have ben sure of us every way. This
affiancing was solemnised in the great banketting roome on Sondag before
dinner, in the presence of the King and great store of nobilitie; but the
Quene was absent, beeing troubled (as they say) with the gowte. The
King was not out of his chamber in three or fowre dayes before nor since,
having a spice of the same disease: and yet the last weeke upon his bed
he gave hearing to a controversie twixt the farmers of the customes and
the Lord Mayor⁴ who was there present and accused them of defrauding
the King, of more then seventie thousand pound a yeare: but upon
ripping up the matter they went away acquitted, and he commended for
his goode meaning to the Kings service. We have many banckrupts
daylie, and as many protections, which doth marvaylously hinder all
manner of commerce. The Princes houshold is to be discharged this
day, and his servants are to begin and seeke a new fortune. Here is an
extraordinarie ambassador come from Lorraine, to condole, and as is

³ James Hamilton, second Marquis of Hamilton, in 1619 created Earl of
Cambridge.

⁴ Sir John Swinnerton.



SIR RALPH WINWOOD
PAINTER UNKNOWN
NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

THE LETTERS
of
JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
NORMAN EGBERT McCLURE

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INDEPENDENCE SQUARE
PHILADELPHIA
1939

So wishing all health and happines to your Lordship I commend you to the protection of the Almighty. From London this 7th of March 1625.

Your Lordships most assuredly
at commaund

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

To the right honorable Sir Dudley Carleton Lord Ambassador for his Majestie at the French court.

APPENDIX

THE WILL OF JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

[*Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Barrington 25.*]

In the name of God Amen. The 18th daie of June Anno Domini one thousand sixe hundred twenty seaven And in the third yeare of the Raigne of Charles by the grace of God Kinge of England Scotland France and Ireland I John Chamberlaine of London gentleman being in reasonable health and perfect memory thanks bee to god, but mindfull of the uncertainty of mans life, doe make and ordaine this my last will and Testament as followeth. First I give and commend my Soule into the hands of allmightie God the Father, the Sonne, and the holie Ghost with a constant faith and assured hope that as he hath created Redeemed and hitherto directed mee, soe he will make good his mercies to the end, and for his Sonne Jesus Christs sake our blessed Saviour, and thorough the merritts of his bitter death and passion forgive mee all my Sinnes, and after this transitory life bringe mee to life immortall with his Saints in glory. My body I leave to the discretion of my Executor hereafter named, yet (wishing if it maie conveniently bee don) to bee buried in the parish of St. Olaves ¹ in the Ould Jury, where I was borne and Christened, and where my Father, my Mother, my brother Robert, and other friendes are interred. My funerall I would have performed with as little trouble and charge as maie bee answerable to the still and quiett course I have allwaies sought to followe in my life tyme. And for my goods I dispose them in this manner. I give and bequeath to the poore of the

¹ Chamberlain was at this time a resident of the parish of St. Mary Aldermanbury.

parish of St. Olaves in the Ould Jury where I was borne five poundes of lawfull money of England and to the poore of St. Marie Aldermanbury tenne poundes to bee distributed as my Executors shall thinke fitt. Further I bequeath to the poore prisoners in Ludgate ten poundes, to the poore prisoners in the Counter in the Poultry five poundes, to the poore prisoners in the Counter in Wood streete five poundes, and to the poore distracted people in Bedlem ² five poundes. Item I give and bequeath to the Right Honorable the Lord Carleton Baron of Imbercourt ³ a basen and Ewer of silver of an hundred ounces or there about to the value of thirtie poundes of English money, likewise to the Lady Winwood late wife to Sir Ralph Winwood knight principall Secretarie to Kinge James, and to the Lady Fanshawe late wife to Sir Henry Fanshawe knight to each of them a basen and Ewre of silver to the same value of thirtie poundes. Item I give and bequeath to Sir William Borlas knight (the elder) a ring of gold of fortie shillings, to my sister Poole a ring of gold of 40^s, to Master Alexander Williams of the Pipe Office and to his wife to each of them a ring of gold of forty shillings and to Master Dudley Carleton Sonne of Georg Carlton Esquier a ring of fortie shillings, And to Mistris Anne Smith ⁴ Sister to Doctor Gilbert and wife to . . . Smith gentleman a ring of gold of fortie shillings. Item I give and bequeath to my Nephew Sir Thomas Stewkely ⁵ knight the some of two hundred poundes of lawfull money of England and to his eldest Son Sir Hugh Stewkely knight and Baronett and to his second Sonne Thomas Stewkely to each of them the some of Twentie poundes and to my Neice the Lady Drewrie ⁶ late wife of Sir Henry Drewry twenty poundes and to my nephewes Edmond, John, Zacharie, Francis, George Sonnes of my Sister Windham ⁷ deceased, and to my neece the Lady Stroode their Sister to each of them the some of twentie poundes of lawfull money of England, and to my Cosin Edmund Windham (eldest Sonne of my nephew Thomas Windham) the like some of twenty poundes. Item I give and bequeath to my god daughter Rebecca Tothill daughter to my Cosin Tothill widdowe dwellinge in the parishe of St. Giles without Cripplegate the some of Twentie poundes. Item I give and bequeath to Anne late wife to my brother George Chamberlaine deceased and now wife of John Poole Es-

² Bethlehem Hospital.

³ Dudley Carleton.

⁴ Sister of William Gilbert, and wife of William Smith of Peper Harow, Surrey.

⁵ Son of Hugh Stukeley and Chamberlain's sister Elizabeth.

⁶ Susan, widow of Sir Henry Drury, and daughter of Hugh Stukeley and Chamberlain's sister Elizabeth.

⁷ Margery, wife of Edmund Windham.

quire and Alderman of the City of London one annuity or yearly rent of fiftie pounds of lawfull money of England for the tearme of her naturall life to be issuing out of all that my Mannor or Lordshipp of Sutton Gannocke with the appurtenances in the Countie of Lincolne and out of all my lands Tenements and hereditaments in Sutton Gannocke in the same Countie of Lincolne to bee paid to her or her assignes at the feastes of the annunciation of the blessed Virgin St. Mary and St. Michaell the Arch Angell every yeare duringe her naturall life by even and equall porcions, the first payment to begin and to bee made upon such of the said feast daies as shall happen next after my decease which said annuitie or rent charge I doe give and bequeath to the said Anne Poole in leiuie and recompence of one annuitie or yearly payment of fiftie poundes per annum heretofore usually paid unto her the said Anne by my late brother Richard Chamberlain deceased during his life in consideracion of accounts cleared betweene my said brother George Chamberlain and my said brother Richard Chamberlain as being joynt Executors of the last will and Testament of my late brother Robert Chamberlaine Esquier deceased. Item I give and bequeath to my dearest friend Mistris Alice Carleton one annuity or yearly rent of fourtie pounds of lawfull money of England for the terme of her naturall life to bee issuing out of all that my Mannor or Lordshippe of Sutton Gannocke with the appurtenances in the Countie of Lincolne, and out of all my lands Tenements and hereditaments in Sutton Gannocke in the same Countie of Lincolne to bee paid to her or her assignes at the feastes of the annunciation of the blessed Virgin St. Marie and St. Michaell the Archangell every yeare during her naturall life by even and equall porcions the first payment to bee made upon such of the said two feast daies as shall happen next after my decease. Further I give and bequeath to the said Mistris Alice Carleton the some of sixe hundred pounds of lawfull money of England and my inlaid Cabinet that usually standeth upon the lowe Chest neere my bedside with all that shalbe in itt att the tyme of my decease, and whatsoever she hath else of mine in her Custody and this I doe in regard of the sincere good will and honest affection I beare her and of the true and longe continued friendship betweene us and for a testimony of that further good I intended to her if God had given mee meanes. Item I give and bequeath to my nephew Thomas Windham of Kensforde in the Countie of Somerset Esquire all that Mannor of Minsterworth in the Countie of Gloucester and the Mannor of Etloe in the same Countie, (both which are houlden of the kinge in fee Farme) with all the appurtenances be-

longing to either of the said lordshippes or Mannors to have and to enjoye to him and his heires for ever. And further I give and bequeath to the said Thomas Windham the some of two hundreth pounds of lawfull money of England. I give and bequeath likewise to John Cuffe sometyes servant to my Brother Richard Chamberlain the some of Twentie pounds of lawfull money of england, and one of my parts or shares in Bermudaes or Summer ylandes. Another part or share in the same ylandes I give and bequeath to my servant Richard Reeve as likewise the some of fortie pounds of lawfull money of England and all my wearinge apparrell whatsoever, if he bee in my service att the tyme of my decease but if he bee not, then soe much of this legacie money and apparell as shall seeme good to my Executors to bee bestowed on my Servant then attending on mee. Item I give and bequeath to all the servantes that shalbe in my Nephewe Hugh Windhams house att the tyme of my decease to each of them the some of fortie shillings. Item I give and bequeath to my Nephew Hugh Windham and his heires for ever my Mannor or Lordshipp of Sutton Gannocke in the Countie of Lincolne with all the appurtenances (charged with the said severall annuities or yearly rents of fiftie poundes per annum and fourtie poundes per annum payeable to Anne Poole and Alice Carleton or their assignes during their naturall lives as aforesaid) as likewise all other lands that I shall leave undisposed or quillets⁸ or houses in Greenwich, Sollihill,⁹ Studie¹⁰ or elsewhere and likewise all my parts and shares title and interest that I shall have at the tyme of my decease in the Bermudaes or Sommer Ilands or in Virginia to have and to hould to him and his heires for ever. All these legacies and somes of money mentioned and given by this my last will and Testament I will to bee paid within sixe moneths after my decease. The rest of my goods undisposed (my debts, legacies and funerall discharged) I give and bequeath to my said Nephew Hugh Windham whom I doe likewise make and appoint my whole and sole Executor desiringe and Chargeinge him upon his conscience to see this my last will and Testament performed in all pointes as neere as he can to this my true meaninge and intent, and this have I devised and written with mine owne hand hopinge itt will serve to expresse my meaninge, and that my Executor will truly and readily performe it as my trust is in him. Signed and sealed as my last will and Testament this 18th daie of June 1627. By me John Chamberlaine. In the presence of Antho Ouldfeild, Law: Chambers, John Burton, Richard Reeve.

⁸ Small plots of ground.
¹⁰ Studley, Warwickshire.

⁹ Solihull, Warwickshire.