Peregrine Bertie, Esq^re

of Long Sutton, Lincolnshire, & Low Layton, Essex.

OBT DEC. 9, 1743. AT. 55.

Eng^d by E. Finden, from a Miniature Painted in 1732.

A

MEMOIR

OF

PEREGRINE BERTIE,

ELEVENTH LORD WILLOUGHBY DE ERESBY,

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF QUEEN ELIZABETH'S FORCES
IN THE LOW COUNTRIES, AND IN FRANCE;
AND GOVERNOR OF BERWICK.

BY

A DESCENDANT IN THE FOURTH GENERATION.
[Ed. by Charles Henry Parry]

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

MDCCCXXXVIII.

A

MEMOIR

OF

PEREGRINE BERTIE,

ELEVENTH LORD WILLOUGHBY DE ERESBY.

TO MRS. BERTIE.

My dear Madam,

Were it not quite proper that this little volume, derived from documents with which you have kindly presented me, should be inscribed to you, the last survivor of the line of Sir Peregrine Bertie, son of the distinguished subject of this Memoir, the friendship which has so long subsisted between us, would strongly induce me to place it under the sanction of your name.

The tale of your illustrious ancestors and correlatives, though it exhibits eminent virtues and high endowments, is not, on that account, the less mournful and afflicting, and though the sensibilities of your grandfather would not allow him to extend the present narrative, to a description of the misfortunes which had visited his race, as a matter of

history, calculated to excite no common sympathies, and to convey much valuable instruction, I have ventured to make a brief allusion to this subject.

In the annals of our noble families, it has, perhaps, rarely occurred, that the expectations from a numerous progeny, have, in the direct succession, been so great, the hopes have been so frequently blasted, and the living memorials have been so few.

That you may be preserved in health, and may enjoy, in peace and comfort, the portion of existence which is still assigned to you, is the wish,

My dear Madam,

Of your sincere and obliged friend,

C. H. P.

Summer Hill,
Jan. 1838.

PREFACE.

VARIOUS circumstances have given the Editor of the following pages a peculiar interest in the history of the Bertie family. The warm friendship and almost paternal care of Bertie Greatheed, esq., of Guy's Cliff, and the affectionate regards of an accomplished and only son, connect with many of his early years the most agreeable, and yet most painful recollections.*

The death of his friend, the younger Bertie Greatheed, in the vigour of youth, and in the promise inspired by excellent dispositions, by natural and highly cultivated talents, by honourable position in society, and by abundant wealth, called forth his first sympathies and unaffected regrets.

At a later period, the decease of the father and mother in near succession, afforded other afflicting examples of the frailty of human ties, and the instability of human possessions.

The lamentable event which terminated the early

* Lady Mary Bertie married, Feb. 21, 1747-8, Samuel Greatheed, Esq., of Guy's Cliff, Warwickshire. She died at her house in Charlotte-street, Bloomsbury, on the 23rd of May, 1774, leaving issue Bertie Greatheed, Esq.

career of Brownlow Charles, only child of Mary Elizabeth, Viscountess Milsington,* had placed in the

* Brownlow Charles, only son of Viscount Milsington, (son of William Charles, third Earl of Portmore), by Lady Mary Elizabeth Bertie, only child of Brownlow, fifth Duke of Ancaster, was born 4 Aug., 1796. He succeeded to his grandfather's property, 8 Feb., 1809, and died, at Rome, 8 Feb., 1819, in consequence of wounds inflicted by a banditti.

The following letter to the Editor from Mr. Greatheed, dated Guy's Cliff, April 17, 1819, alludes, among other matters, to the circumstance of this succession, on the death of Mr. Colyear.

"I am quite ashamed on looking at the date of your kind letter to think that it is now only about to be answered, but it arrived while I was absent in London, and getting out of my stream of correspondence, it has lingered like a leaf on the side eddy of a brook, while the current has gone by. Yes, my good friend, I am the very man who have come into a large income, in so strange and unexpected a manner, that I should still be inclined to doubt the fact, if I had not the other day received certain dividends of Stock, which I am quite sure would not have come to me, it something new had not happened.

"I suppose that by this time the Hecla is fit for the Polar regions, and that your brother will ere long embark in her. It is really curious to have Capt. Ross publish a large quarto in which he states Baffin's Bay as perfectly explored, and gives charts of the whole circuit without the possibility of an opening; and this at the very moment when Government unequivocally declare their opinion to the contrary, by sending another expedition to begin where he left off.

"If a winter of uncommon mildness can have any effect upon those vast storehouses of ice, this is the right year for Edward Parry. May Heaven prosper his undertaking!

"We unite in affectionate regards to you and Mrs. C. P.

"I am, my dear Charles,

"Ever sincerely yours,

"Bertie Greatheed."

hands of Mr. Greatheed, his first cousin once removed, a moiety of the large personal property, which that young nobleman had inherited from his grandfather Brownlow, fifth and last Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven; but large addition of fortune could not avert the fate which had prematurely visited so many individuals, and seemed almost to threaten the extinction of this illustrious race.

As the son of Lady Mary Bertie, eldest daughter of Peregrine, second Duke of Ancaster, Mr. Greatheed was, maternally, great grandson of Robert, first Duke, grandson of Peregrine, second Duke, nephew of Peregrine and Brownlow, third and fifth Dukes, first cousin of Robert, fourth Duke and of his sisters, the Baroness Willoughby de Eresby, and the Marchioness of Cholmondeley; and of the Viscountess Milsington, only child of Brownlow, the last inheritor of the Dukedom.

This extensive and intimate relationship naturally suggested inquiries as to the succession and fortunes of other branches of this ancient and distinguished family. Claiming their origin from Leopold, Constable of Dover Castle, under Ethelred, the Berties, with increasing honours and fortune, maintained a regular descent to Richard Bertie, who died April 9, 1582, aged 64, the second husband of Catherine, tenth Baroness Willoughby de Eresby, and relict of Charles

Incidentally, the Editor may mention, that his second daughter bears the name of Bertie, as God-daughter of Mrs. Greatheed; and a fourth daughter that of Louisa, as God-daughter of Mrs. Bertie, one of whose daughters bore that name.

Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. By this union, with the title, they became possessors of the immense property of the Willoughbys, inherited from Sir John de Willoughby, to whom the lordship of Willoughby, and from Walter de Bec, to whom the lordship of Eresby, Lincolnshire, with several others, had been granted by William the Conqueror. They succeeded also to the estates of Robert de Ufford, Kt., made Earl of Suffolk and Kt. of the Garter by Edw. III., a Reg. 2, with a grant of the honour of Eay, in Suffolk, and the Barbican, in London, for his great services at home and abroad. Cecily, the Earl's eldest daughter, married John, second Lord Willoughby of Eresby, whose son Robert had, in right of his mother, Ufford, Parsan, Orford, &c., and the Barbican. By a third marriage, of Robert Bertie, twelfth Baron Willoughby de Eresby, and first Earl of Lindsey, with Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Montague of Boughton, their descendants could claim, on the female side, an uninterrupted succession from Joan of Acon, or Acres, eldest daughter of Edward the First.

In the Tables I. and II., annexed to this volume, the Editor has endeavoured to introduce in one view all the principal branches whose succession has been clearly ascertained, and who have any living connection with the subject of the present Memoir.

An inspection of the second melancholy catalogue shews, that in the elder branch of Richard, common ancestor of the Barons Willoughby de Eresby, of the Earls and Marquesses of Lindsey, and of the Dukes of Ancaster and Kesteven, of forty sons, in

eight generations, no descendants remain,—saving Albemarle, tenth Earl of Lindsey, born in 1814, his brother, Montague Peregrine, born in 1815, and their sister, Charlotte Elizabeth, born in 1812;* whose father, General Albemarle Bertie, descended from Charles, *fifth* son of Montague, second Earl of Lindsey, succeeded to the Earldom, on the decease of his third-cousin, Brownlow, fifth Duke of Ancaster:—saving, also, the Earl of Abingdon, and his family, descended from James, *sixth* son of the same Montague.

Of twenty-four daughters, in the elder line, the Marchioness of Cholmondeley alone survives. Her Ladyship was joint High-Chamberlain of England with Priscilla Barbara Elizabeth, her sister, wife of Sir Peter Burrell, first Lord Gwydir, who died in December, 1828, and to whom had been granted, by patent, the Barony of Willoughby de Eresby, on the decease of her brother, Robert, fourth Duke of Ancaster.

In the second branch, commencing with Sir Peregrine Bertie, Knight of the Bath, second son of Peregrine, eleventh Baron, and, first in this line, of thirteen sons, in six generations, no issue remains; and of eighteen female descendants, Mary alone sur-

* Lady Charlotte Elizabeth Bertie, born may 17, 1812, married 29th July, 1833, Josiah John Guest, Esq., of Merthyr Tydvil, M.P.

By a singular coincidence, at the moment this volume was preparing for publication, the Editor and his family, on the deck of the *Nautilus*, steamer, off Cardiff, July 13, 1837, received many kind and spontaneous attentions from a lady, their fellow passenger, who, then unknown, proved to be Lady Charlotte Guest, so nearly connected with all this history.

vives, third daughter of Peregrine Bertie, of Long Sutton, Lincolnshire, and Low Layton, Essex, Esq.

In the third branch, again, represented by Henry, third son of the eleventh, and first Baron, second brother of the first Earl, of nine sons and five daughters, in four generations, no known descendants remain.

Thus, on the whole account, of sixty-four sons and their issue, the Earl of Lindsey, his brother and sister, and the Earl of Abingdon, and his issue, descended from fifth and sixth sons, and Mrs. (Mary) Bertie, fifth in descent from the second son of the first Baron; and of forty-seven daughters, the Dowager, Marchioness of Cholmondeley, are the sole survivors:—saving, of course, the issue of Priscilla, Baroness Willoughby de Eresby, and the collateral descents, through females, of the Dukes of Leeds, through Bridget, second daughter of Montague, second Earl of Lindsey; of the Earls Poulett, of Hinton, through Bridget, daughter of Peregrine, second son of the same Earl; of the Earls of Buckinghamshire, through Albinia, sole daughter of Vere, third son of Robert, first Duke of Ancaster; and of the Earls of Westmoreland; through Augusta, sole daughter of Montagu, fourth son of Robert, the first Duke.*

* From this list is also excluded, as not coming within the Editor's objects or enquiries, the succession, if any, of the following female branches of the family.—

1. *Susan*, daughter of Richard Bertie, successively married to Reginald Guy, Earl of Kent, and to Sir John Wingfield, Kt.

2. *Sophia*, 4th daughter of Robert, first Earl, married to Sir Richard Chaworth, Kt.

The fifth Duke, Brownlow, who nearly attained his eightieth year, and Albemarle, late Earl of Lindsey,

3. *Mary*, 5th daughter of the same, twice married, first to John Hewitt, D.D., and secondly to Sir Abraham Shysman, Kt.

4. *Elizabeth*, daughter and sole heir of Peregrine, third son of Robert, first Earl of Lindsey, married to William, Lord Widdrington.

5. *Mary*, 4th daughter of Montagu, second Earl, married to Charles Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon.

6. *Elizabeth*, eldest daughter of the second Earl, 4th wife to Baptist, Viscount Campden, by whom she had 8 children; of these, Catherine was third wife of John, first D. of Rutland, and mother of John, Lord Roos, second Duke, of Catherine, wife of John Lord Gower, and of Dorothy, wife of Baptist Noel, third Earl of Gainsborough, and, therefore, maternal ancestor of the fourth, fifth, and sixth Earls, and of Juliana, daughter of the fourth, married to George Lord Carbery.

7. *Catherine*, third daughter of the second Earl, wife of Robert Dormer, of Dorton, Bucks, Esq.

8. *Elizabeth*, second daughter of Charles, fifth son of the second Earl, married to Charles, Lord Fitzwalter.

9. *Arabella*, eldest daughter of the third Earl, married to Thomas Savage, Earl Rivers.

10. *Mary*, third daughter of Peregrine, second son of Montague, second Earl, married successively to Anthony Henley, and to Henry Bertie, third son of James, first Earl of Abingdon.

11. *Bridget*, eldest daughter of James, first Earl of Abingdon, married to Richard, fourth Viscount Bulkeley, mother to the 6th Viscount and six daughters, and grandmother to the seventh and his descendants, if any.

12. *Louisa*, sister to Albemarle, ninth E. of Lindsey, married to Mr. Richardson.

13. *Louisa*, fourth daughter of the first D. of Ancaster, married to Thomas Bloodworth, Esq.

14. *Jane*, daughter of Peregrine, second Duke, married to Major Thomas Matthews.

15. *Caroline*, daughter of the same, wife of George Dewar, Esq.

who died on his seventy-fourth birth-day, are, in this line, the rare exceptions to premature decease, and, consequently, to a rapid succession in the attainment of the hereditary honours, and the ancient family possessions.

The sole survivor of the line of Sir Peregrine Bertie, within the space of one year, witnessed the funerals of two Dukes of Ancaster, of Peregrine, the third Duke, who died August 12, 1778, and Robert, the fourth Duke, who died July 8, 1779. She herself has lamented the decease of three brothers and three sisters, and has experienced the afflicting loss of one son and six daughters.

To this lady, whose friendship the Editor has enjoyed for more than a quarter of a century, he is indebted for the family documents which he now publishes. The manuscripts appeared to him curious and important, and though when they were placed in his hands, their author was unknown, information on this desired point was easily supplied by their perusal.

The Memoir, and Essay on Œconomy, were written in the early part of last century, by Peregrine Bertie, of Long Sutton, Esq., who died at the age of fifty-five, in the year 1743, and were addressed to his only child, Peregrine, who died in 1786, at the age of sixty-three, and was the father of the present Mrs. (Mary) Bertie.

The author, third in descent from Sir Peregrine Bertie, K.B., was born in 1688, and married Elizabeth, only child of John Hungerford, of Doctor's

Commons, of the family of Hungerfords, of Devon. She was widow of John Fisher, of London, merchant, a descendant of the ancient family of Fishers, of Brackenthwaite, in Lorton, Cumberland. Her first husband died on the 24th of December, 1719, aged 38. She died, herself, at the age of forty-three, on the 1st of October, 1731, leaving by Mr. Bertie, her second husband, an only son, Peregrine, who was born in 1723.*

This gentleman married, for his first wife, Catherine, daughter of Richard Backwell, of Billing, in the county of Northampton, who died July 2, 1770, aged 36. By her, he had seven children, three sons and four daughters, of whom three daughters alone survived their parents. Catherine Dorothy married Captain Hoar, who, assuming the name of Bertie, was afterwards well known as Admiral Sir Thomas Bertie. Elizabeth was the wife of Ralph Hoar, Esq., brother of the Admiral; and Mary, of Samuel Lichigaray, Esq. On the decease of her two elder sisters, without issue, the latter lady, inheriting the Lincolnshire estates, assumed the family name and arms, according to the injunctions of her father's will.

Amongst these three daughters were distributed the large estates, in various counties, which had descended to their father from his ancestors. By a will, dated 18 March, 1786, he leaves to his eldest daughter,

* In the church of Layton, Essex, are many monumental inscriptions, relating to the Author of the Memoir and his family.

Catherine Dorothy, the mansion and lands at Layton and Walthamstow, Essex; also, the messuages and lands at Gedney, Holbeach, Long Sutton, Lutton, Tydd, Kirton, Wigtoft, Algakirk, &c., in Lincolnshire. To his second daughter, Elizabeth, the Estates at Tharfield, Royston, &c., in Hertfordshire; and to Mary, his third daughter, the lands, &c., at Brackenthwaite, in Lorton, Cumberland, with reversion of the Lincolnshire property to the last survivor, and her issue, male and female, and a remainder to Peregrine Bingham, son of the Rev. George Bingham, Rector or Vicar of Pimperne, Dorset, and to his heirs for ever.

The entail of this estate was cut off by Mrs. Bertie, with her last surviving daughter, who died in July, 1837.

Mr. Bertie married, for his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Joshua Peart, Esq., and by her left no issue.

The adventures which are related in the following pages, connected with the parentage and birth of Peregrine, first Lord Willoughby de Eresby of the Bertie family, excited much interest and commiseration at the period of their occurrence. A ballad, written in the days of Queen Elizabeth, and reprinted in 1738, tells the story in quaint but descriptive language. Besides the authorities from which the facts are drawn by the Author of the Memoir, a detailed narrative of the same may be found in page 827 of Speed's History of England, published in 1611; and in the edition of Collins' Peerage, by Sir Egerton Brydges, 1812, in which are given, also, the certificate of the birth of

Peregrine, supplied by the magistrates of Wesel, and the inscription set up by Sir Charles Bertie. For the information of his only son, the Author of the Memoir collected into one view all the particulars he could obtain, in relation to his distinguished ancestor, at the beginning of the last century, and has interwoven with the narrative his own opinions on the events and circumstances of the period to which it belongs. As an historical record the Memoir will, it is hoped, be considered not altogether destitute of public interest and importance; and by his descendants, this extension of their ancestor's renown can scarcely be deemed unjustifiable or discourteous.

The Address on Œconomy contains, with what may be called some worldly wisdom, and, perhaps, some minute philosophy, so much valuable advice, and so many useful practical hints on the subject which it illustrates, that the Editor submits it, without fear, to the attention and judgment of his readers. He may also remark, that there was never, perhaps, a period in the history of our country when the cautions and suggestions which it contains deserved, morally and politically, a more anxious consideration, or a more resolute adoption, than in the times in which we live.

But, if this observation be essentially correct in its application, to a period, when every chronicle of passing events, records the neglect or extravagance of many of our great landed proprietors, and offers, to the best bidder, a transfer of their ancient hereditary estates; on the other hand, how striking a moral is conveyed by the history of the immediate descendants of our

author himself. Where are now the bright hopes of security founded on his lessons of prudence and œconomy—or what is the result of his careful endeavours to perpetuate the valuable inheritance of an only son? Death and misadventure, and, perhaps, recklessness, and imprudence, have stepped in, and barred the succession to this entailed prosperity. In spite of his prospective wisdom, all these large possessions will, in the second generation, have been subdivided, or passed into other hands. The rich domains, and stately mansions of the last male heir of the family of Sir Peregrine Bertie, will no longer acknowledge, as their owner, a descendant of his honourable and respected name.*

* The portrait of the Author of the Memoir prefixed to this volume, is from a minature in possession of the Editor. It was painted in 1722, probably on the occasion of his marriage with Mrs. Fisher.

It may not be impertinent to notice, that at Basing Park, Hants the seat of Joseph Martineau, Esq., brother-in-law of the Editor, are full length portraits by Hudson, of Peregrine, second D. of Ancaster, and of his daughters, Lady Mary Greatheed, and Lady Albinia Beckford, to whose husband, the estate formerly belonged.

MEMOIR

OF

PEREGRINE BERTIE.

LORD WILLOUGHBY OF ERESBY.

THE present family of the Berties are all lineally descended from Peregrine Bertie, the first of the name, who was Baron Willoughby de Eresby.

He (my son) was your grandfather's great-grandfather, and you are in the 4th generation from Sir Peregrine Bertie, Knight of the Bath, his second son.

It is not my design, in putting together these hints of your family, to move you to value yourself upon it. Pride is seldom the offspring of virtue; but mere family pride is always the child of folly; it usually comes to supply the want of merit, and

serves only to discover it. Let the sense of your family, therefore, raise your modesty, your industry, and your caution, for without these, assure yourself the younger branches of nobility have more difficulties and fewer advantages in life than such as have no noble blood to distinguish them.

Before Peregrine Lord Willoughby, the Berties were an ancient gentleman's family; but none of them, that I have met with, noble. I dare not assert that they are descended from Queen Berta, whose bones are in the church of St. Ambrose, at Milan, with this inscription, "*Hic Bertæ Reginæ ossa.*"* I shall not enquire whether they came over with the Saxons from Bertiland, or whether there is any such land, or whether one Leopold de Bertie was Constable of Dover Castle in Ethelred's reign. Such a family as this *non eget antecessoribus illis.* There is, doubtless, such a place in Kent as Berstead; if this was originally Bertiestead, and had its name from the Berties; if Thomas Bertie, who, Dugdale, in his Baronage, says, was of this Berstead, was also Constable of

* Montfaucon's Diar. Ital. p. 17.

Hurst Castle under Henry VII., and his son, Richard Bertie, married Catherine, Duchess of Suffolk, and by her had this Peregrine; it is sufficient to prove they were no inconsiderable family when only commoners.

Some very great events happened in the time of life of this Lord Willoughby; Queen Mary's persecution; the establishment of the Reformation by Queen Elizabeth; the settlement of the Seven Provinces into a free state; the defeat of the Spanish Armada, which checked at once Philip's project of universal monarchy; and the settlement of the crown of France in the House of Bourbon, in the person of Henry IV.—events which have had a great influence upon the affairs of Europe ever since.

These events did not barely happen in the life of this Lord; you will find he was not the least instrument in the accomplishment of some of them.

I shall also give you some hints of the two great families of the Brandons, and the Courtneys, with which the story of Peregrine has no small connexion.

I pretend to no accuracy, and have left you room

enough to correct my mistakes and fill up my omissions.

Sir William Brandon had two sons in the battle of Bosworth Field, where Richard III. lost his crown and his life, William and Thomas.

William, (who was father to Charles, afterwards Duke of Suffolk,) was standard-bearer to Henry VII., and strongly encountering Richard III, (says Godwin) was killed by Richard's own hand.

Thomas lived to do many signal services to Henry VII., and was, it is said, by him made a Knight of the Garter. He died, without issue, in the year 1509.

This shews that Charles Brandon was not a new man, but descended of an honourable family.

Henry VIII., in the first year of his reign, (1509) made him Chamberlain of Wales. Soon after, he created him Viscount Lisle, and gave him the command of the vanguard of his whole army in his expedition to Tournay (1512); and for his great services there, he made him, the next year,

Duke of Suffolk.* In 1514, he was at the famous tournament at the coronation of Mary, Queen of France, Henry the Eighth's sister, whom he soon after married, with the King's consent. So that, in five or six years time, he was raised from a private gentleman to be a Duke and brother to the King. And in this he was singular, that after so quick a rise, he never had a fall. There is some similitude between the characters of Charles Brandon, and Villars Duke of Buckingham, and some difference. They were both favourites, raised from private gentlemen, very hastily, to be Dukes; they were first chosen from the comeliness of their persons, rather to serve for the ornaments of a Court, than the politics of a Prince.

**Polyd. Virg. p.* 642. Carolus Brandonus fit dux Suffolciæ. Bene multi mirandum putarant, tantum Carolo honoris haberi ut dux crearetur, id quod eo pertinebat, sicut postea diluxit, ut honestius ille cum Rege affinitate conjungeretur, *quod futurum esse jam apud Henricum decretum erat.* Sed aliquid in præsenti rem retardavit quia *rumor erat* Gallum brevi cum pace novas nuptias quæsiturum, quod fecit ut Rex Henricus fando dein visus sit alienigenam hominem domestico anteferre, in collocatione sororis Mariæ in matrimonium.

Polydore Virgil was a contemporary historian, and the King's subsequent conduct renders such a report more probable, that he designed his sister for Brandon before Lewis

Villars was taken by a very weak prince to lead up a dance. He soon became the governor and prime minister of two kings, and led up such a dance in their kingdoms as he never saw the end of.

Henry VIII. was certainly not a weak prince; he was never governed by Brandon, nor made him his prime minister, though he was indeed his chief favourite as long as he lived and appeared to deserve it. It must be consummate prudence, as well as constant agreeableness, that could always please so fickle a master. The king carried his affection so far as to design him for his own sister as soon as her husband Lewis XII. died,* or, perhaps, before, and scarce preserved common decency, he was so impatient to publish the marriage. His favour even out-lived him. In his will, he preferred the issue of this marriage to the crown of England before the issue of his eldest sister, Margaret of Scotland, who afterwards enjoyed it; and this was certainly

demanded her as a seal of the treaty. He was married on the 5th of October, and died about 80 days after. Charles Brandon married her privately in Paris the March following, and publicly, in England, May 13.

* See Polydore Virgil p. 642.

Henry the Eighth's design, whether this will was ever properly signed, or not. That it was properly made and executed was proved by the greatest men in the kingdom, confirmed by the House of Lords, claimed under by Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, and enrolled in Chancery.

Charles Brandon died 24th August, 1545, was buried at Windsor at the King's cost, and lies in St. George's Chapel, by the door of the Choir, near the place where Henry VI. is interred.

By the Queen of France he had one son, who died before him; and two daughters, who are named in Henry the Eighth's will, Frances and Eleanor. Frances, the eldest daughter, was married to the Marquess of Dorset, afterwards Duke of Suffolk, and beheaded by Queen Mary.

By Frances, this Duke of Suffolk had three daughters who were all married at the same time (says Strype) at Durham House.

Jane, (the famous Lady Jane Grey) who was afterwards beheaded with the Lord Guildford

Dudley, her husband, for laying claim to the crown, under the will or grant of Edward VI.

Catherine, the second, to Henry, son and heir of the Earl of Pembroke.

Mary, the youngest, to Martin Keys.

From Eleanor, the second daughter, are descended the Earls of Derby. She was married to the Earl of Cumberland.

I have been here the more particular in regard to Brandon's issue by Henry the Eighth's sister, to explain to you a mistake Rapin has fallen into concerning our common ancestor. He says (*Acta Regia v.* 4, *p.* 80) "This Peregrine Bertie being the son of "Frances Brandon, daughter of Mary, who was "Henry the Eighth's sister, might, by virtue of "that king's will, have disputed the crown with "Mary, Queen of Scots."

These are Rapin's words; and how he could fall into this gross mistake, I cannot apprehend. It is well if he has not discovered the like haste and

inaccuracy in other places of his history; but this mistake of the person was grounded upon the common opinion, that if Frances left an heir of her body, and if a King of England, under an Act of Parliament, could settle the succession of the crown by his will, such heir would certainly have a better title than Mary Queen of Scots.*

Brandon's last wife was the heiress of the ancient family of the Barons Willoughby de Eresby, and I must think it was happier for Peregrine to have her blood in his veins, than the least drop of the blood royal.

By her he had two sons.† At the coronation of Edward VI. they were both made Knights of the Bath, (which shews that this was then the next

* The French historians say that Mary brought to England with her in jewels, plate, and tapestry of Lewis XII., to the value of 200,000 crowns, and a great diamond called the Mirror of Naples, and had a jointure of 60 thousand crowns per annum, a great sum for that time. Polydore Virgil seems to raise it much higher—"Ut Ludovicus rex augeret dotem Puellæ "Mariæ, assignatis agris, ex quibus illa post mortem viri, "vectigal ad tricena bina millia coronatorum in singulos annos "caperet." p. 643.

† Vide Strype's Annals, v. 2, p. 278.

order to the Garter). They lived to be both members of the University of Cambridge; and July 16, 1551, they both died Dukes, in the same bed, of the sweating sickness, at the Bishop of Lincoln's, at Bugden. And so ended this noble family.

Upon the death of the last Duke arose an odd question, which is mentioned in the law books.* Before the statute of the 21st Henry VIII., the Bishops had exercised an arbitrary power of granting the administration of intestates' estates to whom they pleased, under the Popish opinion, that the clergy were the best judges how to employ the deceased's estate for the good of his soul. This statute directed them to grant it to the next of kin. The Duchess Dowager of Suffolk took administration as next of kin to her son. Frances, the daughter of Charles by the Queen of France, claimed the administration to the deceased Duke, her half brother. It turned upon this question, whether the mother is of kin to the son. The Court adjudged that the mother is not of kin to her child, and so the administration to the Duchess was

* Brook's Abridgement n. v. Admin. Swinburn of Wills.

revoked, and granted to Frances. This was a leading case, and prevailed for some time, but is now justly exploded;* however, the Duchess and her family were great losers by this ridiculous opinion. It was conceived upon a maxim of law no less absurd, that the estate of the son shall not go to the father, but rather to the uncle; because land being a thing of weight, (*quid ponderosum*) must descend, and cannot ascend. And yet, if this was any reason, it ascends to the uncle, though not so directly as to the father; but absurd as it is, this is yet a maxim. Whereas, the former, of an intestate's estate, having been occasioned by a particular reason of state, was soon exploded, when the reason of it no longer subsisted. Frances Brandon was Queen Elizabeth's cousin-german, and that was the reason of that judgment by which Peregrine was so great a loser.

It must be acknowledged that the Bertie family has been raised by marriages. If Peregrine had not been the son of the Duchess of Suffolk, and heir apparent to the Barony of Willoughby, his great merit might not have enabled him to be the founder

* See Radcliff's case, Coke's Rept.

of so great a family. *Magnis virtutibus obstat, &c.* Besides, he had other circumstances of good fortune to set him in a fair light with Queen Elizabeth.

Charles Brandon was himself a Protestant, and Cranmer's great supporter; and his having never been out of the King's favour is, by the way, a strong argument that Henry VIII. was in his heart a Protestant, and a Papist only in politics.

Whether the Duchess received these principles from him, she was herself so zealous in them that she became a kind of martyr, and had her first son born in this voluntary exile. Such a birth as this was setting out well for the times.

After the death of the Duke,* the Duchess lived at Grimsthorp, in Lincolnshire.

This seat has now been inhabited by the Berties about 160 years, which, since Henry VII. gave the nobility a license of alienation, is no inconsiderable

* Charles Brandon died August, 1545—his widow married Richard Bertie 1555.

time for an estate to remain in the same family. It may be said of too many a nobleman's estate—*Permutat dominos et cedit in altera jura;* changes its lord, and takes a stockjobber.

At Grimsthorp, she kept for her chaplain, Latimer, who afterwards died at the stake. When Henry the Eighth's last queen, Catherine, died in child-bed of a daughter, the Protector Somerset sent that daughter to the Duchess at Grimsthorp; from whence, she sent him an ingenious letter of complaint*—"That "he had used her like a courtier, sent her a burthen "without a pension." She married Richard Bertie, son and heir of Thomas Bertie, Constable of Hurst Castle. This Richard Bertie was educated by Wriothesly, Lord Chancellor, and his mother (says Gardiner) I know to be as godly a Catholic as any in the land †

Her first child by him was Susan, who afterwards married Reginald Grey, Earl of Kent.

* Vide Strype ad annum, the letter.

† Vide Hollingshed, p. 1142 and 1143; and Wood's Athenæ Oxon,—Ent. Richard Bertie, went out Bachelor of Arts, of Corpus Christi College, Oxon, 29 H. VIII,. May 3d, 1537.

In the beginning of Mary's reign, this Duchess of Suffolk is mentioned by the writers of the time as the most considerable person who left the kingdom, to avoid a persecution which a weak bigoted woman, and a set of cruel avaricious priests were introducing, contrary to common sense, politics, and humanity; a persecution so unreasonable and violent, that it appears to be sent by Providence to establish the Reformation upon an abhorrence of Popery.

It has been happy for the Protestants that the Papists have always been in haste, in England. If they could have improved this and other opportunities, under the conduct of a Fabius or a Fleury, they might, and probably would, have had the same success, *Cunctando restituere rem.* But they have had no time to lose, because they were not sure of their successors.

The Duchess, Mr. Bertie, and their daughter went through many dangers, and suffered much fatigue, as they travelled in disguise to find a retreat amongst the Protestant Princes in Germany,* and

* Vide Hollingshed's Chron., p. 1142.

Mr. Bertie had many occasions to show his courage and his learning.

At Wesel, in the duchy of Cleve, upon the confluence of the Rhine and the Lip, about the year 1555, the Duchess was delivered of a son, and because he was born out of England, she called him *Peregrine*,* and this family have ever since paid so great honour to the name, that there have been of his descendants at least fifteen Peregrine Berties, besides so many noble families† allied to the Berties who have adopted the name of Peregrine.

As to the family tradition, that Peregrine was born in the church porch, I have not yet met with sufficient reason to believe it.

Dugdale, who follows Holinshead,‡ says only—That when they were refused a lodging at Wesel, they intended to shelter themselves from a very bad

* Though he was so called for this reason, Peregrine was an ancient name. A.D. 244, there was a Consul of Rome whose name was Peregrinus.

† The Courtneys, the Herberts, the Osborns, and Paulets.

‡ Chron. p. 1142.

winter's night in the porch of the great church, and to buy coals to make a fire there; but, in their way, hearing two youths speak Latin, Mr. Bertie prevailed upon them to carry them to a private lodging, where they had the luck to be known by one *Penesel*, a Protestant minister, and were soon entertained according to their rank. These writers never bring them into the church porch, and Dugdale only says, their first son was born in the time of these travels, for which reason he was called Peregrine.

His patent of naturalization,* (Aug. 2d, 1559) only recites that he was born at Wesel. Cum dilectus, &c. Ricardus Bertye Arm^r^, licentia sororis nostræ Mariæ, &c. in scriptis licite obtenta, in partes transmarinas profectus sit, et in civitate Wesfaliæ inferioris in Ducatu Clevensi, ex prædilecta et fideli subditâ nostrâ, suaque legitima conjuge, Katherina Ducissa Suffolciæ, filium primum, Peregrinum, genuerit, &c.

Strype, who is allowed to be a faithful antiquary, and very circumstantial in preserving every little

* Vide Rymer's Fœd. ad ann.

memorial concerning the Reformation, or persons who suffered for it, does not mention this of the church porch.

He only says,* " At Wesel many of the exiled " Protestants resided, to the number of 100 persons. " Here sojourned some time the pious Duchess of " Suffolk, and Mr. Bertie, her husband."†

He says in another place,‡ " There was another " company of English good people, got together at " Wesel in Cleves, occasioned chiefly by the com- " ing thither of Mr. Bertie, and the Duchess of " Suffolk his wife, both serious professors of religion, " which coming of theirs being heard of, many " others flocked thither, and Mr. Coverdale, lately " escaped out of England, by the King of Den-

*3d Vol. p. 147, ad ann. 1554.

† The inscription set up in the church porch at Wesel, by Mr. Charles Bertie, Envoy from King Charles II. to the Hans Towns, &c., which you may see in Collins's Peerage, says indeed, that he was born in Propylæo Eccæ.; but I do not remember from what authority Mr. Bertie declared this, the old inscription having been defaced.

‡ Sub. ann. 1555.

" mark's intercession, came from that King, and " was sometime preacher to this company at Wesel; " but this congregation soon brake up, the Lady " Duchess and her husband going away, and the " English depending upon their favour and charity."

It is probable, they stayed there about two years, because, in 1557, they went into Poland, where they were placed in the Earldom of Crolan in Sanogelia, had the absolute power of government given them, and stayed there till the death of Mary.*

I doubt, therefore, we cannot be assured, that our ancestor was driven out of his country by the Papists, that he should be born in a Protestant church abroad. If his nativity had not so honourable an omen, we shall find he lived to be an instrument of great service to the Protestant religion in Europe.

It is recited in his Naturalisation, that Richard Bertie, his father, had a license from Queen Mary to go abroad. This is explained by Dugdale and Hollingshed, who say, soon after his marriage, Gardiner

* Hollingshed and Dugdale.

sent for him, and asked him, whether the Duchess, his wife, was now as ready to set up the mass, as she had been to pull it down, when, in her progress, she caused a dog in a rochet to be carried, and called by his (Gardiner's) name.

Hence, supposing the Duchess would be in danger, he got the Queen's license to travel, as if to get in some debts due from the Emperor to the late Duke of Suffolk.

He left the Duchess in England, who was afterwards forced to conduct her escape with much skill and no small danger.*

About the same year which gave birth to Peregrine, the first Peer of the family of the Berties, died Edward Courtney, Earl of Devon and Marquis of Exeter, the last Peer of the Courtneys.

The family, indeed, yet continues in great wealth and honour; and the eldest branch of it, Sir William Courtney, having married Lady Anne Bertie,

* Vide Hollingshed.

daughter of James, the first Earl of Abingdon, I will add something farther of it in this place.

Religion and politics drove Peregrine to be born abroad, and Courtney to die abroad. There was another circumstance in which they resembled, if religion had been out of the case—the light they stood in as to the crown.

Charles Brandon had married Henry the Eighth's sister, and to his issue by her, the King had, under the authority of two Acts of Parliament, expressly appointed the succession.

The Lady Jane Grey being descended from this marriage, had lately put in her claim under Edward the Sixth's nomination; and though the Duchess Dowager of Suffolk, nor her issue, could have no colour under this settlement, yet persons so nearly related to the family who contrived it, could expect no favour from Queen Mary.*

* By the Acts 28 and 35 H. VIII.,† in default of issue of Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, the King was

† *Note*, all the subjects were obliged to swear to the observance of these two statutes.

The Marquess of Exeter was in a worse situation. He was personally and nearly related to the crown. He had been thought of for the Queen herself, probably by the Queen herself, and was suspected to aim at the Lady Elizabeth; so that reasons of State, more than reasons of Church, might oblige him to leave his country.

His family had been very unfortunate, from their blood and their power. His father, Henry, Earl of

enabled to dispose of the crown either by his will or letters patent; so that if the whole legislature can alter the succession of the crown, and Henry the Eighth's will had been indisputable, the heir of the body of Frances had then the best title. Quere, If this title was not afterwards set up by the writers of those times? See this question stated in a tract, entitled, The Hereditary Right of the Crown of England &c.; published A.D. 1713, and under p. 202 there is this note—"The principal noblemen who have the honour to be descended from "the Duke of Suffolk and the French Queen are, 1st, the "Lord Bruce and his sister the Countess of Cardigan, the late "Earl of Winchelsea's sister, Heneage, the present Earl of "Winchelsea, all the issue of the Lady Frances, late Viscountess "Weymouth, the Earl of Burlington, and the issue of his father "and grandfather, the child of the late Duchess of Queen-"borough, and the present Duke of Somerset. All these are "lineally descended from Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, "and the French Queen, by their eldest daughter Catherine, "(he meant Frances) and it is well known that the Earls of "Derby were descended from Eleanor, the youngest daughter."

Devon, was made Marquess of Exeter* by Henry VIII., who long favoured him as his cousin-german; but at length, in regard to his near alliance to the crown, became jealous of his greatness; whereof he had lately given more than sufficient testimony, in suddenly arming some thousands to oppose the Yorkshire rebels. This made Henry gladly entertain any occasion to cut off this noble gentleman. (Godwin.)

He was beheaded January 9th, 1538.

These were the true reasons for his death: the pretences were, some hasty speeches, ill proved, and corresponding with Cardinal Pole.

"He was, by his father's side, (says Godwin) of "a very noble descent, deriving himself from the "blood royal of France, by Hugh Courtney, created "Earl of Devon by Edward III.; but by his "mother, he far more nearly participated of the "blood royal of England, being son to Catherine, "daughter to Edward IV., and sister to Elizabeth,

* Vide Godwin, ad. ann.

"the mother of Henry VIII." And therefore he bore the white rose in his arms, as of the family of York.

Whether there is, at present, any family equal to this in Great Britain, I will not enquire.

At the death of Henry, Earl of Devon, Edward, his son, was but twelve years old. He was sent to the Tower, and kept prisoner there for fourteen years, till Mary came to the crown.

In the first year of her reign, (September 3rd, 1553,) she restored him to his honours, &c.; but he lived a very short time to enjoy them. His great merit was soon his ruin.

In 1554, Queen Mary inclined to marry. "Fame had destined (says the annalist) three for "her bed—Philip of Spain, Cardinal Pole, and the "Marquess of Exeter. The two last were pro- "posed for their royal descent, and the opinion of "the love of their country—there being hopes that, "under them, the freedom and privileges of the "kingdom might be preserved inviolate. Besides

"proximity of blood, Courtney was much affected "by the Queen for his flourishing youth, his cour- "teous and pleasant disposition. But he, I know "not how, was somewhat suspected not to think "sincerely of the late established religion, but to "favour the Reformed."

For this and other reasons, about this time, a scheme was formed to take him off, which not succeeding now by subornation, was effected at last by poison.

In 1554, he was imprisoned, and soon after, Elizabeth, upon Wyatt's accusation; which, being retracted by Wyatt, the next year, they were both set at liberty.*

Historians differ about the motives of their deliverance; some impute it to a scheme Philip had formed to marry Elizabeth himself. He thought, by this step, to make way to her affection, and judged it to be less unpopular, and more secretly practicable, to take off Courtney abroad than in England.

* Vide ad. ann. History.

Soon after Courtney was at liberty, he was allowed or rather sent (says Strype*) to "travel into Italy, "fearing some strife might arise by his means, to "prevent which, when he was there, it was "thought he was poisoned—to the great loss of "England, for he was very studious and well "learned; he understood mathematics well, could "paint excellently, played absolutely well on mu-"sic, spoke French, Spanish, and Italian accu-"rately, was a man of great piety, and placed his "chief good in virtue; he was buried honourably "in Padua, and Dr. Thomas Wilson, who was "afterwards secretary, made his funeral oration, in "St. Anthony's church." (Vide Strype's Memoirs, v. 3d, app.) He was the eleventh Earl of Devon of the Courtney family.

The next year after his death, 1557, King Philip went into Flanders. Eight thousand English, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke, followed him; and, among others, I find one Sir William Courtney took his barge to Dover, &c. I take this Sir William to be the head of the remaining branch of the Courtney family, and the lineal an-

* Strype, ad. ann. 1556. Cooper's Chron.

cestor of that Sir William who married the Lady Anne Bertie.

The English historians write under greater restraints; but the French speak more openly.

Castelnau, the French ambassador for many years to Queen Elizabeth, says that, "Queen Mary, "to render her title more secure, had a great "desire to marry Edward Courtney, whom she "made First Lord of the Bedchamber; for he was "descended, (according to the Sieur Tillet,) by "the father's side, from the Kings of France, and "by the mother's, from the house of York. But "the Earl had no inclination for her Majesty; "but was, as they said, extremely in love with "Elizabeth. When the Queen perceived this, "and also that some people grew uneasy to be "governed by a woman, and designed to make a "match between her sister Elizabeth and that "Lord, and so declare him King, to avoid her "anger, he immediately left the kingdom, and "retired to Venice, where, as the report went, he "was soon afterwards poisoned."*

* Memoirs, p. 58.

At this distance of time, we are at liberty to make our own conjectures. Courtney is described as one of the handsomest and most accomplished men in England; he was, certainly, at this time of the best blood in Europe. It is very probable, that Mary was in love with him, and that he was in love with Elizabeth. He was thought to be a Protestant. After Elizabeth and he had been imprisoned, Philip set them both at liberty.

At that time, Philip seems to have formed this scheme:—He saw Mary declined in her health, and was not likely to have children, or to live long. Her death would deprive him of England, if he did not marry Elizabeth, and nobody stood in his way but Courtney; I conceive, therefore, that he and Gardiner determined to save Elizabeth, and to take off Courtney.

In 1563 died Frances Brandon. Her first husband was that Duke of Suffolk who was beheaded by Queen Mary, after whom she married one Stokes, a private gentleman.* Castelnau says, she had two

* P. 52, Memoirs.

children by him, but this is contradicted. Of her three daughters, by the Duke, the Lady Jane Grey and Catherine have been spoke of.

The third daughter, Mary, who married Martin Keys, did not die till 1578, and, by her will,* gave to my very good lady and grandmother, the Duchess of Suffolk, (which was Catherine, Brandon's last wife) some of her jewels, *and to my very good lady and sister, my Lady Bertie, and to Mr. Peregrine Bertie, her husband, my best gilt cup, &c.* This must be Peregrine, who was afterwards Lord Willoughby, and his lady, who was the Lady Mary Vere ; but in what sense, she calls her, sister, does not appear.

I have enlarged a little farther upon the two great families of the Brandons and the Courtneys, as their times and circumstances were so nearly allied to Peregrine.

The Duchess of Suffolk was about thirty-five at the birth of her son, and living near twenty-five

* Strype's ann. 2nd vol. p. 548.

years after, she not only conducted his education, outlived his little flights of youth, but saw him ready to make the figure he afterwards did in the world.

Mr. Strype, (who, if he was not the most clear and elegant writer, has been always esteemed a faithful historian) out of the manuscripts of the Burleighs, has left us a good many hints of the character of this Lord Willoughby.

"This Peregrine Bertie, (says he*) when he "was young, was chiefly under the eye of Secretary "Cecil, by the earnest desire of his pious mother, "the Duchess, and by his means and care, he pro- "fited in good learning, as well as other courtly "accomplishments, so that, in the year 1568, "being now about fifteen or sixteen years of age, "(though, indeed, he was then but thirteen,) he "writ a handsome Latin epistle to the Secretary, "wherein he expressed his thankfulness to him for "his fatherly love which he had always shown "towards him; mentioning how desirous he had

* Strype's ann. v. 2d, ad. ann.

" always been of his proficiency in good learning, " and promising to use diligence to attain it."

As he grew up, he soon shewed himself to be a man of spirit and gallantry.

Strype has published part of a letter,* written March 3rd, 1575, by Peregrine himself to the Treasurer Burleigh, with a good deal of spirit, concerning a quarrel he had with the Earl of Kent. But I apprehend, the most material part of the letter is omitted, because the publisher calls it a claim to the title of Willoughby, and says he was going to his estate in Lincolnshire, which does not appear.

He was bred at Court, (says Strype†) and had learnt there to be somewhat wild, so that his good mother desired his tarrying no longer there; and in the year 1577, she wrote to the Secretary, entreating him, for God's sake, to give the young man, her son, good counsel, to bridle his youth, and to help to dispatch him the Court, that he might

* Ann. v. 4, supp. p. 16. † Annals v. 2d, ad. ann.

go down to his father whilst she trusted all was well

He was now about 22 years old, an age when a man of his rank at court might be allowed a little gallantry. The Duchess herself had married the greatest courtier in his time; she might, therefore, have a particular meaning in the last words of her letter, *whilst all was well*, to express a fear of his engaging himself too far to be disengaged.

This letter was wrote 1577, soon after this he married, because the Lady Mary's will (vide before) who died 1578, gives a legacy to his lady. Whether the Duchess was pleased with this match with Lady Mary Vere, who was, probably, then no great match, however she might be afterwards (in honours at least) or whether she feared Cecil had any hand in it, this is certain, that Cecil had married his own daughter Anne to Lady Mary's brother, the Earl of Oxford.

This Edward, Earl of Oxford,* had been ward to Cecil, and, according to the arbitrary custom of

* Vide Earl of Oxford.

those times, was married to his daughter; and this marriage, like most of those forced marriages, proved very unhappy. The Earl left his wife, and went abroad.* Many keen expostulations passed between the Queen, Cecil, and him, about it. The Earl flew into extravagance, spent and sold most of his estate, cut down his woods, and left his wife and three daughters to her father. This was the man, says Camden, who sent his patrimony flying. And this was the way that many a patrimony fled in those times of vassalage.

Most of the estates in the kingdom had some land that was held *in capite.* This gave the King a prerogative to be guardian to the heir of his tenant under age; he had not only the education of his person, and custody of his lands, without account, but could oblige him to take such a convenable marriage as he offered him, or pay a sum of money equal to the portion his estate deserved.

This power the King granted to a favourite, who usually made a job of the poor ward, and forced him

* Vide Strype.

to take a disagreeable daughter, or niece of his own, or of some person who bought the marriage. Hence arose aversions, separations, abandoning of children, and ruin of estates.

This prerogative gave the King so great a power over the nobility and gentry of England, that nothing but an obstinate civil war, and a necessitous Prince, could have torn it out of the crown.

But Peregrine had the good luck to be of full age at the death of his mother. She died September 19th, 1580, and he was then in his 25th year.

His father, Richard Bertie, upon her death, claimed the barony of Willoughby for his life, in the nature of a tenant by courtesy. And for this, he had made some preparation before her death; for, in 1578, I find a letter wrote by him to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh,* where he produces some precedents, where husbands of Baronesses by descent, have taken the style of Barons, as tenants by courtesy, and cites Wimbish's case, examined by Henry

* Strype's Supplement to 3rd and 4th vols. of Annals.

VIII.; and then, as he says, "it was concluded, "that from thenceforth no husband should do so "without special grace, unless he have issue by his "wife; in which case, *the law yieldeth him* a special "grace to enjoy the Barony for term of his life, "and the dignity as incident to the same; and "seems to claim it as his right, by the following "words: *Livery, is a kind of grace, yet, such as by "law, the Prince is to yield to the subject.*" And Strype gives you what he called an extract out of a paper, he found among the Burleigh manuscripts,* entitled, "allegations and proofs proposed by "Richard Bertie, Esq., for his claim and interest "to the name and style of Lord Willoughby de "Eresby, in the right of the Lady Duchess of "Suffolk, his wife, daughter, and heir to William "Lord Willoughby, &c., deceased." "This con-"troversy," says Strype, "was heard by some "whom the Queen especially deputed for this "purpose, *who made a decree for granting him his "style.*"

Whether he ever had such a decree, is not cer-

* Vol. 2d Annals ad. ann.

tain; but it is certain he never enjoyed it. For it seems plain that Peregrine claimed it immediately upon the death of his mother, in his own right. He had summons, says Dugdale,* 16th of January following the death of his mother, and sat in Parliament according to the seniority of that honour.

Upon the matter, it is probable that the father claimed it, and Cecil made a merit to the son to make him drop it. There were certainly some difficulties raised against Peregrine; but his father does not seem to be mentioned. In the same year, 1580, Peregrine writes to the Lord Treasurer,† "that he found his senses so overcome with just "pensiveness, that he could not presently write so "fully as the Treasurer's person and his own cause "required, by commending it to his honourable and "friendly defence, &c., and his chiefest care was, "that her Majesty might not be induced sincerely to "interpret worse of his claim than the matter mi-"nistered occasion; because he took the title and "claim of Willoughby and Eresby. He added— "That the question was handled in King Henry

* Dugdale's Baronage. † Strype.

" the Eighth's reign, and the right upon claim made
" by Sir Christopher Willoughby, younger brother
" and heir male to the Lord Willoughby, my
" grandfather, was adjudged to the Duchess, my
" dear mother. Now, if my right, after sentence
" given, after so long a seisin, and a dying seised
" of the Duchess, shall be called in question, I
" must needs think myself an abortive, and born in
" a most unfortunate house, that her Majesty
" had rather spoil her crown of a barony, than I
" should be the person should do that service.
" But in case that honour shall, of your friendly
" disposition towards me, and justice, safely pilot
" me over this tempestuous sea, you shall con-
" fidently account that thereby you have erected a
" pillar in your own building, which shall never sink
" or fail you for any stone whatsoever, &c.

" From Willoughby House.

" PEREGRINE BERTIE."

I have transcribed this letter, as it gives a better light to the question, and shows the spirit and ingenuity of the writer. He claims it as his right, as due to him in justice; he intimates plainly that he thought it only a ministerial artifice, to start up an

old difficulty, to make a merit of removing it, that the Treasurer might thereby erect *a pillar in his own building.* And this might lead Baker, Eachard, &c., and other transcribing historians, to say, that Elizabeth *made* him Lord Willoughby; and might mislead Camden, to turn the act of the Minister into a compliment upon the Queen, where he says, "she was very sparing in bestowing honours, and "had hardly *admitted* Peregrine Bertie to the "honour of Baron Willoughby of Eresby, before "such time as he had given proof of his virtue, "(priusquam virtutis specimen dedisset) although "his mother was the only daughter and heir of the "Lord Willoughby." (Etsi mater ejus Ducissa Suffolciæ, unica esset filia et hæres Baronis Willoughby) which is wrong translated in the English edition of Camden.

Camden speaks more properly in the word *admitted.* But delaying to admit a man to a Peerage he has a right to, may arise from another reason, than her being sparing in bestowing honours.

It is a very elegant expression of Peregrine's

that it would be to spoil her crown of a barony, if she denied it to him. When a barony is once fixed in the crown, it becomes a jewel, not of the crown only, but of the constitution, which no Prince who wears the crown, can deprive it of.

I cannot deny, but this has been a question between the King and the Lords. The King makes the Peer, and, upon a descent, it has been said, the King was the only judge whether the heir was a fit person to do the service. But the Lords as good as say, the King makes the Lord, but the house makes the Peer; the Lords are the only judges whether he has a right to a share of the legislature. And now I conceive it is no question whether the writ of summons of peerage, is not a writ *de jure*, which the King cannot refuse to grant.

Richard Bertie died April 9th, 1582, aged sixty-four.

He was certainly descended of an ancient gentleman's family, and probably was the son of a constable of Hurst Castle.

All the accounts of his conduct when he carried his wife, the Duchess, through Holland and Germany, show that he was a man of sense and courage. There is a letter of his to Cecil, (published by Haynes in his collection of State papers,) 1569, where it appears that he was consulted with by the Secretary, as a man of wisdom and experience, which he very plainly discovers in his answer. He was educated at Corpus Christi College, in Oxford, and was Fellow of it.

It is said, he was Master of the Horse to Charles Brandon; but as it was usual for the great men of those times, to retain great officers, in a sort of imitation of their prince, I doubt whether he was in so high a station, under the second man in the kingdom.

Lord Willoughby being now established in his barony, soon gave a specimen of his virtue to deserve it.

His mother, the Duchess, feared he would have turned out a dangler at court; she did not live to see him raise a different character.

At this time, the Queen's match with the Duke of Alençon, was upon the carpet. What reasons of State she had to carry that affair so far; whether she ever really intended it, or if she did, what made her, after so great advances, break it off so abruptly, does not appear to us. However, she would dismiss him honourably. After he had been three months in England, he returned to Flanders (Feb. 1582). The Queen herself accompanied him to Canterbury, and then she commanded the Earl of Leicester, the Lords Howard, Hundsdon, Willoughby, Windsor, Sheffield, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Francis Russell, Sir George Bourchier, &c., to attend him to Antwerp; so that Lord Willoughby began now to be ranked with the greatest men in the kingdom, and soon after advanced himself to the top of the military character he assumed.

The affairs of Europe were working up to a crisis. Spain was taking large strides to universal monarchy. Her old grudge against Elizabeth was aggravated by the supply of money she had sent to the Duke of Alençon, in Flanders. She, therefore, began to cultivate new alliances. (Ut se foras firmaret contra Hispanum, quem ex subsidianâ illâ

pecuniâ Andino subministratâ exacerbatam noverat.) She sent the Order of the Garter to Frederick II., King of Denmark, and Peregrine, Lord Willoughby, to invest him with it. (Camden, 1582.) He staid some time in Denmark, to negociate some complaints of the English merchants, concerning the usurpation of Customs by the King; but as the historian justly observes, when Kings are once possessed of taxes or duties, they are so unwilling to part with them, that in this Peregrine did not succeed; being, indeed, rather cut out for a general, than a commissary.

The last twenty years of Elizabeth, were a very busy time.

The struggles between the Papists and Protestants for ecclesiastical power and liberty, were kept up in full spirit, but with this difference—when Luther introduced the Reformation in Germany, and Henry VIII. threw off the Pope, and his nurseries the monasteries in England, the dispute seemed to be—Pro aris et focis,—who should have the altars and the fires; and wherever the Papists got them, they lighted them with so inhuman a fury, that nothing

was to be expected by their opponents but inquisitions, racks, burnings, massacres, and assassinations. This has been truly the case in Spain, France, England, Flanders, and Italy; not to mention the monstrous butcheries the Spaniards committed in America, to convert the natives, and rob them doubly—of their innocence, and of their gold.

Mankind began to be tired of this sort of ecclesiastical argument, and the game was now carried on more by cunning and treachery.

The Papists seemed to recover the ground they had lost. Philip had established the Inquisition in Spain, and the massacre at Paris and other towns in France, had stunned and checked the Reformation in that kingdom. The Pope, and all the Popish Princes, had their eyes upon Elizabeth, as the single person who supported it in Europe.

If she had dropped before Mary of Scotland, they would have had a second Queen Mary, as great a bigot, but with less conscience, and more cunning, than the first. And if they could once have set her upon the thrones of both kingdoms, she had a son

to succeed her, who, in such a situation, might not have turned out so zealous a Protestant.

When affairs stood in this light, we may easily imagine some plots were laid to take off Elizabeth; and the murders of Henry III. and Henry IV. of France, and of the Prince of Orange, &c., all, I think, by the hands of ecclesiastics, on the account of religion, show that assassinations have been used in the propagation of it. Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

I cannot say that this spirit of religion, or, rather, for ecclesiastical power, was the only cause at this time of the wars in Europe. I shall consider those which arose from ambition, only as they affected the balance of power.

Henry VIII. held this balance pretty well for some time, but this was not owing so much to his own politics, as to the circumstance of Charles V., and Francis I., being so near of an equal weight in the scales. But when France was weakened by the civil wars and massacre, Henry III. and Henry IV. were very ill fixed in their saddles.

The Low Countries were almost reduced, and Spain was pushing at universal monarchy at one blow,—by the invincible Armada. Elizabeth had not yet openly engaged on either side.

The Seven Provinces, after a long defence against the whole power of Spain, were ready to sink. They had offered themselves to Henry III.; he received them coldly. What could be his reason at this time to refuse such an offer, is not explained. He could not be worse than he was with Spain, and it was better for France to be master of these provinces, than either Spain or England; at least, his successors have thought so. When they were refused by France, they applied to England, under the character of The Distressed States.

This application seemed to puzzle Elizabeth. She had not yet openly engaged in policy; she could not let the States be swallowed up; it was a Proximus ardet—and the Spaniards very soon showed her they wanted only to make Holland a passage to England; they were even now preparing to tell her, at the mouth of their cannon, Tua res agitur; but she had, or well dissembled, a real

hesitation. Spain had been the master of Holland; which had been provoked, by oppression enough, to revolt, and set up for themselves.

Princes are always unwilling to appear to countenance the revolt of subjects. If there is no pretence of a disputed title, and the question is merely between power and liberty, it is a dangerous precedent for one King to support a revolution against another.

At best, it must be done secretly; and it was the fashion of this time to reconcile every action to the nice rules of justice, even to affectation. So, in this affair, (as in the Queen of Scots) Elizabeth had her doubts; but as soon as they were removed, or the part had been decently acted, she accepted the offer, and openly made a treaty with the Hollanders.

And now, the King of Sweden said, when he heard it, Elizabeth had taken the crown from her head, and adventured it upon the doubtful chance of war.

These general hints may serve to show you, upon what sort of stage, Peregrine was now entering into action. And if I give you a short sketch of what was done in the Netherlands for the next two years, under Leicester's administration, till Lord Willoughby succeeded him, you will better understand what part he had in it.

The Embassadors of the States, in their first audience, pressed the Queen to become their mistress.* Pluribus obtestantur, ut provinciarum dominium, populumque Belgicum, in protectionem et perpetuam clientelam susciperet. Which looks like an offer to make themselves a province to England, and to choose Elizabeth, at least, to be their perpetual Stadtholder. She was yet too well advised to take them at their word, and made, or seemed to make, a right judgment of foreign dominions.

She only made a treaty to assist them with five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, and to have three or four towns in caution, for the re-payment

* Camden.

of her charge, with some other articles, rather to secure her interest with them, than her power over them.

Whatever foundation Camden had to assert that the States made an offer of a kind of absolute and perpetual power over their provinces, as if they had been reduced to the choice of falling under the absolute and cruel power of Spain, or surrendering themselves to some other dominion—which, indeed, seems to be intimated in a memorial, dated 28th of February, 1589, in Rymer—yet, in the original commission from the States General, (16th of June, 1585, Rymer) nothing of this appears. That only authorises the Commissioners to entreat her Majesty to take *the protection and defence* of the said countries, and to give them sufficient aid during the present war. And the commission to Leicester, 22nd of October, 1585, constitutes him only her Majesty's Lieutenant and Captain-General of her Forces, &c.*

About this critical time, the Lord Willoughby

* Rymer.

was made Governor of Bergen op Zoom, or Berg on the river Zoom, a town of Brabant, exceedingly strong. It had been governed anciently by its own Counts, and was erected into a Marquisate by Charles V. (1528), and in Jan., 1574, its governor Requesenes, lost it to the Hollanders, and the Hollanders, I apprehend, put England in possession of it, as a security for the performance of articles.

Whether it was before, or after he was made governor, I have not yet been informed; but I find that in the year 1585, the affairs of the King of Navarre being declining, the Queen sent the Lord Willoughby to raise men or money, among the Princes of Germany, to assist him. She was willing to try her neighbours before she took the whole affair upon herself; but the Germans acted with her as they have since done with her successors; for, in the same year, Willoughby writes to Burleigh, from Cranenburg—"That they understood better, "Proximus sum egomet mihi,—than they had "learned, Humanum nihil a me alienum puto; "that the States of the German Princes continued "still in their deep security and lethargy; careless "of the state of others, dreaming of their ubiquity,

" some of them, as it was thought, inclining to be " Popish and Spanish more than heretofore."*

As soon as Elizabeth had made this treaty with Holland, she began to act openly, and with vigour, against Spain; she sent Sir Francis Drake, with a fleet, into America, and in the latter end of the year 1585, Leicester went into Holland.

He went (says Camden) with great preparations and goodly shew, accompanied by the Earl of Essex, the Lords Audley and North, &c., and a choice band of five hundred gentlemen. Camden does not name Lord Willoughby, and it is more probable he did not go over with him. If he was at this time Governor of Bergen op Zoom, it is likely, he met him in Holland. Besides, there were now two parties at Court—Burleigh's and Leicester's; and Lord Willoughby having been educated by Burleigh, and, I guess, of his party, does not appear so agreeable a companion to Leicester; but Strype says, he did go over with him.

* Vide Strype, vol. 2, p. 671.

It was thought a mistake to choose Leicester for the head of this undertaking; he was the unfittest man in the kingdom to humour a people jealous of liberty. He was haughty and ambitious; had taken it into his head to be a King, at least, to be a husband to a Queen Regnant. Elizabeth had proposed him expressly to Mary, Queen of Scotland. He had (in the opinion of the world) proposed himself to Elizabeth, and she, herself, had certainly no disinclination to his person; but her politics got the better of her passion in the disposal of herself, though not so clearly, in this instance, in the conduct of her affairs.

She was a good judge of men, and in the instructions she gave Leicester at his departure, she seems even to apprehend his conduct;* but he, *out of a tickling desire of command and glory*, says Camden, would cross the seas. Sed patuit tutior esse domi.

When he came to Flushing, he was received by the Governor of it, Sir Philip Sidney. And, at the

* Vide Camden, &c.

Hague, (January, 1586) Camden tells us, the States General gave him a supreme and absolute power, (summum imperium et absoluta authoritas in fœderatas provincias) with the title of Governor and Captain-General of Holland, Zealand, and the United Provinces, &c. I can easily believe he was as ready to accept, as the States to confer, and soon began to think and act like a Prince. Regios spiritus sumere cœpit.*

Whether he over-acted his part, or it was a part the Queen had not designed for him, she wrote him a letter full of resentment, that he would presume, without her knowledge, to accept the absolute power over the Provinces. At the same time, she expostulates with the States, for granting such a power to her subject, &c. The States, in return, explain what they meant by the words absolute power, and asserted that the real absolute power remained in the people. And so the matter dropped.

In this whole transaction, there are some who

* Camden.

think the Queen acted a part, as she did after the death of Mary, the Scottish Queen. It is not easy to believe that Leicester would have accepted such a power without her consent, or that Davison sent the warrant without her knowledge. She bullied Leicester, as she did Davison; but she let Leicester's patent continue, and Davison's warrant be executed. It was necessary to save appearances, till, by a solemn act of the States, she should have an explanation of the real power they entrusted her with.

Elizabeth was certainly a woman of art and dissimulation; the offer of absolute sovereignty (if it was really made) had flattered her vanity; she did not care openly to accept it, till she could know how much it would cost her. And yet, she might not have been unwilling to have kept it in her power, if the States had insisted upon it; but they seemed to be aware of this, when they desired that Leicester's title might not be altered, but assured her, the actual power continued in themselves; which they took the first opportunity that he gave them, to convince her.

Strada enters strongly into this way of think-

ing.* His words are, Leicestrius supremus fœderatorum Provinciarum gubernator, contra quam inter Belgas et Reginam convenerat, inauguratus est. Leicestrius, imperii avidus, et Reginæ securus.

Then speaking of the Queen, he says, Anglæ offencio brevi evanuit. Scilicet accessionem potentiæ, ut recusare ad moderationis speciem, illa retulerat, ita nunc, eandem admittere alienâ utcunque culpâ peroptabat. Non serio Reginam antea noluisse, quando tam cito flexerit.

These sentiments might be imputed to Strada's partiality to the Spaniards, if the Hollanders had not, at the same time, entertained the same suspicions.

The English had now their full share of engagement.

At the siege of Grave, many English were killed, and Norris wounded.

Sir Philip Sidney and Prince Maurice took

* Ad. ann., 1586.

Axtell; the Prince of Parma besieged Berk (quere, if Bergue op Zoom), but was forced to raise the siege by Leicester's investing Duisburg.

And now Lord Willoughby did a great piece of service, by intercepting the enemy's convoy. The Prince of Parma, doubting Zutphen, intended to throw some supplies into it. The English attacked the convoy. There was a smart engagement; and Lord Willoughby himself unhorsed George Cressiac, the General, and took him prisoner. The translator of Camden says, a cornet of horse, under the leading of George Cressiac. But to shew you with what caution you should read translations, the words in the original are, Angli equitum turmam sub Georgio Cressiaco Albano emissam, profligant, ipsum, equo a Willoughbeio dejectum, capiunt, Hannibale Gonzagu, cum multis aliis, interfecto; which declares expressly, that it was the general himself that was unhorsed by the Lord Willoughby.

In this engagement fell Sir Philip Sidney, the honour and ornament of his country.

Thuanus is more particular. He says, speaking

of this convoy,* Qui haud longe ab Antwerpiâ, a Præsidianis Bergarum ad Somam, Ductore Willoughbeio, *Regulo*,† qui delectos Anglos secum ducebat, circumventi ac cæsi sunt. Præter interfectos, Cxxc capti, cccc currus retenti; annona quæ asportari non potuit incensâ; which gives the whole honour of the action to Willoughby.

Though some of the English, such as Willoughby, Sidney, Vere, Norris, &c., made a great figure at this time in the Netherlands, I doubt the character of our nation was not advanced there.

The States began to think, they were acting the fable of the stag and the horse, and remembered the moral of it—Non equitem dorso, non frenum depulit ore.

" The Earl of Leicester, (says the historian‡) a " man of great pride and ambition, was no sooner

* Lib. 85.

† Does he mean by Regulo—Lord, or Governor of Berg, whose garrison he was then at the head of?

‡ Camden.

" clothed with the exorbitant power they had con-
" ferred upon him, but he began secretly to form
" projects, destructive of the liberties of the country
" he was come to defend; at least, this is what all
" the Dutch historians tax him with. They pre-
" tend, his design was to render himself sovereign,
" or perpetual dictator, of the Provinces which he
" had been entrusted with the government of. He
" made use of such means as bred an universal dis-
" content against him. In short, after a campaign,
" wherein he performed no great exploits, he re-
" turned to England, to take proper measures to
" smooth the way to his ends, and, probably, to
" persuade the Queen to support him."

Before he returned to England, he came to the Hague. There he was received with complaints, which he softened with promises. The day of his departure,* he acted in a manner that is hard to be understood. Take it in Camden's words—" Die
" jam decessurus, Provinciarum administrationem
" ordinum concilio committit: eodem die, alio re-
" strictionis diplomate secreto confecto, authoritatem

* Dec. 3d, 1586.

" omnem in Gubernatores provinciarum, urbium et " arcium, sibi reservat, quinimo solitas jurisdictiones " ordinum concilio et provinciarum Præsidibus, " adimit." Here Camden makes him act rather like a little attorney than a statesman; to make a public instrument, conferring the government of the Provinces to the States, and the same day to make a secret one, reserving it to himself. But this historian, being no friend to Leicester, has not, I doubt, represented this matter fairly; for Rapin, who professes to follow Camden, by omitting it, shows he suspected it.

However, some secret orders he left with his creatures, and they obeyed them, to the great disgust of the States. York and Stanley (qui fuerint illi ex intimis*) betrayed Daventer, and the forts near Zutphen, to the Spaniards. This put the States out of all patience; they sent ambassadors to Elizabeth, to accuse Leicester; she sent others to them to accommodate matters. But the Queen's ambassadors discovering an inclination to sift the affair too fine, Leicester's personal interest prevailed,

* Camden.

and Lord Buckhurst, who was at the head of the embassy, was, at his return, disgraced.

The States were yet only much out of humour with the General; but wanted the assistance of England. The Prince of Parma besieged Sluice; it was a place of great importance, garrisoned by English and Walloons. Williams, Vere, Baskerville, &c., defended it with great bravery; but Leicester finding himself too weak, was obliged to retire, and leave it to the Spaniards.

Hence arose new expostulations. He found the States slighted him, grew desperate, formed a scheme to seize Leyden and other of their towns, was discovered and disappointed, and the Queen recalled him. I have thought it necessary to give you this sketch of Leicester's conduct, to show you the situation of his successor, Peregrine, Lord Willoughby.

When Leicester went into Holland, the English were in high reputation there; when he returned, they were in the greatest umbrage. It was necessary for the Queen to appoint a man of a different

character, and, therefore, when Leicester was recalled, and the States had chosen Prince Maurice for their Governor, she constituted Lord Willoughby, General of the English.

It is the opinion of some writers, that the Queen gave Leicester a kind of civil power, and only made Willoughby General of her forces.

I cannot perceive this difference in their commissions.* Willoughby's is dated Nov. 10, 1587; has the same titles of Locum tenens, Dux generalis totius exercitus et copiarum, &c., and all the other powers expressed in Leicester's patent.† In Willoughby's, indeed, there is a clause, that Omnia illa, &c., should be transacted, Cum consilio et assensu Will^{i} Pelham. This, I conceive, was done at the request of Willoughby, who, after the disreputation Leicester had fallen under, might be cautious to take the whole weight upon himself, without a friend to see and justify his conduct.

It is probable, Willoughby continued in the Ne-

* Vide Rymer. † Ibid.

therlands, when Leicester went over to England in 1586, and stayed there till he succeeded him in 1587.

In this interval, passed the great affair of Mary, Queen of Scots; in any part of which, I have the satisfaction not to find his name.

If ever there was a case, where politics could justify the taking the life of a prince, it was this.

At this time, Elizabeth's was the single life, upon which depended the liberties of England, and the reformed religion in Europe. The Prince of Orange had been assassinated, and unquestionably many plots were formed against the life of Elizabeth, and the King of Spain was preparing to invade her kingdom. There is no doubt but Mary knew, and approved of most or all these designs, so that it was brought to a single question,—whether Mary, or Elizabeth, should fall.

This might, or, it might not, excuse Elizabeth; but it certainly could not excuse the Judges. They were not to act by reasons of State, but by rules of

law and justice; and the whole course of the proceedings, in taking the confessions of men who were executed, and might have been kept alive; of persons who were then alive, and might have been brought to the trial; in proving letters by copies, and producing no originals; in condemning a sovereign Princess, who had been so long imprisoned, for using any means (but those of assassination, which were not proved) to recover her liberty; these things were not easily reconcileable to the laws of England, or laws of nations, and, therefore, I am glad I do not find Lord Willoughby's name in the Commission.

But acts of sovereign power, and bills of attainder, supersede the settled rules of law and justice, where the safety of the public, the preservation of the whole community, make them necessary.

When Leicester was recalled, and Lord Willoughby set in his place, he had a new part to act. Hitherto he had behaved gallantly as a soldier, he was now to become a politician; to employ the means of address and insinuation, to reconcile the mind of the States to the character of his country.

From the first Treaty, the whole conduct of the Queen and Leicester, in regard to the States, is a riddle.* If Leicester was not her prime minister, he was certainly her chief favourite, and it is hard to believe, that all he acted was without her knowledge. If she was so highly offended at his taking the power the States offered, why did she not oblige him to disclaim it, and confine himself to the power she had given him; and yet, as soon as he arrived in Holland, every step he took, contradicted the Queen's declaration, that she desired no sovereignty over the States; and when he first returned to England, she discountenanced Buckhurst, and supported Leicester.

And how did he act upon his return to Holland? I think, Camden only patronises a Dutch calumny, where he says—No doubt he cast in his mind to usurp the dominion, and to seize Prince Maurice and Barnevelt, and send them into England. He cites no author for this, and I believe it is found in no other history. It may be true that he formed parties and factions, (factiones in populi alere) to

* As Camden relates it.

divide the States and the towns. That which he calls the Leicester faction had got such ground in Gertrudenburg, Narden, Worcum, Huesden, &c., that they were as much addicted to the English as if they had sworn allegiance to the Queen.

He did this, and attempted to get the towns betrayed to him, after the Queen had so openly commanded him not to aim at the sovereignty. And yet, when the States accused him of it, the Queen showed no resentment; she restored him immediately to her favour, and, the next year, made him General of her army against the Spanish invasion.

Such a conduct as this, if it arose from no other motive but the Queen's personal regard to Leicester, must sink the character of the English in Holland. And now, it was Willoughby's part to raise and restore it. He was to calm and break the factions, to reconcile and unite the States and the towns, to remove their jealousies, and to convince them, that England did not aim at any power over them, but only to establish them in their liberties.

And this, (says Camden) he, together with Prince

Maurice, happily effected. Willoughbeius, cum Mauritio, feliciter præstitit. In this critical juncture, the union of the States was their preservation; so that we may justly say, they owe their being as a Republic, in a great measure, to the prudence and conduct of Willoughby.

Leicester's maxim was, Divide et impera; the Dutch, Si collidimur, frangimur; Willoughby's, Unit et conservat.

From this union, when they were upon the point of being broke to pieces, and the Duke of Parma at their doors, ready to crush them divided, whom he could not conquer united, I date the establishment of that State; and from what has happened since, I cannot but think, by effecting and finishing this work, Willoughby did a great and lasting piece of service to his country.

If Leicester had seized those towns, and could have sent Prince Maurice and Barnevelt into England, what would have been the consequence? Could he have supported himself in his usurpation, and become, in his own right, the tyrant of the

Provinces? Certainly he could not. Could his mistress have supported him, and avowed his acting with her knowledge? I think it was not in her power. The Provinces must then have been reduced to their old obedience to Spain; there would have been no power to keep the Spaniards in play, when they were preparing to invade England.

Whatever disputes we have had since with this Commonwealth about trade, in regard to which Willoughby's maxim of—Proximus sum egomet mihi—is applicable to all nations, their weight in the scale has, in our own time, saved the liberties and independency of Europe.

If they had then been re-enslaved by Spain, all men of merit and industry had deserted them. At that time, and since, the very terror of slavery made them enter into a scheme to remove themselves to the East Indies; the countries would have been desolate, and the new inhabitants left in them, would have been as poor and oppressed as are, at present, the people of Spain and Italy, and all the subjects of absolute monarchies.

Whilst the States were in these factions and confusions, Philip was openly making preparations for his invasion of England. He had executed it this very year, 1587, if Drake's expedition, and the success he had upon the coasts of Spain, and Gresham's drafts upon Genoa, had not postponed it. And this year, too, probably, it would have succeeded. Before the next, the English and Dutch were reconciled; their mutual jealousies removed, their union disabled the Duke of Parma to embark and land his army in England, and the Spaniards imputed the loss of their scheme wholly to this disappointment of Parma.

So great events depend upon causes of less observation. If Leicester had succeeded in Holland, or if Willoughby had trod in his steps, England had probably been lost.

All Europe had their eyes upon this Armada. Philip paid such a compliment to England, as to think it could not be conquered without the greatest force that ever was raised by Spain; a force which impoverished that kingdom one hundred years afterwards.

The Pope, who, in the plenitude of his power, had, for many ages, all the kingdoms of the earth at his disposal, and gave them to whomsoever he pleased, gave England to Philip. He excommunicated Elizabeth, and excited all who dared, to assassinate her. In this fleet, were one hundred priests, with a Cardinal at the head of them, who had already divided the land. Venit, vidit, fugit. Justum, Anglis, Batavis, ventis, ludibrium.

The Duke of Parma, finding the miscarriage of the late expedition laid at his door, resolved to give a lift to his own and his country's credit, by the siege of Berge op Zoom. By taking this town, he proposed to free Brabant from the incursions of the English, and to open a way for himself into Zealand.

He had an army of thirty, some say forty, thousand, and thought himself as sure of succeeding by land, as his master had done at sea. But this mighty expedition was also disappointed, by the conduct of Willoughby, and the courage of the garrison.

Vanus etiam hic fuit conatus, providentiâ Baronis Willoughbeii et virtute Præsidii. (Camden.)

Upon this occasion, Willoughby showed his capacity. He was not only to defend this town against such an army as lay before it, but to reconcile and unite the garrison. They were most, if not all, English; and these, in high contention about a Deputy-Governor, even during the siege.

Willoughby had appointed Drury; the Queen, by her letters, had nominated Morgan. The garrison was divided. Whether this arose from Leicester's prevalence with the Queen, or from what other cause, does not appear. But it gave Willoughby a second opportunity to serve his country, by his temper, as well as his courage. He united the garrison against the common enemy, and then, by frequent sallies and military skill, (eruptionibus et astu militari, ita hostes exercuerit.*) They followed the enemy so close, that, after two months, Parma raised the siege, and Willoughby, the

* Camden.

General, knighted Vere, Knowles, Parker, and Pooly, as a reward for their behaviour.

As all men gave the honour of this defence to Willoughby, the Queen, very soon after, showed her approbation of his conduct, by sending him at the head of the body of English into France, at the very crisis, when it was under deliberation, whether Henry IV. should keep the crown upon his head, or throw it off by flying into England. In September, 1588, died Leicester, just as he was upon the point of receiving a kind of sovereignty, (summum Angliæ et Hiberniæ imperium, vicaria, sub Reginâ, potestate.*) But this being an office unknown to the Constitution, Burleigh and Hatton opposed it.

It was a seasonable death for Burleigh. Regina vero permolestissime tulit.

When the siege of Berge op Zoom was raised, Willoughby returned home; where we find him one of the Commissioners in the trial of the Lord Arundel.

* Camden.

As Burleigh was now without a rival in the state, Willoughby was at the head of all the military affairs.

The Queen was now in no danger of any invasion from abroad, or any rival at home. She had supported the new Republic of Holland, till it could stand upon its own legs; and now she had leisure to look towards the affairs of France.

A long civil war in that country had been raised, and kept up by the Spaniards, who had inspired into it their own spirit of massacre and assassination.

Henry III. had changed sides more than once. He certainly broke all rules in directing the Duke of Guise to be murdered even in his own presence, and the Cardinal in his palace.* Assassinations usually turn against the contrivers. Nec lex est justior ulla, &c.

The death of the Duke of Guise, and his brother, the Cardinal, rather strengthened, than crushed,

* Dec. 23, 1588.

the league; Henry III. was driven to side with the Huguenots, and send for the King of Navarre. Upon this, he was himself assassinated* within a year, and Henry IV. found himself at the head of a kingdom, where he had but very few real subjects. His capital city was against him; he was driven to the very coasts of his kingdom, and had, in a manner, resolved to fly into England, if Biron had not prevented him. In this, Biron saved his crown, and, before he died, he took off Biron's head. Something like this did Henry VIII. by Courtney, Marquess of Exeter; and if you read the history of the world, you will find more examples of the gratitude of Princes.

At this time, Henry IV. had no power that could support him, but England. He must have sunk, if Elizabeth had not thrown her weight into the scale, and that turned it.

The Queen sent him twenty-two thousand pounds sterling in gold specie, such a sum as he declared he never saw before in gold, and a quan-

* Aug. 1, 1589.

tity of arms, and four thousand foot, and one thousand horse,* under the command of Peregrine, Lord Willoughby. (Sub imperio Peregrini, Baronis Willoughbeii, qui Belgico exercitui postquam Leicestrius abierat, cum laude præfuerat.†)

They landed in France, September, 1589.

You must not expect the French historians will give much of the King's success to the English. They had been their old enemies, were now called in to save them at a pinch, and were intended to be sent home again, as soon as the King could support himself without them. However, it is easy to be judged, from the turn the King's affairs took during the winter they stayed there, and the straights he was driven to after they had left him, how great a share they had in his settlement.

The holy league in France was formed for the extirpation of the Protestants. Henry III. had

* Four thousand English, and one thousand Scots, says Davila.

† Camden.

entered strongly into it. When he formed the design to assassinate the Duke of Guise, he was still so much a Catholic, that as soon as he had executed it, he threw open the door of his closet, and said aloud to the Cardinal of Vendosme, "I am "now King, and resolved to make war upon the "Heretics with more vigour than ever." If he had stopped here, (says Father Daniel,* who cannot be suspected for partiality against the Papists,) by which he means, I guess, if the King had not proceeded also to murder the Cardinal, de Guise, &c., "Pope Sixtus V. would not only not have blamed "him for the Duke of Guise's death, but, consider-"ing his humour, would scarce have forborne "praising him for it." He pressed the Pope to absolve him for the massacre, *and, as I have observed already,* (says Daniel) *if he had only cut off the Duke, the Pope would not have made so great a stir about it.* But having also cut off the Cardinal, he could obtain no absolution; and the faction at Paris, and the Duke of Mayenne pressing him, he was forced to join with the King of Navarre, and then was murdered himself by Clement, a friar.

* Sub. ann. 1588.

I have made this short digression, to lead you into a reflection upon the turns of Providence. Henry III. murdered the Duke of Guise, that he alone might have the honour of extirpating the Protestants. He was soon obliged to beg aid of the King of Navarre, who was the head of the Protestants, and, for that reason, was himself murdered by a priest. Henry IV. was the head of the Protestants against the league. He turned Papist to save his crown; was afterwards murdered by a Jesuit, for fear of his re-turning Protestant.

But to proceed. When the civil war was at its height, Paris besieged, and ready to be starved, or taken by storm, Henry III. was killed.

Many were thought of for the crown. The King of Spain had supported the league, not for religion only; but when he found he could not be King of England, he changed his measures, and hoped to be King of France.

The Duke of Savoy aimed at it. The Duke of Mayenne thought he saw it in his reach, but was afraid to seize it. He acted the same part as

Cromwell did, with the same expectation, but not with the same success; for Cromwell kept the power, though he refused the title.

These different schemes gave it, at last, to Henry IV., who, indeed, had the best right to it. His prospect, at this time, was very low. He had been bred a Huguenot, and had been long at the head of that party. Twice he had promised to turn Papist; first, at the massacre at Paris, afterwards, at his succession. The Huguenots were afraid he would keep his word to save his crown, (as, in fact, he afterwards did) and the Catholics thought, if they had his mouth, the Huguenots would have his heart.

For these reasons, when he set out, both sides were upon the point of deserting him; and so many did actually leave him, that he was forced to raise the siege of Paris, and retire into Normandy, with no more than one thousand horse, three thousand foot, and two regiments of Swiss, who had plainly told him, point d'argent, point de Suisse,* and were ready to desert him for want of pay.

* Daniel.

The Duke of Mayenne followed him at the head of an army of thirty thousand men,* designing to enclose the King, who had then but seven thousand men, if he ventured to keep the field, or to besiege him in Dieppe, if he retired into that place, and by forcing the town, compel him to take shelter in England. The forces were so unequal, that the success was not doubted at Paris, insomuch, that several hired windows in the Rue St. Antoine, to see the triumph of the Duke of Mayenne, leading the captive Bearnois to the Bastile, (for so the Leaguers of Paris called the King). The King did not venture the point upon keeping the field, but secured Dieppe, the last town in his kingdom, that he might have one port to receive the supplies he expected from England; or, if he was driven to extremity, to fly into England himself, rather than be taken.

Before he retired into Dieppe, the Duke of Mayenne resolved so finish the affair at one stroke. He attacked the King's intrenchments at Arques, and besieged Dieppe. If the King had lost the battle of Arques, he must, probably, have fled or

* Daniel.

been taken; he only kept his post, he was so far from getting a victory, that the Duke of Mayenne only changed his course, and went another way, and set down before Dieppe.

At this juncture, arrived the Lord Willoughby, at the head of the English; and the Duke being informed of it, and fearing to be attacked in his turn, he raised the siege, and retired into Picardy.

The second of October, 1589, Lord Willoughby writes the following letter to the Queen :—*

" Most Gracious Sovereign,

" Your especial favours to myself, and to the " cause wherein I now serve you, did hasten me, " as your Majesty commanded, that the charge al- " ready expended in England, might receive in " France the thanks and honour which your Majesty " had right in. The King, being advertised by " me, on Sunday, of your gracious pleasure, ad- " vices, bountiful succours and care of his estate,

* Rymer.

" promised, on Monday, to dispatch his own thanks " on Tuesday. Going from hence with some two " hundred horse, he joined with the Duke Lon- " gueville, near to Gammach; from whence, he " sent word yesterday, that he would seek all means " to encounter his enemy, who yet held together, " either to join Le Mot, or the Duke of Parma's " forces, or else for some attempt upon the King. " Hereupon, Mareschal Biron, quartering us at " Appeville, and other villages near hereby, is this " day gone to find the King, about four leagues " hence, appointing us to be immediately ready for " such further march, as the King shall direct, " before night. If the enemy will abide it, we are " like to assail them forthwith. The victory, " next after Him that governs the heavens, the " King will attribute to your Majesty; whom, " above all others upon earth, he confesses to owe " most unto. Thus, most humbly craving your " Majesty's pardon, I leave, with shame, of my " rude and hasty writing, but with all the duty a " poor wretch may owe to so excellent a Sovereign. " Your Majesty's most humble subject and servant,

" PEREGRINE WILLOUGHBY.

" From Dieppe, 2d October, 1589."

This letter, and another which I shall give you, from the King himself to Queen Elizabeth, will fully confirm and supply what I have collected from the contemporary historians.

The tables were now turned, and the King became the pursuer. He followed the Duke as far as the river Saone, and then turned off, and went directly to Paris.

The Parisians had expected, either to see him led in triumph, or were assured that he was fled into England, till he was within a league of the city.

November 1, he attacked the suburbs.

We must leave a French historian, to make his countrymen do everything, and be silent as to auxiliaries. *Daniel* is very short; he only says, The King attacked the suburbs and carried them, &c., and the conquerors very narrowly avoided entering the town with the soldiers in their flight. *Davila* is more particular. He had just owned that the King and everybody was much pleased with the

arrival of the English; that now prosperous fortune on all sides began to show her face. The English having brought with them a sum of money, which the King immediately distributed to his army (that is, he paid the Swiss); so that the coming of the English prevented the loss of the Swiss. Yet, in his description of the forces which attacked the suburbs, he does not once mention either the English, or the Swiss; though, it is most certain, they had both a great, if not the greatest, share in the action.

Taking the account, then, from Camden, who does justice to his countrymen—"The English and "Swiss, being commanded to attack that part which "lies between the gate of St. Marcellus and the "Seine, having broke through the trench and barri-"cadoes even to St. Vincent's Gate, were upon the "point of entering; but the King, who did not "apprehend that so great and populous a city could "have been taken by such a handful of men, and "was unwilling to expose it to be sacked, which he "hoped soon to be master of, sounded a retreat."

Though this is wrote by an Englishman, it ap-

pears to be the fairest and most natural account. It cannot be imagined, that the English and Swiss had no share in the action; it is rather to be thought, that when the King was going to plunder his own capital, he would rather employ foreign troops than trust the French; but when he saw those foreign troops, especially the English, were upon the point of entering the city, his mind recoiled; he did not know what effect it might have upon the affections of the French, if he suffered Paris to be sacked by the English; he, therefore, sounded a retreat.

Whatever reasons the King had for raising the siege, the following letter is an unquestionable proof of the conduct of the Lord Willoughby and the English, as well as the partiality of the French historians in concealing it.

I give it you as published by Rymer.*

" Apres le succes de l'alarme et frayeur que j'ay
" donné a la Ville de Paris, q'uy a faylly de pey
" a fayre le fort tout antier, &c.

* Ad. ann.

" Vous voullant byen assurer, Madame, que jy " aye este sy veurteusement servy de vos troupes, " et avec tant de preuves de la sage conduite et " valeur du Baron de Willeby, dignement secondee " aussy de tous les autres jantyshommes vos sigets " quy sont icy quy honorent de plus en plus le " jugement de la bonne election que vous avez " feyte, et augmentent l' oblygasyon que je vous " avay accompagnee de tant d' autres, qu' yl ne " reste plus ryen au moy mesme que je ne doive " dire etre plus vostre que myen, &c.

Signed, " HENRY."

In a postcript—" J' attend avec asseurance la " continuasyon de vostre bonne volanté au fort de " mon besoign."

This letter from Henry IV. to Queen Elizabeth, though without date, appears to be after the siege of Paris, which was Nov. 1; and whether it was the letter which he had promised Lord Willoughby to write, as on the Tuesday, near the date of his letter Oct. 2, or whether it was a second letter, which is most probable, the first being to acknowledge the arrival of the English troops, and the second the great

service they had done him; it seems to do justice to the conduct of Willoughby and the English.

When the King drew off his army from Paris, he invested Estampes; Willoughbeium cum Anglis in viâ reliquit ut iter Conjuraris occluderet (Camden); and left Willoughby and the English to intercept the Duke of Parma and his Leaguers, which he did so effectually, that the King took and razed the town.

"Then he took Vendosme, and made abundance "of conquests with his little army.* He took Cha- "teau de Loire, Mans, Sable, Beaumont, Laval, "Chateau Gontier, Alençon, and overran all the "Lower Normandy. He took Falaise, Verneuil, "Lisieux, Pont Audemar, and Honfleur, and several "other towns and castles. It had not been seen of a "long time, that any war was carried on with like "vivacity, as it was then by the King. He travelled, "with his army, near 150 leagues, in the midst of "winter, and being obliged, at every incampment, "to make an infinite number of small sieges, &c. "These different expeditions took him up the first "month of the year 1590."

* Daniel.

Though this historian speaks only of the King, and says nothing of the English, it is most certain he had all this success by the assistance of Willoughby and the English.

Perhaps Camden may go a little too far in making the English do all. "Then did the English brave "service, in reducing Mans, Alençon, Falaise, "Lisieux, Honfleur, and having marched no less "than 500 miles in winter, were at length honour-"ably dismissed."

Anglos dimissos, noluit Regina, et Rex doluit.* What were the reasons that made the English return so soon, does not appear. The King had certainly deceived them. He promised to take Rouen, and let it be garrisoned by the English, as a pledge for the repayment of the Queen's expences. I can easily believe, he was jealous of their success in France, as he had been at the siege of Paris, and when they had set him upon his legs, he sent them home, that they might not have too great a share in his establishment. The Queen told his

* Camden.

ambassador plainly, his master had made her his dupe. However, it must be acknowledged, that Lord Willoughby had the honour to come into France when Henry IV. was just driven out of it, and stayed to conduct and leave him in the heart of his kingdom. If he did not owe his crown to the English, he would, probably, have lost it, if they had not come to hold it so powerfully on his head.

After his return from France, in the year 1590, he seemed to have lived retired from public affairs. He was, indeed, Governor of Berwick, a place, at that time, of great importance, being the key and barrier between the two kingdoms. And he was not a mere titular governor, for we find his last will (17th August, 1599) dated at that place; and he died at that place.* But I do not find he had any other command. This may be imputed, in some measure, to his state of health and constitution. For this, he went to the Spa in Germany. The Queen wrote a letter† to him there, "enjoining

* Vide Inq. Post Mortem.

† Good Peregrine,—We are not a little glad, that by your journey you have received such good fruit of amendment; especially when we consider what great vexation it is to a mind devoted to actions of honour, to be restrained by any indisposition of body from following those courses which, to your

" him to increase and continue his health, and not " affect the satisfaction of a private retirement, be-

own reputation, and our great satisfaction, you have formerly performed; and, therefore, (as we must now, out of our desire of your well doing) chiefly enjoin you to an especial care to encrease and continue your health, which must give life to all your best endeavours, so we must next, as seriously recommend to you this consideration, that, in these times, when there is such appearance that we shall have the trial of our best noble subjects, you seem not to affect the satisfaction of your own private convenience, beyond the attending of that which nature and duty challengeth from all persons of your quality and profession. For if necessarily (your health of body being recovered,) you should eloign yourself by residence there from those employments, whereof we shall have too good store, you shall not so much amend the state of your body, as happily you shall call in question the reputation of your mind and judgment, even in the opinion of those that love you, and are best acquainted with your disposition and discretion. Interpret this our plainness, we pray you, to our extraordinary estimation of you; for it is not common with us to deal so freely with many, and believe that you shall ever find us both ready and willing, on all occasions, to yield you the fruits of that interest which your endeavours have purchased for you in our opinion and estimation, not doubting but when you have with moderation, made trial of the success of these your sundry peregrinations, you will find as great comfort to spend your days at home as heretofore you have done, of which we do wish you full measure, howsoever you shall have cause of abode, or return.

Given under our signet, at our Manor of Nonsuch, the 7th of Oct., 1594, in the 37th of our reign. Your most loving Sovereign,* E. R.

* This letter was published by David Lloyd, in a book called The Statesmen and Favourites since the Reformation, p. 349.

" yond attending upon that which nature and duty " challenged from all persons of his quality and " profession, inviting him, as one of the best and " noblest subjects, to accept of some employment " at home, tending to his own honour, her Majes- " ty's interest and security, and the general peace " of the kingdom."*

It is plain from this letter, that health was not the only reason of his retirement. Some dissatisfaction had occasioned it. What this was, is left only to our conjectures. I will, therefore, presume to think, that after the great and real services he had done his Queen and country, in Holland and in France, he was disgusted that the command of the English was given to any other person. It is plain from this letter, the Queen had a high opinion of his merit, and had never been disobliged by him, and, therefore, if there was any such preference, without his own desire, it must arise from the artifice of her Ministers, who would employ none but their own creatures. And I the rather guess something like this had happened, because she invites him to take *some employment at home;* and his

* Vide Strype.

answer shews he understood this to be some place at Court.

But she had not a subject in her kingdom so unfit and unwilling to be a dangler at Court. He plainly told her, in return, "that he was uncapable "of serving her Majesty as a courtier; but as a "soldier, every drop of blood in his veins was at "her service against all her enemies."

And this confirms what I have met with, as his usual saying—"That he was none of the reptilia "that could crawl and cringe upon the ground, and "that Court was none of his element."*

He was certainly of a great and high spirit, as well as great fortune; and however acceptable he might be to the Queen, he was too independent to be agreeable to the Ministers, who governed her at the latter end of her reign. And his declining her invitations to Court, may be imputed to this, rather than to his haughtiness, or to an animus revertendi, or desire of retreat from a decline of age, as Naunton suggests, for he was then not forty years old.

* Naunton.

Having taken a jennet designed for a present to the King of Spain, and being offered, either 1000*l.*, or 100*l.* per ann., in exchange for it, he nobly answered, if it had been a Commander, he would have freely released him, but being a horse, he saw no reason why he could not keep a good horse as well as the King of Spain himself.—Vide *David Loyd's Statesmen, &c.*

When he was in Holland, under a fit of the gout, he received a challenge, and answered, "though he "was lame of his hands and his feet, yet he would "meet him with a rapier in his teeth."

He seems to have been a good deal afflicted with this distemper, and to have derived it to his posterity. His second son, Sir Peregrine Bertie, died of it.

Though he had a great spirit, I believe he had but a weak body. His picture, at the present Duke of Ancaster's, in his face and the posture he chose to be drawn in, discovers too much thought and contemplation for a robust constitution.

He died 25th June, in the year 1601, in his 46th year, at Berwick.—Vide Inq. post mortem.

"About the beginning of the year 1601, (says "Camden) died Peregrine Bertie, Baron Wil- "loughby de Eresby, Governor of Berwick, who "in the Low Countries, and in France, had honour- "ably borne all the offices of a Commander." In Belgio et Gallia, omnia ducis munera cum laude obierat.*

Sir Robert Naunton says—He was one of the Queen's chief swordsmen, and a great master of the art military.

By his last will (says Dugdale†) dated at Berwick, of which he was governor, 17th Aug., 1599, he desired to be buried at Spilsby, in Lincolnshire, and gave to Peregrine, one of his younger sons, afterwards Knight of the Bath, (through whom, my son, you are lineally descended from him,) that ring with a diamond, which he had from the King of France, when he served him there.

In an Inquisition post mortem, in my custody, 43 Elizabeth, it is found, that the Duchess of Suffolk, and Richard Berty in her right, were seised

* Fragmenta Regalia. † Baronage.

of a capital messuage, called Basecourt, alias, Barbican, alias, Willoughby House, in St. Giles's without Cripplegate ; and of another house, late in tenure of the Countess of Kent, and of many other houses in Barbican and Goswell Street, &c.—That Richard Bertie died 9th April, 24 Eliz.—That Peregrine died 25th June, before the date of the Inquisition, (viz. 1601) at Berwick, of which he was then Governor, and by his will, dated 7th August, 41 Eliz., at Barbican House, where he then lived, bequeathed, inter alia, all his houses, called Willoughby Rents, to his second son, Peregrine, and his heirs males.

Some collections I had made concerning your family, led me insensibly to give them a kind of shape, by way of Memoir. The times that connect them will render them a fund for future additions and amendments. And my own sudden observations upon those times, to introduce the share our ancestors had in them, may be struck out, or retained, as they are approved. The life of the first Lord Willoughby was a series of successes; he raised a great family and estate, and left, from the pens of all historians, a great reputation.

In his time, England made a considerable figure in Europe. Elizabeth humbled Spain, supported and established the States of Holland, put an end to the civil war in France, by keeping the crown upon the head of Henry IV. She fixed the Reformation in England and Scotland, and conducted herself through a long reign, so as to leave the two kingdoms united, which France had always kept divided; and by this, laid the foundation of that weight which Great Britain has since had in the balance of Europe.

In these great events it will appear that Peregrine, Lord Willoughby, had some share.

I had thoughts of proceeding farther, to look into the life of his son, Robert Earl of Lindsey; but that would lead me into so melancholy a scene, so unhappily ended, that I believe I shall not have spirit to undertake it.

ON ŒCONOMY.

AN ADDRESS TO HIS SON,

BY THE

AUTHOR OF THE MEMOIR.

ON ŒCONOMY.

TO MY SON.

ŒCONOMY, in a literal sense, is the regulation of a man's household; but, in the common sense, it takes in the whole conduct of your fortune. If you live thirty years, and make any observations upon human life, you will perceive the general business of it turns upon the getting and the keeping of an estate. This is at the bottom of most glosses and appearances, and if you take this as a rule to judge of most men's actions and opinions, you will be seldom mistaken.

I am contented you should judge of myself by this rule, and I design to leave you materials for it, that you may guess whether I have been influenced by it, too much or too little.

Before there was any property in the world, there seems to have been no occasion for œconomy, and I am not satisfied that this earth was originally designed for property. To mankind was given the dominion over it, and all things in it; but that one man should govern all, and another serve all,—that one should enjoy all the luxuries of art, another want all the necessaries of nature, though from the beginning almost it has been so,—I cannot account for it, if others can.

To say, one man has his portion in this life, and another will have it in the next, is begging the question. What is there in nature that says this? To answer,—this was the allotment of Providence,—how does that appear? Every man is glad to accept a good fortune, and grieves and grumbles at an ill one. There can be, therefore, no merit in either, and to reward or punish a creature without merit or offence, and for an affair in which his own will is not at all concerned, can never be agreeable to the Divine Justice.

The Holy Scriptures will inform you, that all men are descended from two persons only. The

ancients, and, perhaps, some of the Eastern nations at present, seem to be of different conceits; and imagine that a number of men were created at once, like plants set in a nursery. The first doctrine is more benevolent to mankind, as it tends to unite them under the same stock, and to recommend them to one another in the capacity of relations.

It is also observable, that but one person and his children are saved in the deluge, which makes the same unity in the continuance of the world as there was in the first creation. But still, I do not see how this affects property, so that we may as well conceive that one thousand were created at once.

Let us, then, by way of argument, suppose it. They are scattered abroad in a wide world, five hundred of a sex; they match, they propagate, they choose their pastures, and when they have consumed the fruits of one, they remove to another. What occasion yet for property, or œconomy? Till these inhabitants grow too many for the earth, nature can never introduce property and œconomy; and was that ever yet the case? But the parent becomes the owner of the field, and is to give as much as he

pleases to the children. How so? Have they not a right to food as well as he? And if it is natural for him to have the power of giving each his due portion, I do not understand what right he has to starve any.

Which way then was property introduced—by reason, or by religion? Is there anything in Holy Scripture that proves that God gave more to one man than to another? If there is nothing, how did he get it? As Nimrod got it, by his sword. Courage and cunning, then, were the first parents of property, and have since been the best means to preserve it. If Providence should, by a miracle, divide the earth equally between the inhabitants thereof, the difference of their capacities would soon produce the same difference in their circumstances. Take the world, then, as you find it, and consider property as a great foundation of the comfort in it.

Upon this subject of œconomy so much has been written, that, I suppose, scarce any topic is left untouched. But these general rules of frugality, which may instruct a man how to make a little village a great city, or to keep a great estate from

falling back into a little one, will seldom do for private use; if you come to apply them, you will find they will not fit you. I write for you only; common and trivial thoughts, expressed in a plain low way, are fit to be proposed to no reader who has not a very near relation to the writer, and is well engaged not to expose him for a trifler.

A man has two schemes to form for himself; one, to secure as much happiness as his being is capable of, which must be hereafter. This is so nice and delicate a subject, that I believe I shall never venture to touch it; but recommend you to the great and good Author of your being, and the unquestionable doctrines of Christianity. The other, to pass through this life with as much virtue, honour, and comfort as he can. For this, I say, every thinking man should lay a scheme, and propose, Finem animo certum, miserisq; viatica curis, a reasonable end here, and a probable method to attain it.

Providence seems to have designed a competency to be the object of every man's desire. If it is the cloak of avarice, it is also the spur of industry. Living without desire, is like playing for nothing,

a man never minds the game. Alexander wept when he had no more worlds to conquer,—Vixisti satis, tempus abire tibi est. It would be the case of any man that had nothing to wish for; when he has overcome this world, he weeps, and thinks of another.

Our attachment to this earth is placed in us to many good purposes; the crime is the excess. What a world would this be, if all men were monks, and all women nuns? And where so many are, what is human life? An uncultivated desert, where thousands want, that one or two may riot.

Consider, then, mankind, as divided into gainers and spenders. There are very few that leave off play, and do but just save themselves. If it is not your fortune to fall into the first channel, and which is the right way to it, I am sure I cannot direct you, (for I know very few that are right for a gentleman) it will require some virtue, and much prudence, to keep out of the latter; and that way you may be a gainer. But how to do this honourably and elegantly, is one of the hardest points, or, indeed, the very point of a gentleman's conduct. Some etymo-

logists tell you, a gentleman is called so, because he is an idle man. The joke is too just, though the derivation is a bad one. A gentleman born seems condemned to idleness by the custom of England; a custom we may be obliged to our German ancestors for, where a merchant is contemptible, and a man must have been idle for four generations, to have his nobility. A noble privilege of primogeniture.

But does a man want any instructions how to live well upon a good estate? Is there anything more easy? Look round the world, observe all yonr acquaintance who have much to spend and little to do, and you will soon see how hard it is for such to keep what they have. There is no employment fills the mind of man so well, as that of getting money. The other of saving seldom comes alone till a man grows old, and, perhaps, has scarce anything left to save upon. Avarice catches a man, when all other desires have left him.

The first rule, then, in œconomy, is to avoid idleness, which is the most expensive inclination a man can have. It is an old observation, that nobody is

contented with their condition; so that one may confess that of himself, which is true of all mankind.

I have been thrown into a situation of great ease and comfort, at the expence of others' labour; and yet I cannot help thinking (without unthankfulness), I should enjoy it more if it had been the fruit of my own. This I am sure of, I should be in less danger of spending it. Except in the epidemical madness of the year 1720, I scarce know a man that got an estate and spent it afterwards.

If I am permitted to leave you a fortune better than I found it, I cannot expect you will improve it by a profession. There must be much pains and patience, and some luck, before you can get what you will think considerable; and I hope you will find your circumstances too good, to push and struggle for the beginnings of business. A man must have good friends and strong elbows, to make his way.

But a profession is not the only way for a gentleman to be employed. He may be in Parliament, or have a place; either of these, indeed, is honour-

able, and may be profitable, if a man get them upon good terms. But if the gentry of England were to balance their accounts for the last fifty years, I am mistaken if they would not find these apples of Sodom have left their families little else but dust and emptiness. How hard it is, therefore, for a gentleman to be usefully and constantly employed. In what manner, depends upon a man's turn and opportunities. If it should not be yours to be engaged in public business, multiply all kinds of inoffensive amusements to fill up time, agreeably to your rank and circumstances. Idleness and Parliament are like Scylla and Charybdis—to avoid the one, many a good estate has split upon the other.

I do not pretend to teach you how to get an estate: it is an art I could never learn myself.

As I have sordidness, I have some struggles to avoid the other extreme, and be able, Parta tueri. At best, I must be contented with this, which is said to be not the least virtue of the two.

If I can do so well, and I thought you would not blame me for doing no better, I would tell you

plainly, I will not be anxious about—Quid de me judicet hæres.

> Si neque majorem feci ratione malâ rem,
> Nec sum facturus vitio culpâve minorem.

Though a single man in the possession of his estate, has it in his power to indulge himself in all decencies, and lay aside, in four or five years, as much as would probably make him easy as long as he lives; yet matrimony and œconomy usually begin together. A man is then obliged to calculate and look about him: he finds himself launched forth into a sea of expense, where many sink, and some swim.

If he has good strength, and carries but little weight, he may keep his head above water; but if it once falls under, it is well if it ever rises again. However, give a man luck, and throw him into the sea. This observation chiefly regards a gentleman, who lives upon his estate.

Where a man is in any way of getting money, marriage generally proves a spur to his diligence, and by a natural or providential effect, helps to enrich him.

Let me now imagine you are just going to be married. I am sensible, such a way of talking as this, is idle enough at this distance; but it is the foible of all parents to anticipate a pleasure they may never see. Perhaps, this may be the only way I shall be able to chat with you upon these subjects.

I will hope you will have an estate clear, and will find a wife with a portion equal to one-third of the value of it.

Suppose, then, that three parts of your fortune is vested in land, and the fourth in money, which is much safer than if it was all in money, much cheerfuller, and more convenient than all in land.

The first consideration seems to be—what rank of life you put yourself into, as to the turn of your expenses. Whether, if you could afford it, you would keep more than two horses to your coach, and two dishes to your table, and have the rest, when you want it, always in your pocket; or would affect an air of living, which borders upon quality.

A servant out of livery that is called a gentleman,

makes his master affect to appear above it. You must govern yourself in this by your circumstances and your prudence. But remember, that full gentility makes a better figure in life than straight quality.

You can add two horses, or two courses, when you please; and as to the number of servants, &c., you will be able to adjust that better, when you understand the full meaning of—Prosunt furibus. Much will depend upon your first setting out. If you begin at the top of the hill, it is commonly a narrow situation, and if it affords, at first, a fine prospect, there is so little elbow-room, that you will soon grow uneasy; besides, it is more exposed to storms, and such may happen as will make it hard for you to keep upon your legs; and when you are forced to alter that station, you have no choice, but to descend. Whereas, if you had begun about the mid-way, or a little higher, you would be in less danger of coming down, and would reserve the pleasure of advancing.

When a man marries, he lists himself under the colours of Prince Posterity, and should make his

own private pleasures contribute to his service, by bringing them into the family equipage.

To be all of a piece, sounds well; but it often leads to a dangerous error in œconomy. You must adjust this piece with great exactness, and design it more to please the world than yourself, if you would be thus consistent.

For instance. I am, suppose, of a retired turn; my constitution influences my inclinations, and neither will push me into, and support me in, the bustle of life; I fall naturally into a kind of domestic indolence, and may indulge a little expense in my house, my study, and my garden. But to be all of a piece, must I, therefore, keep more horses, more servants, a fuller table, and all the equipage of popularity and public life?

For your part, dum ætas poscit, keep in the sunshine; see the world, and show yourself; indulge, if you like, in active expenses, which will call you more from home; but, then, take care of building and gardening, and never buy a book till you want to read it.

If you must humour the wind, and lay out your money in what you do not like, prepare yourself, very soon, to be deprived of what you do. Genio indulge tuo, vel alieno. It is best to fix upon some general rules before you come to particulars. Such as I can recollect, I give you just as I recollect them; whether in or out of season.

What you can do yourself never do by another, is a rule of double use to a gentleman, who has nobody's business to do but his own. First, it will save you much of the expences, &c., which attend solicitors, receivers, stewards, &c. You know, Take thy bill and write fifty, is a character as old as Christianity. They have, now, other ways of working. If they do not find you in a total ignorance of your affairs, they will contradict you, and deprive you of all the knowledge you had picked up. This makes you more unable to help yourself, lays in your way insuperable difficulties, and forces you to see with another's eyes. If you have any foible, of building, gardening, water-working, inclosing, or any kind of projecting, you shall be surrounded with temptations. These drain your money faster than you receive it.

The steward is always ready to anticipate. He lends you in another name, and buys your estate in another name. Dividing with your tenants, keeping in his hand the best of your estate, ploughing the pastures, cutting your timber, these, and many such ways, every body will see but yourself, and nobody tell you of, but those who would be your stewards themselves, whilst your estate has something left upon it to plunder. Without these methods, how do you think A, B, C, and D, and others you may point out, could raise themselves from an inkhorn, to estates of three, four and five thousand pounds per annum; be themselves Members of Parliament, and choose half the Members in the counties they live in.

I could name a county full of nobility and gentry, where a little attorney outlives them all, and has half of them under his hatches. When he comes down to his seat, he is better attended than a Prime Minister, and says, with the same air, these country gentlemen are such pickpockets! A man cannot come amongst them, but they want to borrow money of him. Audent talia fures!

There is another reason why you should have no steward. I hope your estate wlll be in a situation not to want one, and believe it will not be too large for your own management. Will it not be as great a pleasure for you to receive your money by your own hands as by another's? If you have any leases to let, any repairs to be done, your own judgment is as good as your steward's; or, if not, you are sure you will not cheat yourself, and that is more than an equivalent. These attentions are all a gentleman has that looks like business; if he neglects these, he is totally delivered up to the devouring jaws of idleness, which are wide enough to swallow up him and his substance.

I cannot repeat this hint too often, though I am aware of a suggestion you seem upon the point of receiving. If business is so desirable, idleness so formidable, how came it to pass, that you yourself, who were bred up to a profession, did not pursue it; As you have some title to ask me this question, I will, in some measure, answer it. Professions are generally chosen for us by our parents, at a time when we cannot judge for ourselves. A parent

never knows the true strength of his child; can never perceive, Quid valeant humeri, quid ferre recusent.

It is easier to go on well in this profession, than to set out well in it; especially if those friends, who should assist you, either think you do not want it, or would envy your success, instead of promoting it. Mere labour is not sufficient; there must be Animus bene tornatus; a judicious choice of a patron and a party, and a right judgment to desert them when they have served your purpose. If they do you no service, you owe them no obligation.

Beside all this, and much more which I avoid to mention, in regard to this profession, there must be a strong constitution, able to speak and read much and long; a countenance Ære perennius—unchangeable in all events; and a mind, as much unmoved by the loss of a cause, as a physician is by the death of his patient. A cold phlegmatic complexion, that may be, in a warm day, Magna et præclara minantis; but when the wind changes, Cum pituitâ molesta est, is full of complaints, Vivere nec recte nec suaviter; this will not do in a business

which requires the most even and steady application.

If I should give you any further reasons why I did not pursue business myself, I should only enlarge upon my own infirmities, which I hope you will be so free from, as to fall under no such discouragements.

There is something the world calls luck (I give it another name), which goes along with us in our pursuits. Of this kind, I have met with many stops, in any little schemes of ambition I have entertained. But I am convinced they have been to my advantage, and should be ungrateful if I did not acknowledge, Dii bene fecerunt.—To proceed with general hints.—

When you are deliberating, which of two things you should do, or which the first, consider which may be as easily undone, and which, if done, must continue, I can cut down a tree when I will, but when it is once down, I cannot set it up again. I give you this example for many cases. So, it is a good rule, that you should not put off till to-mor-

row, what ought to be done, or is best done, to day. But what may be as well done to-morrow, is generally better not done to day.

Some expenses must be continued when they are begun; others are ended when they are paid for. Some, of consequence, draw others after them; others, are single and have no attendants. I will give you an instance or two out of my own experience, which I hope will never be yours.

The domestic employment of a country gentleman is usually engaged in building and gardening. He begins with a little design; but if he lives twenty years, to cast up the balance, he commonly finds he has paid for a great one. How many moderate estates have been sunk in a house and garden that have never been finished; or, if they were, could not have been maintained. If you begin to repair an old house, you will turn it into a new one, and leave nothing of the old but a bad model. Wise men buy houses, is a saying that has much truth in it. Let it touch my own conduct, I am satisfied, if I have saved you from the necessity either of building or buying. I have

seen some foundations laid, which, I am sure, the owner has wished up again; but he must go on. His surveyor only knows the end of it. A noble Lord's estate in my neighbourhood was sold for less than his gardens cost him. It was his best way; for his gardens cost him keeping, more than his steward paid him. Pauca aratro jugera reliquit.

These are common observations, and, therefore, nobody minds them. I live in an age, when men seem to desire to get estates, only to build fine houses, and make great gardens. They think their posterity must go on getting, and forget the schemes they lay to prevent it. I know a great man that spends more than he can spare towards finishing a design, which his heir can never inhabit. But he has the pleasure to think the house will be called after his name. Pendent opera interrupta minæque molarum ingentes. Another has a great house which his ancestor could not finish. Instead of making that habitable, he is borrowing money to build a little one in his garden.

What follies have wise men fallen into when they have got this itch? Every man thinks he

has therefore an excuse. Says one, my house was falling, it was too bad to be repaired; if I had sold it and bought another when this itch was upon me, I should have paid as much for scratching it. But in a country purchase, you would have had a house for nothing. Perhaps so. And when I had carried my workmen round it, tell me then what it would have cost me? Besides, as we have here no abiding place, suppose it would be convenient for me, or my son, to leave this country purchase, what should I get of all the money it has cost me; could I find a chapman who would pay my bills, and add a present for my trouble? There is this difference, too, between a hall (as we call them) and a box. The first wants many and great accommodations, which bring many and deep repairs; it should be well filled, and well warmed. Retirement in it is contemptible. If the owner has not a spirit, and an estate for rural popularity, he had better board with his steward.

I have a kind of superstition for the number two in œconomics. Two horses, two liveries, two dishes, but, between two houses, I am never at home. I confess, it is a step towards ex-

travagance, to have two gardeners; but mine have work enough. I found a large garden, and have enlarged the form, but not the keeping of it. It is my domestic amusement; and if in this I exceed my own rules, you know I do not think myself obliged to be all of a piece.

Before the Revolution, (I think it is Sir W. Temple tells you so) there was never a garden in England: they were all orchards. And nothing shows how much a modern parterre is unnatural, more than the desire we have to get out of it. I have, therefore, turned my own into one good walk into the fields, which, lying open to it, take away the expectation of a finical keeping. What is there more beautiful than a fine turf mowed by deer and sheep, a wood of oaks in nature's form, a line of elms unmixed with pyramids or obelisks?

I had this avocation from business thrown in my way very early. My friends, and my own health, wanted the country. When the times of business called me to Town, instead of relishing the crowd, I was looking into my almanack, with an, O rus quando te aspiciam. The hand behind the curtain has led

me into my proper situation. I am a tender plant, too easily checked in a discouraging soil. It must be a hardy stick that thrives in the wide world. Ex quovis ligno non fit.

A young man loaded with a good estate, is like a vessel well freighted, with full sails, pushed by a strong gale of wind through a sea full of rocks and shoals; should he be so lucky as to avoid being shattered at one stroke, he must have a skilful pilot if he is not run aground, and so be ruined by piecemeal. Gaming, stock-jobbing, projecting, building, keeping, and parliamenteering, are the rocks, upon which, when a man has once struck, if he is not sunk, he will be sufficiently battered. Negligence is the shallows, from which he can save himself only by unloading; when he has lessened his cargo, mox reficit rates quasas, and when he sets out again, let him better understand the longitude and latitude he sails in. This should be done at first; and, therefore, before you engage yourself in a rank of expenses, weigh well the full power of your income; consider what you have, and live upon nothing future; consider it under all its contingencies and deductions; my present rent-roll, say

you, is so much, cannot I spend such a proportion of it? This, indeed, is the common way of reckoning; but the rent-roll is not the fund you are to compute from. Deduct, first, certainties—as annual payments; see what the estate has cost in repairs, loss and allowances to tenants, &c., for the last seven years, and, at an average, take off another annual sum. Other accidents and contingencies you must allow something for; a house may be burnt, your estate may be charged for building a church, to repair sewers, &c.; your estate has felt all this, and therefore, the provision for it is not imaginary. When you have struck off all these, and the great article of taxes, then you will have a proper fund for your consideration, and this is the income of which you are to fix a proportion to spend, and a proportion to lay up; for if you lay up nothing, you will infallibly run out.

The article of taxes leads me to some observations upon public œconomy, which you must have some notion of, to enable you to judge how much you are to allow upon this account. The King, as the superior Magistrate of England, has always had a great revenue, for the support of his dignity, and

the defence of his kingdom. This consisted, anciently, in his own lands, which were called his Demesnes, and arose, also, out of his subjects' lands, by way of services. The lawyers say all the land in England was the King's;—I do not know how they prove it, or how he got it,—because, say they, there was no land that was allodial, and owed no service. This may be true, because, it cannot be imagined that in a civil society, any land should enjoy the public protection, and yet be unserviceable to the public.

I suppose, then, that all the land in the kingdom was held by some service; and I can easily conceive, as there were many Acts of Parliament to settle and regulate these services, it might be at first agreed that they should be all held of the King, as head of the commonwealth, pro bono publico. Be this as it will; these services were either to supply his retinue and household, or to defend the kingdom. It is said, there were above sixty thousand lay knights' fees, (besides the ecclesiastical, who were, in their own opinion only, to serve upon their knees). If each of these was obliged to provide a man, so great an army as this

was always ready upon any invasion, without charging the King's own revenue, or more of the subjects'. More than all this, the King had casualties: the estate of every man that was attainted of treason, or died without an heir, fell to the King. Every thing, that was no man's property, was his. He had all fines for offences; and therefore, most punishments were pecuniary. He was even paid for the administration of justice, and paid so dear, that it was a clause in Magna Charta, nulli vendemus justitiam. Upon the sale of an estate, the King had a fine.

I cannot enumerate every branch of his revenue. The Ecclesiastics and the Jews were great contributors. These were his regular revenues; for which he seems not to have wanted the consent of Parliament. But besides these, many and great were the taxes imposed and demanded from time to time. Aids, scutages, subsidies, &c., from lands; tenths, fifteenths, &c., from goods; capitations, polls, &c., upon persons; were levied by compulsion. Gifts, loans, and benevolencies, under a softer title, were demanded at the peril of the refuser. I am inclined to think these taxes were

often raised by a stretch of the King's prerogative, because they are frequently urged as the grounds of the Barons' wars. In many statutes are mentioned oppressions, exactions, malæ consuetudines, mala tolneta; and in the statute, de Tallagio, and other statutes, the King grants that many of them should not afterwards be levied without consent of Parliament.

Here you may be ready to ask, How were these taxes employed? What is become of these great revenues? To the first I think it may be answered, that if these great revenues had been well employed, there had been no want of those great taxes. They were designed to enable the King to support a fleet, and to defend the kingdom from invasions; and it was a frequent claim of the right of the subjects not to be obliged to serve the King in any foreign expeditions. Instead of this, these revenues and these taxes were generally consumed abroad, in romantic expeditions to the Holy Land, in the defence of French dominions, and in the conquest of France; all which, if they had been successful, would have been a burthen—perhaps, a ruin to England. But after an immense consumption of blood and treasure,

Providence has been so kind to us, as to let us lose every inch of them.

The want arising from these expeditions, and the avarice of favourites, forced the Kings to give and sell all their Demesnes; and since the Restoration, at one stroke, were sold all the services; so that, at present, the Crown is reduced to a civil list, which is a charge of about seven or eight hundred thousand pounds per annum, out of Excises and Taxes upon the subject. The œconomy of a kingdom is like that of a family, and this, upon the whole, in regard to the public, is the case of a landlord who spends his own estate and lives upon his tenant.

But what occasion has there been since for funds and land taxes? If crusadoes are out of fashion, if we have lost all our dominions in France, and have no desire to regain them—if we are out of fear of invasions from Scotland and Wales—if these old occasions of expence are now no more, what are the new ones? You will soon learn to your cost;—the politics of England have been quite changed. Towards the end of the last century, all the governments in Europe were put into certain scales, and

we took upon ourselves to hold the balance. It has already cost us above one hundred and fifty millions to keep it even. We have taken one kingdom out of one scale, and put it into the other, then we have put it back again, having mistook the weight of it; little principalities, like shuttlecocks, we have been always tossing backwards and forwards, and when, in spite of all endeavours, one scale will be the heaviest, we throw ourselves into the other to equi-ponderate. This is now become the standing politics of England, and as long as this continues, you must pay to funds and a land tax; and, therefore, how much you must annually deduct for these, is next to be considered.

Before the Revolution, I do not recollect that there were any funds; so far from it, that I think King James was out of debt, and had money in his pocket. All agree he was a good œconomist; happy would it have been for England if he had been a Protestant, and satisfied with his just prerogative. Imagine the condition we should have been in, if there had been no precedent of four shillings in the pound, or an irredeemable mortgage;—Felices nimium. Next to this, we should have less reason

to lament the expence we have been at, if it had been all raised within the year,—and now it appears that this might have been done. The land and malt tax, and the interest of the funds, have brought in annually near six millions, and this was a greater quota than we were ever obliged to furnish. If this had been done, we should now be out of debt, and be instructed how to support a fiercer war than, without our own fault or folly, we can probably be drawn into.

But this has not been done, and some think, for the same reason that Henry VIII. granted and sold the Church lands—that the subject might be engaged in interest against a change of principle. The event has either confirmed or suggested this reason. The funds, then, are certain impositions upon commodities, for securing the interest or repayment of money lent to the Government. Part of these loans were to be repaid at pleasure; part was the purchase of annuities for long terms of years, which were called irredeemable. Besides these, there was a great debt owing to the navy account which was unprovided for, and that credit was become so bad, that the government really paid

one hundred pounds for what was worth but sixty. When Harley was upon the point of advancing himself to be Treasurer and Earl of Oxford, he formed a scheme for the security of this debt, and not satisfied with the providing it an adequate parliamentary interest, in the treaty of Utrecht he got a license to send one ship to the South Seas, and a contract for the sale of negroes.

This was the original of the South Sea scheme, which I thought necessary to give you some little notion of, as it has since proved a rock upon which many private fortunes have been broke, and surrounded with a whirlpool which had almost swallowed up the public. In old treatises of œconomy you will find no dangers of this kind marked out to you, which I shall the rather enlarge upon, as one caution for all, how you engage yourself in a crowd, or trust your fortune to the conduct of a company. Harley had the art to make this a scheme of so much merit to himself, that he was thought to have deserved better of his country than if he had cleared them of their whole debt; which, indeed, at first, we thought he proposed for us.

I must now tell you what use has been made of it. The contract for negroes has, as I am informed, doubled the price of them, so that our own plantations are supported at double the expence. In the article for the South Sea ship, all private trade was prohibited, and it became the Company's interest to prevent it. By this means a running trade to the Spanish West Indies, exceedingly profitable to England and the Plantations, has been ruined, and, as I have been informed, insuperable difficulties put upon our trade to old Spain; and now the Spaniards, who all the last war could never prevent this running trade, will generally have in their power the whole trade of England to those parts; they can compute its extent, they can detain it as a pledge for our good behaviour, and impose new and hard terms upon us for its release and continuance.

But has not this trade been very profitable to the proprietors of this Company? That has never yet been known,—the Directors of it would never make out a clear account; but it is the common opinion, that besides these infinite mischiefs to the public, very little has been got by any but the Directors

and their friends; and this has been the case of all exclusive companies, except the East India Company, and how their account stands is yet a secret. But this is not all the ill use that has been made of this company; the worst is still behind. The debts that were irredeemable, were a perpetual bar to all projects for the lessening the national debt. Many were the schemes for the buying them off, but the sellers were so extravagant in their expectations, that the nation must have paid above a third above their value, and so have run so much deeper in debt. At last the French gave us a hint—Timeo Gallos et dona ferentes—and we were so mad as to take it, not like the Trojan horse with ruin inclosed, but after it had been opened, and whilst the French were in the flames it had set them into, and some of us had been scorched by.

The whole affair was only this. The debt of the nation, between fifty and sixty millions, was to be assigned to the best bidder, who was to contract with the Irredeemables, and raise money to pay off the rest. The Bank bid three millions and a half, or five; the South Sea Company offered seven, and had the bargain. I think this kingdom was never

in such danger. If the Bank had got it, as they had more credit and more cunning, they would have kept up the game till they had drawn all the money (if not the land) of the kingdom into it. This would have produced an universal revolution of property; all the ancient families, educated and used to live well, would have been undone, and a new set of upstarts, directors, brokers, and stock-jobbers would, without one grain of merit and industry, have stept into their places, and have become the gentry and nobility of England.

But this, you will say, would have only changed hands, and hurt private people. I will now tell you how it would have affected the public. Our neighbours would then have had time to sell out, and would have drawn more money from us than we could have paid them; this would have broke our credit and turned us bankrupt; and when this happens to a free people, they are forced to make use of absolute power, and seize what they cannot borrow. Part of this we have escaped by the South Seas getting this wise bargain.

The current cash of England is reckoned about

twelve millions. It will be natural for you to ask, how they proposed to pay off fifty? This I will endeavour to explain to you as a fact hard to be believed, but never to be forgotten, by any English gentleman. In the first place, persons were employed to persuade mankind, that one hundred pounds old South Sea stock would be worth three or four hundred pounds, by the advantage of this additional new stock. They believed it, and immediately one hundred pounds sold at market for three or four hundred pounds. Now was the time to begin the sale of their new stock; first, they sold one hundred pounds of it for three hundred pounds, then for four hundred pounds, then for one thousand pounds. They knew this money could not be paid down; I believe it would have amounted to above two hundred millions, and that, I conceive, is more than all the money in Europe; it was, therefore, to be paid by parts and instalments, whereby the Company, after two or three payments, would have secured the whole, or got the forfeitures.

In this interval, I wish I could describe mankind to you. They seemed to strip themselves naked, and discover the bottom of all disguises. Virtue

and honour, affection and all relations, even common decency, and common honesty, were sacrificed to a most romantic and extravagant avarice. You should see a Duke hugging and embracing a broker; two blue garters lifting a gouty Director into his chariot; Exchange Alley crowded by men of all degrees and professions, from the Peer to his footman;—in short, men of all professions, and women of all qualities, were struggling, some to undo, and more to be undone. All that had money were happy if the Company would take it of them; bank notes of one thousand pounds value were thrown into a crowd, and a man had not a scrip of paper for his security. The land of England was selling at fifty and sixty years' purchase, and the sellers had laid out their money before they could receive it. But the building was raised too fast, and was too heavy at the top to stand long;—it sunk all at once by its own weight; it wounded many, but crushed entirely some that had pushed themselves quite under it.

From this great South Sea hive, flew swarms of lesser cheats, which stung all the little people who could not come near the great one. How many men lost the industry of a long life in a week, how many women, bred up to ease and indolence, sunk

all their fortunes in one bargain, and were forced to serve for a subsistence. Many did I know, who thought themselves worth fifty thousand, one, two, and three hundred thousand pounds, and in a month found themselves so sunk in debt, that they were forced to leave their country, never to return. Never was such a dream acted upon the stage of life. There is the same spirit in mankind, and when their wounds are healed, they will certainly act it over again, with some new prologue, but the same epilogue.

I wish I could say anything to preserve you from the infection, for of all the diseases in œconomy, the itch of stockjobbing is most apoplectic. If you get over the first shock, it is odds but it will be mortal at last. But if this project had succeeded, what would the nation have got by it? Seven millions in money, and a reduction of one per cent. upon all the debt after seven years, which would have left them still near forty millions in debt. But the South Sea Company were to have got two or three hundred millions. When the scheme sunk, the Parliament remitted the seven millions, and retained the reduction.

To put an end to this digression, which I hope may be of some use to you, let us now suppose, (for I do not pretend to exact calculations) that the income of the present funds is two millions per annum. A land-tax, at four shillings, produces about the like sum; so, as you may pay both, one in your expense, the other out of your rent, it has been computed, that a landed estate is eight shillings in the pound worse than it was; but this may be too much. All land is not rated at full four shillings, and, some years, the Parliament have granted but three shillings and two shillings. Besides, to set this in a fair light, the gentry have got one way to help towards their loss another.

The addition of this forty or fifty millions of personal estate, (though it is only taking it from one subject and giving it to another, and, therefore, no real gain to the public,) the increase of people from the persecutions abroad, and that real increase of trade and wealth they have brought over with them, these things have greatly advanced the price of all commodities, by enlarging the number of consumers. Farther, I take it to be a rule with every retailer, where the Parliament charges him with a penny

duty, he charges his customers with another penny, or, perhaps, with sixpence. The produce of the land, then, selling at a better price, there has been a reason for the landlord to raise his rents, and this, I conceive, has been done since the Revolution to a good proportion; but whether equal to the advance of commodities, I cannot say.

Suppose, then, that you allow for the advanced price of commodities in the consideration of your expence, and deduct for the land tax only out of your rent-roll. If all the years since the Revolution were thrown into an average, and all the land taxes shall appear to be more than three shillings annually, I doubt you must not allow to this account hereafter so little as two. You have now a fund to begin upon, and the next question is, what proportion of this you may spend.

But why, Sir, you may say, should you limit me in my expences, any more than I have limited you? In good truth, child, you have limited me; if you were not often in my thoughts, I should be less cautious about money. I know the world too well to trust it, and, therefore, would endeavour not to

run out; but it is for your sake chiefly, that I would confine myself to a proportion. I think, then, whilst you hope for children, you should not exceed three parts of this clear income; when you have them, you should lessen at your discretion. It was the saying of a spendthrift, What has posterity done for me? That is no reason you should do nothing for posterity. If you have no thought of them, it is one hundred to one but you are undone yourself—except you could be sure you will not outlive the last shilling.

You see, by my proportion, I do not write like an old man, or forget that I am writing to a young one. I take it for granted also, that you have made rather too great an allowance for all deductions, and will put yourself into a method which may be reducable to accident or occasion.

In œconomy there are some steps which admit of no retreat—Vestigia nulla retrorsum. The first step towards growing rich, is to keep out of the paths of poverty. What I wish for you, is an enjoyment of your fortune with decency and honour; which can never be done, if you do not keep it

rather improving than declining. The Dutch proportion is to spend but one part in three, and to allot one-third to the State, and reserve the other for posterity, which makes my allowance appear too liberal.

When you have fixed your proportion of expense, and your computation of your clear income, you must keep an exact account of both. I remember Seneca somewhere says, he kept on his account, though he found he run out; and when a man leaves off that, he gives him over. I have in my custody two long accounts of trade; the one of a man diligent and successful, the other of a person negligent and undone. I have often observed the difference; the first was as exact at last as he was at first, the latter grew careless as he grew poor, and when he found his affairs irretrievable, he left his accounts imperfect and unintelligible. A gentleman's account is a trifle to a merchant's,—one hour or two in a week will do it.

By this means, you will be able to make an average of your taxes and disbursements; you will see in what article of your expense you should

abate, in what you may indulge, and you will leave to posterity a proof of your understanding. Quantum discordet parcus avaro.

There is an old saying, that a man must ask his wife whether he shall be rich. Should it be your fortune to marry one of London mould, who loves music, company, and play, manage her as you can. Let her have as much as she will spend for a year, and try if generosity will work upon her. If that will not do, give her a full allowance, and see she does not exceed it. But if you meet with a friend, of such a turn as your mother—better I cannot wish you,—your whole income may be trusted in her hands, and she will manage it better than you can.

The nicest part of the conduct of a man's fortune is in regard to his friends. Such friendships as writers talk of, where two bodies have but one soul, are not of our age or country. What we call friendship is little else but a commerce of interest; and where a man has duties to a wife and to posterity, I doubt whether he is at liberty to engage himself in any of these philosophical friendships, which require a communion of fortunes at least, if

not of lives. However, I shall consider them as they affect œconomy. Your acquaintance, then, will probably be either borrowers or lenders. If they should be the latter, as soon as you seem to belong to the first set, you will perceive how they will look upon you; they will prevent your application by the retirement of their countenance. Your last resort will be to the scrivener; his foredoors are open to all comers, Patet atri janua Ditis. You will find him in the posture of a Lord, yourself in that of a supplicant; then you must lay open the nakedness of the land, deliver up your deeds and writings, and from that moment it is well if you can say, Liber sum.

But I will hope better things for you, and that you will preserve yourself in the condition of a lender. There are occasions in human life, where a man may think he cannot refuse to be engaged for, or with, his friend. His enemy will scarce ask him, he must, therefore, beware of his friend. Is it not Solomon who tells you, that a man, void of understanding, striketh hands, and becomes surety in the presence of his friend? By which, I guess, he means, for or with his friend. I do not remem-

ber one passage in Scripture, that commands you to be bound for your friend; and others there are, that tell you what you must expect from it. It is true, there is an injunction to lend; and I think it is also said, not expecting any thing again. This is plainly another expression for giving; and whether the command was confined only to that age of Christianity, when a man was obliged to give his cloak also to any person who should beg his coat; or whether it can be any instruction to the present age, which would not want petitioners, if there were any such lenders, is an enquiry, I shall not make at present. You must satisfy yourself in the duty, and only take this common hint of the consequence.

In both cases, you will certainly lessen, if not lose, your friend. In both cases, it is very probable, you may lose your money. You must be more cautious of your engagements with persons above your level.

Here, again, I will charge you with Scripture. "Put not your trust in Princes," &c. Trust them not with your honour, your conscience, or your

money. If you keep in the latter class of lenders, there may be some above you, who may condescend to call you friend or cousin; but take your father's word for it, in the plainest English, if you would keep them your friends, never lend them your money.

Dulcis inexperto cultura potentis amici,
Expertus metuit.

Before you engage too far in the cultivation of such friendships as these, consider well how they can serve you, and how they may expect you should serve them; for a great man sells even his smiles. A little one, should, therefore, be upon his guard when he goes to such an auction as this. For my own part, I have been so sensible of my own weakness, that I have hitherto avoided all levees. I was not sure, that one smile would not have overturned all my domestic schemes, and set me dangling after a man that made a joke of me, and for something that I was unfit for. I saw a good deal of this among my acquaintance in my Lord Oxford's reign. He turned all mankind into ridicule.

An eminent poet (Gay) asked a place of him, as he was a great patron of the muses; he sent him to learn Spanish, from whence he took a hint that he

was to be an ambassador; by this means the Treasurer heard no more of him for six months. When he returned to his attendance, and had given his patron an account of his progress—I envy you, says my good Lord, the pleasure you will have in reading Don Quixote. This was not peculiar to Lord Oxford, it is, in some degree, every great man's character. A country gentleman is easily drawn into this piece of Quixotism, and fancies he can overcome a state windmill with a vote and a bow. I was always afraid of myself on other accounts. I could seldom leave a great house so well as I went to it; I was always in danger of getting something there—an itch of building, gardening, gaming, picture buying, or Parliamenteering. A man so naturally takes the turn of his superiors, that it is hard for him to sit down easily in his own situation afterwards.

Though you should not be afraid to see all that is to be seen in human life, yet a continual dropping will work upon a constitution, let it be as hard as it will, and soon dissolve and consume a soft one. The old recommendation of a house, for being at a distance from a Lord, is not only for fear of his

power and oppression, but for the sake of his example, from which a country gentleman is in the greatest danger.

There is a way to enjoy an estate with an appearance of elegance and plenty, or to spend it with an air of sordidness and want. This depends upon the turn and taste of the owner. Every man sees the difference, few can describe it, and fewer hit the point. One of the first arts in œconomy is to establish the reputation of a good paymaster, and one that knows how he is used. The opinion only is worth more than its cost. Besides, the way to get it will pay you double. If a man brings his affairs into such a posture as to buy as much as he can with ready money, and to pay all his bills soon, I apprehend he may save above a tenth part of the usual method of paying. But then he must understand the price of goods, otherwise, that interest which he should give to his tenant, he will pay to his shopkeeper. Here, I think, is a common defect in the education of an English gentleman.

He is instructed in Greek, and Latin, and logic, has a good smattering of the states of Greece and

Rome; but the conduct of a private life, and domestic providence, is reserved for his servants and his stewards; his own ignorance of them makes them troublesome, and the taste of the times has rendered them disreputable. But why may not a gentleman know as much as his servant? There is no necessity that he should do as much, though I believe if the real happiness of the whole bulk of mankind was to be put into an average, the labourer would be the loser, because at present he does more, and thinks less, than the gentleman. It will be, therefore, well worth your pains, and will cost you a very little, to be well informed of the price and goodness of everything. If you were to set it down in your pocket book, it would be always ready to compare with any alteration of demands; and the more you buy and pay for yourself, the less you will pay your servants for brokerage.

There is a point that lies between neglecting little things, and being anxious about them. The latter is meer sordidness, to avoid which, most gentlemen are apt to fall into the first. I have often observed how great an advantage a merchant, or a tradesman, has in this regard. When he casts up

his books, the mistake of one penny obliges him to go over them again. He puts all his expences under the title of profit and loss, and by getting a habit of conducting little articles without anxiety, he can make a much better figure, and at a much less expence, than a gentleman who is used to overlook trifles.

A good deal depends upon the channel and method that a man's domestic affairs are put into. They should be always under his eye, without his being obliged to watch them. Some people take as much pains to be cheated, as others to avoid it. Supernumerary servants, want of full employment for them, a circulation of labourers, and helpers, and workmen; these, and other articles, which are rather to be imagined than described, come all under the—Postico fallere.

The company a man keeps will have an influence upon his œconomy, which should be regulated by the turn of his conversation, whether public or private. You may be moved by abundance of pretty things in poetical writers, upon retirement, the badness of mankind, the danger of keeping them

company, the superior delights that are to be found in the conversation with birds and beasts, plants and flowers, with a conclusion, by way of declamation, against ambition and avarice. These are common topics which authors throw out against the world, if they have been disappointed in it. I must confess, if I would know the character of a man, I would sooner ask it of the world than of himself. If mankind are fond of him, it is generally for some excellence which he never thought of; if they slight him, they see him in a glass that he has never looked through; neither will be ever undeceived, till they have an opportunity to explain upon one another, which seldom happens. You will see this is at the bottom of all the essays of Rochefoucault, and all the statesmen and politicians. It is as much the case of the poets, if they would own it. Cowley, who has collected a good many natural sentiments upon these subjects, speaks plain—

> They like all other poets live,
> Without reward, or thanks, for their obliging pains.

He owns his own disappointments often enough, and endeavours to repay them upon all mankind. I have some doubt about his friend Horace. If we may believe him, he was invited to be Augustus's

Secretary, and was very intimate with his Prime Minister, Mæcenas, and yet I fancy I could pick out some hints of disappointment to countenance this conjecture. The—rejectâ non benè parmulâ,—he acknowledges very honestly; the—irascar amicis cum pituita molesta est,—might be the effect of a bad constitution. Be that as it will, if he had a genius for retirement, we are obliged to Augustus for not dragging him out of it. Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum. But if he never sees it, he should never rail, and I think you should, therefore, begin with mankind, as if you desired to have a good opinion of them, and had no ill one of yourself.

By this means, you will let yourself into a knowledge of all the game, and if you have too much honour to play it all yourself, you will be better able to prevent its being played upon you. In the first part of a man's life, he cannot help engaging in some measure. If he finds the luck rather runs against him, it is time enough to be a stander-by at last, but he should leave off before the last stake is upon the board, and not break off in a pet, but withdraw as if he designed to play again.

Since every man must be an actor or a spectator, the first flights of emulation are honourable. Let him choose a part for himself, or his friends choose for him, and then venture upon the stage if he has a good introduction. To be pushed on it, is uncommon, to thrust himself into it, is dangerous. But if he finds the part mistaken, he had better become a spectator, than choose an under part.

The Greeks and the Jews had the same sentiment of riches. The first painted their god Plutus with wings, to signify that riches make to themselves wings and fly away. When I look round the world, I am in doubt, whether they make these wings for themselves, so often as the owners make the wings they fly with. This I am sure, that the owners have it often in their power to clip their wings, and this is all that I have endeavoured to teach you. Those who get their riches, commonly leave it to Providence to give them wings; but he who takes them from the labour of another, finds them a care, and therefore, to clip their wings is all he can do with them, and it is well if he can do this—Est quodam prodire tenus.

I have heard it said of King Charles II., (who, like Solomon, said more good things than he did wise ones,) that, asking whose house that was, he was told, that the owner of it was a country gentleman, whose family had made their estate neither better nor worse for many generations. The King replied, Then he has not had a fool or a wise man in his family. I am not satisfied the observation was just; his Majesty had then forgot, though he had reason enough to remember, that riches are not always got by men of understanding, nor favour by men of skill. There is a time and a chance for all men, or, to speak more justly, there is something superior to time and chance, which restored his Majesty to his throne, when all the understanding and skill he had about him could not move one step towards it.

It requires, therefore, some degree of wisdom and virtue to keep an estate. I have known some men get one with very little of either; but to raise one honourably, is unquestionably a superior quality. If time and chance throw this in your way, I have said nothing to discourage your pursuit of it. But be sure it is not a shadow you follow,

before you venture your own substance after it. A large family of my acquaintance are left in ruin, by the negligence, rather than the extravagance, of their ancestor. The prospect of their affairs threw me into a consideration of this subject.

I have given you only common and general hints, such as offered themselves first to my thoughts. Particular methods and degrees, you must learn from your own; or much better, if you can, from the experience of others.

The limits between avarice and frugality, generosity and extravagance, are almost imperceptible. The world seldom judges right of them. If you live for yourself and your family, you must judge for yourself and your family. Let the current be as strong as it will, an obstinate œconomy will keep you above it—Sed

> Haud facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat
> Res angusta domi.

NOTES TO THE MEMOIR.

NOTES TO THE MEMOIR.

P. 1.—At the creation of Henry, Prince of Wales, June 2, 1610, Peregrine Bertie, 2d son of the subject of this memoir, by a bill signed with the King's own hand, was appointed to repair to Durham House, and was made one of the Knights of the Bath. (Anstis on Knighthood of the Bath, p. 61, 62.)

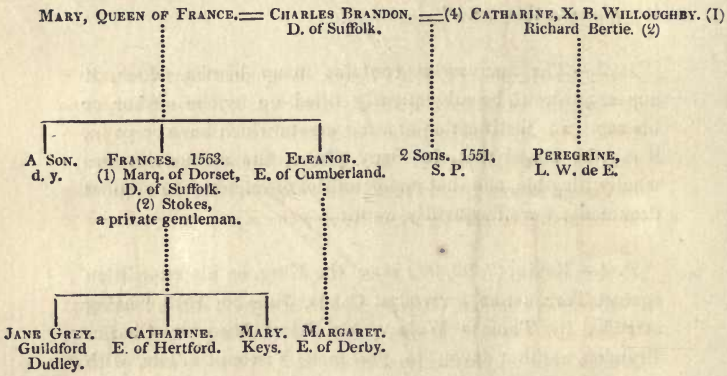
P. 2.—The previous pedigrees may be found in Jacob's Genealogical Tables, vol. 4, and in Collins's Peerage, ed. Sir Egerton Brydges, (1812) who says, "the genealogical flattery of Collins in this instance raises a smile, but I cannot refuse it a place in this note."

P. 3.—The manuscript contains many blanks, which, it appears, were to be subsequently filled up by the author, or his son. In justification of a few errata which have crept in, it may be stated that, in many places, the manuscript was wholly illegible, and that opportunities of reference to original documents were frequently wanting.

P. 4.—Rapin, (7, 98, 99) says, the King, on his expedition against Terrouenne, arrived at Calais, June 30, 1513, "being attended by Thomas Wolsey, his Prime Minister, Charles Brandon, another favourite, *just* made Viscount L'Isle, with many other Lords." Tindal, his continuator, adds, "May 13th, 1513. He was created Duke of Suffolk, the February following. He had the honour to command the vanguard of the whole army in this expedition. His *uncle*, William Brandon, standard bearer to Henry VII. at Bosworth Field, was slain by King Richard III. himself." (Dugdale.) This is a manifest error.

P. 5.—This quotation is from the ed. of Polydore Virgil, Basil, 1570, which reaches to 1538, 29 Henry VIII. The first ed. 1533, extends only to the end of Henry VII.

P. 6.—They were married at Greenwich the day after their landing in England, May 12, 1515. Mary was the third wife of Charles Brandon. His first wife was Margaret, daughter of John Neville, Marquis of Montagu, and relict of Sir John Mortimer, Knight. By her he had no issue. His second wife was Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, K.G. By her he had 2 daughters, Anne, who married Edward Grey, Baron Powis; and Mary, who married, first, Thomas Stanley, Lord Mounteagle, and secondly,—Howard. (See Table I., and Moreris Grand Dict. Brandon.) The following table shows the error of Rapin and the connection of Brandon's two last marriages with the subject of this memoir—



The Author of the memoir (p. 8) says the husband of Catharine was son and heir of the Earl of Pembroke. Betham, (Table 610) says, of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford. Of Mary's husband he says, *Henry*, not Martin, Keys, was the King's porter.

It appears that, in this year, 1515, Brandon, with other nobles, retired from Court, to avoid the insults of Wolsey.

P. 8.—This mistake of Rapin is extended by his continuator, who, (in a note, 9, 23,) says, "Peregrine Bertie, whom she, as being sparing in conferring honours, had, with much ado, made Baron Willoughby de Eresby, though his mother was only daughter of the Duchess of Suffolk and heir to the Lord Willoughby. Camden." Quere, whether this difficulty did not relate to the knighthood rather than to the barony? In the Athenæ. Oxon. (ed. Bliss, 1813) it is said (vol. I. p. 519.) "8 Jan., 1582, Philip Sidney, with Peregrine Bertie, received the honour of knighthood from the Queen."

P. 10.—Rapin is again in error, when, (8. 87) he states, that the Dukes were the sons of Charles Brandon's *second* wife. However generally impartial, it appears that this historian is often incorrect as to particulars.

P. 12.—Rapin, (7, 673-4,) says, Brandon "was Cranmer's friend, and would have willingly agreed to a further Reformation. But he was too much a courtier to attempt to oppose the King's will directly. However, as Henry was not always in the same mind with regard to religion, this Lord did the Reformed good service when he saw the King well-inclined to them."

Eresby.—Camden, (Britannia, 1695,) says, "It is related that Eudo and Pinso, Norman noblemen, having entered into a kind of mutual brotherly alliance, had, by the bounty of William I, many possessions given them in these parts; which they so divided, that Tateshall fell to Eudo,* who held it by

*Eudo? Leland (VIII. p. 19), gives the genealogy of the Earls of Richmond from Eudo, "Comes Britanniæ ante conquestum, filius Galfridi ducis genuit tres filios successive post eum præsidentes Britanniæ; Alanum, dictum Rufum vel Fregaunt, qui venit in angliam cum Gul. Bastard, &c. &c."

barony, &c; and Eresby, which is not far off, fell to Pinso, from whose children the inheritance came by the Bekes to the Willoughbies, who had very large inheritances by their wives not only from the Uffords, Earls of Suffolk, but also from the Lords de Welles, who brought with them the great estate of the De Engains, an ancient noble family, and of great power in this county from the first coming in of the Normans.* The most eminent man of those Willoughbies, was Robert Willoughby, in Henry the 5th's reign, who, for his great courage and bravery, was made Earl of Vandosme in France. From these, by the mother's side, descended Peregrine Berty, Baron Willoughby of Eresby, a man famous for his great soul, and warlike gallantry;" and in his Additions, (p. 478) he says, "At a little distance from Bullingbrook, is Eresby, which gives the title of Baron to the Earl of Lindsey, the third division of this county. The first who enjoyed this title of Earl, was Robert, Lord Willoughby of Eresby, created Nov. 22, in the second year of King Charles the First. He was son to that Peregrine Berty, whom Catharine, Baroness of Willoughby, and Duchess of Suffolk, bore to Richard Berty, while they made their escape into foreign parts, in Queen Mary's persecution. He was called Peregrine, "eo quod in terra peregrina pro consolatione exilii sui piis parentibus a Domino donatus sit," &c. &c.

Leland (vol. vii. p. 38,) says—"The Lord Willoughby had a house at Heresby, and a park of black dere a 2 miles from Spilesby, where as I heere say, entendith to build sumptuously," and p. 48, "Sir Christopher Willoughby's son and heyre dwellith now at Tupholme Priory, and beside enheritith part of the Lord Willoughby's lands." He was probably the uncle of Peregrine, alluded to at p. 36.

Eresby was derived to the descendants of one of the com-

*The Barons of Engain had their seat at Blatherwic, Northamptonshire, and converted their castle named Hymel, into a monastery called Finisheved. These are near Stamford—(Camden 438). Leland's account is more full (see I. 23, Hearne's ed.) The Lord Welles, were at Alford, Lincolnsh., for which place, Leo L. Welles obtained the privilege of a market from Hen. VI (Camden, 471.)

mon ancestors of this family from a grant of William the Conqueror, and, as has happened in most other cases of their immense possessions, through a female. In the appendix, table I, the descent is given from Walter de Bec,* and from Sir John de Willoughby, in that King's reign, and it may not be uninteresting to shew in what branches the several properties were vested, which were the accumulated inheritance of the ancestors of the subject of this memoir.

Henry, 2d son of Walter de Bec, inherited the lordships and manors of Eresby, Spillesby, Kirkby, and Wisperton, and 3 younger brothers divided with him other possessions of their father.

Henry, the third in descent from Walter, with his wife Hawise, sister of Thomas de Muleton, obtained lands in Braitofte, Friskeni, Ireby, and Wynathrop (Lincoln.)†

John, fifth in descent, and first Baron Beke of Eresby, 4 Edw. I., obtained a license to make a castle of his manor of Eresby, and was, a.r. 23-24, summoned as a Baron of the realm. His brother, Anthony Beke, B. of Durham, and Patriarch of Jerusalem, was "wonderful rich in lands;" to him belonged the Principality of the Isle of Man, the Queen's house at Eltham, the castles of Sourton, York, of Akeland,‡ Barnard, Alnwike, Gainforth, Cuncliff, Somerton, many of which descended to his great nephew, Robert, first Lord Willoughby, 6th in descent from Sir John Willoughby, Lord of the Manor of Willoughby, by a grant from William I.

* For the Bekes, see Leland (H) I., 24.

† "Moultens or Moultons, Barons of Gillesland and Egremont, Cumberland," (Gough's Camden II. 347) and again 'Wiberton from Guibertus (Wibert), a great man here formerly. There is a place called Multon Hall, which belonged to the aforementioned Thomas de Multon, Lord Egremont, a great man in these parts. His hand is among the Barons at Magna Charta," (p. 22.) See also Stukeley's Itinerary, p. 21.

‡ Leland (7, 39) speaks of "Antonius de Beke, of Castle Akeland." Anthony Beke, says Godwin, (Cat. Bishops.) "was wonderful rich not only in ready money but in lands also and temporal revenues; for he might dispend yearly, besides that which belonged to his myter, 5000 marks," (£3333 6s. 8d.) (Collins, Brydges, VI., 592-3.)

Robert, fourth in descent from Sir John, by marriage with the daughter and heiress of John de Orby, had obtained her lands, and his son, Sir William, 5th in descent, marrying Alice, sister and coheir of Walter, 2nd Baron Beke of Eresby, succeeded to the large property of these Lords.

Robert, first Lord Willoughby, son of Sir William, and summoned as Baron, 7 Edward II., became heir to the united properties of Beke and Willoughby, to that of his great uncle, Anthony Beke, Bishop of Durham, and with his sister Margaret, co-heir of the property of his cousin, John de Harcourt, son of Richard, who had married Margaret, his mother's sister. In 1316, (10 Edw. II.) he shared also with Edmund de Somerville, in the Manor of Oreby, (Linc.) and other lands, belonging to John de Orby, whose heirs they were. He obtained a charter for free warren in all his demesne lands in Eresby and Willoughby, 33 Edw. I., and died 10 Edw. II., seised of the manor of Lilleford (Northn.), Willoughby, with its appurtenances, in Slothbyt, Hardesthorp, Hoggethorpe, Hellesay, Langholm, Andreby, Dalby, Waimark, Altoft, Bonnetoft, Waynflet, Slekeholme, Halmcrofts (Linc.), and of a moiety of the manor of Plexley (Derb.)

His son *John*, first Lord Willoughby, called of Eresby, married the daughter and heir of Sir Thos. Rosceline, knight, and was summoned to Parliament from 6 to 23 Edw. III., in which year, 1349, he died.

John, second Lord Willoughby of Eresby, married Cecily, daughter of Robert de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, and died, 46 Edw. III., seised of the manor of Eresby, with its members, viz., Spillesby, Grebby, Ingoldmels, Flyxburgh, Tonelby, Friskeny, Biscopthorp, Askeby, Kyrkeby Super Bayne, Tatersall, and Thorpe, all which he held of the Bishop of Durham, by service of one knight's fee, &c.; also of the manor of Beltisford, with its members, viz., Colkesby, Donington, and Cardale; also of manor of Folestowle, with its members, viz., Hedington, Kelesthorp, Folkesby, Walde-Neuton, Waregholm, and Northcotes; of the manors of Ratheby, Brullingbrok, Little Stering,

Asky, Kirkby, Nithingesby, Esterkele, Westerkele, Claxby, Thyrleby, Tathwell, Burton-Stadders, Levepton, and Boston; of the manors of Wispington, and Foletebick, Skirbek, with its members, Thettlethorpe, Stickford and Scuilby; as also of Westerkele, with its members, Willoughby and Oreby, (Lincoln,) of the manors of Lilleford, (Northamp.) Egefeld, Walcote, Wetacre and Chadgrave (Norfk.), and a moiety of the manor of Plessey (Derb.)

Robert III., coheir to Wm. de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, died 9 Aug., 20 Richard II.; seised of manor of Chatgrave (Norf.), Hockynton, (Cantab.), Lilleford, (Northp), Hekyngham, Skredyngton, and divers others (Lincoln), and by courtesy of Engd., in right of his wife Eliz., d. and h. of Will. Ld. Latimer, and widow of John Nevil, Lord Raby (see Table I. Appendix) of the manor of Dylwyke with the park, Wotton, Ronhale, and Stratton (Bedf.), Bosyate, Burton juxta Thyngden, and Corby with the Hundred, (Northp.,) Isnampstede-Latimer, (Bucks,) Bradfield, (Somer.), Daneby, Liverton, Syvington, and Thorneton (York.)

William IV., died Dec. 5, 1409, Wednesday after festival of St. Andrew Apostle, 17 Hen. IV., seised of manors of Hokynton (Cantab.), Wykes-Ufford, Bredefeld, Baudesey, and Combes, (Suff.), Eggefield, the manor of Walcote called East Hall, Whetacre, Roughton, Chatgrave, and Walcot, called Sire Walters Manor, Lilford, (Northp.), with Orby and Partenay (Lincoln.)

Robert V. Earl, obtained a confirmation of charter of the lands of Eresby and its members. On the death of Isabel, widow of Will. de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, 4 Henry V., he had livery of castle and town of Orford,* with all the lands she had held for life. He was heir to that Earl. He had also a grant of 100 per ann., and died seised of manor of Plexley, (Derby,) with Eresby, and divers other manors, (Lincoln.)

Sir Richard (Hastings), VIII., had a special livery of the

* "Orford, a castle belonging to the Valoinies, afterward to the Willoughbies." Camden, 373.

castles, lordships, and lands belonging to his wife's brother; manors of Willoughby, Eresby, &c. &c.

Sir Robert Willoughby, found to be next heir male to Robt. Ld. Willoughby, who died 30 Hen. VI., died May 30, Edw. IV., seised of the manor of Braundon (Warwick), Wichhampton (Dorset), Bredfield, Sogenho, Wodbrigg, Wykes Ufford, Combes, Ufford, Benge-Parham, Baudeseye, Ketilberge and Wyndervile, as also of the hundred of Staunford (Suff.), and Roughton (Norf.)

William IX. Lord Willoughby, 24 Henry VII., on failure of male issue of Lord Welles, was found one of his co-heirs, through his grandmother, Cecily, dr. of Leo Ld. Welles, and had, for his share of their lands, the manors of Sayns-Park Hall, and Hemnales, in Theydon-Gernon, the manor of Madely in Ipping, (Essex), with the ancient lands of the Willoughby family. He left Lady Mary his wife, to hold for life his manor and lps. of Hellow, Abye, Swabye, Welles, Alford, Parteney, and Thedilthorpe (Linc.); Walcote, Wheatacre, and Wheatacreborough, (Norf.), Ufford, Bredfelde, Sogennowe, Winderfelde, Woodbridge, Orford, Wykes-Ufford, and Cambys (Suff.); and his other manors, viz., Eresby, Spillesby, Toynton, Willoughby, Steping, the Great Hanby, Fullistowe-Beke, Fullistowe-Arsik, Salflet-Haven, Cockerington, Friskeny, Yngolmells, Westerkele, Stykford, Ratheby, Skyrbek, the Tolle in Boston, Dubledike in Gosberkirke, otherwise Gorberton, and Pinchebeke, (Lincoln); Rowton (Norf.); Parham, (Suff.); and reversion of manor of Egefelde (Norf.), and Wespringe (Linc.), and Baudesey (Suff.); also his manors of Orbye, Brugh, Hoggisthorp, Skidbrook, Belcheforth, Folteby (Linc.), and manors in Brandon, (Warw.)

These several properties were united in Catharine, tenth Baroness Willoughby de Eresby, to whom came also part of the property of her first husband, Chas. Brandon, D. of Suffolk.* Grimsthorpe, and its members may have been such an

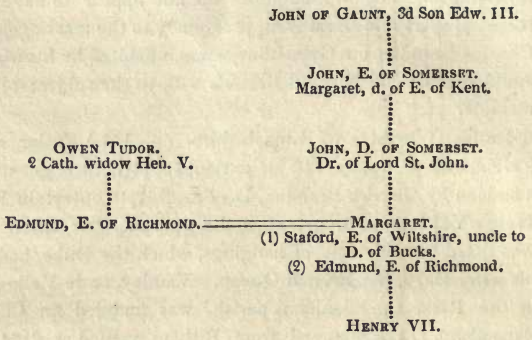
* Among other property granted to Charles Brandon by King Hen. VIII., were the forfeited honours and manors of Edmund, E. of Suffolk. (Camden 375.)

inheritance. The Willoughbies do not appear to have possessed property in Kesteven, previously to the marriage with Charles Brandon, but Grimsthorpe was inhabited by his widow, and descended, by Richard Bertie's will, to the subject of this memoir.

In his Worthies of Lincolnshire, (p. 151,) Fuller says, "Grimsthorpe, I may call an extempore structure, got up on a sudden by Charles Brandon, D. of Suffolk, to entertain King Henry VIII. in his progress into these parts. The hall therein was fitted to a fair suit of hangings, which the Duke had by his wife, Mary, the French Queen. Vaudey, or de Valle Dei, in the Park, in Edenham parish, was founded for Cistertians about 1147, removed from Bitham, valued at £124 per ann. At the dissolution (Tanner Not. Mon. 265, Gough's Camden, II., 354), Henry VIII. demised the site and manor to Sir John Harrington, of whom Charles Brandon, D. of S., bought it. The ruins are removed, and the site is a horse course." Stukeley Itin. cur. p. 50, says, "in the middle of the park stood Vaudy Abbey, in a vale, founded by William de Albemarle, 1147." Leland (I. 24) says, "It was a good half mile from Grymesthorp." Leland (Hearne) I. 24, says, "There is a fayre parke betwixt Vauldey and Grimesthorpe. The place of Grimesthorpe was no great thing afore the new building of the secunde court. Yet was all the old work of stone, and the gate-house was faire and strong, and the waulles of eche side of it embatelid. There is also a great dich about the House."

John of Gaunt owned Sutton and other vast manors and townships in Lincolnshire. He lived at Lincoln in royal state, and had the privilege of coining. (Stukeley, 85.) From him was descended Margaret, grandmother of Mary, Brandon's wife.

Henham and Westhope, for which see Gough's Camden (II., 171-173) probably descended to his daughters. They do not, at least, occur in the lists of the Bertie property.



Margaret, Countess of Richmond, possessed also much property in this neighbourhood, probably by inheritance. She built a noble mansion at Colliweston, Northamptonshire, near Stamford, and 8 miles from Grimsthorpe. (Leland I. 23.) Her property may have been granted to Chas. Brandon by Henry VIII., as were also granted by the same King, April 4, a. r. 8, the manor and castle of Tateshall, which had belonged to the Countess of Richmond. (Gough's Camden, II., 380.) In Leland's time (I., 29) Ancaster and Welsford belonged to Brandon from the same source. "The Est side of Ancaster, at the Southe end whereof the Castel is sette, is of the lordship of Wilesford, sumtime longging to the Lord Crumwelle, and after, as I hard, sold with other things to the performaunce of one of the Lord Crumwelles Willes. And after, Burne Priory, in Kestene, had it, by the meane, as I hard, of Margaret, mother to Henry VII. The D. of Southfolk hath it now."

Or it may have been, that the Duke inherited Grimsthorpe from his mother, who was Elizabeth, heir of Maurice Brun, and co-heir of Sir Henry Brun. His second wife was also Ann, daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, K.G. According to Stukeley (I.) Brun was identical with Bourn, and the Lords Brun had Bourn, which is 3 or 4 miles from Grimsthorpe.

The Engaynes again had property four miles from Stamford. Speaking of Finshed, Leland (1. 23) says, "Here, in the very place where the Priory stood, was in times past a castel called Hely. It longged to the Engaynes," &c.

The origin of the word Grim, so common a prefix to our English towns, has been variously ascribed. At Grimsthorpe it is said, (Gough's Camden II. 354) "is a tumulus, perhaps the grave of Grime, a noble Saxon or Dane, who gave name to the place." At p. 471, the Grime of Grimsby is degraded into a merchant.

Adams' Index Villaris, gives sixteen such prefixes, of which five occur in Lincolnshire. Speaking of Grimsdyke, Stukeley says, p. 171, "I have often found this name applied to a road, a wall, a ditch of antiquity, which would make one fancy it is a Saxon word, signifying the witches work; for the vulgar generally think these extraordinary works made by help of the devil." In the Saxon, Grima has the meaning witch or sorceress; in the Gælic, Grim signifies war, battle. See Manning and Shaw.

It may be mentioned, that the Sire de Grimeville was one of the Norman barons who accompanied William the Conqueror. See the lists in Stowe, p. 103. Beke, Engayne, and Lindsey were also his followers.

Richard Bertie died April 9, 1582, seised of one third of the Monastery of Vawdie, alias Valdy, the manors of Edenham and Scottlethorpe, and Rectory of Fulston, the lordship and Manor of Withcall, with divers Messuages, &c.; a Messuage called the Scite of the manor of Dawbney, and divers Messuages, &c., in Wottral, Willingham North, and South Willingham, and elsewhere—Com. Lincoln.

His son *Peregrine*, Knt., Ld. Willoughby of Willoughby, Beke, and Eresby, the subject of this memoir, leaves his manor of Wheatacre-borough, Com. Norfolk and Suffolk, with the app^{s}., to his son, *Peregrine*; also, all his Mess^{s}., Lands, &c., with app^{s}., known by name of Willoughby Rents, situate in

Barbican and Golden Lane, in London, after death of his sister Susan, Countess of Kent.

To his son *Henry Bertie*, the manor of Fulstowe, Beek, and Arseik, Com. Linc., for 2 years after his decease, and the manor of Wythegall for life, and after to his heirs male, and the manor of Hanby, Com. Linc., for 60 years, and Willoughby Parsonage for life.

To *Vere Bertie* his son, divers lands and tenements in several manors for life.

To *Roger* his son, so much of his demesnes of his manor of Gorberton, as are in the occupation of Henry Valentine, and divers other lands, &c., for life.

To *Trustees*, his manors of Grimsthorp, with the park, &c., Toynton, and the park, Stickford, Allford, with the royalties thereof, lately bought of Mr. Hanby, the manor of Well, the manor of Eresby, with the East Park and West Park, the manor of Spilsby, and Skidbroke, with Saltfleet-haven, Friskeny, certain lands in Earebie, Hundleby, and Rathebie; the lastage of Sherbecks, two parks of the demesne lands of Valdye, alias Vaudye, with the woods, warren of Conies, and certain lands inclosed, the new park of Grimsthorp, with divers other land adjacent; the third part of his great mansion house called Willoughby House in Barbican, and all his other lands, &c., not before devised, to hold during the minority of his son and heir, Robert Bertie, &c. Dated Berwick 7, Aug. 1590.

In a schedule annexed, he gives his son Peregrine, 17 pieces of hangings, brought out of the Low Countries, as also a carnation cloth of silver, bed, chairs, &c., belonging to it; a yellow velvet bed, a watchitt field bed, embroidered with hair, coloured velvet; other hangings, plate and silver vessels to his eldest son. To Robert also, the chain of gold with the Palsgrave's figure to it set with diamonds, given him by said Palsgrave. To Peregrine, all his books at Berwick and Eresby, and half of his library at London; but his whole library at Grimsthorp, the other half of that at London, and all goods not bequeathed, to his son Robert.

Gough (Camden II. 346) says that Spalding Abbey Church (of which see also Stukeley, p. 22,) was bought of Charles Brandon, D. of Suffolk, 34 Hen. VIII., 1543. Alluding to a right of common connected with this place, he assigns it to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and of some places not contiguous, which were—

"Uffington, Tallyngton, Barham, and Stow,
One house in Gretford, and nur eny moe."

all of which places adjoin Stamford.

Of Uffington, which always belonged to the younger branches of the family, it may be enquired, whether it did not descend to them by the custom of Stamford, called *Borough English*, which, according to Camden, prevailed there, and by which the younger sons inherit what lands or tenements their fathers die possessed of within this manor. (476.)*

P. 13.—It also appears, that Mr. Bertie had the degree of M.A., conferred on him at Cambridge, 6 Eliz. "Waiting on the Queen at Cambridge, when the University for five days entertained her with comedies, tragedies, and orations." Collins II., p. 4.

In the Fasti I., 104, Ed. Bliss, it is said, "Richard Bertue or Bertie, who, marrying Catharine, sole daughter and heir, &c., became possessor of the great estate belonging to that title."

Reginald Grey was nephew and heir of Henry Grey, of Wrest, Kt. He died in 1573, "whom the Queen Elizabeth, the year before, had raised from a private man to the dignity, after the title had lain dormant 50 years." (Rapin 8, 491.)

P. 14, &c.—In the appendix is given the ballad describing

* Albeniacus, Lord of Bever Castle, was Lord of Uffington, by Wiland River, half a mile beneath Standford, on the farther side of Lincolnshire, and there remained great token of a manor Place embattled of his, the which, by the heir of Roteland *now living*, and having it by Rosse, heir general, hath been well repaired. And at such time as Albinies lay commonly at Uffington, one of them builded Newsteede, &c. Leland VI., 29. Gough's Camden, II., 352.

the escape of the Duchess and her husband. She, however, did not accompany him from England. Mr. B. left England in June, 1554; she followed him in disguise from her house in the Barbican, in Jan. 1555.

Camden (Brit. p. 322) alluding to the Barbican says, "The suburbs which run out on the N. W. side of the city is large, and had, formerly, a watch tower or military fence, from whence it came to be called by an Arabic name, Barbacan. By a gift of Edw. III., it became a seat of the Uffords, from whom, by the Willoughbies, it descended to Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, a person every way of a generous temper, and a true martial courage."

The Fasti II., 47, 86, 285, 395, 406, allude to subsequent branches of the family.

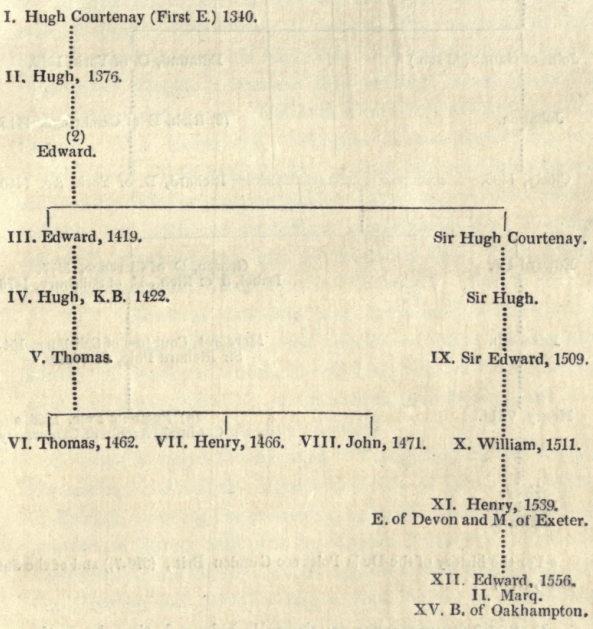
Mr. Charles Bertie's account of the Church porch, as given in the inscription, which, with the certificate, may be found in Collins, (Ed. Brydges, vol. II.) is evidently a mistranslation. It is, however, sanctioned by the editor of the last named work. "In templo nostro suburbano," alludes to Peregrine's baptism, not to his birth.

The name of the Protestant Minister is differently written, Penesel, Pernsell, Perusel, evidently different readings of one word, badly transcribed.

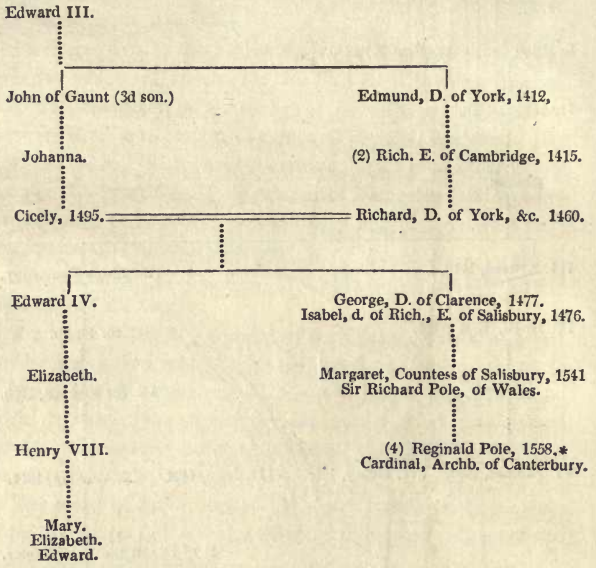
It does not appear that their whole time was spent at Wesel. Speed gives a particular account of their various sojournings. Peregrine was born Ap. 12, 1555, and Sigismund II., King of Poland, invited and received them in April, 1557. The Earldom was Crozan, not Crolan, as in the text, and Sanogelia was, no doubt, Semgalen, or Samgalia.

P. 20.—Table IV. exhibits the ground of the claims of the Lady Jane Grey, and of the Marq. of Exeter. The latter was second cousin to Mary and to Elizabeth, and the former, their second cousin once removed. Counting the descent of many

previous Earls of Devonshire, from Pharamond and Robert the Wise, the genealogy of the Marquis of Exeter was as follows—



P. 23.—Cardinal Pole was second cousin to Henry VIII.



* For the history of the De la Poles see Camden Brit., (376-7,) and of the Suffolks, (378.)

P. 25.—Strype erroneously calls Edward, the eleventh, not twelfth, E. of Devon.

Sir W. Courtenay, the Great, died in 1535. His lineal descendant, Sir W. Courtenay, married Anne, d. of James, first E. of Abingdon (who died 1699), and sister of Montagu, second Earl, (who died in 1743.) He died in 1756; so that this marriage must have occurred in the life time of the author of this Memoir, who also died in 1743.

P. 26.—For Castelnau, see Chamber's Biogr. Dict.

P. 33.—The Duchess was buried at Spilsby, Lincolnshire.

Tenant by courtesy—Jus curialitatis Angliæ. The law was made under Hen. I., and was derived from the Norman custom. When a man takes a wife seised of land in fee simple, fee tail-general, or as heir in tail-special, and hath issue by her, male or female, born alive; if the wife die, the husband shall hold the land during his life, and he is called tenant by the courtesy of England, because this privilege is not allowed in any other realm, except Scotland, where it is called Curialitas Scotiæ. The words are, "Si quis desponsaverit aliquam, hæreditatem habentem, et ex ea prolem habuerit cujus clamor auditus fuerit intra quatuor parietes, et vir supervixerit uxorem, habebit tota vita sua custodiam hæreditatis, licet hæredem habuerit ex primo viro, qui plenæ ætatis est. Præscriptum est quod eadem lex observetur in Hibernia." (Pat. 2, Hen. 3, M. 30.) However this law may have held with regard to lands, it seems to have been considered inapplicable to the dignity of Baron, to which, in this case, the son Peregrine was admitted during the life of his father, and within less than two months after his mother's decease.

Collins (Brydges II., 5) says, "Peregrine, on the death of his mother, claimed the dignity and title of Lord Willoughby of Eresby, wearing his mourning apparel at her funeral in all points as a Baron, and was by Queen Elizabeth admitted to the dignity, his father then living, on Friday, Nov. 11, 1580. On Monday, Jan. 16 following, he took his seat in Parliament." This explains Dugdale's reference to the latter date.

Neither, in this case, had the precedent been followed of Sir Richard Welles, who, in right of his wife Joan, had, during her life, held the title of Lord Willoughby, or of Richard Hastings, who had been privileged in the same way.

Leland says, (VII. 40) "Wimbische hath Nokton Park Priory, and ys beside a man of great possessions and auncient. He married the Lord Taylbois sister. In Lincoln Cathedral lyeth one of the Wymbisches, a Residentiary of Lincoln, in a fayre high tombe."

Nocton afterwards belonged to Sir Vere Bertie. (See Stukeley Itin. cur. p. 17, 82.)

"The Priory at Nocton was founded by Robert D'Arci, Lord of the place, in 1164. It became the seat of Sir William Ellys, Bart." From the Ellis's it passed to Lord Vere Bertie, and with his daughter and heir to the Hobarts, now Earls of Bucks. (Leman's MS. Notes—Bath Institution Library.)

P. 40.—Some confusion has arisen with regard to the negotiations for Elizabeth's marriage, from the circumstance of two brothers having successively taken the title of Duke of Anjou, and both having been suitors to the Queen.

In 1571, proposals of marriage were made for the D. of Anjou, next brother of Charles IX, K. of France, and second son of Catharine of Medicis, but the treaty was broken off.

In 1572, a similar proposal was made by Chas. IX, for his second brother, the D. of Alençon, youngest son of Catharine; and in 1573, Elizabeth consented to receive his visit in England. Being employed at the Siege of Rochelle, he could not take the journey.

In 1574, Chas. IX died, at the age of 25, and the D. of Anjou, who, in the previous year, had been elected K. of Poland, succeeded to the Crown of France, as Hen. III.

In October, 1576, the then D. of Alençon assumed the title of D. of Anjou, which the King, his brother, had borne as next heir to the Crown. Two years afterwards, 1578, he renewed his proposal for a marriage with Elizabeth, she being then 45, and he 20. Two years passed in negotiations, and in 1581, articles were at length agreed on and signed. At the latter end of the year, having lately been made Sovereign of the Confederated Provinces, he arrived in England. Elizabeth retracted her supposed engagement, but the Duke remained in England till Feb. 1582, when he was accompanied by the Queen as far as Canterbury, and by Willoughby and the other Lords to Antwerp, where he was crowned D. of Brabant. In the succeeding year, 1583, failing in his attempt on the Low

Countries, he retired to France, and died at Chateau Thierry, in June 1584.—(See Davila Lib. VI, 423, and others). Mr. Bertie is in error when he still calls him the D. of Alençon.

P. 41.—These were the Customs which the English Merchant ships paid on passing the Sound.

P. 47.—There is no evidence that Lord Willoughby was, at this early period, 1585, Governor of Bergen op Zoom—nor, indeed, that it was held by any English Governor.

Lewis de Zuniga, Commander of Requesenes, succeeded the Duke of Alva, as Governor of the Low Countries in 1573, when this Prince was recalled. He died in 1576, and after his death, the Council of State administered alone the affairs of the Netherlands, till a new Governor should arrive. In the following year, 1577, Archduke Matthias, brother to the Emp. Rodolph II, was chosen, and the Prince of Orange was declared his Lieutenant. (Rapin 1, 494, 500).

If Willoughby was, in 1585, Governor of Bergen op Zoom, he must have quitted his government to execute the Queen's commission among the German Princes. Rapin makes no mention of Willoughby having been so employed. He says (9. 51), "in 1585, Sir Thomas Bodley was sent into Germany and Denmark to persuade the Protestant Princes to make a league defensive with England." Willoughby's letter shows, however, that he was in Germany at this time. Neither Hollingshead nor Stow, any more than Camden, states that Willoughby accompanied Leicester; so that Strype's authority is doubtful. Leicester went on board on the 8th Dec., 1585—on the 10th, he arrived at Flushing, where Sir Philip Sidney was Governor—on the 20th, he was at Williamstat, and on the 21st, at Dort, &c.—on the 3d Jan. 1586, he entered Leyden, and on the 6th Feb., was at the Hague, where he received a grant of the chief government, and absolute authority over the United Provinces. (See Life of Lord Leicester, 1727).

The above account is given to reconcile the differing chronology as to the period of his arrival in Holland.

In March, he left the Hague for Leyden, Haarlem, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Arnheim, and Nimeguen. In the mean time, the English were successful at Bergen op Zoom, where the Lord Willoughby of Eresby attacked a convoy going to Antwerp, seized 480 waggons laden with provisions, carried off 1000 horses, slew 200 men, and took 400 prisoners. (See Life of E. of Leicester, p. 195.)

The numbers, as given in the manuscript, at p. 55, are illegible, and unintelligible.

P. 54.—"Upon the burning of Nuys, the Duke of Parma, for his father was now dead, marched with his camp to *Reinberch* (not Bergen op Zoom), a town garrisoned by 1200 English under the command of Colonel Morgan." (Camdens Q. Eliz. lib. 3. 329. Bentivoglio Hist. &c. p. 243. Strada de bello Belg. Dec. 2, 519-22, &c. Leicester's Life, 203). Bentivoglio (P. II Lib. iv, p. 92), states that the Italian Commanders, at the siege of Zutphen, where Appio Conti, the Marquis Annibal Gonzaga, Marchese Bentivoglio, George Cresia, and the Count Nicholas Cecis. The battle was fought on the 17th Nov. 1586, George Cresia was commander in chief of the horse, and general of the Albanois. For the whole history of the Gonzagu family, consult the Grand Dictionaire, de Moreri.

It is singular that Bentivoglio, (II. Lib. IV., 96, 98) here, and at Bergen op Zoom, (II. V. 123), omits all mention of Lord Willoughby. Rapin is very concise and exclusive in his account of the whole war. (9, 60.)

It appears from Camden, that Leicester departed for England on the 3rd of December, 1586. He returned about the middle of June, 1587, (Bentivoglio, II. 4, p. 246,) and finally, it is probable, left Holland about November, 1587, when Lord Willoughby was appointed. He had made his will at Middleburgh, Aug. 1, 1587, and died 14 Sept., 1588. The Spanish Armada arrived on the British Coast July 19, 1588.

P. 72.—According to Collins, Willoughby was sent to France with the English auxiliaries, in the 32d Eliz., which was from 17 Nov., 1589, to 16 Nov., 1590; but the Memoir says, Sept. 1589, which was her 31st year.

P. 86.—The Queen dates her letter 7th of Oct., 1594, in her 37th year; but the October of her 37th year was in 1595, according to Sir Harris Nicolas' Tables.

P. 90.—See his will in a former note on p. 12. The date of it is correctly stated in Collins, 7 Aug., 1599, which was 41 Elizabeth.

P. 92.—The immediate allusion is to the death of Robert first Earl, from wounds received at the battle of Edge-Hill, Oct. 23, 1642, at the age of 60. He was created E. of Lindsey by Chas. I., 22 Nov., 1626. The preamble to the patent recites, "That the King, in consideration of the merits of Robert Lord Willoughby, of Willoughby, Beake, and Eresby, Lord Great Chamberlain of England, and that he is a man, the brave son of a most noble and gallant father, and of great loyalty to us," &c. &c. With an extension of the Memoir would have been connected also other "melancholy tales" of frequent and premature decease, as has been already noticed in the Preface.

APPENDIX.

"The most Rare and Excellent HISTORY of the Dutchess of *SUFFOLK*, and her Husband *RICHARD BERTIE*'s Calamity.

"To the Tune of, *QUEEN* DIDO.

"Originally publish'd in the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH, and Reprinted in *December* 1738.

1.

"WHEN GOD had taken for our Sin,
That prudent Prince King *Edward* away,
Then bloody *Bonner* did begin
His raging Malice to bewray;
All those that did GOD's Word profess,
He persecuted more or less.

2.

"Thus while the LORD on us did low'r,
Many in Prison he did throw,
Tormenting them in *Lollard*'s Tower,
Whereby they might the Truth forego:
Then *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and the rest,
Were burning in the Fire, that CHRIST profess'd.

3.

"*Smithfield* was then with Faggots fill'd,
And many Places more beside,
At *Coventry* was *Saunders* kill'd,
At *Worcester* eke good *Hooper* dy'd,
And to escape this bloody Day,
Beyond-sea many fled away.

4.

" Among the rest that sought Relief,
And for their Faith in Danger stood,
Lady *Elizabeth* was Chief,
King *Henry*'s Daughter of Royal Blood,
Who in the *Tower* did Prisoner lie,
Looking each Day when she should die.

5.

" The Dutchess of *Suffolk* seeing this,
Whose Life likewise the Tyrant sought,
Who in the Hopes of Heavenly Bliss,
Within GOD's Word her Comfort wrought;
For fear of Death was forc'd to fly,
And leave her House most secretly.

6.

" That for the Love of GOD alone,
Her Land and Goods she left behind,
Seeking still that Precious Stone,
The Word and Truth so rare to find;
She with her Husband, Nurse, and Child,
In poor Array their Sighs beguil'd.

7.

" Thus thro' *London* they pass'd along,
Each one did take a several Street,
And all along escaping Wrong,
At *Billingsgate* they all did meet,
Like People poor, in *Gravesend* Barge,
They simply went with all their Charge.

8.

" And all along from *Gravesend* Town,
With Journey short, on Foot they went;
Unto the Sea-Coast came they down,
To pass the Seas was their Intent,
And GOD provided so that Day,
That they took Ship, and sail'd away.

9.

" And with a prosp'rous Gale of Wind,
In *Flanders* they did safe arrive,
This was to them great Ease of Mind,
And from their Hearts much Woe did drive,
And so with Thanks to God on high,
They took their Way to *Germany*.

10.

" Thus as they travel'd still disguis'd,
Upon the Highway suddenly,
By cruel Thieves they were surpris'd,
Assaulting their small Company,
And all their Treasure, and their Store,
They took away, and beat them sore.

11.

" The Nurse amidst of all their Fright,
Laid down the Child upon the Ground,
She ran away out of their Sight,
And never after that was found,
Then did the Dutchess make great Moan,
With her good Husband all alone.

12.

" The Thieves had then their Horses kill'd,
And all their Money quite had took,
The pretty Baby almost spoil'd,
Was by the Nurse likewise forsook,
And they far from their Friends did stand,
And succourless in a strange Land.

13.

" The Sky likewise began to scoul,
It Hail'd and Rain'd in pitious sort,
The Way was long, and wond'rous foul,
Then may I now full well report,
Their Grief and Sorrow were not small,
When this unhappy Chance did fall.

14.

" Sometimes the Dutchess bore the Child,
As Wet as ever she cou'd be,
And when the Lady kind and mild,
Was Weary, then the Child bore He;
And thus they one another eas'd,
And with their Fortunes seem'd well pleas'd.

15.

" And after many a weary Step,
All Wet-shod both in Dirt and Mire,
After much Grief their Hearts yet leap,
For Labour doth some Rest require,
A Town before them they did see,
But lodged there they cou'd not be.

16.

"Fr om House to House then they did go,
Seeking that Night where they might lie;
But want of Money was their Woe,
And still their Babe with Cold did cry;
With Cap and Knee they Court'sy make,
But none of them wou'd Pity take.

17

" Lo! here a Princess of great Blood,
Doth pray a Peasant for Relief,
With Tears bedewed as she stood
Yet few or none regard her Grief;
Her Speech they cou'd not understand,
But some gave Money in her Hand.

18.

" When all in vain her Speech was spent,
And that they could not House-Room get,
Into a Church-Porch* then they went
To stand out of the Rain and Wet;

" * Of St. *Willebrode*, at *Wesel* in *Germany*, wherein the Dutchess fell in Labour, and was deliver'd of a Son, call'd *Peregrine*, afterwards Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*. *See* Collins's *Peerage*, &c."

Then said the Dutchess to her Dear,
O that we had some Fire here.

19.

"Then did her Husband so provide,
That Fire and Coals they got with Speed,
She sat down by the Fire-Side,
To dress her Daughter that had need;
And while she dress'd it in her Lap,
Her Husband made the Infant Pap.

20.

"Anon The Sexton thither came,
And finding them, there by the Fire,
The drunken Knave all void of Shame,
To drive them out was his desire,
And spurning out the Noble Dame,
Her Husband's Wrath he did inflame.

21.

"And all in Fury as he stood,
He wrung the Church Keys from his Hand,
And struck him so that all the Blood,
Ran down his head as he did stand;
Wherefore the Sexton presently,
For Aid and Help aloud did cry.

22.

"Then came the Officers in hast,
And took the Dutchess and her Child,
And with her Husband thus they past,
Like Lambs beset with Tygers wild;
And to the Governor were brought,
Who understood them not in ought.

23.

"Then Master *Bertie* Brave and Bold,
In *Latin* made a gallant Speech,
Which all their Mis'ries did unfold,
And their high Favour did beseech;

With that a Doctor sitting by,
Did know the Dutchess presently:

25.

" And thereupon arising straight,
With Looks abased at the Sight,
Unto them all that there did wait,
He thus broke forth in Words aright:
Behold! within your Sight, quoth he,
A Princess of most high Degree!

25.

" With that the Governor, and all the rest
Were much amaz'd the same to hear!
Who Welcomed this new-come Guest,
With Rev'rence great, and Princely Chear;
And afterwards convey'd they were,
Unto their Friend Prince *Casimir*.

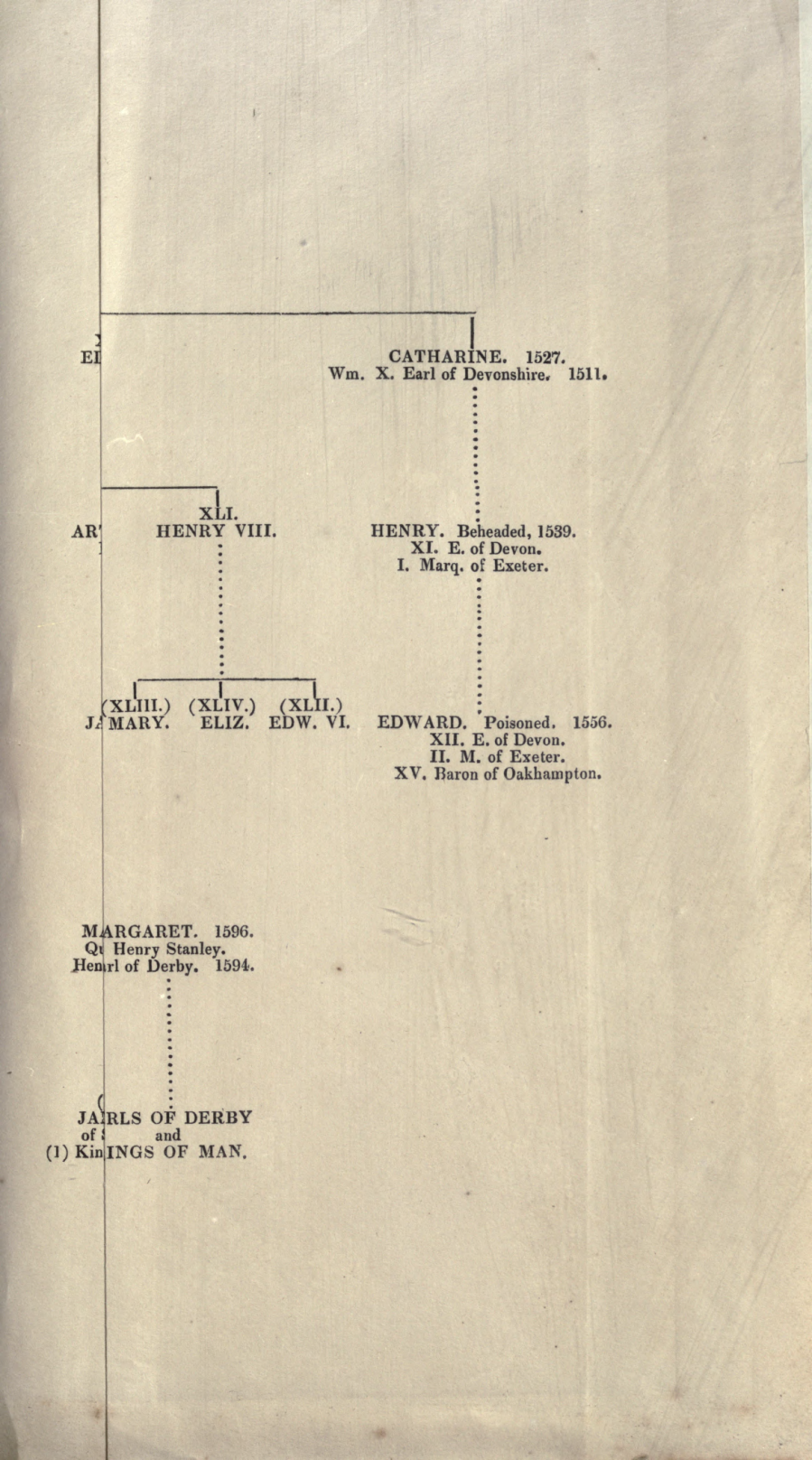
26.

A Son she had in *Germany*,
Peregrine Bertie call'd by Name,
Sirnam'd the good Lord *Willoughby*,
Of Courage great, and worthy Fame;
Her Daughter young, that with her went,
Was afterwards Countess of *Kent*.

27.

" For when Queen *Mary* was deceas'd,
The Dutchess home return'd again,
Who was of Sorrow quite releas'd,
By Queen *Elizabeth's* happy Reign,
Whose Godly Life and Piety,
We may praise continually."

H. E. Carrington, Printer, St James-street
and Weymouth-street, Bath.


CATHARINE. 1527.
Wm. X. Earl of Devonshire. 1511.
XLI.
HENRY VIII.
HENRY. Beheaded, 1539.
XI. E. of Devon.
I. Marq. of Exeter.
(XLIII.) (XLIV.) (XLII.)
MARY. ELIZ. EDW. VI.
EDWARD. Poisoned. 1556.
XII. E. of Devon.
II. M. of Exeter.
XV. Baron of Oakhampton.
MARGARET. 1596.
Henry Stanley.
rl of Derby. 1594.
RLS OF DERBY
and
INGS OF MAN.