

Religion. So that the Queen had then a new Task and Work in hand, that might well awake her best Providence, and requir'd a muster of Men of Arms, as well as Courtships and Counsels ; for the Times began then to be quick and active, fitter for stronger Motions than those of the Carpet and Measure. And it will be a true Note of her Magnanimity, That she lov'd a Soldier, and had a propension in her Nature to regard, and always to grace them ; which the Courtiers taking into observation, took it as an Invitation to win Honour, together with her Majesty's Favour, by exposing themselves to the Wars, especially when the Queen's and the Affairs of the Kingdom stood in some necessity of a Soldier. For we have many Instances of the Sallies of the Nobility and Gentry, yea and out of the Court, and her Privy Favourites (that had any Touch or Tincture of *Mars* in their Inclinations) and to steal away without licence, or the Queen's privity ; which had like to have cost some of them dear : so predominant were their Thoughts and Hopes of Honour growing in them ; as we may truly observe in the Expeditions of Sir *Philip Sidney*, my Lord of *Essex*, *Mountjoy*, and divers others, whose Absence, and the manner of their Eruptions, was very distastful to her. Whereof I can here add a true, and no impertinent Story, and that of the last *Mountjoy* ; who having twice or thrice stoln away into *Britany* (where under Sir *John Norris* he had then a Company) without the Queen's leave and privity, she sent a Messenger unto him, with a strict Charge to the General to see him sent home. When he came into the Queen's presence, she fell into a kind of Reviling, demanding how he durst go over without her leave : *Serve me so, quoth she, once more, and I will lay you fast enough for running. You will never leave till you are knockt on the head, as that inconsiderate Fellow Sydney was. You shall go when I send you : In the mean time see that you lodg in the Court (which was then at Whitehall) where you may follow your Book, read and discourse of the Wars.*

But to our purpose : It fell out happily to those, and (as I may say) to those Times, that the Queen, during the calm of her Reign, was not idle, nor rockt asleep with Security ; for she had been very provident in the Reparation and Augmentation of her Shipping and Ammunition. And I know not, whether by a Foresight of Policy, or an Instinct, it came about, or whether it was an Act of her Compassion : But it is most certain, that she sent Levies, and no small Troops to the Assistance of the Revolted States of *Holland*, before she had receiv'd any Affront from the King of *Spain*, that might deserve or tend to a Breach in Hostility ; which the Papists to this day maintain, was the Provocation, and

Cause

Cause of the after Wars. But omitting what might be said to this Point, those *Netherland Wars* were the Queen's Seminaries, and the Nurseries of very many brave Soldiers; and so were likewise the *Civil Wars of France* (whither she sent five several Armies) the Fencing-Schools that inur'd the Youth and Gallantry of the Kingdom: And it was a *Militia*, where they were daily in acquaintance with the Discipline of the *Spaniards*, who were then turn'd the Queen's inveterate Enemies.

And thus have I taken into observation, her *Dies Halcionii*, those years of hers which were more serene and quiet than those that follow'd; which tho they were not less propitious, as being touch'd more with the point of Honour and Victory; yet were they troubled, and ever clouded over, both with domestick and foreign Machinations: and it is already quoted, they were such as awaken'd her Spirits, and made her cast about how to defend, rather by offending, and by the way of diversion to prevent all Invasions, than to expect them; which was a piece of Policy of the Times. And with this I have noted the Causes or *Principia* of the Wars following, and likewise pointed to the Seed-plots, from whence she took up those Brave Men and Plants of Honour, which acted on the Theatre of *Mars*, and on whom she dispers'd the Rays of her Grace; which were Persons in their kinds of rare Virtues, and such as might, out of height of merit, pretend Interest to her Favour: of which Rank, the number will equal, if not exceed that of the Gownmen; in recount of whom I proceed with *Sir Philip Sydney*.

SIR PHILIP SYDNEY.

HE was Son to *Sir Henry Sydney*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and President of *Wales*, a Person of great Parts, and in no mean Grace with the Queen. His Mother was Sister to my Lord of *Leicester*, from whence we may conjecture, how the Father stood up in the place of Honour and Employment; so that his Descent was apparently noble on both sides. For his Education, it was such as Travel and the University could afford, or his Tutors infuse: for after an incredible Proficiency in all the Species of Learning, he left the Academical Life for that of the Court; whither he came by his Uncle's Invitation, fram'd aforehand by a noble Report of his Accomplishments, by which, together with the state of his Person, fram'd by a natural propension to Arms, he soon attracted the good Opinion of all men, and was so highly priz'd in the good Opinion of the

the Queen, that she thought the Court deficient without him. And whereas, thro the Fame of his Deserts, he was in the Election for the Kingdom of *Poland*, she refus'd to further his Advancement, not out of emulation, but out of fear to lose the Jewel of her Times. He marry'd the Daughter and sole Heir of Sir *Francis Walsingham*, then Secretary of State ; a Lady destinated to the Bed of Honour, who (after his deplorable Death at *Zutphen* in the *Netherlands*, where he was Governour of *Flushing*, and at the time of his Uncle's being there) was marry'd to my Lord of *Essex*, and since his death to my Lord of *St. Albans* ; all Persons of the Sword, and otherwise of great Honour and Vertue.

They have a very quaint and factious Figment of him ; That *Mars* and *Mercury* fell at variance, whose Servant he should be. And there is an Epigrammatist who saith, That Art and Nature had spent their Excellencies in his fashioning, and fearing they should not end what they begun, they bestow'd him on Fortune ; and Nature stood musing, and amaz'd to behold her own work. But these are the Petulancies of Poets.

Certain it is, he was a noble and matchless Gentleman ; and it may be justly said without Hyperboles of Fiction, as is was of *Cato Uticensis*, that he seem'd to be born to that only which he went about, *versatilis ingenii*, as *Plutarch* has it. But to speak more of him, were to make him less.

SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.

SIR *Francis Walsingham*, as we have said, had the honour to be Sir *Philip Sydney's* Father in Law : He was a Gentleman at first of a good House, but of a better Education, and from the University travel'd for the rest of his Learning. He was doubtless the best Linguist of his times, but knew best how to use his own Tongue, whereby he came to be employ'd in the chiefest Affairs of State. He was sent Ambassador into *France*, and staid there Leiger long, in the heat of the Civil Wars, and at the same time that *Monsieur* was here a Suiter to the Queen ; and, if I be not mistaken, he play'd the very same part there, as since *Gundamore* did here. At his return he was taken principal Secretary, and was one of the great Engines of State, and of the Times, high in the Queen's Favour, and a watchful Servant over the Safety of his Mistress.

They note him to have had certain Curiosities, and secret ways of Intelligence above the rest : but I must confess I am

to seek wherefore he suffer'd *Parry* to play so long on the Hook, before he hoised him up; and I have been a little curious in the search thereof, tho I have not to do with the *Ar- cana Imperii*.

For to know is sometimes a Burthen; and I remember, that it was *Ovid's Crimen aut Error*, that he saw too much. But I hope these are Collaterals of no danger: But that *Parry* having an intent to kill the Queen, made the way of his Access, by betraying of others, and impeaching of the Priests of his own Correspondency, and thereby had Access and Conference with the Queen, and also oftentimes familiar and private Conference with *Walsingham*, will not be the Query of the Mystery; for the Secretary might have had end of discovery on a further maturity of the Treason: but that after the Queen knew *Parry's* intent, why she should then admit him to private Discourse, and *Walsingham* to suffer it, considering the condition of all Assailings; and to permit him to go where, and whither he listed, and only on the Security of a dark Sentinel set over him, was a piece of reach and hazard, beyond my apprehension.

I must again profess, that having read many of his Letters (for they are commonly sent to my Lord of *Leicester* and *Burleigh* out of *France*) containing many fine Passages and Secrets; yet if I might have been beholden to his Cyphers (whereof they are full) they would have told pretty Tales of the Times. But I must now close up, and rank him amongst the *Togati*, yet chief of those that laid the Foundation of the *French* and *Dutch* Wars; which was another piece of his Fineness, and of the Times, with one Observation more: That he was one of the great Allays of the Austerian Embracements; for both himself, and *Stafford* that preceded him, might well have been compar'd to the Fiend in the Gospel, that sowed his Tares in the night; so did they their Seeds of Division in the dark: and it is a likely Report that they father on him, at his return, that he said to the Queen, who had some sensibility of the *Spanish* Designs on *France*: Madam, I beseech you be content not to fear, the *Spaniard* hath a great Appetite, and an excellent Digestion; but I have fitted him with a Bone for this Twenty years, that your Majesty shall have no cause to doubt him, provided that if the Fire chance to slack, which I have kindled, you will be ruled by me, and now and then cast in some *English* Fewel, which will revive the Flame.

WILLOUGHBY.

MY Lord *Willoughby* was one of the Queen's first Sword-men ; he was of the antient Extract of the *Bartues*, but more ennobled by his Mother, who was Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*.

He was a great Maſter of the Art Military, and was ſent General into *France*, and commanded the Second of five Armies, that the Queen ſent thither in Aid of the *French*. I have heard it ſpoken, that had he not ſlighted the Court, but applied himſelf to the Queen, he might have enjoy'd a plentiful Portion of her Grace ; and it was his Saying (and it did him no good) That he was none of the *Reptilia* ; intimating, that he could not creep on the ground ; and that the Court was not his Element : For indeed, as he was a great Soldier, ſo was he of a ſuitable Magnanimity, and could not brook the Obſequiouſneſs and Affiduity of the Court ; and as he then was ſomewhat deſcending from Youth, happily he had an *Animam reverendi*, and to make a ſafe Retreat.

SIR NICHOLAS BACON.

I Come to another of the *Togati*, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, an arch piece of Wit and Wiſdom ; he was a Gentleman, and a Man of Law, and of great Knowledge therein ; whereby, together with his other Parts of Learning and Dexterity, he was promoted to be Keeper of the Great Seal ; and being of Kin to the Treasuſer *Burleigh*, had alſo the help of his hand to bring him into the Queen's favour ; for he was abundantly Faſtious, which took much with the Queen, when it was ſuited with the ſeaſon, as he was well able to judg of his Times. He had a very quaint Saying, and he uſ'd it often to good purpoſe, That he lov'd the Jeſt well, but not the Loſs of his Friend : He would ſay, and that tho he knew it, *Unuſque ſue fortunæ faber*, was a true and good Principle ; yet the moſt in number were thoſe that marred themſelves : but I will never forgive that Man that loſeth himſelf, to be rid of his Jeſt.

He was Father to that refined Wit, which ſince hath acted a diſaſterous Part on the publick Stage, and of late ſate in his Father's room as Lord Chancellor. Thoſe that lived in his Age, and from whence I have taken this little Model of him, give him a lively Character, and they decipher him for another *Solon*, and the *Symon* of thoſe Times ; ſuch a one as *Oedipus*

was

was in dissolving of Riddles; doubtless he was as able an Instrument, and it was his Commendation, that his Head was the Mawl (for it was a great one) and therein he kept the Wedg, that entred the knotty pieces which came to the Table: And now I must again fall back, to smooth and plain a way to the rest that is behind, but not from the purpose.

There were, about these Times, two Rivals in the Queen's favour, old Sir *Francis Knowles*, Comptroller of the House, and Sir *Henry Norris*, whom she call'd up at a Parliament, to sit with the Peers in the higher House, as Lord *Norris* of *Rycott*, who had married the Daughter and Heir of the old Lord *Williams* of *Tame*; a noble Person, and to whom in the Queen's adversity, she had been committed to safe Custody, and from him had receiv'd more than ordinary Observances. Now such was the Goodness of the Queen's Nature, that she neither forgot the good Turns receiv'd from the Lord *Williams*, neither was she unmindful of this Lord *Norris*, whose Father, in her Father's time, and in the business of her Mother, died in a noble Cause, and in the Justification of her Innocency.

L O R D N O R R I S.

MY Lord *Norris* had by this Lady an ample Issue, which the Queen highly respected; for he had six Sons, and all Martial brave Men: The first was *William*, his eldest, and Father to the late Earl of *Barkshire*; Sir *John*, Vulgarly call'd General *Norris*; Sir *Edward*, Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Henry*, and *Maximilian*; Men of an haughty Courage, and of great Experience in the Conduct of Military Affairs: and to speak in the Character of their Merit, they were such Persons of such Reputation and Worth, as future Times must, out of Duty, owe them the debt of an honourable Memory.

K N O W L E S.

SIR *Francis Knowles* was somewhat of the Queen's Affinity, and had likewise no incompetent Issue; for he had also *William* his eldest, and since Earl of *Banbury*, Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Robert*, and Sir *Francis*, if I be not a little mistaken in their Names, and Marshalling; and there was also the Lady *Lettice*, a Sister of these, who was first Countess of *Essex*, and after of *Leicester*: and these were also brave Men in their Times and Places; but they were of the Court and Carpet, not led by the Genius of the Camp.

Be-

Between these two Families, there was (as it falleth out amongst great Ones, and Competitors for favour) no great Correspondency; and there were some Seeds, either of Emulation, or Distrust, cast between them; which had they not been disjoyn'd in the Residence of their Persons, (as it was the Fortune of their Employments) the one side attending the Court, the other the Pavillion, surely they would have broken out into some kind of Hostility, or at least they would have wrestled one in the other, like Trees, incircled with Ivy; for there was a time when (both these Fraternities being met at Court) there passed a Challenge between them at certain Exercises (the Queen and the Old Men being Spectators) which ended in a flat quarrel amongst them all: and I am perswaded (tho I ought not to judg) that there were some Relicks of this Feud, that were long after the Causes of the one Family's (almost utter) Extirpation, and of the other's Improsperity: For it was a known Truth, that so long as my Lord of *Leicester* lived, who was the main Pillar of the one side, as having married the Sister, none of the other side took any deep rooting in the Court: tho otherwise they made their ways to Honour by their Swords; and that which is of more note (considering my Lord of *Leicester's* use of Men of Arms, being shortly after sent Governour to the Revolted States, and no Soldier himself) is that, he made no more account of Sir *John Norris*, a Soldier then deservedly famous, and trained from a Page, under the Discipline of the great Captain of Christendom, the Admiral *Castillon*, and of Command in the *French* and *Dutch* Wars almost Twenty years. It is of further Observation, That my Lord of *Essex* (after *Leicester's* decease) tho initiated to Arms, and honoured by the General in the *Portugal* Expedition, whether out of Instigation (as it hath been thought) or out of Ambition and Jealousy, to be eclipsed and over-shadowed by the Fame and Splendor of this great Commander, loved him not in Sincerity. Moreover, certain it is, he not only crusht, and (upon all occasions) quell'd the Growth of this brave Man, and his famous Brethren, but therewith drew on his own fatal End, by undertaking the *Irish* Action, in a time when he left the Court empty of Friends, and full fraught with his profess'd Enemies. But I forbear to extend my self in any further Relation upon this Subject, as having left some Notes of Truth in these two noble Families, which I would present, and therewith touch'd somewhat, which I would not, if the Equity of the Narration would have admitted an intermission.

SIR JOHN PERROT.

SIR *John Perrot* was a goodly Gentleman, and of the Sword: and as he was of a very antient Descent, as an Heir to many Abstracts of Gentry, especially from *Guy de Bryan* of *Lawhern*; so was he of a vast Estate, and came not to the Court for want. And to these Adjuncts, he had the Endowments of Courage, and height of Spirit, had it lighted on the Alay of Temper, and Discretion; the Defect whereof, with a native Freedom, and boldness of Speech, drew him on to a clouded setting, and laid him open to the Spleen and Advantage of his Enemies; amongst whom Sir *Christopher Hatton* was profest. He was yet a Wise man, and a brave Courtier, but rough, and participating more of active than sedentary Motions, as being in his Constellation destinated for Arms. There is a Query of some Denotations, how he came to receive his Foil, and that in the Catastrophe; for he was strengthened with honourable Alliances, and the privy Friendships of the Court.

My Lord of *Leicester* and *Burleigh* were both his Cotemporaries and Familiars, but that there might be (as the Adage hath it) Falsity in Friendship; and we may rest satisfied, that there is no dispute against Fate.

They quote him for a Person that loved to stand too much alone, and on his own Legs, of too often Recesses, and discontinuance from the Queen's Presence; a fault which is incompatible with the ways of Court and Favour.

He was sent Lord Deputy into *Ireland*, (as it was thought) for a kind of Haughtiness of Spirit, and Repugnancy in Counsels: or, as others have thought, the fittest Person then to bridle the Insolency of the *Irish*; and probable it is, that both these (considering the sway that he would have at the Board, and Head in the Queen's) concurred, and did a little conspire his Remove, and his Ruin. But into *Ireland* he went, where he did the Queen very great and many Services, if the surplussage of the Measure did not abate the value of the Merit, as after-times found that to be no Paradox; for to save the Queen's Purse (which both her self and my Lord Treasurer *Burleigh* ever took for good Services) he imposed on the *Irish* the Charge of bearing their own Arms; which both gave them the Possession, and taught them the use of Weapons, which prov'd in the end a most fatal Work, both in the profusion of Blood and Treasure.

But at his return, and on some account sent home before touching the State of the Kingdom, the assiduous Testimonies of

of her Grace towards him; till by his Retreat to his Castle at *Cary*, where he was then building, and out of desire to be in Command at home (as he had been abroad) together with the hatred and practice of *Hatton*, then in high favour, whom not long before he had too bitterly taunted for his Dancing; he was accused of High-Treason, and for high Words, and a forged Letter, condemn'd; tho the Queen, on the news of his Condemnation, swore by her wonted Oath, That they were all Knaves. And they deliver with assurance, that on his Return to the Tower, after his Trial, he said in Oaths, and in Fury, to the Lieutenant Sir *Owen Hopton*, What, will the Queen suffer her Brother to be offer'd up as a Sacrifice to the Envy of my frisking Adversaries? Which being made known to the Queen, and the Warrant for his Execution tender'd, and somewhat enforc'd, she refus'd to sign it, and swore he should not dye, for he was an honest, and a faithful Man. And surely, tho not altogether to set up our Rest and Faith upon Tradition, and upon old Reports, as that Sir *Thomas Perrot* his Father was a Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber to *Henry* the Eighth, and in the Court married to a Lady of great Honour, of the King's familiarity, which are presumptions of some implication: But if we go a little further, and compare his Picture, his Qualities, Gesture, and Voice, with that of the King's, which Memory retains yet amongst us, they will plead strongly, that he was a subreptitious Child of the Blood-Royal.

Certain it is, that he liv'd not long in the Tower; and that after his decease, Sir *Thomas Perrot* his Son (then of no mean Esteem with the Queen) having before married my Lord of *Essex's* Sister, since Countess of *Northumberland*, had restitution of all his Lands, tho after his decease also (which immediately followed) the Crown resumed his Estate, and took advantage of the former Attainder. And to say the Truth, the Priest's forged Letter was, at his Arraignment, thought but as a Fiction of Envy, and was soon after exploded by the Priest's own confession. But that which most exasperated the Queen, and gave advantage to his Enemies, was (as Sir *Walter Raleigh* takes into his Observation) Words of Disdain; for the Queen by sharp and reprehensive Letters had nettled him, and shortly after sending others of Approbation, commending his Service, and intimating an Invasion from *Spain*; which he no sooner perus'd, but he said publicly in the great Chamber at *Dublin*: Lo, now she is ready to piss her self for fear of the *Spaniard*, I am again one of her white Boys.

Words which are subject to a various construction, and tended to some disreputation of his Sovereign, and such as may serve for Instruction to Persons in place of Honour and
Command,

Command, to beware of the Violences of Nature, but especially of the Exorbitances of the Tongue. And so I conclude him with this double Observation; the one of the Innocency of his Intentions (exempt and clear from the guilt of Treason) and Disloyalty; the other of the Greatness of his Heart; for at his Arraignment he was so little dejected, by what might be alledg'd and prov'd against him, that he rather grew troubled with Choler, and in a kind of exasperation despised his Jury, tho of the Order of Knighthood; and of the Special Gentry, claiming the Privilege of Trial by the Peers, and Baronage of the Realm. So prevalent was that of his native Genius, and the Haughtiness of his Spirit, which accompanied him to his last, and (till any diminution of Courage) it brake in pieces the Cords of his Magnanimity, for he died suddenly in the Tower; and when it was thought the Queen did intend his Inlargement, with the restitution of his Possessions, which were then very great, and comparable to most of the Nobility.

H A T T O N.

SIR *Christopher Hatton* came into the Court as his Opposite; *Sir John Perrot* was wont to say, by the Galliard, for he came thither as a private Gentleman of the Inns of Court in a Mask; and for his Activity and Person, which was tall and proportionable, taken into her favour. He was first made Vice-Chamberlain, and shortly afterward advanc'd to the Place of Lord Chancellor: A Gentleman, that besides the Graces of his Person and Dancing, had also the Adjuncts of a strong and subtil Capacity, one that could soon learn the Discipline and Garb both of the Times and Court. The Truth is, he had a large proportion of Gifts and Endowments, but too much of the season of Envy; and he was a mere Vegetable of the Court, that sprung up at Night, and sunk again at his Noon.

L O R D E F F I N G H A M.

MY Lord of *Effingham*, tho a Courtier betimes; yet I find not, that the Sunshine of her favour broke out upon him, until she took him into the Ship, and made him High Admiral of *England*. For his Extract, it may suffice that he was the Son of a *Howard*, and of a Duke of *Norfolk*.

And for his Person, as goodly a Gentleman as the Times had any, if Nature had not been more intentive to compleat his
Person,

Person, than Fortune to make him Rich; for the Times considered which were then active, and a long time after lucrative, he died not Wealthy, yet the honest Man: tho it seems the Queen's purpose was to tender the occasion of his Advancement, and to make him capable of more Honour, which at his return from *Cadiz* Action she conferred upon him, creating him Earl of *Nottingham*, to the great discontent of his Colleague, my Lord of *Essex*, who then grew accessive in the Appetite of her favour; and the Truth was, so exorbitant in the limitation of the Sovereign Aspect, that it much alienated the Queen's Grace from him, and drew others, together with the Admiral, to a Combination, and to conspire his Ruin. And tho I have heard it from that Party (I mean of the Admiral's Faction) that it lay not in his proper Power to hurt my Lord of *Essex*; yet he had more Followers, and such as were well skill'd in setting of the Gin: But I leave this to these of another Age.

It is out of doubt, that the Admiral was a good, honest, and a brave Man, and a faithful Servant to his Mistress; and such a one as the Queen, out of her own Princely Judgment, knew to be a fit Instrument for that Service: for she was no ill Proficient in the Reading of Men, as well as Books, and his sundry Expeditions, as that afore-mention'd, and 88, do both express his Worth, and manifest the Queen's Trust, and the Opinion she had of his Fidelity and Conduct.

Moreover, the *Howards* were of the Queen's Alliance and Consanguinity by her Mother, which swayed her Affection, and bent it toward this great House; and it was a part of her natural Propension to grace and support antient Nobility, where it did not intrench, neither invade her Interest: for on such Trespasses she was quick and tender, and would not spare any whatsoever, as we may observe in the Case of the Duke, and my Lord of *Hereford*, whom she much favour'd and countenanc'd, till they attempted the forbidden Fruit: the fault of the last, being in the severest Interpretation, but a Trespass of Ineroachment; but in the first it was taken for a Riot against the Crown, and her own Sovereign Power; and, as I have ever thought, the cause of her Aversion against the rest of the House, and the Duke's great Father-in-law *Fitz-Allen*, Earl of *Arundel*, a Person of the first Rank in her Affections before these and some other Jealousies made a separation between them, this noble Lord, and the Lord *Thomas Howard*, since Earl of *Suffolk*, standing alone in her Grace, the rest in Umbrage.

Sir JOHN PACKINGTON.

SIR *John Packington* was a Gentleman of no mean Family, and of Form and Feature no way despicable; for he was a brave Gentleman, and a very fine Courtier; and for the time which he staid there (which was not lasting) very high in her Grace: but he came in, and went out, and through disaffiduity drew the Curtain between himself, and the Light of her Grace; and then Death overwhelm'd the Remnant, and utterly depriv'd him of recovery. And they say of him, that had he brought less to the Court than he did, he might have carried away more than he brought, for he had a time on it, but an ill husband of opportunity.

Lord HUNSDON.

MY Lord of *Hunsdon* was of the Queen's nearest Kindred, and on the decease of *Suffex*, both he and his Son took the place of Lord Chamberlain: he was a fast Man to his Prince, and firm in his Friends and Servants; and tho he might speak big, and therein would be born out, yet was he not the more dreadful, but less harmful, and far from the practice of my Lord of *Leicester's* Instructions, for he was downright. And I have heard those that both knew him well, and had interest in him, say merrily of him, That his Latin, and his Dissimulation, were both alike; and that his custom of Swearing, and obscenity in Speaking, made him seem a worse Christian than he was, and a better Knight of the Carpet than he should be. As he lived in a ruffling-time, so he loved Sword and Buckler-men, and such as our Fathers were wont to call Men of their hands; of which sort, he had many brave Gentlemen that followed him, yet not taken for a popular and dangerous Person: and this is one that stood amongst the *Togati*, of an honest stout Heart, and such a one as (upon occasion) would have fought for his Prince, and his Country; for he had the Charge of the Queen's Person, both in the Court, and in the Camp at *Tilbury*.

RAWLEIGH.

SIR *Walter Rawleigh* was one that (it seems) Fortune had pickt out of purpose, of whom to make an Example, or to use as her Tennis-Ball, thereby to shew what she could do, for she tois'd him up of nothing, and to and fro to Greatness; and from thence down to little more, than to that wherein she found him (a bare Gentleman) not that he was less, for he was well descended, and of good Alliance, but poor in his beginnings. And for my Lord of *Oxford's* Jest of him (the Jack, and an Upstart) we all know, it favours more of Emulation, and his Humor, than of Truth; and it is a certain Note of the Times, that the Queen in her choice never took into her favour a mere new Man, or a Mechanick, as *Comines* observes of *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, who did serve himself with Persons of unknown Parents, such as was *Oliver* the Barber, whom he created Earl of *Dunoyes*, and made him *Ex secretis Consiliis*, and alone in his favour and familiarity. His Approaches to the University, and Inns of Court, were the Grounds of his Improvement; but they were rather Excursions, than Sieges, or Settings down, for he staid not long in a Place; and being the youngest Brother, and the House diminish'd in Patrimony, he foresaw his own destiny, that he was first to rowl (through want and disability to subsist otherways) before he could come to a repose, and as the Stone doth, by long lying, gather Moss: He first expos'd himself to the Land-service of *Ireland*, (a *Militia*) which then did not yield him Food and Rayment, (for it was ever very poor) nor had he patience to stay there, (tho shortly after he came thither again) under the Command of my Lord *Grey*, but with his own Colours flying in the Field, having in the interim cast a new Chance, both in the Low-Countries, and in a Voyage to Sea; and if ever Man drew Vertue out of Necessity, it was he; therewith was he the great Example of Industry. And tho he might then have taken that of the Merchant to himself, *Per mare, per terras, currit mercator ad Indos*; he might also have said, and truly with the Philosopher, *Omnia mea mecum porto*: For it was a long time before he could brag of more than he carried at his Back; and when he got on the winning-side, it was his Commendation that he took pains for it, and underwent many various Adventures for his After-perfection, and before he came into the publick Note of the World. And that it may appear how he came up (*per ardua*) *per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum*, not pulled up by Chance, or by any gentle admittance of Fortune,

I will briefly describe his native Parts; and those of his own acquiring, which were the hopes of his rising.

He had in the outward Man, a good Presence, in a handsome and well-compacted Person; a strong natural Wit, and a better Judgment, with a bold and plausible Tongue, whereby he could set out his Parts to the best advantage: and to these he had the Adjuncts of some general Learning, which by diligence he enforc'd to a great Augmentation and Perfection; for he was an indefatigable Reader, whether by Sea or Land, and none of the least Observers both of Men, and the Times: and I am confident, that among the second Causes of his Growth, that Variance between him and my Lord Grey, in his Descent into *Ireland*, was a Principal; for it drew them both over to the Council-Table, there to plead their Cause, where (what advantage he had in the Cause, I know not, but) he had much the better in the telling of his Tale; and so much, that the Queen and the Lords took no slight Mark of the Man, and his Parts: for from thence he came to be known, and to have access to the Queen, and the Lords. And then we are not to doubt how such a Man would comply, and learn the way of Progression; and whether or no my Lord of *Leicester* had then cast in a good word for him to the Queen, which would have done no harm, I do not determine: But true it is, he had gotten the Queen's Ear at a trice, and she began to be taken with his Elocution, and loved to hear his Reasons to her Demands; and the Truth is, she took him for a kind of Oracle, which nettled them all: yea, those that he relied on, began to take this his sudden Favour for an Alarm, and to be sensible of their own supplantation, and to project his, which made him shortly after sing, *Fortune my Foe, &c.* So that finding his Favour declining, and falling into a Recess, he undertook a new Peregrination, to leave that *Terra infirma* of the Court for that of the Wars, and by declining himself, and by absence to expel his and the Passion of his Enemies: which, in Court, was a strange device of recovery, but that he knew there was some ill Office done him, that he durst not attempt to mind any other ways than by going aside, thereby to teach Envy a new way of Forgetfulness, and not so much as to think of him, howsoever he had it always in mind never to forget himself. And his device took so well, that at his return he came in (as Rams do, by going backward) with the greater strength, and so continued to her last, great in her Grace, and Captain of the Guard, where I must leave him; but with this Observation, That tho he gained much at the Court, yet he took it not out of the Exchequer, or merely out of the Queen's Purse, but by his Wit, and the
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help of the Prerogative; for the Queen was never profuse in the delivering out of her Treasure, but paid many, and most of her Servants part in Mony, and the rest with Grace; which, as the Case stood, was taken for good Payment, leaving the Arrear of Recompence due to their Merit, to her great Successor, who paid them all with Advantage.

G R E V I L L.

SIR *Fulk Grevill*, since Lord *Brook*, had no mean Place in her Favour; neither did he hold it for any short Term: For if I be not deceiv'd, he had the longest Lease, and the smoothest Time, without Rub of any of her Favourites. He came to the Court in his Youth and Prime, or that is the time or never; he was a brave Gentleman, and honourably descended from *Willoughby Lord Brook*, and Admiral to *Henry the Seventh*; neither illiterate, for he was, as he would often profess, a Friend to *Sir Philip Sydney*; and there are of his, now extant, some Fragments of his Poems, and of those Times, which do interest him in the Muses, and which shew, the Queen's Election had ever a noble Conduct; and it motions more of Vertue and Judgment, than of Fancy. I find that he neither sought for, or obtain'd any great Place or Preferment in Court, during all the time of his Attendance; neither did he need it, for he came thither backt with a plentiful Fortune, which, as himself was wont to say, was the better held together by a single Life; wherein he liv'd and dy'd a constant Courtier of the Ladies.

E S S E X.

MY Lord of *Essex* (as *Sir Henry Wotton*, a Gentleman of great Parts, and partly of his Times and Retinue, observes) had his Introduction by my Lord of *Leicester*, who had married his Mother; a Tye of Affinity, which, besides a more urgent Obligation, might have invited his Care to advance him, his Fortune being then (and through his Father's infelicity) grown low: but that the Son of a Lord *Ferrers of Charley*, Viscount *Hertford*, and Earl of *Essex* (who was of the antient Nobility) and formerly in the Queen's good Grace, could not have a Room in her Favour, without the Assistance of *Leicester*, was beyond the Rule of her Nature; which, as I have elsewhere taken into Observation, was ever inclinable to favour the Nobility. Sure it is, that he no sooner appear'd in Court,

but he took with the Queen and Courtiers; and I believe they all could not chuse but look thro the Sacrifice of the Father on his living Son, whose Image, by the remembrance of former Passages, was afresh (like the bleeding of men murder'd) represented to the Court, and offer'd up as a Subject of Compassion to all the Kingdom. There was in this young Lord, together with a most goodly Person, a kind of Urbanity or innate Curtesy, which both won the Queen, and too much took upon the People, to gaze upon the new adopted Son of her Favour. And as I go along, it were not amiss to take into observation two notable Quotations: The first was a violent Indulgency of the Queen (which is incident to old Age, where it encounters with a pleasing and sutable Object) towards this Lord; all which argu'd a Non-perpetuity: The second was a Fault in the Object of her Grace, my Lord himself, who drew in too fast, like a Child sucking an over-uberous Nurse. And had there been a more decent Decorum observ'd in both, or either of those, without doubt the Unity of their Affections had been more permanent, and not so in and out as they were, like an Instrument ill-tun'd, and lapsing to Discord:

The greater Error of the two (tho unwillingly) I am constrain'd to impose on my Lord of *Essex*, or rather on his Youth; and none of the least of his Blame, on those that stood Centinels about him, who might have advis'd him better; but that like men intoxicated with hopes, they likewise had suckt in with the most, and of their Lord's receipt, and so like *Cesar* would have all or none: a Rule quite contrary to Nature, and the most indulgent Parents, who tho they may express more Affection to one in the abundance of Bequests, yet cannot forget some Legacys, just Distributives, and Dividends to others of their begetting. And how hateful Partiality proves, every day's Experience tells us; out of which, common Consideration might have fram'd to their hands a Maxim of more discretion for the Conduct and Management of their now graced Lord and Master.

But to omit that of Infusion, and to do right to Truth, my Lord of *Essex* (even of those that truly lov'd and honour'd him) was noted for too bold an Ingrosser both of Fame and Favour; and of this, without offence to the Living, or treading on the sacred Urn of the Dead, I shall present a Truth, and a Passage yet in memory.

My Lord *Mountjoy*, who was another Child of her Favour, being newly come to Court, and then but Sir *Charles Blunt* (for my Lord *William*, his elder Brother, was then living) had the good fortune one day to run very well a Tilt, and the Queen

therewith was so well pleas'd, that she sent him, in token of her Favour, a Queen at *Chesse* of Gold richly enamel'd, which his Servants had the next day fasten'd on his Arm with a Crimfon Ribband ; which my Lord of *Essex*, as he pass'd thro the Privy Chamber, espying, with his Cloke cast under his Arm, the better to commend it to the view, inquir'd what it was, and for what cause there fix'd. Sir *Fulk Grevill* told him, That it was the Queen's Favour, which the day before, and after the Tilting, she had sent him. Whereat my Lord of *Essex*, in a kind of Emulation, and as tho he would have limited her Favour, said, *Now I perceive every Fool must have a Favour*. This bitter and publick Affront came to Sir *Charles Blunt's* Ear, who sent him a Challenge, which was accepted by my Lord ; and they met near *Maribone-Park*, where my Lord was hurt in the Thigh, and disarm'd. The Queen missing the Men, was very curious to learn the Truth ; and when at last it was whisper'd out, she swore by God's Death it was fit that some one or other should take him down, and teach him better manners, otherwise there would be no Rule with him. And here I note the Inition of my Lord's Friendship with *Mountjoy*, which the Queen her self did then conjure.

Now for Fame we need not go far : for my Lord of *Essex* having born a grudg to General *Norris*, who had unwittingly offer'd to undertake the Action of *Britany* with fewer men than my Lord had before demanded ; on his return with Victory, and a glorious Report of his Valour, he was then thought the only man for the *Irish* War : wherein my Lord of *Essex* so wrought, by despising the number and quality of Rebels, that *Norris* was sent over with a scant'd Force, join'd with the Relicks of the veteran Troops of *Britany*, of set purpose (as it fell out) to ruin *Norris* ; and the Lord *Burrows*, by my Lord's procurement, sent at his heels, and to command in chief, and to confine *Norris* only to his Government at *Munster* : which brake the great Heart of the General, to see himself undervalu'd and undermin'd by my Lord and *Burrows* ; which was, as the Proverb speaks it, *Imberbes docere Senes*.

My Lord *Burrows* in the beginning of his Persecution dy'd ; whereupon the Queen was fully bent to have sent over *Mountjoy*, which my Lord *Essex* utterly dislik'd, and oppos'd with many Reasons, and by Arguments of Contempt against *Mountjoy*, his then profess'd Friend and Familiar ; so predominant were his Words, to reap the Honour of closing up that War, and all other.

Now the way being open'd and plain'd by his own Workmanship, and so handled that none durst appear to stand for the place ; at last with much adq he obtain'd his own ends, and

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withal his fatal Destruction, leaving the Queen and the Court (where he stood firm and impregnable in her Grace) to men that long had sought and watcht their times to give him the trip, and could never find any opportunity, but this of his Absence, and of his own creation. And these are the true Observations of his Appetite and Inclinations, which were not of any true proportion, but carry'd and transported with an Over-desire and Thirstiness after Fame, that deceitful Fame of Popularity, and to help on his Catastrophe. I observe likewise two sorts of People that had a hand in his Fall; the first was the Soldiery, which all flockt unto him, as foretelling a Mortality, and are commonly of blunt and too rough Counsels, and many times dissonant from the tune of the Court and the State: the other sort were of his Family, his Servants, and his own Creatures; such as were bound by the Rules of Safety, and Obligations of Fidelity, to have look'd better to the steering of that Boat wherein they themselves were carry'd, and not have suffer'd it to float and run on ground, with those empty Sails of Fame and Tumor of popular Applause. Methinks one honest man or other, that had but the Office of brushing his Clothes, might have whisper'd in his ear: *My Lord, look to it, this Multitude that follows you, will either devour you, or undo you; strive not to rule, and over-rule all, for it will cost hot water, and it will procure Envy: and if needs your Genius must have it so, let the Court, and the Queen's Presence be your Station.* But, as I have said, they had suckt too much of their Lord's milk, and instead of withdrawing, they blew the Coals of his Ambition, and infus'd into him too much of the Spirit of Glory; yea, and mix'd the Goodness of his Nature with a Touch of Revenge, which is ever accompany'd with a Destiny of the same fate. And of this number there were some of insufferable Natures about him, that towards his last gave desperate Advice, such as his Integrity abhor'd, and his Fidelity forbad; amongst whom Sir *Henry Wotton* notes (without injury) his Secretary *Cusse*, a vile man, and of a perverse nature. I could also name others, who when he was in the right course of Recovery, and settling to Moderation, would not suffer a recess in him, but stir'd up the Dregs of those rude Humours, which by time and his affliction, out of his own judgment, he sought to repose, or to give them all a vomit. And thus I conclude this noble Lord, as a mixture between Prosperity and Adversity; once the Child of his great Mistriss's Favour, but the Son of *Bellona*.

BUCKHURST.

MY Lord of *Buckhurst* was of the Noble House of the *Sackvills*, and of the Queen's Consanguinity. His Father was Sir *Richard Sackvill*, or, as the People then call'd him, *Fill-Sack*, by reason of his great Wealth, and the vast Patrimony which he left to this his Son; whereof he spent in his Youth the best part, until the Queen by her frequent Admonitions diverted the Torrent of his Profusion. He was a very fine Gentleman of Person, and Endowments both of Art and Nature, both without measure magnificent, till on the turn of his Humour, and the Allay that his Years and good Counsels had wrought upon those immoderate Courses of his Youth, and that height of Spirit inherent to his House: And then did the Queen, as a most judicious and indulgent Prince, when she saw the man grow stay'd and settled, give him her Assistance, and advanc'd him to the *Treasureship*; where he made amends to his House for his mispent time, both in the Increasement of Estate and Honour, which the Queen confer'd on him, together with the opportunity to remake himself, and thereby to shew that this was a Child, that should have a share in her Grace, and a taste of her Bounty.

They much commend his Elocution, but more the Excellency of his Pen; for he was a Scholar, and a Person of a quick Dispatch (Faculties that yet run in the Blood) and they say of him, that his Secretaries did little for him, by way of Indictment, wherein they could seldom please him, he was so facete and choice in his Phrase and Stile; and for his Dispatches, and the content he gave to Suiters, he had a Decorum seldom since put in practice: for he had of his Attendants that took into Roll the Names of all Suiters, with the date of their first Addresses, and these in their order had hearing; so that a fresh man could not leap over his head, that was of a more antient edition, except in the urgent Affairs of State. I find not that he was any ways insnar'd in the Factions of the Court, which were all his times strong, and in every man's note; the *Howards* and the *Cecills* of the one part, my Lord of *Essex*, &c. on the other part: for he hold the Staff of the Treasury fast in his hand, which once in the year made them all beholden to him. And the truth is (as he was a wise man and a stout) he had no reason to be a Partaker; for he stood sure in Blood, and in Grace, and was wholly intentive to the Queen's Service. And such were his Abilities, that she receiv'd assiduous Proofs of his

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Sufficiency; and it hath been thought, that she might have more cunning Instruments, but none of a more strong Judgment and Confidence in his ways; which are Symptoms of Magnanimity and Fidelity, whereunto methinks this Motto hath some kind of reference, *Aut nunquam tentes, aut perice*: As tho he would have character'd in a word the Genius of his House, or express'd somewhat of an higher Inclination, than lay within his compass. That he was a Courtier, is apparent; for he stood always in her eye and favour.

Lord MOUNTJOY.

MY Lord *Mountjoy* was of the antient Nobility, but utterly deceiv'd in the Support thereof, Patrimony, thro his Grandfather's Excess in the Action of *Bullen*, his Father's Vanity in the search of the Philosopher's Stone, and his Brother's untimely Prodigalities; all which seem'd by a joint Conspiracy to ruin the House, and altogether to annihilate it. As he came from *Oxford*, he took the Inner Temple in his way to Court; whither no sooner came, but (without asking) he had a pretty strange kind of Admission, which I have heard from a discreet man, of his own, and much more of the Secrets of those Times. He was then much about twenty years of age, of a brown Hair, a sweet Face, a most neat Composure, and tall in his person. The Queen was then at *Whitehall*, and at dinner, whither he came to see the fashion of the Court. The Queen had soon found him out, and with a kind of an affected Frown, ask'd the Lady Carver what he was. She answer'd, she knew him not. Inſomuch as an Inquiry was made from one to another, who he might be; till at length it was told the Queen, he was Brother to the Lord *William Mountjoy*. This Inquisition, with the Eye of Majesty fix'd upon him (as she was wont to do, and to daunt men she knew not) stir'd the Blood of this young Gentleman, inſomuch as his Colour came and went: Which the Queen observing, call'd him unto her, and gave him her Hand to kiss, encouraging him with gracious Words, and new Looks; and so diverting her Speech to the Lords and Ladies, she said, That she no sooner observ'd him, but that she knew there was in him some noble Blood; with some other Expressions of Pity towards his House. And then again demanding his Name, she said, *Fail you not to come to the Court, and I will betink myself how to do you good.* And this was his Inlet, and the Beginnings of his Grace; where it falls into consideration, that tho he wanted not Wit and Courage, for he had very fine At-

tractions, and being a good piece of a Scholar, yet were they accompany'd with the Retractivess of Bashfulness, and a natural Modesty, which (as the Tone of his House, and the Ebb of his Fortune then stood) might have hinder'd his Progression, had they not been reinforc'd by the Infusion of Sovereign Favour, and the Queen's gracious Invitation. And that it may appear how low he was, and how much that heretick Necessity will work in the Dejection of good Spirits, I can deliver it with assurance, that his Exhibition was very scant until his Brother dy'd, which was shortly after his Admission to the Court ; and then was it no more than a thousand Marks *per ann.* wherewith he liv'd plentifully in a fine way and garb, and without any great Sustainment, during all her times. And as there was in his nature a kind of Backwardness, which did not befriend him, nor suit with the Motion of the Court ; so there was in him an Inclination to Arms, with a humour of travelling, and gadding abroad ; which had not some wise Men about him labour'd to remove, and the Queen her self laid in her Commands, he would (out of his natural Propension) have marr'd his own market. For as he was grown by reading (whereunto he was much addicted) to the Theory of a Soldier, so was he strongly invited by his Genius to the Acquaintance of the Practice of the War, which were the causes of his Excursions. For he had a Company in the *Low Countries*, from whence he came over with a noble Acceptance of the Queen, but somewhat restless ; and in honourable Thought he expos'd himself again and again, and would press the Queen with the Pretences of visiting his Company so often, that at length he had a flat Denial ; yet he stole over with Sir *John Norris* into the Action of *Britany* (which was then a hot and active War) whom he would always call his Father, honouring him above all men, and ever bewailing his end ; so contrary he was in his Esteem and Valuation of this great Commander, to that of his Friend, my Lord of *Essex* : till at last the Queen began to take his Decessions for Contempts, and confin'd his Residence to the Court, and her own Presence. And upon my Lord of *Essex's* Fall (so confident she was in her own Princely Judgment, and Opinion she had conceiv'd of his Worth and Conduct) she would have this noble Gentleman, and none other, to finish and bring the *Irish* War to a propitious end : for it was a Prophetical Speech of her own, That it would be his Fortune and his Honour to cut the Thred of that fatal Rebellion, and to bring her in Peace to the Grave. Where she was not deceiv'd ; for he atchieved it, but with much pains and carefulness, and not without the Fears and many Jealousies of the Court and

Times, wherewith the Queen's Age, and the Malignity of her setting Times were replete. And so I come to his dear Friend in Court, Mr. Secretary *Cecill*, whom in his long Absence from Court he ador'd as his Saint, and courted for his only *Mæcenar*, both before and after his Departure from Court, and during all the times of his Command in *Ireland*; well knowing that it lay in his power, and by a word of his mouth, to make or mar him.

C E C I L L.

SIR *Robert Cecill*, since Earl of *Salisbury*, was the Son of the Lord *Burleigh*, and the Inheritor of his Wisdom, and by degrees Successor of his Places and Favours, tho not of his Lands; for he had Sir *Thomas Cecill* his elder Brother, since created Earl of *Exeter*. He was first Secretary of State, then Master of the Wards, and in the last of her Reign came to be Lord Treasurer: all which were the Steps of his Father's Greatness, and of the Honour he left to his House. For his Person he was not much beholden to Nature, tho somewhat for his Face, which was the best; part of his Outside; but for his Inside, it may be said, and that without a Solœcism, that he was his Father's own Son, and a pregnant Proficient in all Discipline of State. He was a Courtier from his Cradle, which might have made him betimes; yet at the Age of Twenty and upwards he was much short of his After-proof, but exposed; and by change of Climate he soon made show what he was, and would be. He lived in those times wherein the Queen had most need and use of Men of weight; and amongst able ones, this was a Chief, as having his Sufficiency from his Instructions that begat him, the Tutorship of the Times and Court, which were then the Academies of Art and Cunning. For such was the Queen's condition from the tenth or twelfth of her Reign, that she had the Happiness to stand up (whereof there is a former Intimation) tho environ'd with more Enemies, and assaulted with more dangerous Practices, than any Prince of her Times, and of many Ages before. Neither must we in this her Preservation attribute too much to human Policy, for that God in his omnipotent Providence had not only ordain'd those secondary means, as Instruments of the Work; but by an evident Manifestation, that the same Work which she acted, was a well-pleasing Service of his own, out of a peculiar Care had decreed the Protection of the Work-Mistriss, and thereunto added his abundant Blessing upon all, and whatsoever she undertook. Which is an Observation of Satisfaction to my self, that she was in
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the right, tho' to others now breathing under the same Form and Frame of her Government, it may not seem an Animadversion of any worth; but I leave them to the peril of their own Folly. And so again to this great Master of State, and the Staff of the Queen's declining Age; who tho' his little crooked Person could not promise any great Supportation, yet it carry'd thereon a Head, and a Headpiece of a vast content. And therein it seems Nature was so diligent to compleat one, and the best part about him, as that to the Perfection of his Memory and Intellectuals, she took care also of his Senses, and to put into him *Linceos oculos*, or to pleasure him the more, borrow'd of *Argus* so to give unto him a prospective sight; and for the rest of his sensitive Vertues, his Predecessor *Walsingham* had left him a Receipt, to smell out what was done in the Conclave. And his good old Father was so well seen in the Mathematicks, as that he could tell you throughout all *Spain*, every Part, every Ship, with their Burdens, whither bound with Preparation, what Impediments for Diversion of Enterprises, Counsels, and Resolutions. And that we may see, as in a little Map, how docible this little man was, I will present a taste of his Abilities.

My Lord of *Devonshire*, upon the certainty the *Spaniard* would invade *Ireland* with a strong Army, had written very earnestly to the Queen and the Council, for such Supplies to be timely sent over, that might enable him to march up to the *Spaniard*, if he did land, and follow on his Prosecution against the Rebels. Sir *Robert Cecill*, besides the general Dispatch of the Council, as he often did, wrote this in private; for these two began then to love dearly.

My Lord,

OUT of the abundance of my Affection, and the Care I have of your well-doing, I must in private put you out of doubt (for I fear, I know you cannot be otherwise sensible than in the way of Honour) that the *Spaniard* will not come unto you this year; for I have it from my own, what Preparations are in all his parts, and what he can do: for be confident, he beareth up a Reputation by seeming to embrace more than he can gripe. But the next year be assured he will cast over unto you some forlorn Hopes, which how they may be reinforced beyond his present Ability, and his first Intention, I cannot as yet make any certain Judgment. But I believe out of my Intelligence that you may expect their landing in *Munster*; and the more to distract you, in several places, as at *Kingsale*, *Beerhaven*, *Baltimore* where you may be sure (coming from sea) they will first fortify, and learn the strength of the Rebels, before they dare take the field. How soever (as I know) you will not lessen your Care, neither your Defences

fences; and whatsoever lies within my power, to do You and the Publick Service, rest thereof assured.

And to this I would add much more, but it may as it is suffice to present much, as his Abilities in the Pen, that he was his Crafts-master in foreign Intelligence; and for domestick Affairs, as he was one of those that sat at the Stern to the last of the Queen, so was he none of the least in Skill, and in the true use of the Compass. And so I shall only vindicate the Scandal of his Death, and conclude him; for he departed at *St. Margarets* near *Marlborough*, in his return from the *Bath*, as my Lord Viscount *Cranborne*, my Lord *Clifford* his Son, and Son in Law, my self, and many more can witness: but that the day before he founded in the way, was taken out of the Litter, and laid into his Coach, was a Truth, out of which that Falshood concerning the manner of his Death had its derivation, tho nothing to the purpose, or to the prejudice of his Worth.

V E R E.

S I R *Francis Vere* was of the antient and the most noble Extract of the Earls of *Oxford*; and it may be a question, whether the Nobility of his House, or the Honour of his Atchievements, might most commend him; but that we have an authentick Rule to decide the Doubt:

*Nam genus & proavos, & quæ non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco.*

For tho he were an honourable Slip of that antient Tree of Nobility (which was no disadvantage to his Vertue) yet he brought more Glory to the Name of *Vere*, than he took of Blood from the Family. He was amongst the Queen's Sword-men inferior to none, but superior to many; of whom it may be said, To speak much of him were the way to leave out something that might add to his Praise, and to forget more that could add to his Honour. I find not, that he came much to the Court, for he lived almost perpetually in the Camp; but when he did, no man had more of the Queen's Favour, and none less envy'd, for he seldom troubled it with the Jealousy and Alarms of Supplantation: his way was another sort of undermining. They report that the Queen, as she loved Martial Men, would court this Gentleman, as soon as he appear'd in her presence; and surely he was a Soldier of great worth, and commanded thirty years in the Service of
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the States, and twenty years over the *English* in chief, as the Queen's General : And he that had seen the Bat-tel of *Newport*, might there best have taken him, and his Noble Brother my Lord of *Tilbury*, to the life.

W O R C E S T E R .

MY Lord of *Worcester* I have here put last, but not least in the Queen's Favour. He was of the antient and noble Blood of the *Beauforts*, and of her Grandfather's Line by the Mother, which the Queen could never forget, especially where there was a concurrency of old Blood with Fidelity, a Mixture which ever sorted with the Queen's Nature. And tho there might appear something in this House which might avert her Grace (tho not to speak of my Lord himself, but with due Reverence and Honour) I mean Contrariety or Suspicion of Religion, yet the Queen ever respected this House, and principally this Noble Lord, whom she first made Master of the Horse, and then admitted of her Council of State. In his Youth (part whereof he spent before he came to reside at Court) he was a very fine Gentleman, and the best Horseman and Tilter of the Times, which were then the manlike and noble Recreations of the Court, and such as took up the Applause of Men, as well as the Praise and Commendation of the Ladies. And when years had abated these Exercises of Honour, he grew then to be a faithful and profound Counsellor ; and as I have plac'd him last, so was he the last Liver of all the Servants of her Favour, and had the Honour to see his renown'd Mistress, and all of them laid in the places of their rest ; and for himself, after a Life of a very noble and remarkable Reputation, he dy'd rich, and in a peaceable old Age : A Fate (that I make the last, and none of the slightest Observations) which besel not many of the rest ; for they expir'd like unto Lights blown out, with the Snuff stinking, not commendably extinguish'd, and with offence to the Standers by.

And thus have I deliver'd up this my poor Essay ; a little Draught of this great Princess, and her Times, with the Servants of her State and Favour. I cannot say, I have finish'd it ; for I know how defective and imperfect it is, as limbed only in the original Nature, not without the active Blemishes, and so left it as a Task fitter for remote times, and the Sallies of some bolder Pencil to correct that which is amiss, and draw the rest up to the life, as for me to have endeavour'd it.

I took it to consideration how easily I might have dash'd in too much of the strain of Pollution, and thereby have defac'd that little which is done: For I profess I have taken care so to master my Pen, that I might not (*ex animo*, or of set purpose) discolour Truth, or any of the parts thereof, otherwise than in concealment. Haply there are some who will not approve of this Modesty, but will censure me for Puffanimity, and with great cunning Artists attempt to draw their Line further out at large, and upon this of mine, which may with somewhat more ease be effected, for that the Frame is ready made to their hands; and then haply I could draw one in the midst of theirs, but that Modesty in me forbids the Defacements of men departed, whose Posterity yet remaining, enjoys the Merit of their Virtues, and do still live in their Honour. And I had rather incur the Censure of Abruption, than to be conscious, and taken in the manner of sinning by eruption, and of trampling on the Graves of Persons at rest, which living we durst not look in the face, nor make our Addresses to them, otherwise than with due Regards to their Honours, and Renown to their Vertues.

Phenix VIII.

JOHN KEYMOR'S *Observation*
made upon the Dutch Fishing,
about the Year 1601.

Demonstrating that there is more Wealth rais'd
out of Herrings and other Fish in his Ma-
jesty's Seas, by the Neighbouring Nations, in
one Year, than the King of Spain hath from
the Indies in four :

'And that there were Twenty Thousand Ships and
other Vessels, and about Four Hundred Thousand
People then set on work both by Sea and Land;
and maintain'd only by Fishing upon the Coasts of
England, Scotland, and Ireland.

B E I N G desirous to look into the World, to get know-
 ledg for my Country's good, I travel'd France, Germany
 and divers other places and Free States. I found in
 Lubeck 700 great Ships, in Hamborough about 600 : Embden lately
 a Fisher-Town, within the memory of Man not known to
 have 60 Ships, hath 1400, almost as many as belongs to a
 England

England. *Holland*, not so big as one of your Majesty's Shires, eighteen *Dutch* miles long, and five broad, hath about it 30 walled Towns, 400 Villages, and 20000 Sail of Ships and Hoys; which is more than *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, *Scotland*, *Denmark*, *Poland*, *Sweden*, and *Russia* have, all put together: and builds every year 1000 new Ships, having in their Soil neither Matter to build them, nor Merchandizes to set them forth. Standing in admiration how this might be, I trac'd the Countries twice over from Town to Town, and from thence along his Majesty's Sea-Coast of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; where I found not only an *Indian* Fleet of 40 or 50 Sail, with 5 or 6000 People yearly employ'd in this your Fishing, one of the greatest Sea-buinesses of the World; but at the least 20000 Sail, and above 400000 Persons of all Nations set on work in his Majesty's Seas, about taking those innumerable Riches of Herrings and other Fish, which offer themselves to his Majesty's Kingdoms above all Nations.

The *Hollanders* have above 4100 fishing Ships and Vessels; whereof 100 Dogger-boats, 700 Pinks and Well-boats, 700 Strand-boats, 400 Evers, and 400 Galliots, Drivers, and Tod-boats, and 1200 Busses. Since I solicited this, to have 200 Busses built for *England*, the *Hollanders* have made 800 new Busses more; in all belonging to *Holland* 4100 Busses, and other fishing Ships.

The 1500 Strand-boats, Evers, Galliots, Drivers, and Tod-boats fish upon their own Coasts; and every of them sets on work one other Vessel to fetch Salt and transport Fish into other Countries: so are there 3000 Vessels, and 40000 Persons employ'd and maintain'd by fishing upon their own Coasts.

The 700 Pinks and Well-boats from 60 to 100 Tuns a-piece, Dogger-boats of about 150 Tuns a-piece, do fish altogether upon the Coasts of *England* and *Scotland* for Coal and Ling only; and every of these do set on work one other Vessel, to fetch Salt and transport Fish into other Countries, after they are brought into their own Countries, out of his Majesty's Seas.

The 2000 Busses from 60 to 100 and 200 Tuns a-piece, are employ'd only to take Herrings about *Baughamness* in *Scotland*, and along the Coasts of *England* to the *Thames* mouth, from *June* to *November* 26 weeks; and one of their great Busses do take 8, 12, or 20 Last of Herrings at a Draught in one night, and carries into their own Country 40, 50, or 100 Last in a Bus. And our Fishing continueth but seven weeks with small Crayets and Cobles, from 5 to 10, 20 Tuns, when the Herrings come home to our own Road stead, and we take 1, 2, or 3 Lasts in a night; and when we bring home seven, it is a great wonder.

Besides

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Besides the number taken by their 2000 Busses, the *Hollanders* have above 400 other Vesses, call'd Gaynes and Evers, which do take Herrings at *Yarmouth*, and there sell them, and carry away ready mony ; they have yet 500 other Ships usualy trading every year to *London* with Cod and Ling taken in his Majesty's Seas, as also other parts of *England*, and here sell them, and carry away most fine Gold, which is made into base Gold beyond Seas ; a great hurt to the Wealth and Strength of our Land, and hinderance to Navigation and Mariners, and Employment of the Poor of this Nation.

The *Hollanders* have made a Law in their own Country, that we shall sell no White Herrings nor other Fish there (upon penalty of Confiscation) because they will have no other Nation to serve their Country with Fish, but what they take themselves ; as well for the Increase as Maintenance of Navigation, and setting their People on work. *Hamborough* likewise hath made an Order that we shall sell no Herrings there, before their Busses be come from fishing, and have sold all theirs. Thus they take Herrings in his Majesty's Seas, make Laws to cross and hinder us in our own Sales, for the enriching and strenghtning themselves, and the increasing their Ships and Mariners.

The *Hollanders* do take in the time of 26 weeks with 2000 Busses, about 300000 Lasts (12 Barrels to the Last) which are sold to the Merchants at 10 or 12 *l.* the Last, the Fisherman's price, which amounteth to three Millions and 600000 *l.* The Merchants transport and sell them into *Pomerland, Spruceland, Poland, Denmark, Liefland, Russia, Sweden, Germany, Brabant, Flanders, France, Lukeland*, some into *England*, and other parts ; and so sell them from 16, to 18, 20, 30, and 36 *l.* the Last, and more, which I cannot esteem to be sold for less than five millions of pounds. All this Benefit they make yearly of Herrings taken out of his Majesty's Seas.

Besides the Busses of *France, Hamborough, and Embden*, the *Hollanders* with their 2000 Busses do get the start of us for the Herring-fishing nineteen weeks, and every Bus doth take her self twice or thrice full ; and they do serve near twenty Kingdoms, Dukedoms, and Free States in the East and North-East Regions, before our great Fishing begins at *Yarmouth*. And before our Fishing be ended, the *Sound* and the Rivers that way are frozen, so we cannot pass, nor vent into those places.

For Cod and Ling they send forth about 1000 Sail from 50 to 100 Tun a-piece, every Ship making four or five, and some six Voyages in a year, where our small Crayets seldom make two Voyages. Which huge quantity of Fish and Herrings taken in his Majesty's Seas, they carry into their own Country,

and

and afterwards by their own Shipping transport them into foreign Kingdoms, so much to their exceeding advantage, that in short time they will be able to eat all our Shipping out at Sea, as may be conjectur'd by their former Increase in so few years.

Besides the principal Adventurers, I noted that thousands of Men, their Sons, Daughters, and Maid-servants, which take 40 s. or 3 l. wages in a year, some of them have 5 l. 10 l. and 20 l. Adventure, and more, in the Buffes; whereby they grow to great Wealth before they come to be married; besides the Men-Servants.

The Return of Merchandize, Wares, and Coin, for Herrings and other Fish (out of other Countries) is so great, that it maketh the Bank for Coin, and Staple for all kind of Merchandize in *Holland*, where nothing groweth but a few Hops, Mader, and Cheese; so they make the Commodities of other Kingdoms serve their turns, to set their Ships and People on work, wherewith they enrich and strengthen themselves, to the admiration of all Nations. The States of *Holland* receive more Duties and Customs for Lafts of Herrings, Fish, and other Profits inwards and outwards in one year, than all the Customs of *England* come unto in two years. There was paid above 300000 l. fourteen years past, besides the Custom of all other Merchandize, for Excises, Licences, Wastage, and Lastage.

It is most evidently true, that his Majesty's Seas are far richer than the King of *Spain's Indies*; and there is more made of Fish taken by the *French, Biscainers, Portuguese, Spaniards, Hollanders, Hamburgers, Bremers, Embdeners, Scottish, Irish, and English*, in one year, than the King of *Spain* hath in four years out of the *Indies*. For there are about 20000 Ships and Vessels, and above 400000 Persons set on work, and maintain'd only by the Fishing upon the Coasts of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*; such an excellent Jewel have neighbouring Princes and States upon his Majesty's Seas.

There were in *Holland* 126000 Mariners twenty years past, since which time their Shipping and Mariners are mightily increased; every Town is grown as great again as they were before the Wars, and beautify'd with an infinite number of sumptuous Buildings, enrich'd with all kind of Merchandizes and Coin; and where they had but one Haven in a Town before the Wars, they have now two or three, and yet not able to hold their Ships, if they were all at home at one time. And they employ'd daily much of their studies to open the Gap of Traffick, and to make fulness of Trade, because it maketh a rich Commonwealth; and they spare for no Cost, nor deny
any

any Privileges that may advance Trade, and defend them from their Enemies, whereby they prevail greatly.

These Herrings are sent Southward, by 20, 30, or 40 Last in a Ship, and make rich Return for Herrings, with Oil, Wine, Prunes, Honey, Wool, and such-like Commodities, as *France, Spain, and Portugal* yield, with much Coin.

For the *Straits* they load 60 or 70 Last of Red Herrings in a Ship, returning for Herrings, Velvets, Sattens, and all manner of Silks, Allums, Currants, and such Wares as those parts yield, with much Coin.

Into the East Countries they load 50 or 60 Last of Herrings in a Ship, making up their Lading with *French and Italian* Merchandize, which they brought home for Herrings; and return for Herrings from the East Countries, Corn, Wax, Flax, Hemp, Pitch, Tar, Soap-ashes, Iron, Copper, Deal, Clapboard, Wainscot, Masts, Timber for Houses, Shipping, Waterworks, *Polish* Dollars, and *Hungary* Guilders.

Upon the River of *Rhine* towards *Weesel*, and *Cologne*, and *Frankfort*, other Vessels call'd Lurdains, drawn up with Horses, containing 3, 400, and some 5 and 600 Tuns a-piece. The Skippers have no other Houses with their Wives and Children to dwell in, and are born in them, and go always with them. These Vessels carry up 50 or 60 Last of Herrings a-piece, and Barrel'd Fish, and store of Salt upon Salt, returning for the same Commodities, Iron, Steel, Glass, Millstones, *Rhenish* Wines, Battery, Plate for Harness, with other Munition; Silks, Velvets, Buratoes, Rash, Fustians, and other Commodities, from *Frankfort* Mart, and other places of *Germany*; as those Parts yield store of *Cassars*, Guilders and rich Dollars. The same kind of Vessels pass up to *Lukeland* in like sort, and these do make but one Voyage in a year, but very rich.

To *Brabant* and *Flanders* they load 20 and 30 Last of Herrings in a Ship, returning for the same most part Coin, some quantity of Tapistry, Says, and *Hulst* Hops.

Besides, of those Herrings and Fish taken in his Majesty's Seas (and none other) are vented in great abundance into *Grecia*, *Alexandria*, *Venice*, *Leghorn*, and all over the *Mediterranean Seas*, and other parts even as far as *Brazil*.

Into the East Kingdoms and Dukedoms, the *Hollanders* vend above 100000 Last in a year, and we not 80 Last. At *Rouen* this last year we had not 80 Last, and the *Hollanders* had and sold there 3000 Last, and so in other parts accordingly.

Thus are we eaten out of Trade, and the Bread taken out of our mouths in our own Seas, and the great Customs carry'd from his Majesty's Coffers to foreign Princes and States, by

the greatness of their Busses, and the multitudes they take: 19 Weeks before our great Fishing begins at *Yarmouth*, and our Fishing lasteth but 7 Weeks with small Crayets and Gobles, where their great Busses continue the Herring-Fishing 26 Weeks together.

So it appears how they make the Commodities of other Nations serve their turns to enrich themselves, and increase their Shipping and Mariners, and to set their People on work to good benefit, to enlarge their Cities and Towns, and to strengthen and fortify themselves exceedingly; and what an infinite store of Wealth they bring into that small Country, having so slender a foundation as Fishermen, is admirable to behold.

Thus they make their Landmen Seamen, their Seamen Fishermen, their Fishermen Mariners, Mariners Merchants, and of their Merchants Statesmen, to govern and make their Country prosper by long experience.

It followeth, that one Bus of 100 or 80 Tuns employeth three Ships, sets on work and maintaineth both at Sea and Land above 400 Persons, and 30 several Trades and Occupations; that it may evidently appear how the 1000 Sail of Pinks, Welboats, and Doggerboats, and their 2000 great Busses, do set on work 200000 Persons, and 7200 Sail of Ships of the *Hollanders*, by Fishing upon his Majesty's Coasts.

First, She sets on work in her own Hull, within her self, of Mariners and Fishermen 40.

Secondly, She employeth three Ships besides her self, one to fetch home Salt into their own Country, another to carry forth Barrels and Salt into her at Sea, and to bring her Herrings back into her own Country; and the third, to transport her Herrings beyond the Seas: and in three Ships and Busses 100 Mariners are employ'd. Thus are three Ships and 100 Persons busied at Sea by one Bus.

Thirdly, At Land of Spinners and Hemp-winders to make Cables and Cordage, likewise Yarn Twine, and Thred for the making of Nets and Lines, Weavers to make Sail-cloth, Viewers, Packers, Tellers, Dressers, Couchers to make the Herrings lawful Merchandizes; Tanners to tan their Nets and Sails, Saltmen to make Salt upon Salt, Coopers in great abundance to make Barrels, Block and Bowl-Makers for Ships, Porters, Keelmen, Lightermen, and Labourers to be employ'd in carrying and removing; as also Hewers and Quarers of Timber, Sawyers of Planks, Carpenters, Shipwrights, Smiths, Sledgmen, Carmen, Boatmen, Brewers, Bakers, and a number of other persons, too tedious to repeat.

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The Sailsmen and the Mariners, with divers others, depending upon this unsearchable business, there cannot be less than 200; so that with the former, there are 300 Persons, and three Ships set on work by one Bus.

And yet besides all these that work, they have their Wives, Children, and Families hardly to be numbred, that neither do nor can work, and yet are maintain'd, and live wealthily out of this one Bus; the Merchants, Sailsmen, Owners of Ships, Masters, Mariners and Fishermen cannot deny this.

I have seen of *English, Scottish, French, Hollanders, Embdeners, Bremers, Hamburghers,* and others, near 3000 Sail fishing at one time, upon the Coast of *Scotland, Sbotland, Orkney, Cattney, North-farrel, Fowl-Isle,* and divers other places.

All the Busses of *Holland, France, Embden* and *Hamborough* have their first Lading of Herrings near *Baughawanes*; and above 1000 Sail of Pinks, Welboats, Doggerboats take Cod, Ling, and other Fish there. Furthermore, All the great Staple-Ling, called *Holland Ling*, taken only by the *Hollanders*, are gotten about these Isles, wherewith they serve all Christendom.

From the Staple near *Berwick*, all along the Coast of *England* to the *Thames* Mouth, are innumerable shoals, and variety of Fish; besides the multitude of Cods, Lings and Herrings, as Mackerels, Whitings, Haddock, Soals, Thornback Floith, Scate, Brett, Gurnet, Turbutt, Plaice, Congers, Butts and others innumerable.

From the *Thames* Mouth, all over the Coasts of *Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Wiltshire,* and *Dorsetshire*, not such store of Cod, Ling and Herrings; yet the like variety of other Fish (and more as the eyes of the Fishmongers of *London*, the Country, and their Fishermen, can testify.

All over the Coasts of *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, exceeding great shoals and variety of Fish, with Pilchards and Herrings the last year in *June*, such multitudes of Herrings came near the Shoar of *Claverly-Key*, and all over those places, that the People went with that small provision of Nets they had and took and drew them up the Land in such plenty, that they were sold for 4s. the Thousand, the number of a Barrel; and were such store, that they gave them to their Hops to eat, and buried the rest in the ground, for lack of Salt and Barrels to preserve them.

Also about 20 Miles from thence, there was abundance of Herrings spread the Seas; but the People took no more than they could spend presently, for lack of provision to take and preserve them; of which there is great want about *England*

From the Mouth of *Severn*, round about the Coast of *Wales*, *Hollihead*, *Westchester*, *Leverpool*, and so along the Coasts of *England* to *Scotland*, there is store and variety of Fish.

All over the Coast of *Ireland*, *Galloway*, *Slego*, and the Coasts of *Connaught* to *Ballishannon*, the *Band*, and the North of *Ireland*, *Longford*, *Karickfergus*, and *Strengford*, there is store and variety of Fish; besides the multitude of *Cods*, *Lings*, *Herrings*, *Salmons*, *Seals*, *Porposes*, *Wherpool*, and *Dogfish*.

In the Mouth of *Ireland*, not far from *Dunegal*, there are such multitudes of *Herrings*, that it is hardly to be believed, so big and large, that three *Herrings* make a *Yard* in length. From *Carlingford* to *Dundalk*, the *Bay* of *Dublin*, and *Warford*, *Waterford*, *Bear-haven*, *Crook-haven*, and so round about the Coast of *Ireland*, the like variety, and Fish in abundance.

The *French*, *Hollanders*, *Embdeners*, *Bremeners*, *Hamburgers*, and others, fish upon the Coast of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*: and this is the difference between them and us, they go forth in *June* to seek the Shoals of *Herrings*; and having found them, do dwell amongst them, coming along with them until *November*, taking them in great abundance; and we stay till the *Herrings* come home to our own Coast, and some time suffer them to pass by us before we look out, and so lose God's Blessing.

All these Nations do beat upon all his Majesty's Coasts for Fish, with great Ships take and carry away innumerable Riches, when our little Boats, *Crayets*, and *Cobles*, dare not look out at Sea but in fair Weather (for in foul Weather the Sea swalloweth them up) neither dare they fish far from the Shore in fair Weather, their Boats are so slender and slight.

The People of *Ireland*, and round about the Coasts of *England*, after they have been at Sea, and brought home their Vessels full of Fish, will not go to Sea again for more till those be spent, and they in debt, till Necessity compels them, unless it be some few, and they prosper; yet they are loth to take too much, lest it should be too cheap, for they never seek other Markets but their own: and our Fishermen go to Sea over-night to take Fish to serve the Markets the next day, and some at three a Clock in the morning go to fetch Fish, and yet return home at nine a Clock in the same morning, to serve their Market with their Boats full, laden with *Cod* and *ling*, and other Fish, and then to the Alehouse, drinking day and night, till all be spent, and they in debt, and can be no longer trusted, and then to Sea again for more. This is the life of these people, where great Riches are to be gotten.

Such an excellent Benefit hath God sent his Majesty and his Kingdoms ; as, let all the Kingdoms in Christendom be put together, they are not able to compare with the Fishing upon these Coasts, nor yet the *Spanish Indies* : I speak it knowingly.

And further, Let all the Mines of these Kingdoms, as Lead, Tin, Iron, Copper, Allum, yea, Cloth and Wool, be put together ; yet, the Fishing will do more good to his Majesty's Kingdoms than all these, in these four Points.

First, For the Augmentation, Maintenance, and Increase of Navigation and Mariners, which hath ever been held a special Jewel for *England*.

Secondly, In bringing in to his Majesty and Kingdoms, great Riches of all kinds, and making such strength of Ships and Mariners, as will make all Nations of the World to vail the Bonnet to *England*.

Thirdly, For the bringing in, and making Employment for all People, both young and old ; for the keeping of them from begging and stealing, and other disorders : And hereby his Majesty shall make exceeding great Trade and Traffick within this Land, upon the Seas, as the like hath never been effected by any King of *England* for the general Good.

Fourthly, For the bringing in, and making all things plenty, and causing many Store-houses in *England* to be erected and filled full of Fish, to serve our selves, and transport into other Kingdoms ; like as *Blackwell-Hall* in *London*, and other places in *England* are with Cloth, which continually are emptied, and yet are always filled.

It is most evident true (God be thanked) that there is Fish and Herrings enough, and Vent enough for us all, if we had as many Busses as they ; for the 20 hundred great Busses belonging to *Holland*, *France*, *Emden*, and *Hamborough*, and above 200 new Busses which they build and increase yearly, (all not able to serve Christendom with Fish and Herrings) they are scarce and dear in most Foreign Kingdoms in *Leit* ; and afterwards few or none to be had until *August*. For in the East and North-East Regions, and so in most Foreign Kingdoms and Dukedoms, the Herrings are every day's meat Winter and Summer, as well to make them drink as to suffice their Appetites ; in such exceeding request are the Herrings, that there is great Utterance for them in all Parts through Christendom, and in the Heathen Countries : So that if we had 20 Score Busses, and increase them to 20 Hundred ; yet there Vent enough, and Herrings enough for us all to take upon his Majesty's Coasts, God continue it.

And for as much as God hath sent this excellent Blessing to his Majesty above all other Kings; and that this huge quantity of Fish and Herrings do offer themselves to his Majesty's Kingdoms beyond all Nations; and that it is manifest that the Trade of Fishing is Work-master to all other Trades, and by that means the *Dutch* increase their Farthings to Pounds, and their Pounds to Thousands; and what fruitfulness is in their Country? And not a Beggar there, every one getting his own Living, is admirable to behold; that the Poor man, tho he be Blind, and have but one Hand, will get his own Living by turning the Wheel for making Cables and Cordage; and another that has not one Leg, will get his own Living, sitting on a Seat, with Knitting, and making of Nets and Hooks; every Boy and Wench, from 10 and 12 years, and upwards, will get their own Living by Winding Hemp, Spinning Yarn, making Twine and Thread for Nets. So Idleness, Beggary, and Penury, will be driven out of this Land, by commodious Constitutions, as in other places they do; which never any Statute heretofore made could bring to pass, to the great Glory of God, and Comfort of his Majesty's Subjects,

Appendix IX.

The Form and Order of the Coronation of CHARLES the Second, King of Scotland, England, France and Ireland; as it was acted and done at Scoon, the first Day of January, 1651.

The Coronation of CHARLES the Second, &c.

First the King's Majesty, in a Prince's Robe, was conducted from his Bed-chamber, by the Constable on his Right hand, and the Marshal on his Left, to the Chamber of Presence; and there was placed in a Chair, under a Cloth of State, by the Lord of *Angus*, Chamberlain appointed by the King for that day: and there, after a little Repose, the Noblemen, with the Commissioners of Barons and Burroughs, enter'd the Hall, and presented themselves before his Majesty.

Thereafter the Lord Chancellor spoke to the King to this purpose: *Sir, Your good Subjects desire You may be Crowned, as the Righteous and Lawful Heir of the Crown of this Kingdom; That You would maintain Religion, as it is presently professed, and established; Conform to the National Covenant, League and Covenant, and according to Your Declaration at Dumferling, in August last; Also, that You would be graciously pleas'd to receive them under Your Highness's*
 Pro-

Protection, to govern them by the Laws of the Kingdom, and to defend them in their Rights and Liberties, by Your Royal Power: offering themselves in most humble manner to Your Majesty, with their Vows, to bestow Land, Life, and what else is in their power for the Maintenance of Religion, for the Safety of Your Majesty's Sacred Person, and Maintenance of Your Crown, which they intreat Your Majesty to accept, and pray Almighty God, that for many years You may happily enjoy the same.

The King made this Answer: *I do esteem the Affections of my good People, more than the Crowns of many Kingdoms; and shall be ready, by God's Assistance, to bestow my Life in their Defence; Wishing to live no longer than I may see Religion, and this Kingdom flourish in all-Happiness.*

Thereafter, the Commissioners of Burroughs and Barons, and the Noblemen accompanied his Majesty to the Kirk of Scoon, in Order and Rank according to their Quality, two and two. The Spurs being carried by the Earl of Eglinton. Next, the Sword by the Earl of Rothes. Then the Scepter, by the Earl of Crauford and Lindesay. And the Crown by Marquis of Argile, immediately before the King. Then came the King, with the great Constable on his Right hand, and the great Marshal on his Left, his Train being carried by the Lord Erskine, the Lord Montgomery, the Lord Newbottle, and the Lord Machlene, four Earl's eldest Sons, under a Canopy of crimson Velvet, supported by six Earl's Sons; to wit, the Lord Drummond, the Lord Carnegie, the Lord Ramsey, the Lord Johnstoun, the Lord Brechin, the Lord Yester; and the six Carriers supported by six Noblemen's Sons. Thus the King's Majesty enter'd the Kirk.

The Kirk being fitted, and prepared with a Table, whereupon the Honours were laid, and a Chair set in a fitting place for his Majesty's hearing of Sermon, over against the Minister; and another Chair on the other side, where he receiv'd the Crown; before which there was a Bench decently cover'd, as also for Seats about for Noblemen, Barons, and Burgeses. And there being also a Stage in a fit place, erected of 24 Foot square, about four Foot high from the ground, cover'd with Carpets, with two Stairs, one from the West, another to the East: upon which great Stage, there was another little Stage erected, some two Foot high, ascending by two Steps; on which the Throne or Chair of State was set.

The Kirk thus fittingly prepar'd, the King's Majesty entereth the same, accompanied as aforesaid, and first setteth himself in his Chair, for hearing of Sermon.

All being quietly compos'd unto Attention, Mr. Robert Douglas, Moderator of the Commission of the General Assembly, after incalling upon God by Prayer, preach'd the following Sermon. A

A SERMON preach'd at *Scoon*,
Jan. 1. 1651. at the Coronation of
CHARLES the Second.

By *Robert Douglas*, Minister at *Edinburgh*; Modera-
 tor of the Commission of the General Assembly.

2 KINGS XI. Vers. 12, 17.

And he brought forth the King's Son, and put the Crown upon him, and gave him the Testimony; and they made him King, and anointed him, and they clapt their hands and said, God save the King.

And Jehoiada made a Covenant between the Lord, and the King, and the People, that they should be the Lord's people, between the King also and the People.

IN this Text of Scripture, you have the Solemn Enthroning of *Joash*, a young King, and that in a very troublesome time; for *Athaliah*, the Mother of *Abaziah*, had cruelly murder'd the Royal Seed, and usurp'd the Kingdom by the space of six years. Only this young Prince was preserv'd by *Jehosheba*, the Sister of *Abaziah*, and Wife to *Jehoiada* the High-Priest, being hid with her in the House of the Lord all that time.

Good Interpreters do conjecture, tho' *Joash* be call'd the Son of *Abaziah*, that he was not his Son by Nature, but by Succession to the Crown. They say, that the Race of *Solomon* ceased here, and the Kingdom came to the Posterity of *Nathan*, the Son of *David*. Because, 2 Chron. 12. 9. it is said, *The house of Abaziah had no power to keep the Kingdom*, which they conceive to be for the want of Children in that House; and because of the absurdity and unnaturalness of the fact, that *Athaliah* the Grandmother should have cut off her Son's Children. I shall not stand upon the matter; Only I may say, if they were

were *Abaziah's* own Children, it was a most unnatural and cruel Fact of *Athaliah* to cut off her own Posterity.

For the Usurpation, there might have been two Motives. 1. It seemeth, that when *Abaziah* went to Battel, *Athaliah* was left to govern the Kingdom; and her Son *Abaziah* being slain before his return, she thought the Government sweet, and could not part with it; and because the Royal Seed stood in her way, she cruelly destroy'd them, that she might reign with the greater freedom. 2. She was earnest to set up a false Worship, even the Worship of *Baal*, which she thought could not be so well done, as by cutting off the Royal Race, and getting the sole Power in her Hand, that she might do what she pleas'd.

The Business you are about this day is not unlike. You are to invest a young King in the Throne in a very troublesome time; and wicked Men have risen up, and usurp'd the Kingdom, and put to Death the late King most unnaturally. The like Motives seem to have prevail'd with them. 1. These Men by Falshood and Dissimulation have gotten Power in their hands, which to them is so sweet, that they are unwilling to part with it: And because the King and his Seed stood in their way, they have made away the King, and disinherited his Children, that the sole Power might be in their hand. 2. They have a Number of damnable Errors, and a false Worship to set up; and intend to take away the Ordinances of Christ, and Government of his Kirk. All this cannot be done, unless they have the sole Power in their hands; and this they cannot have, till the King and his Posterity be cut off. But I leave this, and come to the present Solemnity. There is a Prince to be inthron'd, good *Jehoiada* will have the Crown put upon his Head.

It may be question'd, why they went about this Coronation in a time of so great hazard, when *Athaliah* had reign'd six years? Had it not been better to have defeated *Athaliah*, and then to have crowned the King? Two Reasons may be render'd, why they delay not the Coronation. 1. To crown the King, was a Duty they were bound to; Hazard should not make them leave their Duty. They did their Duty, and left the success to God. 2. They crowned the young King, to endear the People's Affections to their own native Prince, and to alienate their Hearts from her that had usurp'd the Kingdom. If they had delay'd, the King being known to be preserv'd, it might have brought on, not only Compliance with her, but also Subjection to her Government, by resting in it, and being content to lay aside the righteous Heir of the Crown.

The same is observ'd in our Case, and many wonder that you should Crown the King in a dangerous time, when the Usurpers have such Power in the Land; the same Reasons may serve to answer for your doing. 1. It is our necessary Duty to Crown the King upon all hazards, and to leave the success to God. 2. It appeareth now, it hath been too long delay'd. Delay is dangerous, because of the Compliance of some, and Treachery of others. If it shall be delay'd longer, it is to be fear'd, that the most part shall sit down under the shadow of the *Bramble*, the destroying Usurpers.

I come to the particular handling of this present Text, and to speak from it to the present Time: I have read the 12th and 17th Verses; because of these two which meet together, the Crowning of a King, and his renewing the Covenant. Amongst many particulars which may be handled from the Text, I shall confine my self to these Five. 1. The Crown; *He put the Crown upon his Head.* 2. The Testimony; *He gave him the Testimony.* 3. The Anointing; *They Anointed him.* These three are in the 12th Verse. As for that which is spoken of the People's Joy, we shall give it a touch when we come to the People's Duty. 4. The Covenant between God, and the King, and the People: *Jehoiada made a Covenant between God and the King, and the People; that they should be the Lord's People.* 5. The Covenant between the King and the People; *Between the King also and the People:* both in the 17th Verse.

First, The Crown is put upon his Head. A Crown is the most excellent Badg of Royal Majesty. To discourse on Crowns in a State-way, I shall leave unto States-men, and lay only these Three before you of the Crown.

I. In putting on of the Crown, it would be well fastned. For Kings Crowns are oftentimes tottering; and this is a time wherein they totter. There are two Things which make King's Crowns to totter, Great Sins, and great Commotions and Troubles: take heed of both.

1. There are many Sins upon our King and his Family. Sin will make the surest Crown, that ever Men set on, to totter. The Sins of former Kings have made this a tottering Crown. I shall not insist here, seeing there hath been a solemn Day of Humiliation through the Land, on *Thursday* last, for the Sins of the Royal Family. I wish the Lord may bless it; and desire the King be truly humbled for his own Sins, and the Sins of his Father's House, which have been great. Beware of putting on these Sins with the Crown; for if you put them on, all the Well-wishers to a King, in the Three Kingdoms, will not be able to hold on the Crown, and keep it

it from tottering; yea, from falling. Lord, take away the Controversy with the Royal Family, that the Crown may be fastned sure upon the King's Head, without falling or tottering.

2. Troubles and Commotions in a Kingdom, make Crowns to totter. A Crown at the best, and in the most calm Times, is full of Trouble; which if it were well weigh'd by Men, there would not be such hunting after Crowns. I read of a great Man who, considering the Trouble and Care that accompanied a Crown, said, He would not take it up at his Foot, tho he might have it for taking. Now if a Crown at the best be so full of Troubles, what shall one think of a Crown at the worst, when there are so great Commotions, wherein the Crown is directly aim'd at? Surely it must be a tottering Crown at the least, especially when former Sins have brought on these Troubles. As the remedy of the former is true Humiliation, and turning unto God; so the remedy of the latter, is *Psal. 21. 3.* (speaking of David's Crown) *Thou settest a Crown of pure Gold upon his Head.* God set on David's Crown; and therefore it was settled, notwithstanding of many Troubles. Men may set on Crowns, and they may be thrown off again: But when God setteth them on, they will be fast. Enemies have touched the Crown of our King, and casten it off in the other Kingdom, and have made it totter in this Kingdom. Both the King who is to be crown'd, and you who are to crown him, should deal earnestly with God, to set the Crown on the King's Head, and to keep it on against all the Commotions of this Generation. 2. A King should esteem more of the People he reigneth over, than of his Crown: Kings use to be so taken up with their Crowns, that they despise their People. I would have a King following Christ, the King of his People, who saith of them, *Isa. 62. 3.* *Thou shalt be a Crown of Glory in the hand of the Lord, and a Royal Diadem in the hand of thy God.* Christ counteth his People his Crown and Diadem; so should a King esteem the People of the Lord, over whom he ruleth, to be as his Crown and Diadem; take away the People, and a Crown is but an empty Symbol. 3. A King, when he getteth his Crown on his Head, should think at the best, it is but a fading Crown. All the Crowns of Kings are but fading Crowns; therefore they should have an eye upon that *Crown of Glory that fadeth not away, 1 Pet. 5. 4.* and upon a *Kingdom that cannot be shaken, Heb. 12. 28.* That Crown and Kingdom belongeth not to Kings as Kings, but unto Believers; and a believing King hath this comfort, that *when he hath endured a while, and been tried, he shall receive the Crown of Life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him.*

II. The second Thing in this Solemnity, is the *Testimony*; by this is meant the Law of God, so call'd, because it testifieth of the Mind and Will of God. It was commanded, *Deut.* 17. 18, 19. *When the King shall sit upon the Throne of his Kingdom, he shall write a Copy of the Book of the Law, and it shall be with him, that he may read therein all the days of his life.* The King should have the *Testimony* for these three main Uses.

1. For his Information in the Way of God, *Deut.* 17. 19. This Use of the King's having the Book of the Law is expressed, *That he may learn to fear the Lord his God*: The Reading of other Books may do a King good for Government, but no Book will teach him the Way of Salvation, but the Book of God. Christ biddeth *search the Scriptures, for in them ye think to have eternal life, and they testify of me*, *Joh.* 5. 39. He is a blessed Man who meditateth in the Law of the Lord day and night, *Psal.* 1. 1. King David was well acquainted herewith, as appeareth, *Psal.* 119. Kings should be well exercised in Scripture. It is reported of *Alphonfus*, King of *Aragon*, that he read the Bible fourteen times, with Glosses thereupon. I recommend to the King, to take some Hours for reading Holy Scripture: It will be a good means to make him acquainted with God's Mind, and with Christ a Saviour.

2. For his direction in Government. Kings read Books that they may learn to govern well, which I condemn not; but all the Books a King can read, will not make him govern to please God, as this Book; I know nothing that is good in Government, but a King may learn it out of the Book of God. For this Cause *Joshua* is commanded, *Josh.* 1. 8. *That the Book of the Law shall not depart out of his mouth; and he is commanded to do according to that which is written therein.* He should not only do himself that which is written in it, but do and govern his People according to that is written in it. King David knew this Use of the *Testimony*, who said, *Psal.* 119. 24. *Thy Testimonies are my delight, and my Counsellors.* The best Counsels that ever a King getteth, are in the Book of God; yea, the *Testimonies* are the best and surest Counsellors: because, altho King's Counsellors be never so wise and trusty, yet they use not to be so free with a King as they ought: But the Scripture will tell Kings very freely both their Sin and their Duty.

3. For Preservation and Custody. The King is *Custos utriusque Tabulae*; the Keeper of both Tables: Not that he should take upon him the Power to dispense the Word of God, or to dispense with it: But that he should preserve the Word of God, and the true Religion according to the Word of God, pure, intire, and uncorrupted, within his Dominions, and transmit them so to Posterity; and also be careful to see his
Subjects

Subjects observe both Tables, and to punish the Transgressors of the same.

III. The third Thing in this Solemnity is, the Anointing of the King. The Anointing of Kings was not absolutely necessary under the Old Testament; for we read not that all the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel* were Anointed. The *Hebrews* observe, that Anointing of Kings was used in three Cases.

1. When the first of a Family was made King, as *Saul*, *David*.
 2. When there was a Question for the Crown, as in the Case of *Solomon* and *Adonijah*.
 3. When there was an Interruption of the Lawful Succession by Usurpation, as in the Case of *Joash*, there is an Interruption by the Usurpation of *Athaliah*; therefore he is Anointed. If this Observation hold, as it is probable, then it was not absolutely necessary under the Old Testament; and therefore far less under the New.

Because it may be said, That in our Case there is an Interruption by Usurpation, let it be consider'd, That the Anointing under the Old Testament was Typical; altho all Kings were not Types of Christ, yet the Anointing of Kings, Priests, and Prophets, was Typical of Christ, and his Offices: But Christ being now come, all these Ceremonies cease; and therefore the Anointing of Kings ought not to be us'd in the New Testament.

If it be said, Anointing of Kings hath been in use among Christians, not only Papists, but Protestants; as in the Kingdom of *England*, and our late King was Anointed with Oyl. It may be reply'd, They who us'd it under the New Testament, took it from the *Jews*, without warrant. It was most in use with the Bishops of *Rome*, who, to keep Kings and Emperors subject to themselves, did swear them to the Pope, when they were Anointed, (and yet the *Jewish* Priests did never swear Kings to themselves) As for *England*, altho the Pope was casten off, yet the Subjection of Kings to Bishops was still retain'd; for they Anointed the King, and sware him to the Maintenance of their Prelatical Dignity. They are here who were Witnesses at the Coronation of the late King. The Bishops behoved to perform that Rite, and the King behoved to be sworn to them. But now, by the Blessing of God, Popery and Prelacy are remov'd: The Bishops, as Limbs of Antichrist, are put to the Door; let the Anointing of Kings with Oyl go to the Door with them, and let them never come in again.

The Anointing with material Oyl, maketh not a King the Anointed of the Lord, for he is so without it. He is the Anointed of the Lord, who by the Divine Ordinance and Appointment is a King, *Isa.* 44. 1. God called *Cyrus* his Anointed:

yet we read not that he was Anointed with Oyl. Kings are the Anointed of the Lord, because by the Ordinance of the Lord, their Authority is sacred and inviolable. It is enough for us to have the Thing, tho we want the Ceremony; which being laid aside, I will give some Observations of the Thing.

1. A King being the Lord's Anointed, should be thinking upon a better Unction, even that Spiritual Unction wherewith Believers are Anointed, which you have *1 John 2. 27. The Anointing ye have received of him, abideth in you.* And *2 Cor. 1. 21. He that hath anointed us, is God, who hath also sealed us.* This Anointing is not proper to Kings, but common to Believers. Few Kings are so Anointed. A King should strive to be a good Christian, and then a good King: The Anointing with Grace, is better than the Anointing with Oyl. It is of more Worth for a King to be the Anointed of the Lord with Grace, than to be the greatest Monarch of the World without it.

2. This Anointing may put a King in mind of the Gifts, wherewith Kings should be indu'd, for discharge of the Royal Calling. For Anointing did signify the Gifts of Office. It is said of *Saul*, when he was anointed King, as *1 Sam. 10. 9. God gave him another heart.* And *Chap. 11. 6. The Spirit of God came upon him.* It is meant, of a heart for his Calling, and a spirit of Ability for Government. It should be our desire this day, that our King may have a Spirit for his Calling, as the Spirit of Wisdom, Fortitude, Justice, and other Princely Endowments.

3. This Anointing may put Subjects in mind of the Sacred Due of the Authority of a King. He should be respected as the Lord's Anointed. There are divers sorts of Persons that are Enemies to the Authority of Kings: As, 1. *Anabaptists*, who deny there should be Kings in the New Testament. They will have no Kings, nor Civil Magistrate. 2. The late *Photinians*, who speak respectfully of Kings and Magistrates, but they take away from them their Power, and the Exercise of it in the Administration of Justice. 3. These who rise against Kings in open Rebellion, as *Absalom* and *Sheba*, who said, *What have we to do with David, the Son of Jesse? To your Tents, O Israel.* 4. They who do not rebel openly, yet they despise a King in their heart, like the Sons of *Belial*, *1 Sam. 10. last*, who said of *Saul*, after he was anointed King, *Shall this Man save us? And they despised him, and brought him no Presents.*

All these meet in our present Age. 1. *Anabaptists*, who are against the Being of Kings, are very rife: You may find, to your great Grief, a great Number of them in that Army, that have unjustly invaded the Land, who have trampled upon
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the Authority of Kings. 2. There are also of the second sort, who are secretly *Photinians* in this Point; they allow of Kings in Profession, but they are against the Exercise of their Power in the Administration of Justice. 3. A third sort are in open Rebellion, even all that Generation which are risen up, not only against the Person of the King, but Kingly Government. 4. There is a fourth who profess they acknowledge a King, but despise him in their heart, saying, *Shall this Man save us?* I wish all had *David's* Tenderness, whose heart smote him when he did but cut off the lap of *Saul's* garment; that we may be far from cutting off a lap of that just Power and Greatness which God hath allowed to the King, and we have bound our selves by Covenant not to diminish.

I have gone through the three Particulars contain'd in *ver. 12.* I come to the other two in *ver. 17.* which appertain also to this day's Work: For our King is not only to be crowned, but to renew a Covenant with God and his People, and to make a Covenant with the People. Answerable hereto, there is a twofold Covenant in the Words; one between God, and the King and the People; God being the one Party, the King and the People the other. Another between the King, and the People; the King being the one Party, the People the other. The Covenant with God is the fourth Particular propounded to be spoken of. The Sum of the Covenant ye may find *2 Kings 23. 3.* in *Josiah* his renewing the Covenant, *To walk after the Lord, and keep his Commandments and Testimonies with all thy heart, and to perform the words of the Covenant.* The renewing of the Covenant was after a great Defection from God, and the setting up of false Worship. The King and the People of God bound themselves before the Lord, to set up the true Worship, and to abolish the false. *Scotland* hath a preference in this before other Nations. In time of Defection they have renew'd a Covenant with God to reform all: And because the King, after a great Defection in that Family, is to renew the Covenant, I shall mention some Particulars from the League and Covenant.

1. We are bound to maintain the *True Reform'd Religion* in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government establish'd in this Kingdom, and to endeavour the Reformation of Religion in the other two Kingdoms, according to the Word of God, and the Example of the best Reformed Kirks. By this Article the King is oblig'd, not only to maintain Religion as it is establish'd in *Scotland*, but also to endeavour the Reformation of Religion in his other Kingdoms: The King should consider well, when it shall please God to restore him to his

Government there, that he is bound to endeavour the Establishment of the Work of Reformation there, as well as to maintain it here.

2. According to the second Article, the King is bound, without respect of persons, to extirpate *Popery, Prelacy, Superstition, Heresy, Schism* and *Prophaneness*, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to Sound Doctrine, and the Power of Godliness; and therefore *Popery* is not to be suffer'd in the Royal Family, nor within his Dominions: *Prelacy*, once pluckt up by the root, is not to be permitted to take root again; all *Heresy* and *Error* whatsoever must be opposed by him to the utmost of his power; and by the Covenant the King must be far from Toleration of any false Religion within his Dominions.

3. As the People are bound to maintain the King's Person and Authority in the Maintenance of the True Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom: So the King is bound with them to maintain the Rights and Privileges of the Parliament, and Liberties of the Subjects, according to the third Article.

4. We are bound to discover, and to bring unto condign Punishment all such as have been, or shall be, *Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments*, in hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from the People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any Faction or Parties amongst the People. Hereby the King is bound to have an eye upon such, and neither allow of them, nor comply with them, but to concur according to his power to have them censured and punished, as is express'd in the fourth Article. I shall sum up all this, That a King entring in Covenant with God, should do as Kings did of old, when they entred into Covenant; they and their People went on in the Work of Reformation, as appeareth here, verse 8. *And all the people of the Land went into the house of Baal, and brake it down, &c.* And Godly *Josiah*, when he entred in Covenant, made a thorow Reformation. There is a fourfold Reformation in Scripture, and contain'd in the League and Covenant. 1. A Personal Reformation. 2. A Family-Reformation. 3. A Reformation of Judicatories. 4. A Reformation of the whole Land. Kings have had their hand in all the four, and therefore I recommend them to our King.

1. A Personal Reformation. A King should reform his own Life, that he may be a Pattern of Godliness to others; and to this he is tied by the Covenants. The Godly Reformers of *Judah* were Pious and Religious Men. A King should not follow *Machiavel* his Counsel, who requireth not that a Prince should be truly Religious, but saith, that a shadow of it, and external Simulation are sufficient: A devilish Counsel, and
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it is just with God to bring a King to the shadow of a Kingdom, who hath but the shadow of Religion. We know that dissembling Kings have been punish'd of God; and let our King know, that no King but a Religious King can please God. *David* is highly commended for Godliness. *Hezekiah*, a Man eminent for Piety. *Josiah*, a young King, commended for the Tenderness of his Heart, when he heard the Law of the Lord read: He was much troubled before the Lord, when he heard the Judgments threatned against his Father's House and his People. It is earnestly wish'd, that our King's Heart may be tender, and he truly humbled before the Lord for the Sins of his Father's House, and of the Land; and for the many Evils that are upon that Family, and upon the Kingdom.

2. A Family-Reformation. The King should reform his Family after the Example of Godly Kings. *Asa*, when he entered in Covenant, spared not his Mother's Idolatry. The House of our King hath been much defiled by Idolatry. The King is now in Covenant, and to renew the Covenant, let the Royal Family be reform'd; and that it may be a Religious Family, wherein God will have pleasure, let it be purged, not only of Idolatry, but of Prophaneness and Looseness, which hath abounded in it. Much hath been spoken of this matter, but little hath been done in it. Let the King and others, who have charge in that Family, think it lieth upon them as a duty to purge it. And if you would have a Family well purg'd and constitute, take *David* for a Pattern, in the purgation and constitution of his, Psalm 10. *The froward heart, wicked persons and slanderers he will have far from him, but his eyes are upon the faithful of the Land, that they may dwell with him.* If there be a Man better than the other in the Land, he shall be for the King and his Family: Ye may extend this Reformation to the Court. A prophane Court is dangerous for a King; it hath been observ'd as a provoking Sin in *England*, which hath drawn down Judgment upon King and Court, as appeareth this day. It is to be wish'd that such were in the Court, as *David* speaketh of in that *Psalms*. Let the King see to it, and resolve with *David*, Psal. 101. 7. *That he who worketh deceit, shall not dwell within his house: and he who telleth lies, shall not tarry in his sight.*

3. Reformation in Judicatories. It should be carefully seen to, that Judicatories be reformed; and that Men fearing God, and hating Covetousness, may be placed in them. A King in Covenant should do as *Jehoshaphat* did, 2 *Chron.* 19. 5, 6, 7. *He set Judges in the Land, and said, Take heed what you do: Ye judg not for Men, but for the Lord, who is with you in judgment. Wherefore now let the fear of the Lord be before you, &c.*

4. The Reformation of the whole Land. The King's Eye should be upon it, 2 Chron. 19. 4. *Jehoshaphat went out through the people, from Beersheba to mount Ephraim, and brought them back to the Lord God of their Fathers.* Our Land hath great need of Reformation; for there is a part of it, that hath scarce ever yet found the benefit of it; they are lying without the Gospel. It will be a good Work for a covenanted King to have a care, that the Gospel may be preached through the whole Land: Care also would be taken, that they who have the Gospel, may live suitably thereto.

If a King would be a thorow Reformer, he must be reform'd himself, otherways he will never lay Reformation to heart. To make a King a good Reformer, I wish him these qualifications according to the Truth, and in Sincerity, wherewith they report *Trajan* the Emperor to have been indued. He was, 1. Devote at home. 2. Courageous in War. 3. Just in his Judicatories. 4. Prudent in all his Affairs. True Piety, Fortitude, Justice, and Prudence, are notable Qualifications in a Prince, who would reform a Kingdom, and reform well.

V. I come now to the fifth and last Particular; and that is the Covenant made between the King and the People. When a King is crowned, and received by the People, there is a Covenant or mutual Contract between him and them, containing Conditions mutually to be observ'd. Time will not suffer to insist upon many Particulars, I shall only lay before you three. First, It is clear from this Covenant, That a King hath not absolute Power to do what he pleaseth; he is tied to Conditions by virtue of a Covenant. Secondly, It is clear from this Covenant, That a People are bound to obey their King in the Lord. Thirdly, I shall present the King with directions, for the right Government of the People, who are bound to obey.

I. It is clear, That the King's Power is not absolute, as Kings and flattering Courtiers apprehend; a King's Power is a limited Power by this Covenant. And there is a threefold Limitation of the King's Power.

1. In regard of Subordination. There is a Power above his, even God's Power, whom he is oblig'd to obey; and to whom he must give an account of his Administration. Ye heard yesterday that Text, *By me Kings reign*, Prov. 8. 15. Kings have not only their Crowns from God, but they must reign according to his Will, which is clear from Rom. 13. 4. He is call'd the Minister of God: He is but God's Servant. I need not stay upon this, Kings and all others will acknowledge this Limitation.

2. In regard of Laws. A King is sworn at his Coronation to rule according to the standing receiv'd Laws of the Kingdom. The Laws he is sworn to, limit him, that he cannot do against them, without a sinful Breach of this Covenant between the King and the People.

3. In regard of Government. The total Government is not upon a King. He hath Counsellors, a Parliament, or Estates in the Land, who share in the burden of Government. No King should have the sole Government. It was never the mind of these, who receiv'd a King to rule them, to lay all their Government upon him, to do what he pleaseth, without controulment. There is no Man able alone to govern all. The Kingdom should not lay that upon one Man, who may easily miscarry. The Estates of the Land are bound in this Contract, to bear a burden with him.

These Men who have flatter'd Kings, to take unto them an absolute Power to do what they please, have wronged Kings and Kingdoms. It had been good, that Kings of late had carried themselves so, as this Question of King's Power might never have come in debate; for they have been great losers thereby: Kings are very desirous to have things spoken and written to hold up their arbitrary and unlimited Power; but that way doth exceedingly wrong them. There is one, a learned Man, I confess, who hath written a Book for the Maintenance of the absolute Power of Kings, call'd *Defensio Regia*, whereby he hath wrong'd himself in his Reputation, and the King in his Government. As for the Fact in taking away the Life of the late King (whatever was God's Justice in it) I do agree with him to condemn it, as a most unjust and horrid Fact, upon their part who did: But when he cometh to speak to the Power of Kings, in giving unto them an absolute and illimited Power, urging the damnable Maxim, *Quod libet licet*, he will have a King to do what he pleaseth impune, and without controulment; in this I cannot but dissent from him.

In regard of Subordination, some say, That a King is countable to none but God: Do what he will, let God take order with it. This leadeth Kings to Atheism, let them do what they please, and take God in their own hand. In regard of Laws, they teach nothing to Kings but Tyranny: And in regard of Government, they teach a King to take an arbitrary Power to himself, to do what he pleaseth without controulment. How dangerous this hath been to Kings, is clear by sad experience. Abuse of Power, and Arbitrary Government, hath been one of God's great Controversies with our Kings and Predecessors: God in his Justice, because Power hath been