

## BOOK FIVE

(1597-1603)

My Lord Cobham, as your Lordships all know,  
in his courses was never a politician nor swordsman.

Chapter I

Henry Brooke was thirty-two years old when he became Lord Cobham of Kent. His brother William was thirty-one, and his brother George three or four years younger. All were bachelors. The new baron had a first cousin, Duke Brooke of Somerset, who was slightly his senior, but other than three aging ladies, his aunts, Cobham had in his own family no one of age and experience to advise him. But for the Cecils he stood alone under the responsibilities which his father had bequeathed him. He was not himself totally unprepared for his new rôle. He had sat in two Parliaments and knew the Court well. Yet he had never managed a household of his own, and the vigorousness of his predecessor seems to have made it unnecessary for him to take much interest in the running of the estates which he was to inherit. In Richard Williams the baron had a steward upon whom he could and did rely, but nothing which Williams did was a substitute for the master's direct control of his property, and by the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth Cobham was deeply in debt.

Improvvidence was indeed one of the chief failings of the younger Cobham. From the £ 20 which he owed his aunt FitzJames when she died in 1595 and which her heir, the baron's brother George, was never able to collect,<sup>1</sup> to the £ 4,666.13.4 which by 1603 he owed Serjeant John Hele,<sup>2</sup> his debts were a constant embarrassment to him throughout his tenure of the barony. Sir Walter Raleigh tried to help him to order his affairs better, and when in 1603 Raleigh was accused of suborning the baron to commit treason he attempted to defend himself by showing that Cobham could hardly have lived in such luxury as he did if he had been so desperate for money as to accept a Spanish bribe. "For my inwardness with the Lord Cobham," stated Raleigh,

it was only in matters of private estate, wherein he communicating often with me, I lent him my best advice. And he being a Baron of this realm, upon whom all the honour of his house rested, his possessions great and goodly, his houses worth at least 5000 l. a-

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year's revenue, his plate and furniture as rich as was any man's of his rank; is it likely I should employ a man of these fortunes to enter into such gross treasons, when I knew that ... men of better understanding than Cobham, were ready to beg their bread. And for further argument that he was not desperate in estate nor poor in purse, he employed me to deal with the Duke [of Lennox] for him to purchase a fee-farm from the King, for which he offered 40,000 l.; and when I was first examined I had about me in my bosom, for this purchase, 4000 l. worth of his jewels. Not three days before his apprehending he had bestowed 150 l. in books, which he sent to his house at Canterbury. He gave 30 l. for a cabinet which he offered to ... [Sir Edward Coke] for the drawing of his conveyances. Think now if it be likely this man, upon an idle humour, would venture all this.<sup>3</sup>

The impression created by Raleigh's words was, unfortunately, that the baron had lived so extravagantly that he might well have been ready to supplement his income at any hazard. The estimate which Raleigh made of his revenues was not exaggerated: in Kent alone Cobham and his brother George had lands worth £ 2,314.12.0 a year when their property was surveyed in 1603, with goods at Cobham Hall worth £ 3,926.0.8.<sup>4</sup> Much of his money had gone toward the purchase of beautiful clothes and tapestries, such as the "two velvet cloakes lyned w<sup>th</sup> sables esteemed worth fiue hundred powndes" which he used to settle a debt of only £ 260 owed to a London merchant in 1603 and which Secretary Cecil tried to get returned to him,<sup>5</sup> and the eight pieces of hangings which he commissioned from a craftsman at Delft, described by his cousin Calisthenes Brooke as "the fairest I have ever seen".<sup>6</sup> At Cobham Hall alone Cobham's tapestries were worth £ 633.4.8 in 1603,<sup>7</sup> and the baron

was alsoe then possessed of a suite of rich hanginges worthe Eleuen hundred poundes or thereabouts to be solde and of fyne lynnens of good value of diu'se greate horsse gelldings and mares and of diu'se kyne and cattell of good value of two peices of brasse pdrinance and of other goodes and chattles ... and of diu'se pcells of hanginges carpettes Implem<sup>tes</sup> of howsholde in the howse of the said late lorde Cobham called Cobham hall ... and in his then howse in the blacke ffryers London and of diu'se Jewelles plate chaynes collers ... and of diu'se Bookes and other thinges of verie greate value and of a verie riche Wardroabe.<sup>8</sup>

Many of these possessions were old things which Cobham had inherited: his stable, for instance, his steward told him in 1601, contained no geldings "that will carry a man two or three miles without tiring" except those reserved for the baron's personal use:<sup>9</sup> but there were many new acquisitions among them. A series of letters which Cobham wrote to his brother-in-law Cecil about pearls reveals how interested was the baron in the buying and selling of precious things.<sup>10</sup> His library too,

into the acquisition of which Raleigh's evidence gives one a glimpse, was all of his own getting, and by the time he died it numbered "nere a thousand good bookes of all learning & languages".<sup>11</sup> To play the great lord and the connoisseur in this way would have taxed the estate of any Elizabethan courtier, and it is not surprising that Cobham should have got himself into severe financial difficulties by doing so while neglecting the management of the estates from which he drew his wealth.

Perhaps related to the great display in which Cobham lived is the suggestion that he had, as Thomas Carte has written of him, "no serious sense of religion".<sup>12</sup> The baron no doubt professed, as his father had done, the faith of the Established Church, thus enabling Edmund Lodge to write that he was a 'regular Protestant',<sup>13</sup> but his personal inclinations took him far from Protestantism. A prisoner in the Tower, in his early forties, he set himself stoically to translating the Roman philosophers, and once confided to Cecil that "out of y<sup>e</sup> scriptur I neuer found y<sup>t</sup> true feling, as out of Seneca I hau found."<sup>14</sup> His contemporaries were evidently unable to decide what they should make of him. When King James came to the Throne a courtier wrote of "a foolishe rime [which] runnes up and downe in the Court of Sir Henry Bromley, Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Cobham, and the Deane of Canterbury, Dr. Nevil, that eache should goe to move the King for what they like.

Nevil for the Protestant, Lord Thomas for the Papist,  
Bromley for the Puritan, and Lord Cobham for the Atheist.<sup>15</sup>

Cobham's intimacy with the rationalist Raleigh seems to have led the Court to think that the baron shared his friend's alleged lack of faith; this opinion would have been strengthened by Cobham's behaviour on the scaffold in 1603 when, thinking he was about to die, he saw his companions protest their prospective faiths but himself "professed nothing".<sup>16</sup> One would suspect that Cobham was, however, less a confirmed doubter than a dilettante in religion. That is not to say, with Miss Handover, that, "a fool," "Cobham was probably indifferent to religion;"<sup>17</sup> rather, it is to suggest that his response was emotional rather than rational, that, unconvinced by the arguments of Protestantism, he sought reassurance in the outward manifestations of worship. One would be wrong to discount entirely the rumour

which spread through London in 1619 that, after fifteen years of imprisonment, "he died a papist."<sup>18</sup> There is, however, nothing to substantiate Maurice Ashley's statement that Cobham was known to be a Roman Catholic when Queen Elizabeth died.<sup>19</sup>

Prodigal and insecure, Cobham was given to passionate outbursts and to fits of resentment against those who he imagined were attempting to hurt him. His steward understood him but was powerless to help; from Kent at some time in 1600 Williams inserted in a long business letter a word of advice which suggests much. "For the other points of your letter," wrote the old servant,

I assure you that it much grieves me to perceive your great discontentment. If you give way to such humours, you will overthrow your health, and thereby pleasure those that gape after your end. What I am able to do you may command. If I knew particulars, I might better minister help and advice.<sup>20</sup>

Another of his father's loyal officers tried to help the young lord and received a reprimand for his pains,<sup>21</sup> and Secretary Cecil was constantly forced to urge his brother-in-law to be more discreet. The futility of these efforts to make Cobham moderate his behaviour was recognized by Raleigh, who probably knew the baron better than did anyone else, and who said of him that he had "dispositions of his own, and passions of such violence that his best friends could never temper them".<sup>22</sup> Raleigh also declared that "the world knoweth him as revengeful of nature as any man living."<sup>23</sup>

It ought, however, to be remembered that the Raleigh who said in 1603 "that Cobham is a poor, silly, base, dishonourable soul" had for a decade beforehand been the baron's closest friend. Historians have not shied away from the fact of this association. William Stebbing baldly states that Raleigh "had slung the stupid Cobham about his neck like a millstone".<sup>24</sup> Nor have they ignored the inconvenience which this fact presents. Algernon Cecil, surveying the Court at the end of the Elizabethan era, remarks that of all the great men whom James I came to rule, Raleigh "had the subtlest brain, and became the yokefellow of a Cobham".<sup>25</sup> Why Cobham should have wanted to be Raleigh's friend perplexes no one: a man who "in his courses was never a politician or swordsman",<sup>26</sup> he admired the hero who, twelve years his senior, was already proficient in the arts of both peace and war when Cobham first came to Court. Indeed, observed one of their contemporaries, "It

appears that Cobham took Raleigh to be either a god or an idol.<sup>27</sup> Yet no one has discovered what moved that dark and splendid man, who usually stood aloof from his fellows or at least involved himself with them only so long as it served his purposes, distrusting and contemning them, to share his confidences with Cobham. It does indeed seem odd that the baron, a truculent man with whom no one else but the imperturbable Cecil was apparently able to remain on amicable terms, should have held Raleigh to him for so long. Yet hold him he did. To suggest that Cobham was useful to Raleigh in prosecuting his private quarrels, with Essex at the end of the century and with the government in 1603, is not to account for Raleigh's persistent association with him both before and after the crisis in the career of Essex, nor is it to explain why it was not only at Court but also on holiday in Dorset and Bath that Raleigh made Cobham his companion. That that proud, contemptuous, impatient genius should have chosen and kept the baron as his intimate may or may not argue a charm and intelligence in Cobham of which there are few explicit acknowledgements; it does, however, indicate that Cobham had something in his personality which appealed to the most brilliant man of his time. Perhaps it says more of Raleigh than of the baron that they should have been friends, perhaps it shows the hero's character to have been marred not only by his famous pride but also by a concomitant weakness for adulation. Cobham may have needed no more than a capacity for hero-worship to appeal to that unappreciated man. Friends, at any rate, they certainly were, in private life and in public, and the fact that each identified his interests with the other's must be given importance in any study of the late Elizabethan Court.

Extravagant and lacking in self-control, then, and therefore offensive to many: possessed of a great estate, of the queen's recognition of her indebtedness to his family, of Raleigh's friendship and, above all, of Secretary Cecil's fraternal support, and therefore a man not lightly offended: Henry Lord Cobham had shaped his career even before he came to the title. As Henry Brooke he had borne the brunt of Essex's resentment against the Cecilians, and had seemingly irritated the earl beyond measure by his insolent carriage. It is futile to consider how long a sniping war of words might have gone on between the two men had a crisis not

developed in the government. As it was, what Sir John Neale calls "the high season of faction at Elizabeth's Court"<sup>28</sup> reached its peak in the illness and death of a monolith of honours and authority. The Lord Wardenship of the Cinque Ports, the Lord Lieutenancy of Kent, the Lord Chamberlainship and that valuable perquisite, the keeping of Eltham Palace, were all suddenly thrown into the queen's gift by the death of the elder Cobham on 6 March 1596/7. The late minister's heir had determined even before his father died to have the Kentish offices, both in his own interests and in those of the Cecils, the leaders of his party. Essex had also determined to have them, both to give them to Sir Robert Sidney and so to secure to himself the loyalty of the chief local rival to the authority of the Brooke family, and to keep them from the Cecilians. A third interest was represented by George Lord Hunsdon, whose father the elder Cobham had succeeded as Lord Chamberlain. The Careys of Hunsdon were originally a Kentish house and the first baron had all his life desired to govern in his home county.<sup>29</sup>

The inevitable struggle between the principal opposing factions and their most unrestrained spokesmen, the younger Cobham and Essex, broke out immediately the old lord died. The earl had been planning to take a holiday on his western estates, but Cobham's death made it essential that he remain at Court; his rival had meant to take advantage of being left in possession of the queen's favourable attention, but his plans too were of course altered, and, as the new Lord Cobham, he was forced to go down to Kent to see to his father's burial. He left behind him a Court more excited than it had been for many years. Rowland Whyte, whose letters to Sir Robert Sidney provide an account of the elder Cobham's last days, wrote to his patron "in hast, this Sunday Morning, 6 of March" to tell him what was occurring. "About Midnight my Lord Chamberlain died," he began;

I came this Morning early to the Court, and as my Lord of Essex went vp to the Queen, I humbly besought him to haue you in Remembraunce. He assured me that he had a speciall Care of yt, and his Iorney into Wales is put of by this Accident, which I am very glad of.

Here yt is sayd that a Messinger is sent in Hast for my Lord Worcester to come vp. The Court is now full of, who shall haue this and that Office, but the most Voices say, that Mr. Harry Brooke shall haue Eltam, and the Cinq Portes, by Reason of the Fauor the Queen beares hym.

My Lord of Hunsdon is named for the Lord Chamberlanship, and

Lord Liftenant of Kent. As any Thing hapens I will aduertise it.<sup>30</sup>

As good as his word, Whyte wrote again next day, and although he began by declaring dolefully, "Yt grieues my Sowle that this Day brings foorth no better Fruit of my Labor and Attendance," his letter was full of news. It revealed the lengths to which Essex went in seeking to achieve his ends. That afternoon Lord Burghley, still no doubt shocked by the death of his friend, called an emergency meeting of the Privy Council in his own room and Essex chose that inopportune occasion to make an immoderate attack upon the new Lord Cobham and upon the queen's judgement in favouring him. "This Euening my Lord of Essex called me vnto hym," Whyte wrote,

and this was his Speach vnto me: I moued the Queen this Morning very earnestly in your Masters Behalf for the Cinq Portes. Her Answer was, that he is to young for such an Office. I replied, that he was older than others that looked for yt. [Cobham was thirty-two, Sidney thirty-three.] Her Majesty then said, that being Gouvernor of Flushing, he cold not be present to answer euery sodain Daunger of the Portes; and this was all I cold haue of her at the first Motion. Euen now I prest her in it again, and she directly answers me, that your Master shall not haue yt, and that she wold not wrong the now Lord Cobham soe much, as to bestow yt from hym vpon any that was inferior to hymself. The Queen hath bene likewise moued in it for my Lord Willoughby, but she prefers the Lord Cobham before hym; and seeing he is like to carry it away, I meane (said the Earl) resolutly to stand for it my self against him; which if I can obtain, I wilbe willing at all Times, to resign it ouer to your Master, as her Majesty may be brought to like or allow it. My Lord Treasurer is come to Court, and we satt in Counsell this After noone in his Chamber. I made it knowen vnto them, that I had iust Cause to hate the Lord Cobham, for his villanous Dealing and abusing of me; that he hath bene my cheiffe Persecutor most uniuistly; that in him their is no Worth; if theirfore her Majesty would grace him with Honor, I may haue right Cause to thincke my self litle regarded by her. He after said to me, I will write to your Master at more Leisure, in the meane Time aduertise him of this, and comend me vnto him.

Your Lordship in your own Wisdom can best iudge of these Thinges, and what Good you may expect here, where to be a Noble Man born, is more respected, then to be vertuose and worthy.<sup>31</sup>

On 8 March it was "publiquely knowen in Court, that my Lord of Essex stands for the Cinq Portes".<sup>32</sup> Two days later the earl presented himself before the queen, asking her for the post for himself,

but the Queen told hym, that the now Lord Cobham should haue yt. Where-vpon he was resolued to leaue the Court, and vpon Thursday Morning, 10 March, hymself, his Followers, and Horses were ready; he went to speake with my Lord Treasurer, about 10 a Clocke, and by Somerset House, Mr. Killigrew mett hym, and willed hym to come to the Queen. After some Speach had privatly with her, she made hym Master of the Ordonance, which Place he hath accepted, and receves Contentment by yt.<sup>33</sup>

Elizabeth was evidently torn between her private affection for the earl and her shrewd awareness that great offices of state could not be made prizes in the nasty games of jostling courtiers. One sympathizes with her, and understands Neale's indignation against Essex. "How monstrous of him to make so public and embittered a faction-issue of his sovereign's action," he writes, "to face her with the alternative of humiliation or of seeming to give a partisan decision!"<sup>34</sup>

Essex's harassment of the queen took place while Henry Lord Cobham was away in Kent. The new baron was not, however, without powerful seconds at Court. Sidney wrote resignedly to the earl on 12 March that he realized that he might entertain little hope of success, for "I doubt not (excepting you) but that my Lord Cobham did, before he died, get the promise of most of the Council for his son."<sup>35</sup> The Governor of Flushing was a soldier and therefore adamant in his denunciations of his rival's ability to hold the Cinque Ports: "do not forget to lay before the consideration of the queen," he implored Essex on the fifteenth,

the nearness of Calais and Dunkerck, and the easiness to do a 'skorne' or a spoil if he that hath the charge of those places be not a man of war. I doubt not your Lordship remembers how slenderly you were assisted by the late warden in the service of Calais. The like occasions or worse may come, and your Lordship like much worse to be seconded by the son than you were by the father, who, you may boldly say, is beloved of never a man in Kent. Truly I pity my poor country-men who are ready to leave their houses upon the sight of every small fleet for want of somebody among them to tell them what they have to do.<sup>36</sup>

Sidney knew, however, that his was a minority opinion, and even as he expressed it he was himself being informed by Whyte that Essex himself seemed to be coming round to the Cecilians' way of thinking. Appeased by the grant of the Mastership of the Ordnance, the earl was allowing Sir Walter Raleigh to arrange a truce between him and the Secretary, and, as Whyte wrote to Sidney, "I doe not fynd you are included in any Part of yt; you are wise, and best iudge of these Things your self, but I am sory to see soe good Words without Fruit."<sup>37</sup>

If, however, Sidney had reason to think himself betrayed by Essex, the earl was also discovering that he had been tricked by the queen and her adviser, Cecil. Having sunned himself as Master of the Ordnance before the office had been officially bestowed upon him, Essex had to refrain from annoying Elizabeth at least until she had signed the letters patent, lest he find neither himself with the Ordnance nor his protégé with the Cinque Ports. On 16 March Whyte revealed to

Sidney how dearly the queen was making her favourite pay for his new honour. "My Lord of Essex," he reported,

as I writ vnto you by the last Post, the 12 of March, had graunted vnto him the Office of Master of Thordonance, but as yet he cannot get his Patent signed. Sir John Fortescu offered it twice to her Majesty, but she found some Exceptions, and this After noone he tooke his Bill from him, and presented it himself, but for all that it is not donne, which moves Thearle greatly. I deliuered vnto him this very Note which I now send vnto you, because in reading of it he might apprehend it the better. He read it all ouer while I stood by, deliuered it again vnto me, and said this: That vntill his own Bill was signed he cold not well embrace the other, lest it wold hinder both; and that he saw some Devises to forstall him, for I heare, said he, that they wold haue his Patent, I meane Lord [sic: H.] Brookes,<sup>38</sup> signed before mine, or assone as mine, but I will take a Cours. He said no more, but went his Way from me.

Essex's threats were dark, and his refusal to call the new Lord Cobham by his title insulting, but Whyte saw that the earl was in too much trouble to be able to help anyone else. The agent then turned to other courtiers, hoping to enlist them in his master's cause, and as he did so he learned that Cobham's party was taking no chances that the Lord Wardenship should go to their opponents. Lord Willoughby of Eresby, Sir Edward Hoby and the late Lord Cobham's executor, Sir Edward Wotton, were all prepared to stand for the office should the militarists' exceptions to the baron be taken seriously; soldiers themselves, as well as courtiers and partisans of the Secretary, these three candidates would keep Sidney from the Lord Wardenship even should Cobham himself fail to do so. Whyte found, however, that the baron had reason to be sure of his own success. The Countess of Warwick, the queen's last confidante, was Sidney's aunt, and even she had to admit to Whyte that she held her nephew's cause to be 'desperat'. "If she can iudge of any Thing," Sidney was informed, "Lord Cobham shall haue it," although "it may, by my Lord of Essexs Crossing, be long delaied." The countess, Whyte concluded, "is fearfull to haue it as much as knowen she speakes to any for you in this Sute." Another great lady, whose husband had been Cobham's godfather, was similarly unwilling to help:

My Lady Huntingdon is a Sutor for a Lease for her own Jointer, and as yet cannot haue it don. Her Wants are extreme, and her Debts exceed 2400 l. at least; she cannot assist you in your Request for the Matter of the Cinq Portes, till that be ended.

Sir John Stanhope, Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber, was "too much beholding to

the Party that favors Lord Cobham, to doe any Thing for you in it;" he later admitted that, "by Mr. Secretaryes Intreaty", he had spoken for Cobham to the queen. Evidently the Court was held in the grip of fear, none brash enough to offend Essex, none daring to cross the Secretary. All waited for Cobham to make his appearance. "Hearing how disdainfully my Lord of Essex speaks of him in Publiq," the baron, down in Kent, did "likewise protest to hate the Earle as much. What will grow of this," wrote Whyte apprehensively, "I will export."<sup>39</sup>

On 19 March it seemed for a time that the contest was over. Whyte went again to Sir John Stanhope and asked him to whom he ought to turn for help. "By God, sayd he, yt is to late, for yt is already granted, and to 30." '30' was of course Whyte's cipher for Cobham. Stanhope, however, was merely trying to save himself the embarrassment of refusing outright to sue for Sidney, and when Whyte went along to Essex's sister, the fearless Penelope Rich ('nn'), he found that the game was by no means up. To Lady Rich, the agent reported,

I sayd that I was comanded to present your Service vnto her, and to desire her to hold you still in her good Opinion. She thancked you very hartely, and told me, she was sorry to heare the Queen say the other Day, you shuld not yet come ouer, and then tooke me a side, and sayd, that the Queen of late, asking her what Newes Abroade, she answered, that she was glad to heare of the good Choice her Majesty made of a Warden of the Cing Portes, and named you. The Queen sayd, she had not yet disposed of yt. I tooke this Oportunity to beseach her to doe you one Fauor, which was to deliuer this Letter (and shewed yt her) to the Queen; she kissed yt, and tooke yt, and told me, that you had neuer a Frend in Court, wold be more ready then her self, to doe you any Pleasure; I besought her in the Loue I fownd she bore you, to take some Tyme this Night to doe yt, and without asking any Thing at all of the Contents of yt, she put yt in her Bosome, and assured me, that this Night, or to Morrow Morning yt wold be reade, and byd me attend her.

Thus Whyte, although "the Voice goes, that my Lord Cobham shall haue yt, by her Majestys own Choice, and Care of hym," went to bed that night in some hope.<sup>40</sup>

Whyte spoke with Lady Rich on a Saturday. The letter which he gave her for delivery to the queen has apparently not survived, but it was no doubt much like the one which he wrote on his master's behalf to Essex on 16 March. More formal and guarded than most of the messages which passed between Sidney's agent and the earl, and therefore more suitable to be presented as a petition to the queen, it read:

I Haue, as your Lordship comanded me, aduertised my Master of her Majesties Resolution towards him, touching his Sute for the Cinq Portes, and the Cours intended by you for it. But if by this late Graunt of her Majestie vnto you, of Master of the Ordonance, you hold not your Purpose to stand for it your self, vouchsafe once more to renue his Sute, and to consider of those Reasons which I am bold to trouble you withall in his Behalf:

When the great Invasion was threatned from Duncarke, the litle Assistance that then was giuen by the Lord Warden.

The Nearnnes now of Calais, and the smale Help your Lordship found in the last Matter of Calais to come from the Warden; theirfor very fitt for the Safety of the Places, her Majestie wold please to comitt it to a Soldior.

My Master was born in Kent, his cheif House [Penshurst] and liuing is in Kent; and though he want the Title of Nobility, his Birth and Vertue makes him as noble as theirs, that doe stand for it.<sup>41</sup>

Some such argument as this against Cobham's fitness for office was presented to the queen on Sunday afternoon, 20 March. Lady Rich did not after all give her mistress Whyte's letter; Eleanor Lady Scudamore, mother of the knight supposedly depicted in The Faerie Queene and daughter of the Hispanophile Sir James Croft, acted in her place. Two days later Whyte sent his master a report of what happened. "Vpon Sunday in the After Noone," he wrote,

my Lady Skudmore, gott the Queen to reade your Letter, who asked of her, how yt came to her Hands; she answered, that my Lady Sidney desired her to deliuer yt to her Majestie, from her Husband. Doe you not know the Contents of yt, sayd the Queen; no Madam sayd she. When her Majesty said, here is much adoe about the Cinq Portes. I demanded of my Lady Skudmore, what she observed in her Majestie, while she was a Reading of yt; who sayd, that she read yt all ouer, with two or 3 Pughs.

The royal pooh-poohing of Sidney's charges against the Brookes was not particularly encouraging to Whyte, but at any rate the matter had now been formally broached and might be openly discussed. The agent informed Essex of the delivery of the letter, and the earl expressed his pleasure "that the Queen hath read yt", assuring Whyte that he would resume his efforts. "He will vse all Persuasions as a Cownsailor," Whyte told Sidney,

to make her Majestie see the Dangers of those Places, and the Necessity of a Soldier to comand them. As a Favoryt, he will take all Oportunties to hynder your Competitor, euer laying before her Eyes his Vnworthines, and his ill Dealing towards hym; and protestes if he be able to doe any Thing, to keape hym from yt, and to keape the Place voyd, to see what Tyme may Worke.

Whyte went from the earl to an old man who had known the ins and outs of Court intrigue since the time of Henry VIII; from him he learned disastrous news, which it must have pained him to send to Sidney. "I imparted to Mr. Roger Mannors," he wrote,

your Sute for the Cinq Portes, and this was his Answer; that the now Lord Cobham, a little before his Father died, came to hym, and desired his Assistance in this Sute, which he granted vnto hym, and because he must be an honest Man, he cannot deale for you; but he protested when I alleadged vnto hym, the Reasons of Duncarck and Calais, that yt was meet a Soldier had them. He sayd yt was not granted, but that the Queen wold giue yt my Lord Cobham in Respect of his Friends, and the particular good Opinion she conceaued of hym, whom she vsed in some Kind of Services. I then told hym of my Lettre to the Queen, and to my Lord Treasurer, and desired his Aduice; he willed me in any Case to delier both, and so I parted from hym. But vnderstanding that he was to dine with my Lord Treasurer, I tooke that very Tyme to send in my Lettre to his Lordship, whoe reade yt ouer; but at Mr. Manners coming forth, he whispred me in the Eare; The Queen hath sent Word hither, that my Lord Cobham shalbe Lord Warden of the Cinq Portes.<sup>42</sup>

Essex was incredulous when he received the news. "Touching the Cinq Portes," wrote Whyte on 25 March,

I told my Lord of Essex, what Mr. Roger Manners sayd vnto me, that the Queen had granted yt to your Competitor. By God sayd he, I will not beleue yt, till I see yt vnder Seale; I humbly besought hym to take Care to preuent yt. The World sayes, that my Lord Cobham shall haue yt, and they say yt, that know very much.<sup>43</sup>

Essex was still holding stubbornly to his own opinion when the time came for the departure of many of the courtiers into Kent for the funeral on 5 April of the man whose death had precipitated the great scramble for offices. On the Saturday night before the interment Whyte told his master that Essex's wife had assured him that Cobham should never have the Lord Wardenship, "no Worth being in him to deserue it". The countess had been Walsingham's daughter and Sir Philip Sidney's wife; she was an experienced woman, and she and her sister-in-law Barbara, the governor's wife and a cousin of Raleigh, the Lord Admiral and Cobham himself,<sup>44</sup> were able to sway many of their associates by declaring their belief that Sidney was still in the running for the office. Others took the queen's words more seriously: as Whyte told his master after recounting his interview with Lady Essex, "I am assured by diuers, that know very much, and that loue you well, that her Majestie hath sent my Lord Cobham Word he shall haue the Cinq Portes:"<sup>45</sup> yet many of the Court could not believe that a group so well placed as the Essexians would be deceived. Thus, with Whyte assiduously spreading rumours of a new Spanish invasion which it would require a soldier at Dover Castle to withstand,<sup>46</sup> and with the earl insisting that the Brookes' hold over Kent would soon be broken, the late Lord Warden was buried.

Henry Lord Cobham remained in the country for a week after he paid his predecessor his last honours. During that time one hears nothing of the contest at Court, for evidently all awaited his return to London and the decision in which his first meeting with the queen was expected to result. Then, on Wednesday, 13 April, Whyte announced:

My Lord Cobham is come vp, and now yt wilbe quickly knowen what Success he is like to haue in the Cinq Portes. Till the Queen had spoken with hym, she wold make no Graunt of yt: Nor to my Lady Leighton of Eltam Parkes, which she is a most earnest Sutor for. I shall know by one that loues you well, and that is so often with 900 as a Companion, how my Lord Cobham speeds; that accordingly I may proceed in the reuiuing of your Sute, yf yt stagger there; but all his Friends are at Court, of Purpose to bring yt to pass. And 1000 is fallen sicke this Morning, and suffers none to come at hym. Yt makes me suspect, that Yesternight 30 had some priuat Access to the Queen. I am sure I shall know how the World goes, by hym I make mention of, who in the Darknes of Night, sends for me to come to hym, and otherwise wold not haue me seen with hym; by the next I will send you a Ciphere for his Name, or if your Lordship can guess who yt is, I pray you appoint some Ciphere for yt, for by hym you may know many Things, and he makes me beleue, that he hath a good Opinion of me, which I shall perceue by the Rowndnes of his Dealing with me in these Matters.<sup>47</sup>

Whyte's insistence upon the use of a cipher symptomizes the heightened tension which Cobham's arrival created at Court. The showdown between the baron and Essex was at hand. In his letters, Whyte used the figure '30' to represent Cobham, whose supposed secret talk with the queen boded ill for Sidney. '1000' was of course Essex, who tended to take himself off to his private apartments when those who depended upon him required his help. Burghley, it appears from other letters of Whyte's than this one, was '900'; the agent's secret informant was, one suspects, Roger Manners.

Cobham's first open interview with the queen was held on the evening of 16 April, when Elizabeth promised him that, if she did not give him the Lord Wardenship, she would at least not bestow it "vpon a meaner Man". To Whyte this could only mean that his master, a knight, would not get the office; he determined to go next day to his informant and "assuredly know how it stands."<sup>48</sup> Manners, however, or whoever it was who passed information surreptitiously to Sidney's man, knew nothing more, and it was to Lady Huntingdon that Whyte turned. Writing to his master on 19 April, he told how the white staff of the Lord Chamberlainship had been passed on the previous Sunday to Lord Hunsdon, "no other Aduancement or Honor"

being given to anyone. This appointment came as no surprise: Cobham was too young to expect so pompous a dignity, and ever since early March Hunsdon had done "all Things appertaining to the Place":<sup>49</sup> but it had been feared among the Essexians that the queen, in filling one of the late minister's offices, might name his successors in all of them. The letter in which Sidney was informed of Hunsdon's promotion, however, also contained news from Lady Huntingdon, which was that the queen had 'used' Cobham better at his second talk with her than before, and that he was "assured of the Place".<sup>50</sup>

Whyte would not perhaps have been unduly alarmed by yet another report, unsubstantiated by the issuing of letters patent, that the queen meant to have Cobham succeed his father in the Lord Wardenship. Disheartening, however, were the signs that Essex was gradually selling himself to the Cecilians and so appearing to acquiesce in the royal decision. The earl's great scheme for his personal aggrandizement in 1597 was to sail again against the Spanish in the hope of repeating his successes of the previous year. He knew that Elizabeth would never consent to outfit such an expedition as he required unless the enterprise had the approval of two men who were prominent in the faction opposed to him, and he therefore, even as the contest over the Ports continued to rage, allowed Raleigh to bring him, Cecil and Lord Howard together. Soon Whyte had to report that '1000 was constantly in counsel with '200' and '600', with '24' attending upon them as mediator.<sup>51</sup> Essex's divided interests thus turned what seemed to be an opportunity to do Sidney good into a serious reverse for the ambitious soldier. On 20 April it was rumoured that a Spanish fleet of 229 sail was making for England. "For two or 3 Dayes, here was an wonderful Expectacion of Imploiment, and the martiall Men attended at Court in great Numbers." Their clamour seemed to emphasize the urgent need for a military commander on the coast, and on 23 April Whyte exulted to Sidney that "these Troubles may keape my Lord Cobham from the Cinq Portes, yf 1000 wold doe what he shuld doe, towards you. All the Gentlemen of Kent doe mightely wish you had yt for their Security." Essex, however, would not jeopardize his own cause with Cecil by publicly adding to the belittlement of Cobham's capacity to

rule the Ports in time of war, and when on 27 April the reports about the Spanish manoeuvres were discredited Sidney was left to bear alone the stigma of having allowed his supporters to turn what might have been a national emergency into an argument for his personal advancement.<sup>52</sup> By the end of the month Whyte saw a result of his campaign against Cobham in the Secretary's refusal to plead further with the queen to grant Sidney leave to come home. By Cecil's prevention of the governor's return, Whyte perceived, "appeares the Power he hath with the Queen to Pleasure and Hurt."<sup>53</sup>

Essex had misled Sidney and then thrown him over, and he therefore hardly knew what to say when next he met Sidney's agent. "Lett your Master know," the earl said, after learning that the Secretary had notified Whyte of the queen's decision to keep Sidney at Flushing,

though there be great Meanes made for the Lord Cobham, for the Cing Portes, he hath yt not, and that I keepe yt voyd, till some Tyme may fall out, when her Majestie shall her self perceive, that yt is necessary for her Safety to comytt that Place to a worthy Man.

Whyte was also assured by Lady Rich that, although Cecil "doth greatly labor" the queen on Cobham's behalf, "yet yt doth litle good." These were empty words. The earl was indeed, in a sense, keeping his rival from office, but by his presence at Court only, not by his arguments. As soon as he left for the coast to prepare his expedition against the Spanish Azores, it would be seen that it had been only her disinclination to shame Essex before those courtiers to whom he had boasted of his power over her which had restrained the queen from making Cobham Lord Warden in the earl's own sight.

The fleet did not set sail until 10 July; driven back into Plymouth by contrary winds, it did not finally get away until 17 August. A measure of the amity which had been restored to the Court by this time was indicated by the association of Raleigh, as rear-admiral, with Essex in the command of the venture, and by the presence of Cobham's brother, Sir William Brooke, and his cousin, Duke Brooke, among Raleigh's companions. Sir Robert Sidney was alone left out of the general reconciliation; his absence on the Continent had, through Cecil's foresight, kept him from disrupting the elaborate play by which his erstwhile patron was allowed to

withdraw with a minimum of embarrassment from the impossible situation in which he had placed himself. Whyte, in a series of letters, described the manner in which this deft bit of face-saving was accomplished. His story began on 8 May, when he told Sidney that he 'vnderstoode' that Cobham had retired into Kent, "exceedingly troubled that her Majesty did not resolve of the Matters desired by him," and threatening to leave Court altogether. Then Whyte learned that Cecil had "in some Sort" appeased Essex in his opposition to the baron; informing Sidney of this, the agent added sarcastically, "I doubt not but you may heare from others, many Excuses of this."<sup>54</sup> By 12 May Cobham was back in London, writing to his brother-in-law from the Blackfriars on behalf of one of his father's protégés who was in trouble with one of Essex's men.<sup>55</sup> Going to Court, the baron found Essex still there; accordingly, he withdrew again into Kent for the Whitsun holiday, but not before receiving express command from the queen "to attend here as he was wont". One of Whyte's informants assured him that Cobham "made sure Account of the Places he stode for",<sup>56</sup> but so far as the public was concerned it looked as if Essex had won the day. The Cecilians allowed the earl full scope in refurbishing his somewhat tarnished image as a man of war intent on destroying Spain and too magnanimous to stoop to petty quarrelling. On 19 May Whyte reported that

Sir Walter Rawleigh is daily in Court, and a Hope is had he shalbe admitted to the Execution of his Office, as Capt. of the Gard before his Going to Sea. His Friends you know are of greatest Authority and Power here, and 1000 ... gives it no Opposition, his Mind being full, and only carried away with the Buisnes he hath in his Head, of conquering and overcoming the Enemy.

Whyte even made note of the rumour that "My Lord Cobham will break vp House, and put away all his Fathers Servants, and is resolved to live in Kent."<sup>57</sup> Roger Manners assiduously disseminated this tale of Cobham's intention to become a private gentleman, telling Whyte that he had asked Cecil whether the baron had yet got the Lord Wardenship and been told "No, ... and doth he thincke to haue any Thing by this Course he takes, of absenting himself from Court?" Whyte was not fooled by this bit of duplicity, but even he was sufficiently confused by the smoke-screen which the Secretary had put up to say that he was "of Opinion, that his Friends in Time will work it for him".<sup>58</sup> There was no more work to be done: all the time which stood between Cobham and his office was the period required for Essex to

make a graceful withdrawal from Court.

Sidney, not sure where he stood, wrote to the earl at this time to say that, though he understood "that your adverse party and you are very inward", yet he hoped that he had not been forgotten.<sup>59</sup> A week later he pleaded with Essex not to desert him: "I think," he said, "if you could keep the Cinque Ports or the Bed-chamber lordship ungiven till your return, there might be some hope left for your servant."<sup>60</sup> By the time the earl received this plea, however, he had already left Cecil in possession of the field: on 24 May he wrote to the Secretary from Chatham, announcing his move to the coast to supervise the equipping of the fleet and, as if to show that he was surrendering his place at the queen's side, recommending to Cecil's care a minor petition to Elizabeth which he had been conducting for one of his servants.<sup>61</sup> Three days later Cobham was back in London, executing the duties of the Lord Wardenship as if already confirmed in the office. On 27 May he interceded with the Secretary on behalf of the Portsmen, who evidently looked upon him as their chief, in a case depending between the City of London and the Ports. "Yielding to the importunacy of the Ports," Cobham told Cecil,

I write to ask that the hearing may be deferred until the Queen has appointed a Lord Warden. It will do the Ports a great favour and make the next Lord Warden beholding to you.<sup>62</sup>

Finally, on 29 May, the baron came to Court. "The Queen," reported Rowland Whyte, "had long Speach with hym, and told hym, that he shuld be Lord Warden of the Cinq Portes, his Patent is a drawing." This time the queen's decision was irrevocable. Moreover, further to show her interest in Cobham's affairs, Elizabeth "of herself" asked him what progress he had made in dealing about a lease with Dr. Robert Bennett, Master of the Hospital of St. Cross and Dean of Windsor, whom, "when he was but Hen. Brooke," he had recommended to her. Cobham told her that Bennett was scrupling to take profit from the Hospital committed to his charge, that he "did but dally with hym", and Elizabeth thereupon took the matter into her own hands and ordered the Secretary "to signifie her Pleasure to Bennet, for she wold haue yt donne". Cobham, thus encouraged to think that the queen meant to compensate him for the insults which he had endured in past months, then explained that

my Lord Essex's Anger to hym, grew, by doing of her Service, and by obeying her Comandments, and therefore he was assured that she wold protect hym, and grace hym. Her Majesty byd hym not Doubt of yt, and that no Man shuld wrong hym.

Essex had known that his rivals would triumph as soon as he left Court. Not only was Cobham publicly confirmed in the queen's favour, but Raleigh, who had brought about the reconciliation between the opposing factions, was at long last freed of the constraint under which he had laboured since offending Elizabeth by his scandalous marriage in 1592. Essex paid a short visit to Court between Sunday, 29 May, when Cobham received positive assurance of the Lord Wardenship, and Wednesday, 1 June, when the earl returned to Chatham in order to avoid being present when, the next day, Raleigh was conducted by the Secretary to the queen. Elizabeth

vsed hym very graciously, and gaue hym full Autoryty to execute his Place, as Capt. of the Gard, which imediatly he vndertooke, and swore many Men into the Places voyd. In the Euening he rid Abroade with the Queen, and had priuat Conference with her.

Whyte, writing to Sidney later that evening, noted that Raleigh now came "boldly to the Priuy Chamber, as he was wont. Though this was done in the Absence of the Earle, yet is yt knowen that yt was don with his Liking and Furtherance." The agent also reported that two other friends of Cobham were in line for promotion: Sir Edward Wotton, it was rumoured, would be found a place in the Secretariat, and Sir John Stanhope would be officially confirmed in the office of Vice-Chamberlain, which he was actually filling.<sup>63</sup> At the same time the keeping of the park at Eltham Palace, which had been the late Lord Cobham's, was given to the new Lord Warden's brother, Sir William Brooke. His patent was signed on 16 June.<sup>64</sup> Cobham's own patent was held up until 30 September,<sup>65</sup> but it was as good as signed when Essex finally got away in August. All that the earl had gained by his troubling of the waters in the winter and spring of 1597 was the Mastership of the Ordnance, which would have been his at any rate, and the acquiescence of the Secretary and the Lord Admiral in his voyage to the Azores, which achieved nothing for him or for England. Upon the queen's thinking about the Cinque Ports his hysterical outbursts against Cobham had little or no effect: the baron got the office, as Elizabeth seems always to have intended that he should. What his unwise challenge of the Cecilians cost him was not only personal humiliation but a falling

away of the respect which the trimmers at Court had for him: he had precipitated an encounter with the Secretary which resulted in the exposure of his own weakness and of Cecil's strength. In any further crisis a far-sighted courtier would cast his lot with the Secretary. Moreover, by forcing Cecil's hand while Lord Burghley was still alive, Essex demonstrated to his own disadvantage that no appreciable change would be brought about by the Lord Treasurer's death. It is significant that a French ambassador who came to England late in 1597 attributed the resounding defeat of the earl in the matter of the late Lord Cobham's offices to "the party of the Lord Treasurer": that is, to the Secretary and the men whose support he had inherited from his father, not to Burghley himself.<sup>66</sup> The folly of expecting the Lord Treasurer's death to upset the existing government had been made clear. Essex would be as neatly checked by the younger Cecil as he had ever been by the elder. When the earl put to sea in the summer of 1597 his star was already declining. The truce between him and the Secretary had not been contracted between equals, and when it was violated it would be to his injury.

Essex must have appreciated even before he set sail for the Azores how much Cecil's approval of the voyage had cost him. He knew that he was leaving his rivals in possession of the Court when he left Plymouth on 10 July, but at that time he had at least the gratification of feeling that he was himself embarking in a blaze of military glory. Unfortunately the weather frustrated his splendid departure: June had been such a stormy month that on one occasion Lord Cobham had been unable even to make the short trip from his house in the Blackfriars to the Court at Greenwich:<sup>67</sup> it was certainly no time to venture forth upon the Atlantic, "for," as the Lord Admiral opined, "the like weather at this time of the year was never seen by man."<sup>68</sup> By 20 July Sir William Brooke was writing to his brother-in-law Cecil to tell him that the fleet had been dispersed, that while he was himself back at Plymouth, Essex was at Falmouth, "his main beams rent, and hold full of water," and that Lord Thomas Howard, the Earl of Southampton and Lord Mountjoy were still not accounted for.<sup>69</sup> The next day Brooke wrote again, reporting that Howard had turned up, and that there was news already of the death of one of his

knights and of an outbreak of smallpox among his officers.<sup>70</sup> To Cobham, too, his brother wrote of the inauspicious beginning to his rival's voyage.<sup>71</sup> With Brooke at Plymouth was Raleigh, who told Cecil on 26 July of the havoc wreaked by the storms at sea; in a postscript he asked the Secretary "to remember mee in all affection to my Lorde Cobhame".<sup>72</sup> Cecil, as these depressing reports reached him, attempted to cheer Essex with brighter news of the Court, which was in Kent on progress. "There is company here," he told the earl on 24 July,

that wants Sir W. Raleigh and Hugh Beeston [the Receiver General] (who danced so bravely on shipboard). My Lord Chamberlain, with Lady Sheffield, and Lord Cobham, with the Lady Marchioness, who dances bravely, and other courtiers, danced country dances at Mrs. Walsingham's, till Lady Sheffield had not a leg to stand on.<sup>73</sup>

Cobham's partner was Helena of Northampton, the wife of Sir Thomas Gorges; she was a particular friend of the baron's.<sup>74</sup>

One doubts that Essex was pleased to hear of the revelry in which his land-lubber colleagues were engaged, but he had no choice but to swallow his pride and return to their midst. His fleet needed repairs if it was ever to get away, and it was only through Cecil and his friends that he could get the necessary money out of the queen. At Court he found how quickly Cobham had joined the circle of great men through whom petitions to Elizabeth had to be made. Thomas Edmondes was about to leave on embassy to France: it was Cecil, Howard, Cobham and Sir John Stanhope upon whom the envoy depended to get him an allowance to enable him to serve the queen "according to her commandment".<sup>75</sup> Lord Buckhurst, the senior Councillor who was to succeed Burghley as Lord Treasurer, was already professing his undying devotion to the younger Cobham's interests. Cobham had, apparently in the hope of easing the passage of his patent through official channels, sent his father's friend a bezoar stone, a curative to which men of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries attributed properties of almost magical efficacy; Buckhurst on 1 August averred that it was a present which,

during my life, I will keep as a perpetual token of your love; if there were nothing but the value which itself deserves, being so rare and precious, it were sufficient to bind me unto you, but your noble and bountiful mind, with your love expressed in your letter, is more than I can by any desert requite. I hope within 14 days to return, and complete that for you which I hope is so happily begun, and I have no doubt to see your desired end.<sup>76</sup>

Essex's secretaries would also have told their master when he got back to London that Stanhope, Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber, was importuning Elizabeth on behalf of Cobham in the matter of several leases of church property in the north. These Essex held, and he wished to turn them over to some of his supporters, but it was only with the greatest difficulty that they were kept from Cobham.<sup>77</sup> Even Cecil himself found his brother-in-law campaigning against him when, no doubt to give Essex proof of his good intentions toward the earl, the Secretary sought a minor office at Court for Edward Reynoldes. Cobham was determined to get the post for one of his own protégés.<sup>78</sup>

Essex could not, however, allow his knowledge of the growing opposition to him to interfere with his plans for the Azores voyage. He needed Cecil's help, and he did not hesitate to conceal his true feelings in order to get it. When he set out from Plymouth to go to Court on 1 August he took Raleigh with him,<sup>79</sup> and when at last he sailed from that port on 17 August he left a superficially tranquil situation behind him.

The Islands Voyage of 1597 was a profitless venture, productive only of glowing tales of bravery which hardly covered the sordid accounts of wrangling among the commanders of the fleet. Essex brought back no treasure, he destroyed no Spanish ships, and the Canaries, which he thought he could wrest from Philip II, remained unconquered. Fayal was taken, but rather despite Essex than because of him; one may digress slightly to explain how this was so, because the strange manner in which the island, worthless to the English, was captured gave Sir William Brooke a place in The History of the World. Cobham's brother, who captained a ship called the Dreznought in Raleigh's squadron, was forced to stand by his leader when the flag-ship ran into trouble in the Bay of Biscay soon after leaving England. Raleigh later acknowledged the assistance which his 'cousin' gave him.<sup>80</sup> Then, late in August, Brooke had to come to the aid of his fellow captain, the poet Sir Arthur Gorges, whose Wastspite got into difficulties off the coast of Spain. Brooke protected Gorges until his distressed ship was ready to sail again, and together the two commanders belatedly made their way to the Azores, to join Essex and the rest of the fleet there. They made Terceira on 8 September. Finding that the earl had

passed by the island only two days before, the stragglers were encouraged to think that they could catch him up near Graciosa, but in their hurry Brooke and Gorges became separated and so each had to make his way alone to Flores. There they found Raleigh, with whom, recalled Gorges later, he, Brooke,

and divers other Gentlemen went ashore, to stretch our legs in the Isle of Flores, and to refresh our selves with such victuals as we could there get for our monie. And at our first landing there, we met with the Lord Gray, Sir Gylly Merricke, and other Gentlemen, and wee altogether walked a mile or two into the Countrie, and there dined in a little Village [Santa Cruz], where the barelegged Governour caused such things to be brought unto us, for our monie, as the Island afforded. In other sort we tooke nothing, which was very faire wars.

This idyllic interlude did not last long. Essex had been anchored near Raleigh, and about midnight on 16 September he sent word to the rear-admiral that he was already making for Fayal and wanted the entire fleet to follow. He had given himself a head-start of some six or eight hours, and had moreover set out from a point six leagues nearer the destination than Raleigh, but his followers were confident that they could make the island before he could engage the enemy in the fortress there. They were therefore amazed when, the next morning, they sighted Fayal and found no sign of their commander; the only reception which they got was a salute of "divers musket shot" from Horta, the capital. Raleigh was in a quandary. He knew that Essex had set out from Flores before him in order to have the glory of beginning the assault on Fayal, and that the earl would never forgive him if he laid siege to the stronghold himself. Yet he could hardly loiter under the guns of Horta, waiting for Essex to come up, and he certainly could not leave the rendezvous to search for the commander, lest he miss him on the open sea. Reluctant to appear anxious to steal a march on Essex, Raleigh waited for two days and, when the earl did not appear, called a conference of the gentlemen under him. These soldiers constituted a microcosm of the factious Court which they had left behind them; as Gorges wrote,

at the counsell of Captaines which our Reare Admirall had assembled, some of them varied much from the common desire, and would by no meanes assent to the landing, without my Lord Generall his knowledge. And of this opinion was Sir Guilly Mericke, Sir Nicholas Parker, and some other Captaines: Our Reare Admirall, with Sir William Brooke, my selfe, Sir William Harvey, and other Gentlemen, and Commanders of our Reare Admirall his Squadron ... were of a contrary opinion, judging that my Lord Generall would repute us but Idlers, and Cowards, to lye so long, before so good

a Towne, with so many Ships and Men, and to doe nothing in his absence.... But yet the violent and earnest perswasions of Sir Guillie Merricke, did so prevaile with us, urging our obedience and duetie to our Generall, as that we staid from the Enterprise at that time, and expected our Generals comming one day longer, especially for that they perswaded us, if his Lordship came not the next day, then themselves would also Land with us.

Sir Gelly Merrick was an intimate of the earl's, and his opinion of Essex's expectations of his men carried much weight. When the day was up and the earl had still not appeared, Merrick reneged on his promise and "would not budge"; thus setting himself up as a rival to Raleigh's leadership, he carried "some five or six of his consorts" with him. Raleigh decided to ignore him and to go ahead with the siege.

In The History of the World he writes:

There were indeede some which were in that voyage, who aduised me not to vndertake it: and I harkened vnto them, somewhat longer than was requisite, especially, whilst they desired me, to reserue the title of such an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater person. But when they began to tell me of difficulty: I gaue them to vnderstand, the same which I now maintaine, that it was more difficult to defend a coast, then to inuade it.... Therefore I tooke with me none, but men assured, Commanders of mine owne squadron, with some of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, voluntaries, whom I could not refuse; as, Sir William Brooke, Sir William Haruey, Sir Arthur Gorges, Sir John Scot, Sir Thomas Ridgeway, Sir Henry Thinne, Sir Charles Morgan, Sir Walter Chute, Marcellus Throckmorton, Capt. Laurence Keymis, Capt. William Morgan, and others, such as well vnderstood themselues and theemie: by whose helpe, with Gods fauour, I made good the enterprise I vndertooke.<sup>81</sup>

Raleigh's terse account of the capture of Fayal on 21 September makes the operation seem simple; it was in fact extremely dangerous. Raleigh and the captains loyal to him brought their ships in among the rocks until they could go no farther, and then, jumping into their small boats, made for shore. Raleigh led the charge, followed closely by a young cousin of the Earl of Kildare, by Brooke and his cousin Duke Brooke, the rest of the captains and, as Gorges wrote later, by

divers other Gentlemen, whose names I would not omit, if I could call them all to minde, And so clambring over the rockes, and wading through the water, we passed pell mell, with Swords, Shot, and Pikes upon the narrow Entrance. Whereupon those that were at the defence, after some little resistance, began to shrink, and then seeing us to come faster on upon them, suddenly retiring, cast away their weapons, turned their backes, and fled, and the like did the rest in the higher Trenches, and quickly recovered the hills, and the woods, being a people very swift, and nimble of foote; for we could take none of them, but such as after yeilded unto us.

It was, as Raleigh himself said, not a great conquest. The Englishmen did not consider their march into Horta a triumphal procession, nor were the Spaniards and

Portuguese who "came and rendered themselves in great humility, with white Napkins on the end of stickes", worthy representatives of the power against which the fleet had sailed. Yet the taking of Fayal rankled Essex, who arrived at the island the day after it fell, having, as William Camden put it, "been searching for the Spanish Fleet in that vast Ocean". His explanation of his failure to conduct the siege himself was elaborate and unconvincing, and his jealousy of Raleigh redounded rather to his discredit than to his rival's. No hero's reception was prepared for the earl when news reached London of his return to Plymouth on 26 October.<sup>82</sup>

Parliament was in session when Essex got back to Court. Cecil had promised the earl before he left that he would postpone the opening at least until the second week in October, and he not only kept his word but prevented the Members from assembling until 24 October. Essex, however, driven by his resurrected hatred of Raleigh to suspect the Cecilians of every treachery, hotly refused to sanction the Parliament which he claimed had been underhandedly summoned in his absence and packed against him. He took personal affront as well against Cecil's appointment to the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster and against Howard's elevation to the Earldom of Nottingham, a dignity which, according to the patent of creation, the Lord Admiral had earned at Cadiz in the previous year, and which gave him precedence over Essex. Elizabeth's conciliatory gesture in making her favourite Earl Marshal, so that he would not have to sit below Nottingham in the House of Lords, placated Essex a little, but it did not make up for her citation of the new earl as a hero of Cadiz, a campaign which Essex claimed as his own. The precarious truce which had been reached in order to enable Cobham to receive the Lord Wardenship and Essex to lead the expedition against the Azores did not long survive the earl's return.

As always, Essex's animosity toward the party opposed to him fixed itself upon Lord Cobham, both as a man and as the competitor of Sir Robert Sidney for the mastery of Kent. The Parliament of 1597 was the baron's first as peer and patron, and Cobham seems to have been determined to demonstrate to his brother-in-law the worth of the Cinque Ports to their faction. The writs were issued in August, and

the Lord Warden busied himself about seeing that the returns should declare the election of fourteen men favourable to the government's policy. Cobham's authority can hardly have been as great as Godfrey Goodman asserted: "He did usually recommend to the Cinque Ports," wrote the bishop,

and to these many links belonging to the Cinque Ports, sixteen [sic] men, whom they upon his recommendation did choose and nominate to be barons and members of the House of Commons in Parliament, for so instead of citizens and burgesses they call them barons; and no subject in England did the like:<sup>83</sup>

but the younger Cobham was at least able to do for Secretary Cecil what his father never seems to have done for Burghley, that is, to offer him outright a sure seat for one of his supporters. On 12 October 1597 the baron informed Cecil that New Romney "hath bestowed on me the nomination of one of their burgesses, which I bestow on you, praying you to send me his name that you do give it unto, that I may make certificate thereof to the town".<sup>84</sup> The Secretary seems to have chosen a man named George Coppyn, who sat in the House with an inhabitant of New Romney. At Dover Cobham's Lieutenant of Dover Castle, Thomas Fane, once again was elected, and the electors of Rye let in an outsider who was probably the Lord Warden's nominee.<sup>85</sup> He was Sampson Lennard, whose wife was the heiress of the Lords Dacres of the South and thus a connection of the Nevilles of Abergavenny and of Lord Buckhurst; Cobham and Buckhurst were at this time promoting the claims of one of this family group, Edward Neville, to a peerage.<sup>86</sup> The other Barons of the Cinque Ports were local men, none of whom made any impression upon the House.<sup>87</sup>

Cobham apparently intended to rule the Ports with the same efficiency which his father had displayed, and, assisted by the capable Lieutenant Fane, he seems to have started well. Something of a feather in his cap was the seizure by some of the sailors under his jurisdiction of the Governor of Dunkirk, whose men had been long harassing the Kentish coast; Cobham was able to announce in mid-October that the Frenchman was being sent up to London under guard as Cecil and Nottingham had instructed, for delivery into the hands of Lord Norris.<sup>88</sup> The baron's intimate knowledge of the progress of the civil war which dragged on in France even after the conversion of Henry IV to Catholicism was also a direct result of the contacts with the Continent which his father had established and which he, as Lord Warden,

was able to maintain. "By good means I am advertised of all this which I have written," he noted at the end of an especially long letter which he sent to Cecil about the <sup>campaigns</sup> supposedly instigated by the Duke of Bouillon; "I pray you, Sir, find time to impart it to her Majesty."<sup>89</sup>

In one respect, however, things were not going well for the Brookes in Kent. Sir Robert Sidney, unable to defeat the eldest of the late Lord Warden's sons in the contest for the Ports, ran against the second of them for the senior county seat in Parliament. He was successful, and Sir William Brooke, whose experience in two previous Houses and whose position as the heir presumptive to the barony of Cobham might have been expected to swing the election in his favour, was returned on 26 September as junior Knight of the Shire only.<sup>90</sup> Neither of the candidates had campaigned in person: Brooke was of course still away with Raleigh, and Sidney was at Flushing: so that it was Cobham who took umbrage at the results of the election. Rowland Whyte learned of the baron's annoyance when he tried to procure his master leave to come home to take his seat; "now that you are chosen one of the Knights for Kent," he informed Sidney, showing what argument he had used in his suit to the queen, "with Sir William Brooke, who is at Sea, and his Return very dowtfull, yt is very requisite for her own Service, and your Countreys [county's], that you be here."<sup>91</sup> Elizabeth, however, was growing extremely tired of Sidney's demands, no matter how reasonable they were; she thought that his governorship was enough for him, and, defending her intention to keep him abroad, she pointed out that Flushing could not be left without a commander at a time of year when the Cardinal Archduke Albert, who governed the Spanish Netherlands, would be most tempted to invade the islands which the English held just off the coasts of his domain. The queen's attitude, Whyte thought, had been framed by Cobham. On 4 October he sent his master an account of a talk which he had had with the Countess of Huntingdon, who,

in priuat Conference with me, did assure me, that a Gentlemen [sic] of good Worth, and one that had good Access to the Queen told her, that her Majeste of late was made belieue, that the Gouernment of Flushing, with your Horse and Foote Company, was better worth then 2000 l. a Yeare, besides the great Commodity you made by Intercours of Marchants to and fro. That yt was a Place of as great Honor and Profitt as euer Calais was, which was a Reward of Service to very

worthy Persons. That yt was dangerous to leaue yt without a Gouvernor, especially in this Tyme, that my Lord Borough, and Sir Francis Vere, were absent, and Sir Edw. Norres, by her Leauē, to Return. That the Cardinall did in the Wynter Tyme most practise against those Islandes, taking the Benefitt of the Frost to make his Approaches to those Partes; and to leaue no Comander in the whole Land, wold be daungerous for her Service. These, and the like Obstacles, I perceue by her, are purposely found out to hynder your Coming. Yet hath her Majestie assured her, that when you haue satisfied her in the Stay of the Shippes, you shall come ouer. I presume all this is wrought by my Lord Cobham, by some Wordes she lett fall, that she cold haue wished you had neuer bene nominated to the Cinq Portes. I vnderstand that my Lord Cobham was much grieued to see that you, in the Election of the Knights in Kent, had the cheiffe Place giuen you by the Voices of the people, which he wold not haue beleued. He hath a Fitt of an Ague, and since the Queen bestowed vpon hym [the patent for] the Cinq Portes, I haue not seen hym at Court.<sup>92</sup>

Secretary Cecil, although he was most probably acting in collusion with Cobham, tried to give to Whyte the impression that Sidney's difficulty in obtaining leave was not his fault. On 13 October he encouraged the agent not to give up hope of seeing his master in Parliament, since five or six days would, if the queen could be brought to authorize Sidney's departure from Flushing, suffice to bring him over. Yet Cecil knew well that Sidney would never be able to explain to Elizabeth's satisfaction his failure to stop the passage of provisions to the Dutch Estates in the previous January,<sup>93</sup> and that if the governor's return depended upon a settlement of that affair it would never be allowed. Moreover, as news of Essex's failure at sea reached the Court, anyone who had been party to the expedition was liable to the queen's displeasure. Cecil and Cobham were among the very few who could pride themselves on their association with the voyage, for Raleigh and Sir William Brooke had acquitted themselves well at Fayal. As Whyte wrote on 19 October,

Our Fleet is not returned; but Newes is com, that they were at the Azores, and that Sir Walter Rawleigh landed at Fiole, and burnt and sackt the Towne. His Friends in Court are great, and doe mightily grace his Doinges, and commend his Experience at Sea.<sup>94</sup>

Sidney, who had weakened his garrison at Flushing by allowing many of his followers to go off to sea with Essex, had exposed himself to the malice of the Cecilians. Whyte, knowing that '30' -- Cobham -- would use every opportunity to discredit the governor, reported on 13 October that a "Gentleman of Worth told me,

that he marvailed why you suffered soe many Captains to go the Iorney with my Lord Essex, and some to be here now. If yt came to the Queens Eares, she wold take yt ill; and now there were some disposed to doe ill Offices in your Behalf; I take yt he ment 30 ... and his Adherents.<sup>95</sup>

Sidney's chances of getting leave were slim indeed, and it seemed in the fortnight

before Parliament met that he would be deprived of his seat altogether. Considering that the queen did not mean to let him come home, and that there was no assurance that Brooke would return from sea in time to provide Kent with at least one representative in the House, many courtiers thought that their election would be declared void. "I heare," wrote Whyte apprehensively in his letter of 13 October, "that the Queen is wrought to haue a new Election in Kent, by reason of both your Absences that are chosen."

It was not Sidney, however, despite Elizabeth's refusal to recall him until Parliament had been dissolved, whose failure to take his seat occasioned the bye election which was ordered on 5 January 1597/8.<sup>96</sup> When the House met on 24 October and the names of the Members were called, there was a notable omission from the roll: Whyte sent the news two days later to Sidney, telling him that,

In Parlement, when the Names of the Knights and Burgesses were reade, for Kent, your Name only was reade; wherevpon Mr. Secretary asked if Kent had not another Knight; then was he whispred in the Eare (and, as I hard since, yt was told hym) that Sir William Brooke was outlawed, and yt was very much marked by the House. In the Sheriffes Return, you had the first Place.<sup>97</sup>

None of the extant journals of the House of Commons explains why Brooke was outlawed. The mere fact that it was to be a week or more before they could get to Westminster did not prevent the other gentlemen who were returning with Essex from taking their seats, and it certainly could not have entailed proscription of any of them. That Secretary Cecil was surprised to learn that his brother-in-law had been disabled from sitting adds to the mystery of why Brooke was so treated. Sir John Neale has suggested that only an attachment for debt could have kept the knight out of the House, and for this suggestion there is some corroboration in the fact that Brooke owed something like £ 2,000 when his father died. The elder Cobham's will was proved on 23 May 1597; conceivably the baron's executors had not yet got round to providing his son with the cash he needed when Brooke went to sea in August.<sup>98</sup> Certainly Brooke died in debt.<sup>99</sup> Cecil would have known of his brother-in-law's financial embarrassment, but he may have hoped either that Brooke could take his seat and so claim immunity from arrest before his creditors took action, or that the debts would be settled before such steps had to be taken. But

For what Brooke did when he finally got back to Court, one would no doubt have learned more of the affair; as it is, the writ for the bye election which was issued in January 1598 speaks of the knight as deceased, so that questions of why he was outlawed must give way to a consideration of how he got himself killed.

Sir William Brooke was a young man of thirty-one and a bachelor when he prepared to accompany Essex to the Azores; without family responsibilities, knowing that no one depended upon him, he chose his younger brother George as his beneficiary when he took the precautions customary to any soldier going to war. He had not only his estate at Leicester to settle, but also the property which his uncle John had left him near Newington, in Kent, upon which he had seated himself. John Brooke's tomb states that it was erected by the dead man's nephews, William and George,<sup>100</sup> and it seems likely that an undated letter which the latter wrote to Sir Robert Cecil's secretary, Richard Percival, was occasioned by the knowledge which George gained of his uncle's affairs through taking them over from his elder brother. In the letter the young man said that he had been "earnestly entreated to subscribe my testemonie" to a petition presented by Thomas Grymes, John Donne's brother-in-law; he confirmed "that so much of it as concernes either myne vncler or my Brother is of my knowledge true," and added that, "if this may induce any force for the peticoer I shalle be verie gladd."<sup>101</sup> To pass his estates on to George, who had not been made his heir in reversion at the times when they had been settled upon himself, Sir William had to make a will, and this he did on 17 June 1597. "I Sr William Brooke of Newington in the Countie of Kent knight," he declared,

beinge whole and sounde of bodie and of good and perfect remembraunce praised be god, and determind with godes Assistance to goe shortlie beyond the seas in her Maties seruice and Callinge to my remembrance the frailtie of mankinde and how vncertaine the houer of death is And fullie mindeinge the aduancement of my most louinge brother George Brooke of London Esquier, haue made this my last will and testament in writeinge in manner and forme followeing wherein and whereby I doe giue deuise & bequeath vnto my saide loueing brother George Brooke all and singular my goodes & chattells reall and psonall monie Jewells plate and houshold stufte And all other my goodes & chattells whatsoeuer. And I doe also make constitute and ordaine my saide brother George Brooke my full whole and sole Executor of this my last will and testament.

Stress should not be laid upon Sir William's failure to mention his elder brother

in the will; three months before it was drawn up William Lambarde had commented to Lord Burghley upon the singular harmony which prevailed among the Brooke brothers, and there is no evidence that the younger Lord Cobham and his heir presumptive were ever anything but friends.

The will proper is an uninteresting, purely conventional document, but a codicil which was added to it six months later, and which took the form of a note to George Brooke, is poignant and revealing. It was dashed off on a December morning, on what day exactly it is not known, apparently after the returned soldier had gone into his brother's rooms at the Blackfriars and found George occupied with a visitor. "Your geast and my hast," it reads,

would not suffer me to acquainte you with what I am gone about this morninge, what hath calde me out soe earelie. I sende you inclosed within theis what I shall leaue behinde me, my will and meaneinge is you should haue all landes leases and prisoners which I desire you maie as quietlie enioy as I sincearelie meane. And thus I ende while I shall wishe, wishinge you the best fortune. Yo<sup>r</sup> loueing brother w. Brook.<sup>102</sup>

Although possibly the islanders whom Brooke had taken prisoner and whose ransoms his brother might claim had to be specified in writing as a part of George's inheritance, the message was more a farewell than a declaration required by law, for the young man was going out to meet a challenge from which he did not return. That day he died in a duel at Mile End.<sup>103</sup>

Brooke's opponent was Thomas Lucas, the twenty-three- or twenty-four-year-old son of Sir Thomas Lucas of Colchester; the youth's sister was the wife of Sir Arthur Throckmorton, who lived at Mile End, so that one may assume that Brooke knew the family, Sir Walter Raleigh also being Throckmorton's brother-in-law.<sup>104</sup> All that can be discovered of the quarrel which led to the fatal duel is what the victor's daughter wrote of it sixty years later. She was Margaret Duchess of Newcastle, the splendid courtier and blue-stocking of the Restoration, who recorded of her father's career that,

towards the latter end of Queen Elizabeths reign, as soon as he came to Mans estate, he unfortunately fortunately kill'd one Mr. Brooks in a single Duel; for my Father by the Laws of Honour could do no less than call him to the Field to question him for an injury he did him, where their Swords were to dispute, and one or both of their lives to decide the argument, wherein my Father had the better; and though my Father by Honour challeng'd him, with Valour fought him,

and in Justice kill'd him, yet he suffered more than any Person of Quality usually doth in cases of Honour; for though the Laws be rigorous, yet the present Princes most commonly are gracious in those misfortunes, especially to the injured: but my Father found it not, for his exile was from the time of his misfortunes to Queen Elizabeths death; for the Lord Cobham being then a great Man with Queen Elizabeth, and this Gentleman Mr. Brooks a kinde of a Favourite, and as I take it Brother to the then L. Cobham, which made Queen Elizabeth so severe, not to pardon him.<sup>105</sup>

The duchess's account of the vengefulness with which Cobham pursued his brother's killer is not exaggerated. On 24 December the Privy Council issued an "open letter to the Maiors, Baillyfes and other officers of the portes of Colechester, Harwich, Ipswich, Yarmouth and Lowstocke, &c." to apprehend Lucas and frustrate his "intent to conveigh him self out of the realme";<sup>106</sup> the unfortunate man was then charged only with having "lately slaine Sir William Brook, knight, brother to the Lord Cobham," but by 29 December the supplementary warrant directed "to all her Majesty's publique officers" stated explicitly that Lucas was wanted "for murthering" his victim.<sup>107</sup> The fugitive made it to France, and there he remained for five years and more. Once, on 21 October 1602, he wrote to Cecil from Paris to beg him, as "the eye of the commonwealth", to procure him a pardon. "I have given offence to Lord Cobham," Lucas acknowledged.

I dare not intreat you to be a mediator for me with him. But I will make any honourable satisfaction he shall demand.<sup>108</sup>

Cobham was, however, obdurate, and Lucas was not allowed to come home until July 1603, when, upon the baron's precipitate fall from power, he was granted a free pardon.<sup>109</sup>

If Cobham's grief for the death of his brother matched his determination to avenge himself upon Thomas Lucas, no expression of it survives. In none of the baron's extant correspondence is there so much as a mention of Sir William's violent and premature end, nor is there any indication of where Cobham buried his body. The knight's only memorial is a shield bearing his arms, the golden crowned sable lion of the Brookes, rampant on a silver chevron against a scarlet field, the whole differenced by a golden crescent, which Sir Edward Hoby sat up in Queenborough Castle.<sup>110</sup>

Cobham must, despite his apparent silence about it, have felt deeply the loss of his brother, if for no other reason than that it left him alone but for George

Brooke. That strange man, distorted in body and in mind, was no substitute for the accomplished courtier and gallant soldier, 'knowing himself and the enemy', which Sir William had been. The dead man had accompanied Essex to France and to the Azores and had owed his knighthood to the earl, but it was evidently Cobham's friend Raleigh whom he had regarded as his leader. George disliked Raleigh: "Brooke never loved me," Raleigh was to say in 1603, calling him a man "with whom I never had to do in my life:"<sup>111</sup> while he professed an affection for Essex which sorted ill with the baron's declared enmity toward the earl. On 7 February 1597/8 George wrote to Cecil from his brother's house in the Blackfriars a letter about one of the Spanish captives whom Sir William had left to him, and the letter indicates that even then, within two months of his succession to the position of heir presumptive to the barony, he had begun to upset the harmony which existed within the Cecilian faction. "If I could have chosen," Brooke told his brother-in-law,

I had rather have waited upon you myself than written, as I have always desired to make myself known unto you rather by myself than by the report of others when I see how ugly they have painted me unto you. For the matter in question between my Lord Thomas [Howard] and me, believe this, that I did never derive my claim from my Lord of Essex, yet this far I have submitted myself unto him, that if his Lordship had any will to have the prisoner himself, I would deliver him unto his hands were my right never so clear and confessed, which promise I will make good whensoever he shall require it. But that you may perceive that which others call obstinacy in me to deserve a better name I have delivered unto my brother[-in-law Edward] More all the reasons of my claim, which you shall receive from him as from myself.<sup>112</sup>

By the end of 1598 Brooke was unnecessarily excusing himself to Essex for his inability to accompany the earl to the Irish wars, and in doing so he used language which Essex was unaccustomed to hear from a member of the house of Cobham. "If myself were able to wait upon you in this journey of Ireland," Brooke protested,

I would not recommend any man's service unto you before mine own, but being utterly unable in that kind to shew my love unto you, I desire that, instead of myself, I may recommend my near kinsman Calisthenes Brooke, whom in that respect I do not esteem so much as for the opinion I have of his honesty, valour and ability. As I know the hurts which I hope he hath well received, and the distance of place can turn him to no disadvantage with your Lordship, so I doubt not but his good desert will make you hereafter think that place well bestowed upon him, whatsoever you shall think him worthy of.<sup>113</sup>

By such means Brooke, as though deliberately, provoked his brother.

George Brooke ought not to have <sup>been</sup> pressed financially. When he died in 1603 he was, through the legacies of his father and brother, possessed of the manor of Cranbrooke and other property in the Isle of Grain, in Newington, Hartlip, Halstowe and Raynham in Kent, worth £ 151.1.3 a year.<sup>114</sup> Moreover, Cobham was bound to pay him the annuity which their father had set up in his will, and he did so faithfully;<sup>115</sup> he also intervened on Brooke's behalf when in 1600 the paternal relatives of their nephew Francis Coppinger tried to bring charges against Brooke because of his supposed mishandling of the young man's wardship.<sup>116</sup>

Yet Brooke deeply resented the baron, and relations between the brothers were only civil at best. By 1603 Cobham was so far estranged from Brooke as publicly to accuse him of crimes ranging from that of committing incest with his sister-in-law to attempting to poison the baron himself.<sup>117</sup> Universal as the feeling was that Cobham was no very pleasant character, the Brookes' contemporaries agreed that even a better man than the baron would have had great difficulty in remaining on properly fraternal terms with his brother. "Having a great wit, small means, and a vast expense," Brooke never thought himself sufficiently appreciated, and as the years passed and his position as Secretary Cecil's brother-in-law brought him no office, not even a seat in Parliament, his awareness of his wasted talents and of his failure to make himself independent of the baron induced a sort of <sup>118</sup>paranoia in him. He became "a man of a most dangerous wit and a desperate fortune", whom no politician could trust and with whom no one's confidence was safe. Only the queen's consciousness of her obligation to his parents gave him hope that he might one day be recognized. When that hope died with Elizabeth, Brooke made his last great play for power and prestige, and, losing, destroyed himself and, one is justified in supposing, his brother as well.

\* \* \*

## Chapter II

The sudden death of the elder of his two brothers and the difficulties which he would experience in dealing with the younger had not yet touched Lord Cobham when he took his seat in the House of Lords on 24 October 1597.<sup>1</sup> He entered Parliament

as one of the faction temporarily in command of the political scene. Sir Robert Cecil, as Principal Secretary and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, dominated the Commons; the Lord Admiral, created Earl of Nottingham the day before the session began, assured the Cecilians of maintaining their majority in the Upper House even in the event of the death of the aged Burghley; Sir Walter Raleigh, again Captain of the Guard, and Member for Dorset, was even while still absent being acclaimed for his victory at Fayal. Cobham had himself been confirmed in the Lord Wardenship of the Cinque Ports by the queen's signature of the official patent on 30 September. Essex, still away at sea when Parliament met, was powerful enough to cross Cobham and Lord Buckhurst in their attempts to have Edward Neville raised to the peerage traditionally reserved for the head of the house of Abergavenny,<sup>2</sup> but the earl himself was defeated in his attempt to procure the elevation of his own protégé, Sir Robert Sidney. Sidney later acknowledged Essex's efforts toward persuading the queen to make him Lord Sidney of Penshurst, and recognized that they had failed because of Cecil's opposition. The Secretary, Sidney wrote, has "friends for whose sake he would oppose himself unto me, as first my Lord Cobham, who being my known adversary would be loath to see me hold the same rank as he doth in Kent."<sup>3</sup>

On the day that Parliament opened, Cobham was named to the committee on which his father had so often had a place. With the Archbishop of Canterbury, Nottingham, and five other peers and prelates, the baron became a trier of petitions for England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland; the committee, or a quorum of four, "calling unto them the Keeper of the Great Seal and the Lord Treasurer, and also the Queens Serjeants," was to "hold their place, when their leisure serveth, in the Chamberlains Chamber."<sup>4</sup> This ceremonious appointment was quickly obscured by Cobham's elevation to another, more important position. In the last week of October the Archduke Albert of the Netherlands initiated his winter campaign against the Dutch rebels and their English allies by laying siege to Ostend, and the perennial fear of a Spanish invasion of England immediately revived. Lord Burghley advised the queen to dispatch Cobham "and some special gentlemen" to Dover,<sup>5</sup> and Elizabeth, acting upon his advice, authorized her new Lord Warden to

take charge of the defence of all of Kent by naming him Lord Lieutenant of the county.<sup>6</sup> The lieutenancy Essex had hoped to get for Sidney, who had already been disappointed in his expectations of the Lord Wardenship and a barony, and it was therefore understood at Court that the earl would protest its bestowal upon Cobham. Using his cipher '200' for Secretary Cecil, Rowland Whyte on 5 November wrote to Sidney,

Surely, the Peace concluded between the Earl of Essex and 200 ... I feare will burst out to Termes of Vnkindnes: My Lord Cobham, vpon the Rumor of Ostends besieging, to levy Men in Kent, is made Lord Liftenant of the Shire; such Power hath his Friends in Court, that they are able to advance there Allies.<sup>7</sup>

At the time when Cobham was named Lord Lieutenant, however, no one in the government had time to consider how the appointment might be taken by the returning Essex. As Whyte himself admitted on 29 October, "All Gentelmen are comanded to the Cowntrey, and not to leaue there Dwelling vpon the Sea Coast, vpon Paine to loose it, without imminent Danger." Cobham, Whyte went on to say, had hurried down to Dover, taking military advisers and commanders with him,<sup>8</sup> and on the thirtieth the baron notified the Lord Admiral from Canterbury that the cardinal-archduke was indeed bent on taking Ostend from the English garrison. Ships were already being conscripted at Dover for the conveyance across the Channel of reinforcements, and Cobham's cousin, the soldier Sir John Brooke, was there, impatiently awaiting the means of transporting his company.<sup>9</sup> From Plymouth, at which he had just cast anchor upon returning from the Azores, Raleigh wrote to Cecil later that same day that "we ar here made madd with intricate affaires and want of means." He had no time to write to anyone but the Secretary, saying, "I humblie beseich yow to excuse mee to my Lord Admirall, and that this cobby may serve his Lordshipp also, and to my cussen Stanhope and to my Lorde Cobhame."<sup>10</sup> On 31 October Cobham, in a letter sent from Dover to Cecil, gave evidence of the industry which he was expending in the execution of the first important task committed to him since his father's death. "Upon my arrival at Dover," he informed his brother-in-law,

I sent for the Admiral of Zeaknd, from whom the report came that Ostend was besieged, and he affirmed that the enemy lay about the town on the 28th, and played divers great shot at them. To certify

the truth, I sent Paul Ivey, with a letter to Sir Edw. Norris, to know what state the town is in ....

I have taken order for mustering the whole of the forces of the shire. This day Sir Edw. Wotton, Sir Thos. Wilford, and myself are going to view all the castles on the Downs, as well as the shortness of the time will permit, and such wants as we find shall be supplied.

Pray move Her Majesty touching Walmer Castle, where Isham is captain. By her express command to my father, he was willed to forbear coming thither, so that there is none but a man of his that keeps the castle. It is one of the best forts, and therefore at this time especially, men should be put into it....<sup>11</sup>

Into this emergency stepped the Earl of Essex as soon as he got back from sea. His manner was tre<sup>u</sup>culent. He objected to Nottingham's promotion to a peerage equivalent with his own, and had to be pacified with a new honour, the office of Earl Marshal. Cobham's appointment to the Lord Lieutenancy of Kent he accepted with ill grace, insisting on going down to the coast to oversee Cobham's command of operations there. The baron, forewarned of his rival's coming, wrote graciously to the earl on 1 November, informing him of what he was doing and, as it were, submitting for Essex's approval his orders that 400 men should be levied in Kent and that all shipping should be stayed at Sandwich and Dover for the transportation of men and victuals to Ostend.<sup>12</sup> On the same day Cobham wrote to Cecil, with whom he was evidently acting in concert in the touchy business of handling the earl, enclosing an exact copy of the message which he had sent to Essex.<sup>13</sup> The next day Cobham wrote again to his brother-in-law, out-lining his activities (he had made Rye responsible for the shipping and victualling of 400 men from Sussex),<sup>14</sup> and at the same time put into effect the instructions which he had received from the Privy Council. The 400 Kentishmen he put under command of Sir Oliver Lambert, naming his cousin Brooke and another, more distant cousin, a Wyatt, as captains under Lambert.<sup>15</sup> Also on 2 November Cobham received a formal letter from Essex, who apparently had decided to remain at Court and to write only as a Councillor.<sup>16</sup> In Kent the principal officer with whom the baron consulted was one friendly to him, the prominent Cecilian Sir George Carew; it was Carew who reported to the Secretary on 3 November that Cobham had sighted a Spanish squadron off the coast.<sup>17</sup>

As quickly as it had arisen, the Ostend crisis passed. Paul Ivey, upon whom Cobham's father had relied, sent reconnaissance men into the environs of the fort, and they reported that the archduke could not take it. By 4 November, despite the persistent rumours that Spanish ships were loitering in the Channel, the Council

ordered Cobham to discharge the Kentish levies,<sup>18</sup> and on the fifth the baron required instructions about what to do with the ships which were coming into Dover to pick up soldiers. The port had been most co-operative, and Cobham did not want it to be unduly inconvenienced.<sup>19</sup> Although the baron did not himself ask permission to return to Court, Carew on 5 November informed the Secretary that "my Lord Cobham desires you to help him out of Kent."<sup>20</sup> Late on 8 November, as he told his brother-in-law in a note written next day, Cobham reached the Blackfriars, cold and wet and in no way fit to appear before the queen.<sup>21</sup> Annoyed as he must have been that Essex was again in a position to establish his ascendancy over Elizabeth, the baron must also have been pleased that, in an emergency, he had been able to acquit himself satisfactorily in the field. The charges of military incompetence laid against him by Essex and Sir Robert Sidney had been, so far as anyone could judge, rebutted; they could not readily be raised again.

One hears nothing of the ease or difficulty with which Cobham and Essex shared the Court in the first month of the earl's return from sea. It is 22 November before one finds the baron, apparently cured of his cold, again in the great world. Perhaps it was the nature of a bill being given its first reading that day in the Lords which called him out:

On Tuesday the 22<sup>th</sup> [sic] day of November, Two Bills of no great moment had each of them one reading; of which the first being the Bill for the establishment of the new Colledge of the Poor at Cobham in the County of Kent, was read primâ vice.<sup>22</sup>

The legislation necessary for the execution of his father's will with regard to Cobham College was quickly passed; Cobham was present when, on 9 December, the bill was returned unaltered from the House of Commons and, receiving the royal assent at the end of the session, passed into law.<sup>23</sup> It would have been the only business in which the baron had a personal interest, for the many other bills considered by committees on which he sat were both unimportant and drily legalistic. On 24 November Cobham was named with others to study the repeal of an act of 1581 "Intituled An Act for the encrease of Mariners and maintenance of Navigation"; on 8 December he was presented with "The Bill for the relief of the poor in times of extream dearth of Corn"; on the ninth there was "An Act for the Natur-

alizing of certain Englishmen's Children and others, born beyond the Seas". Then, in January, Cobham sat on committees which considered a bill for the recovery of 300,000 acres in the fens, another concerning the bishopric of Norwich, another establishing the jointure of Baroness Wentworth, and a fourth "Intituled An Act for reforming of sundry abuses committed by Souldiers and others used in her Majesties Services concerning the Wars".<sup>24</sup> His associates in performing these tedious legislative duties included Burghley, Essex, Nottingham and the foremost bishops; Cobham was often strikingly junior to and less experienced than his fellow committee members. It seemed that Secretary Cecil was indeed determined to let him share in the responsibilities of government.

Parliament was adjourned from 20 December to 11 January. During the recess the baron was given special employment by the queen which suggests that, despite Essex's return, Cobham retained his place in the royal confidence. At the end of November King Henry IV had sent an ambassador extraordinary to England, and the diary which the Sieur de Maisse kept during his visit contains several references to Cobham's rôle as unofficial contact between his mistress and the Frenchman. It would seem that the baron had been instrumental in moving Henry to send over de Maisse. On 12 October Cobham reported to Secretary Cecil that, apparently on the government's orders, he had confided to M. Le Maçon de La Fontaine that the queen was offended with France for not maintaining an ambassador resident in London.<sup>25</sup> La Fontaine was the minister of the Huguenot church in the English capital; through him passed much political business between Henry IV and Elizabeth, the latter sometimes using as her agent in the days when William Lord Cobham was alive the young Henry Brooke.<sup>26</sup> Cecil's use of his brother-in-law in the same capacity in 1597 indicates that Cobham, even after his succession to his father had given him public responsibilities which made his employment as a go-between rather incongruous, was somehow regarded as indispensable to the conduct of private business between France and England. The baron's method was to drop hints to La Fontaine of what the government wanted de Maisse to know. On 26 December the ambassador recorded how, while the Court "began to dance in the presence of the Queen and to act comedies", La Fontaine approached him and fell into conversation about

whom King Henry would accredit to London as his permanent representative there. Jean de Thumery, Sieur de Boissise, de Maisse's brother-in-law and a devout Roman Catholic, had been proposed, but there were objections to him on account of his religion. La Fontaine "told me", the ambassador noted,

that he had seen my Lord Cobham, who demanded of him whether he knew Monsieur Boissise, and if he was a Catholic. He told me moreover that he did not think that the Queen took pleasure that there was sent any but one who was of the [reformed] Religion, because of that which passed in the time of Messieurs de Mauvisière and Chateauneuf [who had protected Roman Catholic plotters against the English Throne]. Lord Cobham told him that the Queen was to speak to me of it. I said, if it were so, I would report to the King what she told me.<sup>28</sup>

Such prudence on the part of de Maisse was a disappointment to Cobham and his employers, and on 30 December the ambassador made the following entry in his diary:

Monsieur de la Fontaine told me that Lord Cobham, speaking of me, declared that I was very reserved and did not speak enough. He told me also that an Englishman named Stanley, the same that betrayed a place in the Low Countries to the Spaniards some years ago, had come here on behalf of the Cardinal[-Archduke Albert]; and Lord Cobham told him that it was quite possible.<sup>29</sup>

The implication that Cobham had private knowledge of the affairs of the Spanish in the Netherlands, where Sir William Stanley's betrayal of Deventer in 1587 had been followed by much defection of English Catholics to the service of Spain, put the Frenchman on his guard, and when he left England at the end of December he doubted that his king would derive any benefit from establishing formal relations with Elizabeth. Laffleur de Kermaingant, editor of the dispatches which Boissise wrote when eventually he came to take up residence in London, has concluded that de Maisse regarded Cobham and Lord Buckhurst as the chiefs of a secret governmental department entrusted with the conduct of Anglo-Spanish peace negotiations, negotiations which, had they been successful, would have left France at the mercy of Philip II. Despite Elizabeth's declaration of friendship for Henry IV, writes Laffleur de Kermaingant,

et en dépit du bon accueil qu'il a trouvé auprès des personnes de marque de la cour, M. de Maisse revient convaincu qu'il ne faut faire aucun fond sur l'amitié anglaise. Il pense que la Reine entretient des relations secrètes mais suivies avec les Espagnols et cherche à conclure une paix séparée: les Lords Cobham et Buckhurst s'y emploient tout particulièrement et ont comme agents des Anglais catholiques réfugiés en Flandre pour cause de religion.<sup>30</sup>

De Maise almost certainly over-estimated Cobham's importance to international politics, but there can be no doubt that Cecil, to whom peace with Spain seemed essential to England's security, made use of the secret agents whom William Lord Cobham had bequeathed to his successor in the Lord Wardenship of the Ports. Nor can one doubt that the younger Cobham was ambitious of such a rôle as the Frenchman thought he played in the select circles of highest diplomacy.

Two or three weeks after the departure of de Maise, when Parliament had reassembled, it was decided that Elizabeth should further show her desire for amity with France by sending to Paris one of her chief advisers. On or about 19 January 1597/8, therefore, Cobham was ordered by the Privy Council "to cause convenient shipping to be provided" for Secretary Cecil, "sent in ambassage from her Majestie to the French Kinge, assisted with Mr. Herbert and Sir Thomas Wilkes, knight".<sup>31</sup> Nottingham and Cobham had apparently been distressed by the unavailability of suitable ships to carry the ambassador for some time before the warrant was issued.<sup>32</sup> Cecil's selection as ambassador was a triumph for his party, especially since the French regarded Essex as the leading politician in England and Henry IV had a personal liking for him. The Secretary's friends competed with one another to celebrate his employment, and on 30 January Rowland Whyte related to Sir Robert Sidney the form which their entertainments took. "My Lord Compton," he wrote, mentioning a young nobleman who was soon to snatch from Cobham the richest heiress in London,

my Lord Cobham, Sir Walter Rawley, my Lord Southampton, doe severally feast Mr. Secretary before he depart, and have Plaies and Banquets. My Lady Darby, my Lady Walsingham, Mrs. Anne Russell, are of the Company, and my Lady Rawley.<sup>33</sup>

On 9 February the queen dissolved Parliament, and the next day Cecil set out from Court.<sup>34</sup> Freed of their legislative duties, his friends insisted on escorting him to his ship, so that on the thirteenth the Secretary wrote from Dover to recommend them to his father's favour. To Burghley, who had been called out of his retirement by his son's absence abroad, Cecil said,

When leaving from the Savoy, and thinking of nothing but a farewell, Lord Thos. Howard and my brother-in-law, Lord Cobham, would needs honour me by coming to this town, I have little to requite them but love and friendship, but I beg you to favour their honest causes for

their love to me; they will seek nothing but what is just and honourable.... 'Sir W. Raleigh, with whose kindness I have been long and truly fastened, hath also desired me to recommend him to your Lordship's favour in my absence.'<sup>35</sup>

Essex accepted the dispatch of Cecil to France with some equanimity. As early as 3 January Rowland Whyte had been perplexed by the unusual show of friendship which the earl was maintaining toward the Secretary: using his cipher, in which '1000' is Essex, '200' Cecil, and '24' Raleigh, Whyte informed Sidney that "yt is exceedingly wondred at by the World, to see the to to great Familiarity, that is grown betwen" those three powerful men and one other, the unidentified '27'. Cobham, signified in Whyte's letters by '30' and, after late 1599, by '400', was not mentioned as a party to this apparent reconciliation.<sup>36</sup> While the ambassador waited at Dover in mid-February for permission from the queen and the weather to sail for France, however, the earl sent him a note which suggests that Essex challenged even Cobham to testify to his friendship for the Secretary. The message contains an allusion to Shakespeare's Falstaff which is considered elsewhere in this dissertation;<sup>37</sup> its interest here consists in its mention of both the Cecilian Sir George Carew and the Essexians Southampton and Sir Alexander Ratcliffe as attendants upon the Secretary in his delay at Dover, and in its proof that Cobham, having left his brother-in-law on the coast, had returned to Court, there to participate with Essex in expediting the ambassador's departure. Addressing himself "To my honorable frend S<sup>r</sup> R. Cecyll principall Secretary and her Maties Ambassador to the Fr. King," the earl wrote:

Sir. I haue newes of this postes going butt att the instant of his departure. I neede say nothing to you of the intercepted letters nor of the Qs directions to you for thatt will appeare by the Qs owne despatch. Butt yf my L. Cobham do butt lett you know thatt which he is wittnes of you shall find I am very honest frend and professe no more then I make good. I wish you all happines and rest

Your affectionate and assured frend  
Essex.

I pray y<sup>o</sup> cōmend me to my L. of Southampton and S<sup>r</sup> G. Caro. I wrote to them both by one Constance and had written now yf I had had ay tyme. Cōmend me allso to Alex: Ratcliff and tell him for newes his sister is maryed to S<sup>r</sup> Jo. Falstaff.<sup>38</sup>

Cecil did not receive Essex's message until he got to Paris. The queen had commanded that the embassy should not embark so long as a Spanish fleet, sent to reinforce the beleaguered Catholic garrisons which were holding out against the French

Crown in Brittany, loitered at sea. The ambassador, however, left Dover before the royal staying order reached him.<sup>39</sup> A note which he sent home on his last day in England suggests that Cecil would have put little trust in Essex's asseverations of friendship even had he received them before setting sail. Cobham had written to him from Court to say that Burghley, not Essex, was working to secure for him Elizabeth's permission to proceed to France, and it was therefore to his vigorous old father that Cecil expressed his "heavy burden" of obligation.<sup>40</sup>

The Secretary did not get back from France until 30 April. During the ten weeks of his absence there must have been much rivalry between Essex and Cobham, the one attempting to take advantage of Cecil's absence, the other to maintain his party's position until his leader returned. Soon after the departure of the Secretary a crisis arose when Burghley suddenly fell so seriously ill that he did "thincke vpon his End, calling vpon God to receue his Sowle". Cobham, whom the fears that the Spanish fleet cruising off Brittany might turn upon the south-east counties of England had driven to Dover on 18 February,<sup>41</sup> hurried back to town and on the twenty-fourth visited the Lord Treasurer. His concern for Burghley was no doubt patriotic as well as partisan: even Rowland Whyte, writing to Sidney when the emergency was past, said that "yt pleased God, for the Good of this poore Cowntrey, to ease hym of his Paine, and to giue hym some rest, which God willing will restore hym to his former Healthe:"<sup>42</sup> but nevertheless, had Burghley died while Cecil was away, a great weight of responsibility for the fortunes of the Cecilian party would have fallen upon Cobham. Even with immediate fears for the old man's life averted, Cobham's importance was increased by Burghley's incapacity, and when the Secretary wrote from France his reports to the queen on the progress of his embassy it was to the baron and Sir John Stanhope that the dispatches were sent.<sup>43</sup> It was no doubt Cobham's nearness to the queen which accounted for the rumour circulated about the Court on 4 March that his friend Raleigh would be given the appointment of Lord Deputy of Ireland, later granted to Essex himself.<sup>44</sup> Essex's own prestige was high at this time, and when Rowland Whyte was at last able to inform his master on 2 March that Sidney's leave to come back to England had been granted, he was also able to report that the earl had managed to get his

mother received again at Court. With her cousin Lettice, whom Elizabeth intensely disliked for marrying the Earl of Leicester many years before, the queen was reconciled at the beginning of March, 1598: as Whyte said,

My Lady Lester was at Court, kissed the Queens Hand, and her Brest, and did embrace her, and the Queen kissed her. My Lord of Essex is in exceedinge Favor here.<sup>45</sup>

Of Essex's success in matters more significant than the reconciliation of rival women, however, there is no indication. It is a pity that the votes which the Knights of the Garter cast in the elections of April, 1598, are not on record; it would be interesting to know how competing Cecilian and Essexian lords were regarded by their peers.<sup>46</sup>

When Sir Robert Cecil got home at the end of April, convinced that France could never be trusted and that England's salvation lay in the conclusion of a separate peace with Spain, the hollowness of the friendship between the Secretary and Essex became clear. Essex was all for war with Spain. During Cecil's absence he had received a check in Council when the moribund Burghley, in one last display of that moral vigour which had marked his earlier career, had tacitly replied to an hysterically bellicose outburst of the earl's by pointing out to Essex the biblical passage, "Men of blood shall not live out half their days." Not long after Cecil's return, during another heated discussion in Council about the conduct of the war against the Irish rebels, Essex met the queen's advocacy of Cecilian policy with the treasonable drawing of his sword in anger in the royal presence. To such a man the cool diplomacy of the Secretary was incomprehensible; Essex was soon interpreting it as a concerted affront to himself and an attack upon his own policies. When Thomas Lord Grey of Wilton, a handsome youth of twenty-two, made his appearance at Court at about this time and found favour with the queen, Essex, determined to let no one else into the royal circle upon whom he could not rely, presented him with an ultimatum. It is significant that it should have been to Cobham, the Cecilian who with Raleigh knew most about dealing with Essex's jealous attempts to dominate Elizabeth, that Grey wrote to express his annoyance with the earl's presumption. "Of late," the tyro courtier recounted

to Cobham from Diveling on 21 July 1598,

my Lord of Essex, doubting whereupon I should be so well favoured at Court and especially by her Majesty, has forced me to declare myself either his only, or friend to Mr Secretary and his enemy, protesting there could be no neutrality. I answered that no base dependency should ever fashion my love or hate to his Lordship passions; as for Mr Secretary, I had sincerely tasted of his favour, I would never be dishonest or ungrateful.

Grey's proud reply drew from Essex the retort that he could expect neither favour nor support from him, and so the young man asked Cobham to present his case to the queen, stressing his refusal to let himself become dependent upon anyone but her.<sup>47</sup>

Essex's unreasonable attempts to force his peers into servility was welcomed by the Cecilians, and by the end of the summer Cobham was able to do for Essex's admirer, the Earl of Southampton, what one would have thought Essex himself should have done. Southampton had grossly offended the queen by getting with child one of her maids of honour, and had been banished the Court. Even his marrying the girl did not at once restore him to favour, and, fearful of what awaited him, he kept away from London. It was therefore, as the earl's biographer calls it, "good advice, so kindly given", which Cobham set out in his letter to Southampton of 20 September 1598.<sup>48</sup> "In my love unto you," Cobham wrote,

I am bold to advise you that by any means you return, for I durst almost assure your Lordship the Queen's displeasure will not long continue. The exception that is now taken, is only your contempt to marry one of her maids and not to acquaint her withal; but for any dishonour committed by your Lordship, that conceit is clean taken away, so that your Lordship hath no manner of cause to doubt any disgrace, but for some time absence from Court, which I hope will not be long before it be restored unto you. If you forbear to come, I assure you it would aggravate the Queen, and put conceits into her which at present she is free of. Thus my Lord, with that love which I have ever professed to you, I hold this the meetest course for you to take, yet leave it to your better consideration, for I have my desire if you take that determination which shall fall out for the best.<sup>49</sup>

The principal position which gave Cobham his prominent place within Secretary Cecil's party, and which it so annoyed Essex to see held by one whom the earl considered unworthy of it, was of course the Lord Wardenship of the Cinque Ports. It was during 1598 that the baron was formally invested with it. At some time in July Cobham, who had never won his spurs, was given a carpet knighthood at Non-such,<sup>50</sup> After issuing instructions to the Ports to prepare for his installation

as their chief, he then probably went off for a brief holiday. On 16 July Michael Hicke, Cecil's secretary and friend, wrote of the Secretary's intention to visit him next day at Ruckholt, and, forewarning him of the paucity of companions in the country, suggested he bring along Cobham, Lord Thomas Howard and Sir John Stanhope, any of whom Hicke "would be glad to see".<sup>51</sup> Meanwhile the officers of the Cinque Ports, accepting as by tradition they were required to do their Lord Warden's commission to them as proof of his appointment to his office, arranged for his installation at a special Court of Shepway to be held on 24 August.<sup>52</sup> The authority on the constitutional history of the Ports has observed that in 1598 "the Warden was powerful enough to change the place of meeting, and the Shepway... was held at his manor of Bekesbourne."<sup>53</sup> Thus, among the minutes of a Common Council held at Faversham on 28 July 1598, there is the following note:

'Com'yssionated to Shepwaye when L<sup>d</sup> Broke [sic] Lo. Wa<sup>n</sup> toke his othe.'

Summons of High Court of Shipway, to be held at Bekesbourne, Kent, within the Town and Port of Hastings on 24 August next by 8 o'clock in the forenoon, for making and solemn taking of the serement and promise to uphold and maintain the liberties of the 5 Ports, by Henry Brooke Lord Cobham, now appointed, under H.M. great seal of England, Constable of the Castle of Dover and Lord Warden of the 5 Ports.<sup>54</sup>

Bekesbourne is near Canterbury, and there Cobham, early on the morning of St. Bartholomew's Day, made his formal speech of acceptance as Lord Warden. There must have been pride in his voice when he drew attention to himself as "the fourth of my name (or family) that have borne the wardenship of the Ports";<sup>55</sup> such a remark as this almost excuses Miss Handover's modern misinterpretation of fact when she writes that "the office was not hereditary, though of recent years so often held by a Brooke that it appeared to be an appanage of the barony."<sup>56</sup> (Two of Cobham's three ancestral predecessors in the Lord Wardenship were not sixteenth-century but mediaeval barons.) The baron had originally meant to hold the installation service at Shepway,<sup>57</sup> and one can only assume that he finally chose Bekesbourne because his manor there, as well as his great house at Canterbury, gave him the means of extending lavish hospitality to those of his friends who came to witness his inauguration. A Court gossip wrote from London on 30 August, The Lord Cobham was installed Lord Warden of the Cinq Ports on

Bartlemew day at Caunterbury, at which ceremonious solemnities were assembled almost 4000 horse, and he kept the feast very magnificently and spent 26 oxen with all other provision sutable.<sup>58</sup>

Such an occasion was bound to attract sharpers, and Sir George Carew, who would almost certainly have been among the prominent Cecilians who attended the ceremony and the feast, later told how a number of imposters opportunistically slipped among the members of Cobham's household. "At the L. Warden's of 5 ports," Carew told Sir Roger Wilbraham, "50 coseners in his Lordship's livery were attending & deceived manie with false tokens and message." Carew also related to Wilbraham an anecdote which today has lost its point, unless it is a Cecilian joke directed against the authenticity of the knights whom Essex had made at Cadiz. "One [of the imposters] passing in the streete, a maid to whom he bad good morow was asked what he was: she answered 'Forsoth, Sir, he is Cales knight by his occupation:"<sup>59</sup> that is, he is as much a gentleman of the Lord Warden's as Essex's creatures are true knights.

\* \* \*

### Chapter III

There can be little doubt that Cobham meant, by this outward show and consumption of wealth, to suggest his worthiness of high office. The death of Lord Burghley on 4 August had effectively announced the end of the old order of rule by the queen's elders and contemporaries. Those politicians of the late Lord Treasurer's generation who lived on into the seventeenth century had to range themselves behind one or other of the new men; Thomas Lord Buckhurst and Lord Henry Howard, the ablest of them, did not hesitate to accept Sir Robert Cecil rather than Essex as their leader. Buckhurst's appointment to the Lord Treasurership in 1599, and Howard's assumption of a significant though private rôle at the Secretary's side, did not, however, fill the void left in governmental circles by Burghley's death. New Councillors were expected to be made, and it was from among the young men nearest Cecil that it was thought they would be chosen. The ostentation with which Cobham had himself installed at Bekesbourne three weeks after Burghley died indicates that the baron had publicly announced his candidacy for a Councillorship. Thus John Chamberlain, after describing the magnificence of the

Lord Warden's inauguration, informed Dudley Carleton that "he, the Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Wal: Raleigh and Sir John Stanhop are in speach to be sworne shortly of the counsayle."<sup>1</sup> For the next four years Cobham was to be constantly tagged as a potential minister. He was never to become one, but the persistence of the rumour gave him credit at Court and in the country which he would not have had had his bid for inclusion in the Elizabethan cabinet not been taken seriously. Francis Thynne, the chronicler of the house of Cobham, was not entirely unjustified in believing what he wrote at the end of 1598. "What honor, what rare gyfte, and what blessynge of god yt is to a famelye," Thynne observed in a manuscript account of the Brookes which he dedicated to the baron from Clerkenwell on 20 December,

to haue a perpetuall successone in the male lyne of anye nooble howse, ys so knowen to all menne, as that yt needethe not here to be spoken of. Wherefore I will not speake any thinge of this lorde Henrye the heyre and worthy successor of his fathers honors, beinge of suche hoopes and towardnesse that he will equall anye of his auncestors, since at the firste entrance into the enheretance and patryemonye of his famelye he is by his princes fauor in the yere of Christe 1597, made lorde wardene of the fyve poortes and constable of Douer Castle (as manye of his auncestors had byn) and lieutenant of y<sup>e</sup> Countye of Kente for w<sup>ch</sup> cause I will leaue hym in his newe honor beinge but a steppe to further advancemente to answeere his good desertes. Who remembre the sayinge of Isocrates that we sholde not onlye be heyres of o<sup>r</sup> fathers possessons but also the love borne vnto them will bothe endevo<sup>r</sup> to kepe his fathers wellwillers and to encourage others by his owne merite to his highe comendatone and comforte.<sup>2</sup>

A young man of whom so much was expected was bound to be considered a good match for their daughters by the ambitious matrons of the Court, and accordingly, throughout the first two years of his tenure of the barony, Cobham was frequently the subject of vain gossip.<sup>3</sup> Yet it is remarkable that, although he was thirty-two when his father died, it seems not to have been until after he became Lord Cobham that the baron either thought of himself, or was thought of, as anything but a bachelor. Apparently he was not attractive to women; when eventually he married, it was said of his wife that no one but she had ever loved him. In 1603, during the months when he waited wretchedly in the Tower to go on trial for his life, he admitted to his jailer's son that he was unpopular with the influential feminine element at Court. "The Lord Cobham," stated young Gawen Harvey, "many

times with tears would complain unto me that the ladies in Court loved him not, [from] who[m] had they been his friends, he was sure to have found more comforts in his affliction."<sup>4</sup> It was evidently his wealth and title which made him a catch, not his person or his personality.

Wealth, influential connections and a distinguished title, however, were enough to attract the attention of the most demanding parents, and Cobham, within a day of his succession to the barony, was said to be engaged to marry Elizabeth Russell, the daughter of the sternly Puritanical sister-in-law of Lord Burghley. "It was told me very secretly to Day," wrote Rowland Whyte on 7 March 1596/7, "that the now Lord Cobham shall marry Mrs. Russell of the Priuy Chamber."<sup>5</sup> Nothing came of this reported arrangement, and there is nothing to substantiate Violet Wilson's assertion that "when Lord Cobham began to pay so much attention to Bess" that other ladies at Court became "seriously perturbed, Lady Russell threatened him with legal proceedings on account of some property, and all question of marriage came to an end."<sup>6</sup> There is, admittedly, a letter extant which dates from 1599 or 1600 and in which the dowager reprimands Cobham for breaking a promise to her. "You said a year ago," it states,

that you would not be my daughter's tenant without my good will, but broke your promise. I did not think you would have set against Lady Warwick and my daughters, they being so near the Queen. You then promised to discharge yourself of the house, but I find you have put in two of your own men to keep possession; your father would not have thus acted against any of mine. Your motive cannot be affection to the Lord Treasurer [Buckhurst] or Lord Burghley; but something yet concealed, that must appear on the trial as to who is to bear the loss of 800 l. arrears of rent for eight years; you offer rent, but it is refused, as no lease had been acknowledged. I think the Queen will not suffer the virgins that serve her to be wronged.<sup>7</sup>

The letter is cryptic, but it is fairly safe to assume that it had nothing to do with marriage.

Nine days after writing to Sir Robert Sidney about Cobham and Elizabeth Russell, Whyte wrote that he was "credibly informed, that the Lord Cobham ... shall marry my Lord Oxfords Daughter".<sup>8</sup> Oxford's unmarried daughters in 1597 were the Ladies Bridget and Susan de Vere, whom the earl had had by Burghley's daughter Anne; Secretary Cecil's favourite nieces, one of them married after 1598 Francis Lord

Norris, the other in 1604 Philip Earl of Montgomery. In March 1597 Bridget was only twelve years old, Susan nine; one doubts the reliability of Whyte's information that Cobham was about to marry either of them. One hears no more of the rumour.

When Cobham had held his barony for a year, a match was projected between him and a commoner. She was Elizabeth, only child of Sir John Spencer of Canonbury, Islington, who, as Sheriff and later as Lord Mayor of London, had amassed a fortune estimated at between £ 500,000 and £ 800,000.<sup>9</sup> "A Speach is," wrote Whyte to Sidney on 10 March 1597/8, "that my Lord Cobham shall marry Spencers Daughter, and have with her 12000 l."<sup>10</sup> Ten months later, however, John Chamberlain informed Dudley Carleton that William Lord Compton was to have the heiress and with her £ 10,000 in cash, as well as £ 18,000 with which Spencer was to redeem Compton's estate from mortgage.<sup>11</sup> Evidently this arrangement did not suit the would-be baroness's father; on 15 March 1598/9 Chamberlain wrote to his friend again, saying:

Our Sir John Spencer of London was the last weeke committed to the Fleet for a contempt, and hiding away his daughter, who they say is contracted to the Lord Compton, but now he is out again and by all meanes seekes to hinder the match, alledging a precontract to Sir Arthur Henningsams sonne: but upon his beating and misusing her, she was sequestred to one Barkers a proctor and from thence to Sir Henry Billingsleyes where she yet remains till the matter be tried. Yf the obstinate and selfwilled fellow shold persist in his doggednes (as he protests he will) and geve her nothing, the poore Lord shold have a warme catch.<sup>12</sup>

Confronted with the prospect of prolonged legal action which, in his desperate financial situation, he could ill afford, Compton defied the court order and carried off his prize, marrying her despite her father's opposition. It might have consoled Cobham that his rival did not soon get his hands on the Spencer fortune: old Sir John refused to recognize the marriage until, after the birth of a child to his daughter in 1601, the queen forced him to accept it. Upon his death in 1610 all of his money went to his son-in-law, who went temporarily mad with joy and relief, and then settled down to become Earl of Northampton and princely owner of Compton Winyates. There is a suggestion of ill-humour in the attainted Cobham's complaint, lodged from the Tower on 11 November 1604, against Compton's

attempts to buy up the Brooke estates in Gloucestershire.<sup>13</sup>

The next lady whose connection with Cobham must be considered was Margaret, the daughter of Sir John Ratcliffe of Ordsall, Lancashire, and the sister of five valiant soldiers of the Crown, the eldest of whom, Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, was one of Essex's foremost lieutenants. Margaret Ratcliffe was eight years younger than Cobham,<sup>14</sup> and a Maid of Honour to the queen. Hers was a figure of which courtiers took note: "Yesterday did Mrs. Ratcliffe weare a whyte Sattin Gown, all embrodered, richly cutt vpon good Cloth of Siluer, that cost 180 l.," wrote Rowland Whyte to Sidney on Shrove Monday, 1597. She was also notorious for her extravagant love of her brothers, especially Sir Alexander, to whose joining in the expedition to the Azores Whyte alludes in adding, "But the Fairest doth take Pleasure in nothing since the Departure of her Beloued. Her Garments, her Countenance, and Jestures, witnes no less; besides a Kynd of vnwonted Solitarines, which is familiar vnto her."<sup>15</sup> It was to Sir Alexander that Essex asked Secretary Cecil to transmit a jesting message in February 1598 which has been taken to refer to Cobham. "Tell him for newes," wrote the earl, "his sister is maryed to Sr Jo. Falstaff."<sup>16</sup> That by 'Falstaff' Cobham was meant it is not entirely safe to assume. In documents surviving from the period the baron's name is not explicitly linked with Margaret Ratcliffe's until August 1599. It must, however, be admitted that by 1599 the Maid of Honour's long-term interest in the baron was acknowledged. It also appears that Cobham had no rivals for Margaret's affections, perhaps because her apparent determination to share the queen's virgin status discouraged suitors. His being alone in courting her later, as well as his family's connection, with the Falstaff plays, therefore lends some colour to the arguments of those scholars who would identify Cobham with Essex's allusion of 1598.

One can understand why Cobham might have wooed Margaret. The Maid of Honour, in the late 1590s, held a position in the queen's circle analagous to that occupied by Cobham's aunt, the Marchioness of Northampton, forty years before, and by his mother in more recent years. She had Elizabeth's confidence and affection, and she was politically inclined. In 1601, when it had become obvious that Cecil's supporters in his late struggle with Essex would have to be disbanded before they

became unmanageable, the Secretary recalled how wisely "Meg Ratlyff [had] prophysed, [when] she sayd the pack wold breake."<sup>17</sup> Because of her brother's allegiance to Essex, Margaret was almost certainly opposed to the Cecilians, but she was too influential to be left untried. Cobham, had he been able to win her, would have acquired not only for himself a wife who had the queen's ear, but for his whole party an invaluable asset in the royal inner circle.

One never hears of Margaret Ratcliffe in undisputed possession of Cobham's affection. On 1 August 1597 there died in Ireland Henry FitzGerald, Earl of Kildare, killed by grief at the loss of his two foster brothers in the course of a successful English attack on a rebel-held fort. "Amongst the Irish, Foster-brethren are loved above the Sons of their Fathers."<sup>18</sup> Kildare had been a young man loyal to the English Crown, and upon his death his wife left war-ravaged Ireland, removing herself and her two little girls to London, where it was later reported that "The Quene hath geuen the Countesse of Kildare 700<sup>l</sup> a yeare out of the exchequer in recompence of her jointure lost and spoyled in Irland."<sup>19</sup> Further royal favour was shown to the young woman in the form of a gift of a wardship for which there had been competition at Court.<sup>20</sup> It was this lady who set herself against Margaret Ratcliffe in the contest for Henry Lord Cobham.

The widowed countess was Frances, the second daughter of the Earl of Nottingham by the queen's cousin and friend, Catherine Carey.<sup>21</sup> She had been christened at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on 29 December 1566,<sup>22</sup> and so must have been only a little more than two years younger than Cobham. In her girlhood a splendid match had been mooted for her when her maternal grandfather, Henry Lord Hunsdon, attempted unsuccessfully to marry the young James VI of Scotland to one of his family;<sup>23</sup> that this candidate for queenship was Frances Howard is proved by a published statement made by the Caroline historiographer, Abraham Darcie. In 1625 Darcie recalled that

There was also an attempt of marriage betwixt King James, then of Scotland, and the Illustrious Lady Frances, daughter to the late L. Admirall, Charles Howard, Earle of Nottingham, &c. & sister to that rare Paragon of true Honor, Vertue, and Nobility, the Lady Elizabeth Howard, Baronesse Stuart of Kincleuen, It was preuented by Q. Elizabeth and her State. His most sacred Maiesty was since graciously pleased (in remembrance of it) to cal Father, the said Earle of

Nottingham, whilst he & him liu'd.<sup>24</sup>

Frances became, not Queen of Scots, but Countess of Kildare, and was therefore among the distinguished people whom Darcie commemorated in his work. It is not irrelevant to this study to quote in full the title of it. Honors True Arbor, he called it,

Or, The Princely Nobilitie of the Howards, Wherein, The True Source and Originall of their Mightie Name, with all their Seuerall Alliances, with the High and Potent Families of diuers Countries since the first man that was knowne, in England- by the Name of Howard is described. Together with a Compendious discription [sic] of all such Noble Persons of the Princely Name of Howard as haue flourisht since. What Queenes, Princes and Princesses, Dukes and Dutchesses, Marquesses and Marchionesses, Earles and Countesses, Viscounts and Viscountesses, Barons and Baronesses, Lords and Ladies, Knights of the Royall Orders of the Garter and Saint Michael, of the Noble Order of the Bath, and other. Knights Baneret and Baronet haue beene deriued from the Howards? What High Titles, Dignities, and seuerall preferments haue beene conferrd vpon them in 500. yeares? To what High Seates of Honor this Great and Admirable House of the Howards hath beene aduanced since the yeare of Christ, anno 1000. to this present yeare 1625. and the first of King Charles Magnificent Raigne. Collected and written by Abraham De Ville Adrecie, Alias Darcie, To shew the World, The Excellencie of the Imperiall Scepter of the most Mightie Monarch King Charles, Who, in one of his Kingdomes only, rules ouer such Subiects, and may He euer be (as his Father was) the Gracious King of them that this Illustrious House doth yeeld Admired. The Glory of England that containes so Great, so Excellent, and so Princely a Family. And finally, the goodnesse and Noblenesse of that renowned blood of the Howards, That it may please God to lend vnto them still the Gracious Clemencie and Royall fauour of their lamented King, (Iames the good) of most Sacred memory, which is propagated in his most Royall, most Excellent, and most Renowned Sonne the Kings Imperiall Maiestie.

Despite its very un-Elizabethan extravagance, this eulogistic title of a work dealing with the Howards gives one a fair idea of the importance of the house into which Lady Kildare's husband would be admitted. The temporary eclipse of the senior line, that of the Howards of Norfolk, was more than obscured by the prominence at Court in the 1590s of Lord Thomas and Lord Henry Howard, the Howards of Bindon, and, of course, the Howards of Nottingham. The countess's father, the Lord Admiral, had he been a different kind of man, might have disputed with Essex and the younger Cecil the leadership of the queen's government. As Lord Admiral he had commanded the English forces which had repelled the Armada, and thus rivalled in military honour the vainglorious young earl: on his sister's tomb he was to be commemorated as the man "by whose prosperous Direction, through the Goodness of God in defending his Handmaid Queen Elizabeth the whole Fleet of Spain was defeated and discomfited".<sup>25</sup> A Privy Councillor since 1584, he had a veteran's

knowledge of affairs to which even the Secretary had on occasion to defer. His wife was, moreover, an intimate of the queen. When on 12 September 1599 Rowland Whyte informed Sir Robert Sidney of Lady Kildare's professed friendship for him, he noted how valuable was the favour of a woman whose father was capable of filling a position at Court which had remained unoccupied since the death of the great favourite, Dudley. "My Lady Kildare," Whyte wrote,

gives you many Thanckes for your Lettre; I did assure her, that she shuld euer find your Lordship willing and ready to doe her all noble Service; she protests that she wilbe forward to requite it, in all Things that may lie in her Power....

I am credibly made beleue, by a very wise and a graue Man, that at this Instant, the Lord Admirall is able to doe with the Queen as much as my Lord Lester was, if he list to vse his Credit with her.<sup>26</sup>

Considering contemporary statements such as this of Nottingham's importance, and studying the face and figure of the man represented in that striking portrait hung in the National Maritime Museum, one concludes that the happiest remark yet made about him need not be questioned merely because it was intended to be an eulogy. "His life is English History," says Henry Howard, "and of the most brilliant part of it."<sup>27</sup>

Lady Kildare did not have only influential connections to offer the man whom she wished to win. She had great intelligence and was herself no mean politician, determined to be a power in the state and evidently bent on getting a husband with whom she could act in concert. With Kildare she had not lived tranquilly: the chronicler of the house of FitzGerald relates how the young couple's disagreements drew upon the earl a reprimand from the queen which required him to correct "his wilful and disordered course of life."<sup>28</sup> There is no proof that Kildare was given to excesses; one rather suspects that his wife complained about him because, content to follow his military career in Ireland, he kept her away from the intriguing atmosphere of the Court which she loved. With her second husband the countess meant to have no such problems; she chose to win a man as politically ambitious as herself. There can be little doubt that it was she to whom Essex ungallantly referred when he called Cobham "the Sycophant (as if it had been an Embleme of his name) even to the Queene her selfe," although, as Sir Henry Wotton states in recalling the earl's outbursts, Cobham was "of no small insinuation with

her and one Lady likewise (that I may civillie spare to nominate) [sic] for her sex sake) whom he used to terme the spyder of the Court".<sup>29</sup>

Essex's judgement of Lady Kildare would admittedly be prejudiced, since never, in all her intrigues, does she seem to have worked for the earl. If she belonged to any party it was to that of Secretary Cecil, with whom she had long been on friendly terms. An indication of the warm informality which existed between her family and Cecil is given in a letter which the countess wrote on 9 June 1596, when, not yet a widow, she was visiting at Reigate in Surrey. "Good Sr Robard Ciscell," the extraordinarily spelled note reads,

I find your Loue to my father is in ciche true honorabell affeckcone that I am very glad he dud Commit me to the rule of so worthy a kind frend as by manny proufs you haue manny fasted cincs his abcncs to him slefe and his.

my Lo is not yut Come hether nor to London as I here but I haue sent to him to let him knowe of my goie of his Coming and howe glad I shuld be to see him here with my honnorabell kind mother and his one datur and if not I will mete him if he plesse at the Cort or eles were. this [i.e., 'thus'] Louth to troubbell you for der tell I here from hime I take Leue whising you all honor and happynes from Rigaet this ix of June.

Your very Loueing frend  
Frauncis Kildare

I pray sault your Lady with my Loueing Commandacons to hur.<sup>30</sup>

The countess's demonstration of affection for Cecil persisted, and in 1599 it was even thought that she would succeed in marrying him to her widowed sister.

Yet, late in 1599, the countess was offering to help the Scottish king gain the queen's nomination of him as her heir presumptive, and to disgrace Cecil and Raleigh in order the better to effect that nomination.<sup>31</sup> By 1601, while still protesting "the constancy of her devotion to Cecil", she was privately threatening that she would "break the neck of that weasel (which was her own term)."<sup>32</sup> Cobham learned to his chagrin how little even he could trust her in her politicking, and came at last to call her a Jezebel and worse. Writing from the Tower to Cecil in 1605, the baron appealed to his brother-in-law to consult his own experience before considering the charges which his wife was making against him: "If my Lady were not known to you, I might be undone. God forgive her, Jesubell was never like her: this out of truth, not out of passion, I write."<sup>33</sup> This treachery for which Lady Kildare became known was the outgrowth of her ambitious plans for herself and, had

he acquiesced in them, for her husband.

It would, however, be unfortunate if one got, in considering Frances Howard, only a picture of a cold, introverted, thoroughly unpleasant politician. She seems, on the contrary, to have been a lovely woman and an accomplished courtier, in person at least a real adornment of the later Elizabethan Court. When she returned to England in 1597 she was in her thirty-first year, one of those dark-eyed beauties whom, as Professor Cruttwell has pointed out, poets were at last at liberty to praise. "A vast deal of junk, early Renaissance and belated medieval, was cast overboard in the name of reality and commonsense," he writes, "and among it, that standardized international model of feminine beauty -- the golden-haired, fair-skinned, blue-eyed lady of Spenser and Botticelli, the imaginary lady of imaginary knights, whose behaviour was as predictable as her looks."<sup>34</sup> Lady Kildare's eyes were of the raven black of Shakespeare's mistress, while her hair may have been fair: Sir John Harington, fancifully comparing her to a stately edifice designed by an architect in whose work the elements were "so strangely matcht", wrote of "An yuory house, dores Rubies, windows tuch,/ A gilded roofe ...." Thomas Powell commented that, "Be she the noble Countesse of Kildare,/ Or Cobhams Baronesse; shee's wondrous faire," and went so far as to address her as "thou fairest of Elisaes trayne".<sup>35</sup>

It was this woman, beautiful, intelligent, incomparably well placed, who set her cap for Henry Lord Cobham. Her contemporaries could not understand what it was in the baron which appealed to her. Her cousin and political opponent, Lord Henry Howard, deploring her participation in affairs of state, stressed especially how inconvenient was her feminine tendency to betray her own cause out of consideration for her husband's. "Weak she is also," Howard wrote, "by strange affection to Cobham, whom never woman loved, or will love, beside herself."<sup>36</sup> One would be wrong to discount the suggestion in these words that even Margaret Ratcliffe did not really care for the baron as a man; one ought to keep the sage Howard's opinion in mind as one goes on to consider Cobham's life in the years when the Maid of Honour and the countess fought over the variously prized position of Lady Cobham.

When, early in 1599, following his installation as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Cobham had already been mentioned as a possible Councillor, two betrothals were reported. "There is," wrote John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton on 17 January, "a mariage spoken of twixt the Lord Cobham and the Countesse of Kildare, and betwene his lame brother Master George Brooke and the Lord Borroughs eldest daughter".<sup>37</sup> It must have seemed for a time that Margaret Ratcliffe, if she had in fact by this time been mentioned as the woman in whom Cobham was interested, had lost to the widow.

The marriage rumour was soon proved in part premature: Cobham was not to marry for several years. His brother George, however, seems to have proceeded at once to take as his wife Elizabeth Burgh, one of the young women who had walked in the funeral procession of Lady Cecil at Westminster two years before.<sup>38</sup> Elizabeth was the eldest of the five children of Thomas Lord Burgh of Gainsborough, a military hero who had died in battle as Lord Deputy of Ireland on 14 October 1597.<sup>39</sup> Valiant and improvident, Burgh had been popular at Court and highly appreciated by the government; Lady Burgh, whom Fuller was to call "famous for her charity and skill in Chirurgery",<sup>40</sup> exerted herself on behalf of her three-year-old son, his father's heir, and her young daughters, and tried to get a pension from the Crown in consideration of her late husband's tenure since 6 February 1586/7 of the military Governorship of Brill.<sup>41</sup> "I heare my Lady Borough much lamented," wrote Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney on 26 October 1597, "I mean her Pouerty, for now that she must loose the Intertainment of the Brill, her Meanes to liue and maintain her Children, is litle or nothing at all."<sup>42</sup> Three days later Whyte was reporting that Lord Sheffield, who wanted the governorship, was being asked by the widow for "500 l. a Yeare out of it, or such a Portion as was paid for it by her Husband".<sup>43</sup> In January 1598 Lady Burgh got something of what she asked, but £400 a year could not support her and her family,<sup>44</sup> and a month later she, as though from her little boy, wrote to Cobham for help. "The unexpected (I will not say the over hastened) death of my father," the letter reads,

has brought me to such a straight that, for want of help to redeem his land in reversion, mortgaged for his better furnishment into Ireland, I am deprived of all means to be brought up, and made fit for Her Majesty's service. Pray join with Mr. Secretary, my protector, in a suit

to Her Highness for me, that she would redeem my land, which lies but for 2,500 l., and take it into her own hands, until she may be repaid out of the profits. This favour she has formerly extended to other her wards, very mean both in respect of birth and ancestors' defects; thus she may raise me, her poor baron, out of the dust, to serve her, whom otherwise, though a peer and councillor born, the want of means may suppress and disable.<sup>45</sup>

Evidently the motions of Cecil and Cobham had some effect upon the queen, for, by 11 October 1598, the Crown was commanding the Privy Council of Ireland to make some provision for the late Lord Deputy's family; it was to consider "the hard estate in which he left his wife and children by his so sudden and untimely death".<sup>46</sup> Yet the widow was not satisfied, and in a forceful letter to the Secretary dated 6 January 1598/9 Lady Burgh set out her complaint. Rehearsing how she had been "often told in my misery to take relief by your mediation to her Majesty," the intrepid woman sued for a grant, "for the relief of myself, my son and my daughters, of the Earl of Lennox his lands, (now to be united to the Exchequer revenues) of a lease of forty or fifty years of two or three hundred pounds a year, paying the rent reserved and such fine as may be proper." There was, Lady Burgh pointed out, more than £ 3,000 a year to be disposed of. "If this be granted," she swore, "it will be the last suit I will ever make to the Queen;" if it were not granted, she would have to go on pestering the Crown for an increase of her pension, which was "far unanswerable to the former course of my life and my children's education". The question which she put to Cecil was no mere rhetoric: "Whence then must come heavy law expenses, cost of apparel, means for my daughters' advancement as they grow to years, and all other necessaries amounting to a far greater sum than the former [the pension]? Consider my estate," she begged, "with these depending on me, and that if I die before the Queen grant my suit, they all may be stage players or beg for any friend I have."<sup>47</sup> Cecil got the widow her grant, but she failed to show herself grateful: it was later recalled to him how he was "the only procurer of the pension she now lives on, but her ladyship hath made an evil requital, by being too busy about a libellous 'lost-letter' concerning you and the Lady Shurlye".<sup>48</sup>

One suspects that the four Burgh girls had heard a great deal about their shameful destiny before Cecil got their mother her increased pension, for the thought that they might be forced to go on stage and take over from boys the rôles

of women seems to have induced them to assume in rather grim fun the names of dramatic characters. In later life, when the death of one of them had reduced their number to three, Elizabeth Brooke, Anne Drury and Catherine Knyvett called one another Goneril, Regan and Cordelia.<sup>49</sup>

Their mock identification of themselves with Lear's daughters may also have been suggested to the Burghs by their position as co-heiresses of the family's domains. At some time after John Chamberlain reported the matches which rumour contracted for Cobham and his brother, Elizabeth Burgh married George Brooke. Brooke's choice was a curious one, for his wife can have brought him little in the way of dowry and he seems always to have needed money. When they had been married for at least a year, and perhaps for as long as three years, however, something occurred which must have encouraged the young man to think that his condition would be improved, for on 26 February 1601/2 the seven-year-old Lord Burgh died and his sisters were left to succeed him in his barony, and also in his other, ancient title of Lord Strabolgi. He had, moreover, been the heir general of the Lords Cobham of Sterborough, in Surrey, a junior line of the great house to which the Brookes belonged. Elizabeth Brooke, as senior co-heiress, claimed recognition as Lady Burgh of Gainsborough, and in the early years of the seventeenth century was familiarly styled so. Unfortunately for her husband, the Crown never ruled upon her claim, so that it was only after Brooke's death that she received even a part of her inheritance (their son enjoyed her manor of Sterborough in the reign of Charles I), and it was not until 1916 that two of her descendants became Lords Burgh and Strabolgi. It must for a time, however, have seemed to George Brooke that he might in his wife's right have rivalled his brother, and perhaps even have borne like Henry the title of Lord Cobham.<sup>50</sup>

Little is heard of Elizabeth Brooke during the queen's reign; it was not until 1603 that she became a forceful figure, struggling first to save her husband's life and then, a widow, to preserve as much of her own and his father's inheritance as she could for her son. All that is known of her as a young woman is what may be deduced from a charming letter of instruction which her father wrote to her between 1587 and 1597, when he was Governor of Brill. "Bess," wrote Lord Burgh, as the

first of what was apparently a series of preceptive messages to his eldest daughter,

Because I heare well of you, & belieue no less; I will use an unwoonted kindness, and so as you increase in yeares, yf you proceede in vertuous condicions, I will enlarge my loue & multiplie the affections of a father towards you. Know this: it is now time for you to distinguish betwene good and bad: and as you see those that doe well haue honor of it, and the worsser sorte haue shame of euill conditions, so learne to embrace that which hath glorie in it selfe, and to shun that which bringeth skorne & contempt. Your Mother is carefull in your breeding: you must be as obedient in your behaio<sup>r</sup>. alwaies remember that neither father, mother, beautie, nor personage, can giue grace to a maide, if she become not those ornamentes with modestie. Your eyes are giuen you to behoulde them y<sup>t</sup> may be patterns to you of sober conuersation: Tourne them away from uncomely spectacles. Your eares can not denye audience to ciuill speakers: but remoue your whole bodie from entisinge tongues. This is my first admonition. God imprinte his graces in youre harte and euer bless you. Brill: No: 16.

Your louinge father  
Thomas Burgh.<sup>51</sup>

Evidently Elizabeth was a credit to her parents; one hears no criticism of her as Brooke's wife. She took no known part in politics, and none that one can discover in the life of the Court, yet she lived in the midst of intrigue and, finally, of treason. She and her husband had a house in the Blackfriars near Cobham House,<sup>52</sup> and apparently lived also at some time in fashionable Cannon Row. Under their roof the conspiracy of 1603 in which Brooke was destroyed was hatched, as well as in the dowager Lady Burgh's house.<sup>53</sup> In her house, too, or in her mother's, Elizabeth probably was deceived by her husband, who was publicly accused in 1603 of having slept with his wife's younger sister, his own nephew and ward Francis Coppinger's betrothed, and of having made young Frances Burgh pregnant.<sup>54</sup> It would seem that Elizabeth had sufficient cause to repudiate her busy husband, but she remained true to him and to her responsibilities to their children.

There were three children, two daughters and a son, the latter the only Brooke grandson of William Lord Cobham. George Brooke appears best in the note which he sent to his brother-in-law Cecil on 22 November 1601 to announce the birth of his heir. Referring to the strained relations between him and the Secretary, the proud father wrote:

I desire by all means to revive and enforce that league that once made by my sister remains indissoluble in her children. Therefore, having received at the hands of God a son, the dearest jewel that ever I was possessed of, I will do my uttermost by dedication to make him yours. Receive him then into your patronage so far as to be one of those under whom he may enter his Christian adoption. If he have it not hereditary, I will give him it by discipline, to love as freely as his father hath done. If you please to do me this honour my brother doth purpose to join with you, and the time shall be at your appointment.<sup>55</sup>

With the sons of William Lord Cobham and William Lord Burghley as godfathers, the infant was christened William.<sup>56</sup>

Henry Lord Cobham was himself supposed to get married at the same time as his brother did, but he did not. What one learns of him in the first months of 1599 suggests why he and the Countess of Kildare may have considered the time inopportune: he was, quite simply, too busy to marry, and she apparently felt that she would be more sure of the quality of the man whom she was getting if she waited to see what resulted from this period of feverish activity.

Cobham's principal preoccupation when the year began was with foreign intelligence. One of Secretary Cecil's chief agents in his surveillance of the Catholic exiles in the Netherlands was Thomas Harrison, a spy once employed by Walsingham, and it seems clear from Harrison's letters that Cobham was his patron and his liaison with Cecil.<sup>57</sup> Through his servant Ledgent, Cobham also kept an eye on Spanish activities around Dieppe,<sup>58</sup> and he also seems to have had particular responsibility for watching the Jesuits as they persisted in their missionary work in England.<sup>59</sup>

The winter of 1598-1599 was the time when Essex was finally allowed to proceed to Ireland as the queen's Lord Deputy. To counterbalance the influence at Court which his appointment gave the earl, Cecil seems to have given members of his own party more say in the government than they ought actually to have had, and thus one finds Cobham sitting with the Privy Council on 4 March.<sup>60</sup> He then signed an order requiring two of the Home Counties to supply contingents to the force which Essex was raising for his Irish expedition. Apparently Cobham was particularly anxious to assist the war effort, for Essex himself, having set out from London on 26 March, wrote a letter to Cecil "From aboard the Popinjay, thwart of Hilbree," on 6 April, in which he especially thanked the baron "for his forward-

ness to supply the sum [of men] that Kent is to contribute".<sup>61</sup>

One can understand why Cobham should have been pleased to see Essex leave Court. Henry IV, unsure of how Elizabeth had received the duplicity with which he had treated Cecil during his embassy to France, in the autumn of 1598 sent to England as his resident ambassador Jean de Thumery, sieur de Boissise. Cobham announced to Cecil the Frenchman's arrival at Dover on 14 October,<sup>62</sup> and, soon after Essex left, seems to have resumed that rôle of unofficial liaison between the queen and the French which he has been before seen to occupy. It was to Cobham's contact, the Huguenot pastor La Fontaine, that Boissise turned for information about Elizabeth's attitude toward the representative whom Henry meant to send to England to be installed in his place as a Knight of the Garter. Told by La Fontaine that the young Béthune would be unacceptable to the queen, Boissise went to Cobham himself on St. George's Day for confirmation of her disapproval, and, receiving it, did not even dare officially to discuss the matter with Elizabeth.<sup>63</sup>

Had Béthune come to England in 1599 for the Garter ceremonies, he would have found them unusually sombre: in deference to the hardships which Essex was undergoing in preparing to meet the Irish rebels, the queen decreed that the customary splendour should be curtailed.<sup>64</sup> To Cobham, however, war-time austerity would hardly have mattered, for on the day that Boissise spoke with him the baron, despite his youth and juniority among his peers, was nominated to the order by all but one of the Knights Companions. Nottingham, the Countess of Kildare's father, was that year the queen's Lieutenant, and he, Worcester, Shrewsbury and Northumberland, Buckhurst, Mountjoy, Hunsdon and Lord Thomas Howard all indicated their desire that Cobham, with the Earl of Sussex and Lord Scrope of Bolton, should be admitted to their number. Since the last election vacancies had been created by the deaths of Burghley and Burgh and the redoubtable King Philip of Spain. The Sovereign accepted the recommendations of her Companions, and instructed Nottingham and Howard to instal the new Knights at Windsor on 6 June.<sup>65</sup> To the English ambassador in France Secretary Cecil proudly wrote on 26 April that, concurrent with the news that Essex had safely reached Ireland, had come the announcement "that the Earle

of Sussex, the Lord Cobham, and Lord Scroope, are chosen Knights of the Garter".<sup>66</sup>

On 18 May a warrant was issued to the Master of the Great Wardrobe to deliver "the accustomed robes of the order" to the Knights elect,<sup>67</sup> and on the appointed day Cobham rode to Windsor. With him were Sussex, one of Essex's knights and a man slightly older than the baron, and Scrope, a few years younger but already a man of importance because his wife, Hunsdon's sister, was a cousin and favourite of both the queen and Essex. From Scrope Cobham would have got a reminiscence of the day fourteen years before when William Lord Cobham had been installed a Knight, for Scrope had on that occasion acted as proxy for his own father. A contemporary account of the ceremony at Windsor survives to show that the June congress of the order was a more splendid affair than that of April had been. "First," it records,

the Officers of Armes attended at my Lord Admiralls Lodging, whether (about 9 of the Clocke) the same 3 Lords came accompanied with the E. of Northumberland and the Lord Thomas Howard, from whence all pceeded directly to the Chapter-house, where the three new Lords sate downe on a forme neere the Chapterhouse dore, The rest (with M<sup>r</sup>. Garter, Register and Black Rodde) went into the said Chapterhouse. After a while M<sup>r</sup>. Garter came forth and fetched the Erle of Sussex into the Chapterhouse, where hee putt on his Kirtell and Sword, and then came forth, and proceeded through the Church into the Queere; The poore Knightes first then the Officers of Armes, then the officers of the Order (M<sup>r</sup>. Garter bearing his Mantle hoode & Coller upon a Crymson velvett Cushion) and brought him right before his Stall; Where the Deane of Windsor read his Oath: Which done he was brought upp into his owne stall, where the Mantle was putt upon him by y<sup>e</sup> Lord Admirall and the Erle of Northumberland, and then his hood and Coller with a Booke of the Order, layd upon his Crimson velvett Cushion; This done all returned to the Chapter house and in like manner fetched the Lord Cobham: and after him the L. Scroope who being all placed in their stalls and the other three Knightes also: The Queere begunne Service: which being ended M<sup>r</sup>. Garter with the Knights of the Garter offred up the Hatchments of K. Phillipp, the Lord Tresorer, and Lord Borough. The Banner first, the Sword second, the Healme and Crest last: And all went to dinner in the castle.

Solemnly taking his place as 389th Knight of the Garter, and celebrating his attainment of that honour at the early age of thirty-four, after having been a baron for only two years, Cobham could not have foreseen that the coat of arms so proudly erected over his stall was not destined to remain there long. His father's chaplain, William Harrison, had once written of the infamy which attended a Knight of the Garter who committed treason against his Sovereign: "his armes," Harrison declared with righteous distaste,

shall be from hencefoorth be [sic] taken awaie and throwne downe: and he himselfe cleane cut off from the societie of this renowned order, and neuer from this daie reputed anie more for a member of the same, that all other by his example may hereafter beware how they commit the like trespasse, or fall into such notorious infamie and rebuke.<sup>68</sup>

Cobham, found guilty of conspiring against James I, incurred such degradation early in 1604, when Garter King publicly tore down the baron's hatchment, kicked it across the floor of St. George's chapel and out into the courtyard of Windsor Castle, and left it lying in the ditch.<sup>69</sup>

Thoughts of shame were far from Cobham's mind in 1599, when, about 5 o'clock in the afternoon of 6 June, he and the other two new Knights left the castle and set out for Court; the brave show which he made passing through the little town of Windsor indicates the reach of his self-satisfaction. Apparently in order to create the finer impression, the baron chose to come last in the cavalcade, rather than between the earl and the lesser baron, as by the rules of precedence he ought to have ridden.

First the Earle of Sussex came riding over the bridge from Colbrooke ward very well accompanied, and well horsed, his men in blew Coates faced with sanguine couler taffata, and feathers of the same couler, with many chaines of gold.

About halfe a quarter of an houre after him came the same way alsoe, the Lord Scroope his men well horsed in blew Coates faced with Orange couler taffata, and Orange couler feathers in their hatts with sundry chaines of gold.

About a quarter of an houre after him, came the L<sup>d</sup> Cobham, although the last yet most bravest: his Gentlemen in purple velvett breeches, and white satin doublets and chaines of gold: And his yeomen in purple Cloth breeches, and white fustian dublets all in blew Coates, faced with white taffeta, and fethers of white and blewe.<sup>70</sup>

Cobham's stock stood high in the halcyon spring of 1599. With his prospective father-in-law Nottingham he even seems to have had something to do in rescuing Cecil himself from an embarrassing situation involving the queen. It appears that Elizabeth had drafted a letter to the Swedish government which lacked some of her usual diplomacy, and Cecil, reluctant to dispatch it when peremptorily required to do so, had concocted a story about letting the queen's autograph fall into the Thames. He had then had Sir John Stanhope present to his mistress a copy of the letter in which he had strategically changed a phrase or two, and asked her to give it a "new signing". Elizabeth balked: as Cecil later wrote, in considering the "Care and Peril" of the office of the Principal Secretary, "If Princes be not

confident on those, whom they have made choice of, they shall ill trust the work of a strange hand:"<sup>71</sup> and it looked for a moment as though she might prove nasty. Then, as Cecil nervously awaited on 22 May the outcome of his daring manoeuvre, Thomas Lake sent a note to his apartments to tell him that the queen, while she had her suspicions about Cecil's story, had just signed the revised letter. It was Nottingham and Cobham who gave Lake the news that all was well again, and who instructed him to relieve Cecil of his suspense.<sup>72</sup> One gets a picture of an aging queen, dependent upon new men who she knew took liberties with her which their fathers would not have taken, and of courtiers forced into almost ludicrous extremes in their determination to maintain her state. Swedish affairs were not themselves particularly important, but the episode has its own significance.

In the same month of May 1599, apparently, Thomas Lord Buckhurst, who was appointed to the Lord Treasurership on the fifteenth, wrote a little note to Cobham which further indicates the baron's intimate position near Elizabeth. "I would have broken all orders had I known you had important business," wrote Buckhurst about a situation the details of which are not now known; "I thank Her Majesty for her favour to me. I know it proceeds by your good means, and will faithfully requite it."<sup>73</sup>

Cobham's place as intermediary between the queen and the foreign agents who conducted her intelligence service abroad was a source of anxiety to the Essexians. Sir William Browne, military governor at Flushing, on 2 July 1599 informed Essex's protégé Sir Robert Sidney that he was sending a Spanish soldier captured by the Dutch "not to Lord Cobham but to Mr. Secretary".<sup>74</sup> An indication that this was an unusual course, that it was Cobham who was becoming responsible for surveillance of Spanish and English Catholic movements in the Netherlands, is contained in a letter which Browne wrote to Sidney twelve days later. Sir Thomas Wilford, a commander of the Kentish militia under Cobham, had apparently urged that the captured Spaniard be sent to the Lord Warden for questioning; disregarding his advice involved Browne in a difficult situation. As he explained to Sidney on 14 July,

'Your lordship wrytes that among other things I shold take, etc., which words make me think of the fellow I last sent over to Mr. Secretary;

itt may be you wold have had him dyirected to your self, which I cold well bene contented to have done; butt your Lordship saw by the letter which you received from mee enclosed that I was desyred to direct him to my Lord Cobham: to avoyd his displeasure who with her Majesty might disgrace me for itt, and yett not to direct the man to him, I wrote unto my Lord Cobham to this effect, that whereas such a gentleman had sent such a one unto me, desiring me to address him to his Lordship, seing itt was a matter fitt for the Counsell to be made presently acquainted with, and that I cold not be assured that his Lordship was ever at Court, that therefore I directed him to Mr. Secretary, who cold best give order for such a search as was convenient; and that in the mean tyme I cold do no less then do Mr. Wilford that ryght, as to let his Lordship know, that he had such a devoted servant as Mr. Wilford in these parts.<sup>75</sup>

This letter of Browne's points to the chief source among the Essexians of their agitation about Cobham's rôle in governmental affairs. The baron, although not a Councillor, was behaving as though he were one. It has already been noted that on one occasion he signed a letter from the Council; no doubt other instances of his sitting at the board have not been recorded.

Reports of his hated rival's rise to power poured in to Essex as he malingered in Ireland, too obsessed with fears of what was happening at home to prosecute the war against the rebels. Forgetting decorum, the earl on 25 June wrote a heated letter to the queen. "Why do I talk of victory or success?" he asked grandiloquently.

Is it not known that from England I receive nothing but discomforts and soul's wounds? ... Is it not lamented of your Majesty's faithfullest subjects, both there and here, that a Cobham and Raleigh -- I will forbear others, for their places' sakes -- should have such credit and favour with your Majesty, when they wish the ill success of your Majesty's most important action [the Irish campaign], the decay of your greatest strength, and the destruction of your faithfulest servants?<sup>76</sup>

Sir Henry Wotton, one of Essex's secretaries, later recalled how contemptuous the earl was in these years of the courtly Cobham. "Onely against one man," Wotton wrote,

he had forsworne all patience, namely Henry Lord Cobham, and would call him (per Excellentiam) the Sycophant (as if it had been an Embleme of his name) even to the Queene her selfe, though of no small insinuation with her.<sup>77</sup>

Yet contempt was evidently not all that Essex felt for Cobham; there was fear, too, and in the summer of 1599 the earl had good reason to fear the baron. For, as the queen continued to be informed that her favourite was doing nothing to suppress the Irish rebellion, Cobham exerted himself more and more in her service.

On 13 July Cobham wrote to Cecil from his house in the Blackfriars, telling him that a report had just reached him from Dover of a new Spanish attempt to capture Ostend. Incredulous, Cobham yet felt that the Secretary should know of the rumour.<sup>78</sup> Then, on the thirty-first, after visiting the coast to ascertain the true situation there, the baron was jolted into sudden action by the news that the new King Philip III meant to repeat his father's attempt of eleven years before to invade England. "The King of Spain," wrote Cobham's naval informant,

has a mind to be here in a few days, with 70 galleys and 100 ships, in which come 30,000 soldiers. Capt. Fenner and myself [Captain Matthew Bredgate] are now newly come from Brest, with the governor's answer to Her Majesty, of which you will be acquainted by Mr. Secretary. While we were at Brest, a Frenchman arrived from the Groyne said the Spanish fleet would be there in three or four days, and that it was openly rumoured at the Groyne that the King himself will come in the fleet. Of late he has cut off two of his noblemen's heads, because they counselled him not to attempt this enterprise, and he says he will make his finger heavier in England than his father's whole body was. I trust, however, the same success his father had in '88, he will now have in '99.<sup>79</sup>

The contest indeed promised to be one in which young men would try to excel their fathers: Burghley's son would head a government threatened by Philip II's, and Henry Lord Cobham aspired to emulate the late Lord Warden who, although at the Anglo-Spanish peace conference at Bourbourg when the Armada sailed up the Channel, had done his bit to ensure that the Spanish would be defeated.

As soon as he got Captain Bredgate's letter, therefore, Cobham, although he had become ill while surveying the coastline, wrote in high excitement to the Secretary. "Since my coming to London," he related,

I have been advertised of their expectation and preparation at Dunkirk of the coming of the galleys, and so I am confident the design is for England. I know not how it may be taken, and therefore pray your advice, and that you will move Her Majesty in it. My father did the like in '88. Though he was at ... [Bourborol], he wrote to ask the governor of Calais whether, if the Spanish fleet came, he would receive them into his harbour and give them succour; whereupon the governor wrote to the King, and received his command not to suffer them to come in, and if they desired to water, they should be permitted but one boat after another, which he precisely kept.

Whether I might not write some like letters I leave to Her Majesty's pleasure; thereby I might learn what he thinks of this fleet, and likewise discover his affection, which in respect of my place, I hold fit for me to know. Send an answer when you go to the Court, and directions for the ordering of the country, as soon as you may; that though the time be short, the best may be made of it. I am very unwell.<sup>80</sup>

Later on the same day the minister of <sup>the</sup> Huguenot Church came to see the baron,

and Cobham, without having heard from Cecil, wrote to the Secretary again. Although he had received a further report from the Ports that all activities at Dunkirk had been sealed off behind a curtain of secrecy, and although he knew that the Governor of Calais was showing feverish interest in the reaction of the English to the news of the Spanish fleet, Cobham was this time less anxious for the security of England than he had been before. Perhaps his fatigue at the end of a long day of illness contributed something to the dullness of this second letter. "I still think that design is for England," he wrote,

yet since my coming home, I have had conference with La Fontaine, who assures me the French King will not suffer the Spaniards to enter any port of his; thus they have no port to enter between Spain and the Low Countries, which all the world knows was one of the causes that lost the fleet in '88. If they have fair weather to bring them hither, yet in all the Low Countries there is no haven for the reception of ships of that burden, so that it is probable they intend present action, having no place to harbour in foul weather. I will send to Dunkirk if possible, and La Fontaine has offered to write both to the governor of Calais and Dieppe, if you allow it. I am so feeble that I can write no more; I hope you received what I wrote this morning.<sup>81</sup>

The next day Cobham was no better, and he must have been chagrined to find that his big opportunity to take a leading part in the deliberations of the Council had been lost. To him the Lords wrote, authorizing him to raise an army in Kent and Sussex of 10,000 men and suggesting that the loyal Sir Thomas Wilford be named Marshal of the Army. The Councillors expressed their regret that his indisposition prevented him from conferring with them, and asked him to send them Sir John Leveson as his deputy.<sup>82</sup> Replying to Cecil, Cobham promised to try to get to Court by 2 August, "though I protest unto you it would much be for my health if I be spared some two, three or four days".<sup>83</sup> In the morning he was still unable to get up, and, the Council having been assured that his information about an imminent invasion was correct, the Lords notified him that he was to instruct Wilford to prepare to withstand a landing "in the Downs or at Margett".<sup>84</sup> In the third they wrote again, acquiescing in his request that not their nominee, Sir Richard Wingfield, but his, his cousin Sir Calisthenes Brooke, should be named Berjeant Major of the army being levied in Kent and Sussex. The Councillors also were "sorry your Lordship hath no better health at this time", and wished him

"speedy recovery", but they had to require that, should he think his illness would continue, he allow Wilford to take over from him completely.<sup>85</sup>

The news of a Spanish landing on the Isle of Wight spread like wild fire through the capital on the night of 5 August, rousing Cobham from his bed, and, although the alarm proved to be a false one, on the eleventh Rowland Whyte wrote from Nonsuch to tell Sir Robert Sidney that "My Lord Cobham comands the Army in Kent,

which shalbe of 12 thousand, till the Roial Army march, which shalbe quartered about London, within 6 miles; to march, if Necessity require yt, vpon the Landing of the Spaniards.<sup>86</sup>

Also on the eleventh Cobham wrote two long letters to Cecil, one from the city and one from the Blackfriars. He was on his way to Dartford, there to keep part of his army, and some of his news was therefore of troop movements, but the more interesting parts of his letters reveal that, even when the country was in arms, it was up to the Lord Warden to resist an invasion more subtle than that of the Spanish military. Two exceptionally important Capuchins had been apprehended at Sandwich; Cobham, sending them under guard to Cecil, suspected that "their journey is for some extraordinary purpose, they both being principal men in their religion, and not usual for men of their profession to go into any country, especially in such places where they are barred to wear their habit". At the same time a letter to the queen had been intercepted; it was in Flemish and Cobham, before sending it on to the Court, had had it translated. Putting the translation in Cecil's hands, the baron urged the Secretary not to let the queen suspect that they knew what it contained.<sup>87</sup> One can see that, united in its determination to withstand the Spanish, England was yet divided among the Essexians and the Cecilians, and that Cobham feared lest the queen not share with Cecil everything which reached her from the Continent.

In the event, the Spanish did not land, and Cobham's forces were never tested. Yet the Cecilians -- especially the Secretary, Cobham and Raleigh -- had proved themselves able to face a military crisis without the assistance of Essex. Sir Gelly Merrick, the earl's favourite, who had interfered with Raleigh's taking of Fayal, indicated in a letter to one of Essex's secretaries in London the resent-

ment which the militarists in Ireland harboured against the men on the home front. "Let Raleigh and Cobham prate," Merrick wrote; "they are infamous here for their service."<sup>88</sup> As Miss Handover says, considering Essex's failure to do what he had been sent overseas to accomplish, "Essex deserved that opprobrious epithet more than Raleigh or Cobham."<sup>89</sup> No doubt aware of the shame which he had brought upon himself by dallying with the rebels while his rivals displayed their decisiveness at home, Essex fretted throughout August, and on 24 September, upon receiving Elizabeth's rejection of his mad proposal that the Irish problem be resolved by a capitulating truce with the rebels, he abruptly decided to return to England. His decision was treasonable, since he had been expressly ordered not to return until summoned, and when he reached Nonsuch four days later he had placed himself in the power of the law, wielded by his enemies.

The earl had promised his followers speedy settlement of the complaints which they had made against Cobham in his absence. Sir Robert Drury in particular, whom the baron's protégé Sir William Woodhouse had ambushed and badly injured in a private quarrel which erupted just before Drury went over to Ireland, depended upon Essex to wreak vengeance upon Cobham for getting Woodhouse pardoned. "My Lord [Essex] bids me assure you," Drury informed his uncle, "he will give the Lord [i.e., the high-and-mighty] Woodhouse his protector a sound blow at the last;" again, he asserted that his assailant would be punished "for all my Lord Cobham do what he can," and "at the last my Lord Cobham's dealings shall be looked into.... The Queen knoweth the Lord's [Cobham's] humour against my Lord, and was made acquainted with my Lord Cobham's tricks sufficiently before his [Essex's] departure; and as for Mr. Secretary he will not so much as appear in it. My Lord and I know the drifts of them all. The world is full of crosses or otherwise it were no world. You shall find ere it be long they that now brave it most, will clap their tails between their legs. Doubt you not that my Lord Cobham's privy tricks will appear daily more than ever."<sup>90</sup> All this, however, was but more of Essex's big talk: when he got back to England it was his life he had to fight for, not his dependents' honour.

One learns a little about Cobham's private life during the time which elapsed between the war scare of early August and the Court crisis which Essex's return on 28 September 1599 precipitated. On 18 August news reached Nonsuch of the death of Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, who had been killed in battle, and at noon on that day Rowland Whyte wrote to Sir Robert Sidney of the effect which the catastrophe had had upon the Court. In doing so he related how Margaret Ratcliffe was being troubled by something other than her bereavement:

Mrs. Ratcliffe hath kept her Chamber these 4 Daies, being somewhat troubled at my Lady Kildares vnkynd vsing of her, which is thought to proceed from her Loue to my Lord Cobham. As yet she heares nothing of her Brothers Death, and, by the Queens Comand, yt is kept from her, who is determind to break yt vnto her her self.<sup>91</sup>

On 1 September Margaret was still not appearing in public; to her rooms trooped the Ladies of the Privy Chamber, offering their condolences, and coming away distressed by the evident decline of the favourite.<sup>92</sup> Only Lady Kildare would have had reason to be pleased. If, as appears probable, the countess had already gained such a hold upon Cobham that she could estrange him from Raleigh, one can pretty well imagine what were her preoccupations as summer drew to a close. On 29 August Whyte informed Sidney that, of her own vdition, Lady Kildare had asked to be remembered to him; "hauing no Leisure her self to wryte," she said that "she was glad to heare of your Welfare; that she wold be ever ready in the Place she liued to do you any Kindness and Pleasure, as to her good Brother."<sup>93</sup> This courting of an Essexian by the woman who hoped to marry Cobham suggested that Cobham's closeness to Raleigh would not last long, and in the autumn signs of a breach between the two friends became evident. On 13 November Whyte, using a cipher in which '400' stands for Cobham and '24' for Raleigh, told Sidney: "I heare that betwen 400 ... and 24 ... is growen a deepe Vnkindnes, but I cannot yet learn the Cawse." In the same letter Whyte reported that "Mrs. Ratcliffe, the honorable Maid of Honor, died at Mr. Kircoms House in Richmond, vpon Sunday last. She is much lamented."<sup>94</sup> One of those courtiers who was shocked by Margaret's death was Philip Gawdy, who gave his brother a circumstantial account of her last days. Speaking of her decease as "tragycall", Gawdy told how she,

auer synce the deathe of S<sup>r</sup> Alexander her brother hathe pined in suche straunge manner, as voluntarily she hathe gone about to sterue

her selfe and by the two dayes together hathe receyued no sustinaunce, whiche meeting with extreame greife hathe made an ende of her mayden modest dayes at Richmonde vppon Saterdaye [sic] last, her Ma<sup>tie</sup> being [present?] who commaunded her body to be opened and founde it all well and sounde, sauing certeyne stringes striped all ouer her harte. All the maydes euer synce haue gone in blacke. I saw it my selfe at court.<sup>95</sup>

On the twenty-third Margaret was buried in Westminster Abbey,

all the Maids mourning, but Mrs. Anne Russell was Cheiffe; she was buried as a Noblemans Daughter by the Queens Comand. Many of the Nobility were at it, as the Lords Worcester, Sussex, Rutland, Harbert, Gray, Cobham, Lord Thomas [Howard]; and <sup>24</sup> poore Women had Gownes, for soe old it was said she was.<sup>96</sup>

In fitting tribute to a woman who had meant so much to her queen, Ben Jonson wrote the celebrated epitaph beginning "Marble weep, for thou do'st cover", the initial letters of the lines of which spell Margaret's name.

It would have been a relief to Lady Kildare to see Cobham walking in the funeral procession of Margaret Ratcliffe. When Whyte wrote to Sidney on 13 November, he had reported that "Now that Mrs. Ratcliffe is dead, the Lady Kildare hopes that my Lord Cobham will proceed on his Sute to her." It even appears that the Howards, worked on by Cobham, had hopes of including not only the baron but Cecil himself in their family. The Secretary was rumoured in November to be secretly married to Shrewsbury's daughter,<sup>97</sup> but by 8 December Nottingham was too "full of his own Buisnes" to consider expediting Sir Robert Sidney's leave when Whyte raised that perennial question with him; using his cipher, Whyte informed Sidney that "400 [Lord Cobham] makes hym beleue he will haue one, and 200 [Sir Robert Cecil.] will haue his other Daughter, yet I se no Likelihood in either."<sup>98</sup> Two days before, Whyte had reported that it was "verely beleued" at Court that "her Majestie will assure 400 ... to the Lady Kildare, vpon the Remoue from this House [Whitehall], which wilbe to Morrow;"<sup>99</sup> such rumours persisted. Of Cecil's matrimonial future, however, it is clear that speculation was aroused simply because the Secretary was to observe the third anniversary of his wife's death in January 1600, and he was thought to have undertaken to remain a widower for only three years when Elizabeth Brooke died. Gossip about him annoyed the queen: she is "offended withall," wrote Whyte, "affirming he promised never to marry; but he denies it, and saies, that he only promised to forbear it 3 Yeares."<sup>100</sup> The

Court knew that, should he choose to take a new wife, "The Necessity of his Service will make his Peace well enough:" he was indispensable and could impose upon the queen what conditions he liked for his private life: but Cecil had in fact no intention of marrying again, and continued to speak of his late wife as irreplaceable. Serious matrimonial speculation at Court in the winter of 1599-1600 had to restrict itself to Cobham; before considering it further, however, one must turn to the principal preoccupation of Cobham and his party at the time when Margaret Ratcliffe died, the question of Essex.

It is probable that Cobham was in Kent when Essex rushed into the queen's apartments at Nonsuch on the morning of 28 September; on the nineteenth Sidney had been informed by Whyte that the Lord Warden had gone to Dover for his autumn inspection of the defences of the Ports,<sup>101</sup> and the only other report of Cobham at this time is an indirect one, which purveys the rumour that his allies, Cecil and Raleigh, were attempting to gain peerages from the queen while Essex was away.<sup>102</sup> It is at any rate certain that, within hours of his enemy's precipitate return to Court, Cobham was at the Secretary's side. Having listened all day to Essex's excuses for leaving his command, and after allowing him to defend his dereliction before Cecil and three other Councillors, the queen, "the 28 Septemb. at Night, between 10 and 11 a Clock at Night," issued a command that the earl should "keepe his Chamber." Next day, in plenary session, the Council examined him and unanimously found him guilty of making a forbidden truce with the rebels and of deserting his post. They also considered "His ouerbold going Yesterday to her Majesties Presence to her Bedchamber" and "His making of so many idle Knights". Dismissing him late in the afternoon, Essex's peers went to the queen and advised her of what had transpired; "her Answer was, that she wold pawse and consider of his Answers." The Councillors left her and went to dinner, and the long hours of waiting for her decision began. Rowland Whyte, writing the next day to Sidney, reflected the tension under which the Court was functioning in his request that his correspondent burn his letters,

else shall I be affrayd to write, the Tyme is now so full of Danger,  
And be very carefull what you wryte here, or what you say where you  
are; for I haue some Cause to feare that many Things are wrytten

here, that might very well be omytted. If you wryte by Post, take heed what you wryte, for now Letters are intercepted, and stayed.

Yet, despite his anxiety and his exclamatory "Blessed are they that can be away, and liue contented," Whyte could not help but express his intense interest in the scene around him. "Yt is a World to be here, to see the Humors of the Tyme," he wrote, for what he saw was the culmination of years of backbiting and partly submerged <sup>t</sup>in<sup>a</sup>trigue. While the queen deliberated in her chamber, the two factions formed ranks and went in to dinner. Cecil was accompanied by Shrewsbury, Nottingham and Thomas Howard, by Cobham, Raleigh, Grey and George Carew. With Essex were Worcester, Rutland, Mountjoy, Rich, Sir Edward Dyer, Lumley, Sir William Knollys and Lord Henry Howard. (The last, while professing neutrality, was Cecil's secret intimate: "Take you head of hym, not to trust him," Whyte instructed Sidney, "if you haue not already gon to farre.")<sup>103</sup> It was evident that the showdown had come, and that, with the victory of either Cecil or Essex, a whole set of influential courtiers would find itself suddenly powerless. The queen's announcement late that evening that Essex should be placed under arrest at York House, in the keeping of Sir Thomas Egerton, was received with foreboding by the earl's faction.

While ominous, Essex's confinement was not yet a victory for the Cecilians, and the Secretary kept about him at Court his supporters. Cobham did not return to the Cinque Ports, but conducted the affairs of his bailiwick from the Blackfriars, receiving there his lieutenant's reports of suspicious persons apprehended at Dover, and on one occasion recommending to Cecil that one of the Capuchins who had been imprisoned at the time of the war scare should be released from the Marshalsea, where he was extremely ill.<sup>104</sup> While attending to his official business, Cobham also instituted a suit of his own to the queen, which, one strongly suspects, was meant by his party to be a means of testing Elizabeth's attitude toward the two parties: were she to acquiesce in the baron's request, she would wrong Sir Robert Sidney, and thus show the Essexians that their cause was lost.

The test case, if such indeed it was, concerned the royal manor of Otford, between London and Penshurst, of which Sidney, while he did not have a grant of it from the Crown, was keeper. Cobham had long had his eye on the manor, and Sidney, knowing this, before leaving for Flushing had extracted from his rival a promise

that he would not attempt to get a grant of it in his absence. Whyte, acting for Sidney, had to remind Cobham of this promise later: "My Lord," Whyte stated that he had said to the baron,

Sir Robert Sidney, vpon his Departure out of England, was with you, acquainted your Lordship with the Sute he had for a further State in Oteforde Parke, and desired your Honor not to prevent him, or hinder him in his Absence; it pleased your Lordship then to assure him you wold not, and he re\_poses trust in your honorable Word. As God shall iudge me, said he, I will not seeke it from him, and soe I told my Lady of Warwicke.<sup>105</sup>

One can understand why Sidney should have been anxious not only to retain his keepership of the manor, but to obtain a grant of it, for, as Whyte pointed out to him,

If your Lordship meane to liue in Kent, you should not part with soe great an Honor and Comand as Oteford, for by it, you shalbe euer able to haue many Freeholders at your comand, which in a Mans own Cowntrey is specially to be regarded.<sup>106</sup>

What is surprising is that Cobham should ever have committed himself not to attempt to undermine his rival's power in the county the control of which they both sought.

However dishonourably, Cobham in October 1599 seems to have made a deal with Sidney's underkeeper, a Mr. Johns, whereby Johns undertook first to pretend that he had a right to be considered as a competitor for the manor, a right independent of Sidney's, and then to state that he sold this right to Cobham.<sup>107</sup> Thus equipped with a claim on Otford, and backed by Cecil, Buckhurst and Sir John Fortescue, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the baron prepared to beg the manor of the queen.<sup>108</sup> Highly disturbed, Rowland Whyte sounded the Court, and found that no one as yet knew officially about Cobham's suit, but that the queen had let it be known that who offered most for the manor should have it. Whyte found the knowledgeable Lady Huntingdon unable to assess Cobham's own influence with the queen at that moment, but he came away from conversations with her, Fortescue and Nottingham convinced that powerful interests were supporting the baron in his determination to outbid Sidney.<sup>109</sup> On 10 November Whyte was encouraged to hope that all was not as solid within the Cecilian camp as he had feared, rather, that Buckhurst was opposing Cobham's suit, and he even got Lady Huntingdon to talk with Cobham "and

lay breach of faith and promes to his charge: and yf neede be she will thoroughly deale with the Queen about yt." The powerful Nottingham, however, was displaying marked coldness toward Sidney. "Yt may be," wrote Whyte, "that if 400 doe continue his purpose of making love to his daughter, that he will not doe anything that may offend hym."<sup>110</sup> By 13 November it was known that the queen had refused to sell Cobham "all the Mannor in this Sale": she would not consider dispensing with the fee farm and the house itself: but the park and the occupancy of the house were still on the market.<sup>111</sup> It was by this time a question of sale, not royal reward for services: "My Lady Warwicke," reported Whyte two days later,

hath spoken with my Lord Cobham, who told her, that he never went about to seeke for Oteford from the Queen, but by Way of Purchase. That her Majesty shuld say, that she wold not part with such great Honors, and that he was well lefte by his Father.<sup>112</sup>

This bringing out into the open the fact that it was not a grant which Cobham sought, but a purchase, was not encouraging to Sidney, who could not hope to match pounds with the baron. Moreover, Whyte could not even learn what Cobham was offering, let alone be confirmed that a sale was indeed in the offing. "Yt is donne so secret," he complained on 1 December, "yf it be donne, that I cannot by any meanes com to the knoledge of it." Sir John Fortescue assured him that "her Majesty will not part with yt to any," but Whyte did not trust him.<sup>113</sup>

By 11 January 1599/1600 the matter had gone so far that Crown surveyors had been appointed to assess the value of Otford, a step which frightened Whyte, despite Fortescue's continued assertion that "if ther were any Sute made for the Parke ... he knew it not." "Your Lordship sees," Whyte told Sidney,

that it is now full Time to take the Allarum, for surely it must be my Lord Treasurer [Buckhurst], or my Lord Cobham, and in your Absence they will goe about to gett it away. There Purpose is surely either vpon the Survey of the House, if the Queen will not repaire it, to make her an Offer for it, and soe withall to buy of her, the whole Mannor or Roialty, or els to buy the House, and to take the Parke in Lease or Feefarme.<sup>114</sup>

Whyte was right to suspect that, although it was a Cecilian who was seeking Otford, it need not have been Cobham: Buckhurst himself had an interest in the manor, and there was by 19 January it was known that "some vnkyndnes growen between 900 [Lord Buckhurst ...] and 400 [Lord Cobham] about the Matter of Oteford. I cannot tell what

to make of yt; the Officers [i.e., the surveyors] are not yet returned."<sup>115</sup>  
 Further to complicate matters, as Whyte stated in his letter of 11 January, Mr. Johns now offered capital amounting to £ 4,000 to Sidney, if Sidney would make a bid for Otford in association with himself.

At last Whyte took decisive action. Talking with Sir John Stanhope, as they strolled about outdoors on 23 January, he learned that, not long before, Buckhurst and the devious Fortescue had persuaded the queen that some of her great houses were costing her more in maintenance than they were worth, and that she ought to have them surveyed. Among those courtiers who hoped that the surveyors' report would convince the queen to sell Otford was, said Stanhope, a nobleman whom "for his own Sake, I doe nothing soe much Regard, as I doe Sir Robert Sidney, but prefer hym much before hym, yet for his Friends Sake, and named 200 [Sir Robert Cecil], I may not openly take a Thing in Hand against hym." Anxious to bring Cobham's name into the open, Whyte, finding Stanhope "disposed to walke longer, the Morning being soe faire," pursued the conversation. "I tooke the Tyme, and besought hym to giue me Leauē to make a Ghese of that Nobleman, he named," he reported to Sidney,

and soe I did, and named 400 [Lord Cobham] and withall told hym what Vowes and Protestacions he made vnto you, before your last Departure out of England ...; but I see how much he degenerats from true Nobility. At these Words of myne he was much amased, and I fownd by his Cowntenance he greatly misliked soe faithles Proceedings. This was the Substance of our long Walke together; you may doe well to send hym Thanckes; but in no Case, to take Notice from me, of 400 by Name; for indeed, though by Circumstances, I must know he ment hym, yet he wold not name hym to me.<sup>116</sup>

At the same time as Whyte was taking steps to clarify the situation, his patron himself acted, and in letters to Buckhurst and Cecil (which do not survive) made his complaint about the irregularity of the proceedings. As Whyte congratulated Sidney on 26 January, Buckhurst, so far as Otford was concerned,

whatsoeuer he meant by yt, gaue yt out in publiq, that he wold neither medle nor make in yt. Your Lettre to hym, but specially that of 200, which 400 [Lord Cobham] is acquainted withall, doth discourage them, who thought to haue carried it away in a Clowde.<sup>117</sup>

There would seem to be several reasons why Cobham failed to carry off Otford. One was the queen's reluctance to part with anything belonging to the Crown, another the division within the ranks of the Cecilians occasioned by the desires

of several men to possess the lucrative manor. Principally, however, it would appear that Elizabeth realized that more hung on the transaction than the mere purchase and sale of a royal residence, that she knew that a victory for Cobham, or Buckhurst, over Sidney, would be interpreted as proof that the Essexians could hope for nothing more at her hands. She would not have been the statesman she was if she had given further cause for resentment to a Sidney than he had already been given. By showing the Court that, though Essex might be in disgrace, those of his supporters who continued to serve her might rely upon her as their true leader to defend their rights, she kept the earl's fall as nearly as possible an individual tragedy; she did not allow it to become an issue which divided the nation. When Essex finally was brought to ground, Sir Robert Sidney was among his captors.

It is perhaps not irrelevant here to describe the conclusion of the Otford affair, for it reveals something of that gracelessness which made Cobham unpopular among his contemporaries. By 2 February Whyte was able to tell Sidney that Fortescue had assured him "that they that were most earnest in yt are grown most cold, and that he is of opinion nothing will be donne in yt;"<sup>118</sup> on the fourteenth he jubilantly reported that the queen had decreed that, "if any Body haue a further State in it, it shalbe your self, and soe her Majestyes Pleasure is signified to the Lord Treasurer, Sir John Fortescu; and by this time to the Lord Cobham."<sup>119</sup> Armed with these assurances, Whyte went to see Buckhurst and, finding him still playing a mysterious game ("it was as much as he could do to keep her Majesty from granting any further state in it; Lord Cobham was a nobleman he had special cause to respect," "you were two he beloued, and being of one Cowntrey [county], he wished their might be Goodwill between you," &c.),<sup>120</sup> awaited further developments with a composure which he had not had a few weeks before. Late in March a summons to the Lord Treasurer's office came, and on the last day of the old year, 24 March, Whyte went to see him. In preliminary conversation Whyte revealed how much he knew of the whole affair, and Buckhurst said, not merely in jest,

I must take Heade I see ... what I say vnto you: Butt lett me tell you a Thing, and I pray you keape it to your self. I haue lately receued a Lettre from 400 [Lord Cobham] who still assures me, that

Johns was with him, and again acknowledges, that he bought Sir Robert Sidneys Interest in the Parke; that one Montagu, a Lawier, drew the Writings, and that he hath seen the Paper Bookes. My Lord (said I) now that the Honor of my Lord Gouvernor, and my Lady his Wiues, is called in Question, I pray you giue me Leane to charge Johns of this vnfrendly and vngentlemanlike Proceedings, who doth abuse Sir Robert Sidney, my Lady his Wiffe, your Honor, and my Lady Warwicke, and Sir John Fortescu; for he hath protested the Contrary to you all, and hath written it to Sir Robert Sidney, and I know it is most false, lett whosoever affirme it; for Johns is but his Vnderkeaper, and hath the Profitts of the Parke at a Rent, but to be removed vpon Sir Robert Sidneys Pleasure.

Buckhurst gave Whyte permission to confront Johns with his supposed perfidy, on condition that Whyte did not reveal the source of his information, and Sidney's man accordingly, "troubled and disquieted in Mind to see thes straunge Dealings," took Johns aside "and laid to his Chardge what you haue hard. Yt vexed him, and greatly tormented him, and the more, because I wold not lett him know where I hard it." Round the Court Whyte led the betrayed tycoon, who, before Lady Warwick and Lord Buckhurst, "protested, vpon his Saluacion, that he never vsed any such Speaches to 400 [Lord Cobham] that he was but Vnderkeaper, and to be removed vpon your Pleasure." Johns's only excuse was of course that "my Lord Cobham had donne him great Wrong to report any such Thing by him," and, to back up his defence of himself, he asked Buckhurst's permission to go with Whyte to meet Cobham face to face. Buckhurst agreed, and off went the pair. They had to go to the Blackfrars, for Cobham had not been at Court since the queen had declared her determination not to let anyone but Sidney have the manor. ("He is minded," Whyte explained, "as I heare, to sell all his Lands in other Cowntries, to buy Land in Kent, and by Exchange to haue some of the Queens Land about Oteford, if he cannot procure Oteford it self.") Into the city, then, related Whyte,

We both went to my Lord together, and after that Johns had made him know the Wrong was donne him, he protested before God, and vpon his Honesty, that he never said it, and that Mr. Johns never said any such Thing vnto him. My Lord, said I, it may be your Lordship, by some Misreport, may be made beleue that Sir Robert Sidney hath sold his Interest to this Gentleman; therefore, in your Presence, I desire him to tell you what Interest he hath. Then Johns swore that he was but Vnderkeaper, never paid or offred any Money for your Interest, and was to be remoued at your Pleasure.

Johns then left the room, and Whyte reminded Cobham of the promise which the baron had made to Sidney before the latter left England, a promise which, as has already been noted, Cobham did not exactly acknowledge, but which he therepon either made

or made again. Satisfied, Whyte said,

I will take the Boldnes in my next Lettre to signifie to my Lord Gouvernor soe much, which I know wilbe a Contentment vnto him. When I came out, he called Johns in again, and told him that 900 [Buckhurst] had donne him Wrong, but swore deepely that he shuld never haue it.<sup>121</sup>

It is impossible to decide whether Cobham was honestly misled by Johns or whether he merely used him so long as he could. That he felt that he had cause to inconvenience Sidney is evidenced by Whyte's remark to the governor, "Your seeking of the Cinq Portes stickes yet in Mind."<sup>122</sup> It is also impossible to judge Buckhurst's whole part in the affair. Cobham certainly found it treacherous, but with what justification one cannot know. Whyte reported to Sidney on 12 April that "there is some Jarre betwen 900 [Lord Buckhurst] and 400 [Lord Cobham] about it, each mistrusting others Proceedings; and it was told me, that 400 writ an vnkind Letter to him about it."<sup>123</sup> One thing only seems certain. Cobham continued, even after the interview with Whyte and Johns, to assert that Sidney had no claim on Otford. One must say 'seems', since it was Buckhurst who on 26 April told Whyte that Cobham "affirmes still, you [Sidney] haue no Interest in the Parke, but that you haue sold it, as Mr. Mountague wold witnes, if 900 wold send for him. I besought his Lordship," Whyte told Sidney, "to giue me Leauē to bring Mr. Mountague vnto him, which he willed me to doe vpon his Return from Court vpon Monday. It seemes that 400 pursues still his intended Purpose to obtain the Parke from her Majestie, and will acquaint my Lady Warwicke with it."<sup>124</sup> (Whyte was even led to believe that Cobham might refuse to marry Lady Kildare unless the queen made Otford, or property surrounding it, part of the countess's dowry.)<sup>125</sup> Montagu the lawyer swore that he had never drawn up papers between Johns and Cobham,<sup>126</sup> and yet the baron continued to seek a grant of the manor. How long he might have done so one cannot say; it was, ironically, only when Sidney offered to sell his claim to Buckhurst in return for his support in other suits which the governor would have to make to the queen when he came home, that it became obvious to Cobham that he would never succeed in his course.<sup>127</sup> On 12 May 1600 one hears again of his determination to get the manor. On that day Whyte, having delivered a letter from Sidney to Buckhurst, wrote to tell his patron how well he had done:

Your Lordship hath donne very discretely to wryte vnto hym, for 400 [Lord Cobham] staies from going to the Bath, and purposes with all the Strength and Credytt he hath, to gett a State in the Parke, which yf your honorable Friends will truly informe her Majestie, how falsely you are delt withall by hym, who goes about by abusing your Lordship, to inform her Majesty of Vntruths. I doubt not, but 900 [Lord Buckhurst ...] and my Lady Warwicke will very carefully see, that nothing shalbe suffred to be donne, till your own Return.<sup>128</sup>

As late as 12 July Cobham still "hotly fought for" Otford, "but yet cannot obtain it".<sup>129</sup> That summer, on 16 August, in informing Cobham that, through his own and Secretary Cecil's representations to the queen, the baron had been sold another Kentish property, which previously he had merely held under the Crown, Buckhurst stated that "Her Majesty has utterly refused to pass Otford." There there was an end of the troublesome matter, in which Cobham behaved less than well, and in which he had become estranged from the powerful Buckhurst. Even in telling him that he had acquired Canterbury Park, Buckhurst expressed doubts of the honesty of Cobham's dealing. "My chiefest argument [in getting Canterbury for you]," wrote the Lord Treasurer,

was that you had paid it in deposit, for so I understood from yourself that you had; but since your departure, I can hear of none that has order to pay it, which has much amazed me. Pray send up with all speed, that we may presently receive it, for we have great cause to use it; do not fail, or I fear what may follow.<sup>130</sup>

Cobham had not yet paid the £ 1,000 deposit in September 1601.<sup>131</sup>

Of the quarrel between Essexians and Cecilians in general one hears little during the winter of 1599-1600, less, certainly, than one would expect of months following the momentous statements made by the Privy Council before the annual assembly of judges which closed the law term on 29 November. In a semi-public indictment of Essex's Irish career, "there was publike Declaration, by every one of the Councill, both of her Majesties Pleasure, and their Opynions conserninge the Estate and Proceedings of the Matters of Ireland," and it seemed for a time that the earl could not escape arraignment for high treason. The forces against him were splendidly marshalled that day of the "verry greate Assemblie of Prevy Councillors and Judges in the Star Chamber": Lord Keeper Egerton, Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, Lord Admiral Nottingham, Lord Chamberlain Hunsdon, Secretary Cecil, the Councillors North, Knollys and Fortescue, Lord Chief Justice Popham "and almost

all the Judges of this Land" were there, and there were also "standinge by, my Lord Cobham, my Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Rawley, Sir Charles, and Harry Danvers, Mr. Foulke Grevill, and many others of Accompte".<sup>132</sup> That was at the end of November; by December it was thought that the only way in which Essex could escape temporal punishment would be through death. Whyte reported to Sir Robert Sidney on the twenty-second that "vpon Wednesday yt was sayd he was dead, the Bell toled for hym. He was praied for in London Churches: Divines watch with hym, and in their Pulpitts pray for hym." Essex did not die, and it came to be thought that his illness was a feint, designed to draw to him popular and even royal sympathy. Evidently the public responded, but the queen did not (Whyte said that she "thinckes all to be cunning"), and the Essexians were confirmed in their belief that Cecil had poisoned her mind against the earl: "the Abuses," Whyte hinted darkly, "must be great, that keepes away Pitty and Mercy, which was wont to be shewed to hym, and all Men." At Court, "vpon the very white Walles, much Villany" was scribbled against the Secretary.<sup>133</sup>

Cecil ignored the slander, and calmly went about his business, although he must have known that the longer Essex went unprosecuted, the greater was the chance of the earl's recovering his power. Cobham, too, buoyed up with the hope that Essex was finished, attended to his responsibilities. On the very day that Whyte deplored in his letter to Sidney the Cecilians' usage of the earl, the Lord Warden, in writing to his brother-in-law about a seditious character who was known to be seducing youths of good family from their allegiance to the Crown, pointedly harked back to the time when Burghley ruled all, assisted by ministers such as the late Lord Cobham. Referring to the seducer Thomas Foulkes by name, Cobham recalled how he was,

by my Lords your father and mine, known for a great conveyor of gentlemen's sons beyond the seas. He was by their letters committed to Newgate and there remained a good time. He was the more suspected because, to one Gilbert that then was searcher, he offered an £ 100 by the year, to suffer him and such as he should bring with him to pass and not be stayed.

I think it very requisite that he and the rest should be brought up hither [from Dover to London]. If he be well handled, much may be discovered by him.<sup>134</sup>

To administer the affairs of state while the Earl of Essex remained under arrest

was of course to give malcontents cause for envy. The times were dangerous, Cecil and his colleagues hated, and on the day after Christmas (which Cobham apparently spent in London), Sir Thomas Fane, the Lord Warden's Lieutenant of Dover Castle, wrote to his master a letter which indicates that there was fear for Cobham's life. Apologizing for offering unsolicited advice in another letter, which has since been lost, Fane said:

The cause of my postscript vnto yo<sup>r</sup> LL. proceeded of more zeale then padventure of Judgement wherin If I have erred I cravinge p<sup>d</sup>on must trulye alledg the olde proverbe, Quando ego nō timui graviora pericula veris Res est solliciti, plena timoris amor. The gen<sup>r</sup>all report of the death of one, confirmed by sundrye p<sup>s</sup>ons of reasonable credit in the countrey affirminge the great conco<sup>r</sup>se & p<sup>r</sup>vye conventicles of Malitious & evill disposed p<sup>s</sup>ons, & the castinge of lewde lybeles, cōsidered by me, w<sup>th</sup> the vsuall man<sup>r</sup> of yo<sup>r</sup> LL. traveylinge in the Cittye by darke in the night, & thearby mynistering much opportunitie of malice & practises to be excepted against yo<sup>r</sup> LL. wheras the co<sup>r</sup>te on the contrary gave all securitie, I preferred the co<sup>r</sup>te during theas turbulent tymes pswaded ther<sup>v</sup>nto by the recordes of tumultuarie actions in o<sup>r</sup> forefathers dayes, w<sup>ch</sup> [in] pticularitie, neyther tyme nor Judgmente, will geve me leave to disco<sup>r</sup>se knowinge [him] to whom I write [to be] better accq<sup>a</sup>inted & skilfull in the Cronicles by many degrees then my self who am inforsed to see thorough Ignoraunce [sic] by deceavable spectacles borrowed I know not well of whome & therefore little differinge from the blinde man that thressheth the hai, & therefore strikes many a vayne & frivolous stroke.<sup>135</sup>

Fane was right to refer to chronicle history, for indeed the almost feudal attachment to Essex of his followers made armed conflict between the factions highly probable, and if Cobham chose to go about London at night, far from the royal circles where naked steel was forbidden, the baron was laying himself open to attack. The baron, however, showed little fear. In February Essex, although recovered of whatever had ailed him, was denied trial by Cecil, who feared that the queen's increasing unwillingness to prosecute her favourite on the more serious charges against him would make of the process a farce from which Essex might well escape.<sup>136</sup> Instead, the Secretary chose to wait as long as he could for public opinion in favour of the earl to pall, and as he waited he and Cobham indulged in esoteric appraisal of Essex's activities. Visitors to York House became more frequent, and one of them, an earl who was most probably either Southampton or Essex's brother-in-law Northumberland, may have been the subject of a bet between the two ministers around 21 March. On that day Cobham wrote to demand

of his brother-in-law a satin doublet which he had lost to Cecil because the latter had told him that "the Earl went not to his house till the next day;" Cobham had since been informed that "that night at eight o'clock he went thither, as I am confidently assured."<sup>137</sup>

Meanwhile, while London awaited the outcome of Essex's confinement, the Cecilians rose to new heights of confidence at Court. The necessity of replacing the earl in Ireland had preoccupied the Secretary throughout the autumn, for the problem of finding a military commander suited to the position of Lord Deputy and yet not an Essexian was difficult. When Charles Lord Mountjoy was nominated the Secretary made no protest for, supporter of Essex and adulterous lover of the earl's sister though he was, Mountjoy was an honourable man and an astute one. From the Court at Richmond on 5 January 1599/1600 Rowland Whyte sent news to Sir Robert Sidney that the new Lord Deputy's commission had been signed and that "he is to be gone by the End of this Moneth." It was thought that Mountjoy would be appointed to the Privy Council before he left, "at which Tyme 400 [Lord Cobham], 40 and 24 [Sir Walter Rawleigh] do expect the like Honor."<sup>138</sup> '40' was Sir John Stanhope.

Cobham's expectation of Councillorship was of course no new thing, but in January 1600 it must have been keener than ever. On Twelfth Night, Whyte informed Sidney the day before, the baron's nephew was to make his début at Court: "a gallant faire Boy," as Whyte described him, soon to be nine years old, William Cecil had been given a New Year's gift by the queen of "a Coate, Girdell, and Dagger, Hatt and Feather, and a Jewell to weare in yt". Not only were the Cecils, despite the enmity of the Essexians and of the Londoners for whom Essex had long been a hero, being honoured at this time, but the Howards too were receiving especial marks of royal favour. On 19 January the queen went to Chelsea to dine with Nottingham, and although she disappointed those who expected her to name Mountjoy, Cobham, Stanhope and Raleigh Privy Councillors there,<sup>139</sup> she seems to have promoted the marriage of the baron with Lady Kildare. A week before, Whyte had reported to Sidney the words of the knowledgeable Lady Warwick, who had told him that Elizabeth "hath delt with the Lord Cobham about the Marrieng of the Lady

Kyldare, soe that it is in a Sort held as good as concluded."<sup>140</sup> The countess's insistence that her husband be a Councillor alone seems to have held up the marriage at this time, for, on 22 February, John Chamberlain informed Dudley Carleton that "The Lord Cobham is contracted to the Countesse of Kildare before the Quene, but is thought will not marry till he be a counsaillor."<sup>141</sup>

Cecil and Cobham's friend Raleigh was by the winter of 1599-1600 fully restored to favour, so that the rumours about his promotion to the Council were not as strange as they might otherwise seem. If one may endorse Attorney General Sir Edward Coke's outspoken statement, made to the defendant at Raleigh's trial in 1603, "You were no Councillor of State, Sir Walter, nor I hope never shall be," one must also admit the relevancy of Cecil's astute remark at the same time, "Sir Walter Raleigh was truly no sworn Councillor of State, yet he hath been often called to consultations."<sup>142</sup> For indeed, as Essex languished at York House, his old enemy sunned himself at Court. He was back in his old position of granting favours to those less strategically placed than himself, and in the winter of 1599-1600 it was no less a personage than Henry Earl of Northumberland whose fortunes he undertook to advance. Northumberland, who was later to play an important rôle in the life of Cobham, was the same man whose refusal to go on a formal embassy to France in 1596 had almost forced Lord Chamberlain Cobham to make the trip.<sup>143</sup> The earl was a few months older than Henry Lord Cobham, being thirty-five in the winter of Essex's captivity; he was an intelligent man and a patron of intellectuals, owing his soubriquet 'The Wizard Earl' to his support of the mathematicians Torporley, Hues and Warner, but, although a Knight of the Garter, his career at Court had been impeded by his debts and by a physical defect, deafness. In excusing himself from the embassy of 1596 he had cited "the imperfection of my hearing, and the consideration of my state".<sup>144</sup> His wife was Dorothy Devereux, Essex's sister, with whom he lived in scandalous incompatibility. On 1 December 1599 Rowland Whyte told Sidney that "My Lady of Northumberland and her lord are not yet come together; he once offered her 1000 l. a yeare to live a part; she desired as much as she brought, which was 1500 l., and now tis bruted he will give her but 500 l.; men lay most fault in her, for this seperacion."<sup>145</sup> Culpable the

countess may have been, but her husband, whose political and military ambitions made him resent the success of her brother, must also have been to blame. "Northumberland," wrote Lord Henry Howard in 1602, "Is mad that any man should be thought so fitt for place of martiall employment as himself:"<sup>146</sup> the earl's jealousy of his brother-in-law is made explicable by such a statement, and it is to that jealousy that one is beholding to the earl for the most succinct account of Essex's turbulent course. "He woore," Northumberland confidently told King James of Scotland after Essex had been executed, "the crowne of england in hes hart these many years." Justifying his judgement, the earl swore:

Of this i can speake wery perticularly, as on whoie was as inward wyth hem as any lywing createur, the first two years i was matched wyth his sister. And could he then dreame of any things but hawing the continowall pouar of ane army to dispose of, of being great constable of england, to the end that in an interregnum he might call parlaments to make laws for owr selwes?<sup>147</sup>

Northumberland, in forwarding his ambition, had long been associated with Raleigh and the Brookes. In a letter impossible to date and addressed only to a Lord Cobham, Northumberland asked that his desire to do the queen exceptional service should be presented to her, and promised that if Cobham could gain him a royal commission he should acquit himself of the favour by performing a reciprocal one. One suspects that the letter was written to the younger lord, in the late 1590s.<sup>148</sup> To Raleigh, in 1596 and 1597, the earl made his appeal by nominating the knight for admission into the Order of the Garter.<sup>149</sup>

By 1 December 1599 Northumberland and Raleigh were known to be "very great and inward frends",<sup>150</sup> and by 12 January the earl was "a perpetuall Courtier; and familiar with Sir Walter Rawley at Cards".<sup>151</sup> By spring he was considered as a possible ambassador to the Anglo-Spanish peace talks in France, and was not named only because the queen felt that his rank was too high to be used in conference with less exalted representatives of Spain and the Netherlands.<sup>152</sup> Northumberland seems to have wanted to go abroad: his position at Court had been enhanced by his familiarity with the leading Cecilians, so that papal agents had a cipher for him, just as they had ciphers for the queen and Cecil, Essex, Cobham, Raleigh and other prominent Englishmen,<sup>153</sup> and he wanted to make his mark on European

politics: and in 1600 he went to the Hague, there, as a soldier, unofficially to pry into Dutch affairs. The queen recalled him,<sup>154</sup> but in 1601, with Essex finally out of the way, he was able to gain a command of the English in the Netherlands, where he led the successful attack on Bergen-op-Zoom.<sup>155</sup> "I have no office under Her Majesty, am no privy councillor, and can not advance to my liking out of my own fortunes," he wrote modestly in reply to a request to favour Dudley Carleton at this time,<sup>156</sup> but his stock was infinitely higher than it had been two years before, and by 1602 he saw himself, with Cecil, Cobham and Raleigh, as one of the chief men in the English government.

Thus the Secretary's friends advanced others while Essex awaited his end. Cobham and Raleigh acted in concert, despite rumours that Lady Kildare would separate them, and were favoured together. In January 1599/1600 Lord Buckhurst informed the baron that a suit made by Raleigh had been granted by the queen, and that, notwithstanding his own fears to the contrary, Cobham's own request for an outright purchase of Canterbury Park, of which he then had only a lease, had been successfully initiated.<sup>157</sup> Rowland Whyte, sarcastically commenting to Sidney on the success of Cobham's suit for Canterbury, later remarked, "Yf he obtain yt, as I hear he hath or shall doe, yt is a Matter of great Honor and Profitt to hym, and I hope, a good President and Example to moue her Majesty to doe the like to as weldeserving Servants."<sup>158</sup> The baron and his friend ought perhaps to have suspected that something was amiss, that the favour which they were receiving was very insubstantial, when Mountjoy got away from Court at the beginning of February and yet no Privy Councillorships were bestowed. Whyte had more acumen than they, or perhaps less desire for the promotions: he at any rate was correct in writing to Sidney on 2 February,

'My Lord Montjoy is not yet gon; 'tis thought that he will be at Court tomorrow, that he shalbe made a Counsailor, that the Lord Cobham, Sir John Stanhope, Sir Walter Rawleigh shall likewise have the same honor; but I have seen many such expectacions prove vaine.'<sup>159</sup>

Cobham was, however, being named for such high employment that it can be understood why he should not have seen that Cecil had no intention of giving him permanent political power. Elizabeth was contemplating a peace with Spain and with the

Spanish rulers of the Netherlands, the Archduke Albert and his wife the Infanta Isabel, which was not to include the Dutch rebels, and in December 1599 Cecil dispatched Sir Thomas Edmondes to sound the archdukes' intentions. Edmondes found the Spanish amenable to suggestion, and it was decided that on the neutral soil of France a peace conference should be held. Louis Verryken, the audientary of the Spanish council at Brussels, was sent by his sovereigns to England, and rumours concerning the identity of the peace commissioners to be appointed by either side began to spread. From the Hague on 13 February Sir Robert Sidney was informed that the Spanish expected the queen to name Cecil and Cobham.<sup>160</sup> From London the next day Rowland Whyte reported that Buckhurst's name had been proposed, but

the Lord Treasurer saies that it hath not bene seen, that one of his Place hath gon out of the Land, to treat of any Buisnes. Mr. Secretary cannot in any wise be spared, but it is thought that Things are so agreed vpon already, that a full Direction may be geuen here, to them that shall goe, how to conclude it. Especially that the Secretary Vereken is arriued, who shall haue Access to her Majestie vpon Sunday, to cleer all Doubts. Mr. Edmonds is not returned out of France, but Howrely looked for; the Place holds of meeting to be Bullen, the Day the 16 of their March; soe that our Comissioners must hasten away, who are not yet knowen, but assone as Vereken hath spoken with her Majestie, they wilbe appointed. Yt is thought my Lord Cobham wilbe one.<sup>161</sup>

At four in the afternoon of Friday, 15 February, Verryken reached Dover, attended by ten servants; he was to come to London on Monday, and Cobham, in informing Cecil of his arrival, asked whether he should send his own barge to Gravesend for him.<sup>162</sup> Apparently the ambassador's coming was kept as secret as possible by the officers of the Ports, for on the sixteenth Whyte heard that "Vereken is at Calais, staying for the Queens Ship, not daring to put to Sea, for Feare of the Hollanders.... Mr. [Christopher] Milles staies at Dover, with my Lord Cobhams Coach, to bring him to London."<sup>163</sup> Meanwhile Cobham kept Cecil better informed, relaying to him Milles's reports about Verryken, and noting that "this Ambassador keeps Lent very strictly, and most nights forbears his supper. It seems his abode will not be long here."<sup>164</sup>

Oddly enough, despite all the rumours at Court about his being appointed a commissioner, Cobham seems not to have alluded to the matter in his letters to Cecil. It is even possible that because of an accident to his ankle which he had sustained, the baron did not want to be sent abroad. The number of references

to this injury which one finds in correspondence of the time testifies to Cobham's prominence. Whyte wrote on 25 February:

My Lord Cobham hath wrencht his Foote, and is not for the Paines able to come Abroade, which soe much troubles the Lady Kildare, that vpon Saturday, hearing Sir Walter Rawley was newly come to Court from him, just when the Queens Diet was sent for, she sent for him to come vnto her in all Hast, els the well Carving of the Queens Meate wold be mard for that Day, res est solliciti plena timoris Amor; she wishes an End in it, but it seemes he findes Delay for it.<sup>165</sup>

Whyte's final comment evidently referred to Cobham's attitude toward marrying the countess. On 1 March Cobham was still away from Court, remaining in the Blackfriars because of his injury,<sup>166</sup> and two days later it was being said that his "wrencht Anckell, puts hym to a great deale of Paine, that he is not able to putt his Foote to the Grownd".<sup>167</sup> Yet the baron was not left out of the talks which the government was having with Verryken. On 1 March he sent Cecil some of the diplomatic papers bequeathed to his care by his uncle Sir Henry Cobham, a veteran in dealing with Spain,<sup>168</sup> and ten days later, showing that he had had some contact with the audientary, he wrote to Cecil to ask that the Easter benevolence taken "for releasing captives taken by the Turks or Barbarians" should be bestowed upon "poor Thomas Jefferies", an English prisoner in whom Verryken had expressed interest.<sup>169</sup> Also, incapacitated as he was, Cobham had to do his bit in entertaining the ambassador. The Cecilians, since they promoted peace with Spain against the belligerent policies of the Essexians, were expected to bear the burden of the reception which the Court gave Verryken; they, after all, were the Hispanophiles. Thus Whyte wrote to Sidney on Saturday, 8 March:

All this Weeke the Lords haue bene in London, and past away the Tyme in Feasting and Plaies; for Vereiken dined vpon Wednesday, with my Lord Treasurer, who made hym a Roiall Dinner; vpon Thursday my Lord Chamberlain feasted hym, and made him very great, and a delicate Dinner, and there in the After Noone his Plaiers acted, before Vereiken, Sir John Old Castell, to his great Contentment.<sup>170</sup>

The Lord Chamberlain's company was of course Shakespeare's, the play which it presented probably a Falstaff play, which Whyte, with an Essexian's perverse determination to annoy Cobham, called by the name which had been superseded.<sup>171</sup> The entertainment which the baron himself gave to Verryken is not recorded, but that he did have him to his house is attested by the dispatches of the French

ambassador.<sup>172</sup>

On 12 March Verryken left London, to meet at Boulogne in May those of his English hosts who would be appointed commissioners.<sup>173</sup> He had not convinced the queen that his government was serious in its desire for peace, and after he left Elizabeth pointedly gave the commissionerships to comparatively unimportant men, led by John Herbert, Cecil's coadjutor in the Secretariat. "No Nobleman goes," announced Rowland Whyte on 19 April 1600, "because of the other Side none is named."<sup>174</sup>

There is no evidence that Cobham was disappointed when he was not chosen to go to France, but there is a suggestion in a newsy letter of Whyte's, written on 15 March, that Raleigh was left dissatisfied upon Verryken's departure. "Ill pleased to see nothing donne for him," Whyte heard, Raleigh, "within 2 or 3 Daies goes out of Town with his Wiffe and Family to the Westcowntrey." Miss Handover is probably right in supposing that Raleigh resented being used by the government to keep Verryken company during his visit, without being rewarded for having done so.<sup>175</sup> Of Cobham himself at this time Whyte had heard several things. One was that, Hunsdon being ill of an apoplectic stroke, the baron hoped to get the Lord Chamberlainship through the other's resignation of it; had he succeeded, Cobham would, at the age of thirty-six, have held all the offices and honours which his father had been sixty-eight before he received, the Privy Councillorship excepted. The baron was also holding out, Whyte was told, for "something for his better Maintenance" before he accepted Lady Kildare as his wife.<sup>176</sup> That the Court was perplexed about Cobham's intentions regarding the countess is revealed in the letter which Whyte wrote the day after he made this statement: "I was told this Day," he informed Sidney on 16 March, "that 400 [Lord Cobham] was already married, and that very shortly yt will be published and solemnised."<sup>177</sup>

Cobham, however, far from thinking of marriage in March 1600, seems to have been preoccupied by the pain which his ankle was giving him. The departures from Court which always attended the beginning of the Easter vacation were made: the Raleghs left for Sherborne, taking young William Cecil with them, and were enter-

tained on the way, at Petworth, by Northumberland: but the baron could not see them off. Whyte was anxious to learn what would happen when Cobham returned to the queen's presence ("There is great Expectacion he shalbe a Cownsailor vpon his Return"), but the indefatigable reporter had to announce to Sidney on 22 March that the baron, who had "not bene at Court this Moneth", had complained "his Foote was wrencht, but now it appeares that it is out of Joint."<sup>178</sup> The day before, Cobham had himself admitted to Cecil that his injury was less slight than he had thought. "There is never a good bone-setter in London," he protested, "so that I am constrained to send for Stufild, who [sic] my physician, Dr. Turner, doth hold to be the very best in England. My pain is great and increased."<sup>179</sup> To add to his troubles, Lady Kildare was proving insistent, so that, when at last the ankle was set, he had much to write about to his brother-in-law. "On Sunday last," he began the next letter of his which survives,

my foot was put in joint, which being so long out, and the party that set it thought skilful, yet old and weak, that it was very near a whole hour before he could put in the bone. Judge what pain I endured; since the splinter, which is of iron to keep the bone in must not be altered for 14 days, and is so hard tied about my foot that the pain I now endure is very great, besides the cold weather which increases it. They assure me for my comfort that there is no blemish to my leg.

How to satisfy the Lady I know not; I have written unto her. By some 4 days past, I prayed my Lord Thomas [Howard] to do my commendations unto her. I see none that I know come where she is but I pray them to salute her from me. For her mislike that I am not willing she should come to me, if reason will satisfy her, in my letters I have yielded her my opinion; if visitation between her and me, or matters of ceremony, be of more force than the truth of my love, which I have given her the best assurance of, I can but blame my unforwardness, and wish it were in my power that ceremony might be satisfaction. I speak of too great happiness to myself.<sup>180</sup>

One can hardly 'judge' today the pain which such an operation must have inflicted upon the patient, but one can imagine that it must have been excruciating. At the end of April the baron could still not walk; "I am," he told Cecil, "in such pain in my foot that I am not able to go."<sup>181</sup> As for Lady Kildare, one can appreciate her misgivings about her lover's intentions; she was to wait more than a year before Cobham signed the contract binding them together.

It was while he was laid up that Cobham received a note from a very interesting person. On 27 March John Daniel, expressing his sorrow "to hear that you keep your

bed", wrote to the baron from the Marshalsea to ask him to persuade Cecil to get from the queen the money which Daniel needed to buy his release from prison.<sup>182</sup> Why the queen should have helped such a man does not appear: Daniel was in the employ of Essex, and was "an arrant thief", by the earl's later admission, "one that broke a standard of mine, and stole a casket of my wife's with jewels and many other things":<sup>183</sup> but it is not so much the source of Daniel's hope in Elizabeth as the details of this theft itself which are of interest here. They suggest that in the winter and spring of 1600, as the Cecilians waited to bring Essex to trial, the baron and Raleigh were known to be willing to pay for damning evidence against him. As told in the Star Chamber on 17 June 1601, the unseemly affair went rather like this. Just before Essex was tried in June 1600, the Countess of Essex ("for fear her house should be searched", said Daniel) turned a casket containing some thirty of her husband's letters over to her servant Jane, Daniel's wife. Jane put it under her own bed, where Daniel came upon it and read its contents. The Attorney General, prosecuting Daniel, said that he had done so "to make gain thereof"; the defendant retorted that he had "no such purpose", but wanted "to discover and reveal matters of state" such as the letters were, "containing matters of disloyalty and contempt against Her Majesty's person". Knowing that the letters might be required by the countess at any time, Daniel went to a scrivener's shop and had copies made of six of the more interesting of them, apparently interpolating choice bits of treason to make his proposed denunciation of the earl the more convincing. In the time which elapsed between Daniel's discovery of the casket and the time when the copies were made, Lady Essex asked for the letters. She was alarmed to find six missing, and "questioned the prisoner and his wife about them, who denied having them" (one must admire Daniel's audacious comment in court, "The letters were not denied but detained for matters of state"), whereupon she tried to pretend "that the letters were neither of importance nor dangerous to the state". The countess knew, of course, that the letters had to be got back, so she sent Sir Edward Dyer and George Lisle to Daniel, "to have the letters returned, and to assure the prisoner that she would relieve his wants to the best of her ability, but he demanded<sup>d</sup> 3,000 l., otherwise he would not deliver them". Later, in a personal

interview with Lady Essex, the extortioner reduced his price to £ 1,720, "alleging that if he carried them to Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh, they would give him 3,000 l. for them". This reference to the Cecilian leaders Daniel strenuously denied having made, but it is clear that he must have frightened Lady Essex, and how better than by implying what hands the letters would fall into if she did not buy them herself? Frightened she was, and, selling her jewels, raised the required sum, "paid it to the prisoner and received her letters". When, after Essex's death, all this was brought to light, public sympathy was so much with the countess, "so honourable and virtuous a lady, in her sorrow for her husband's fall, that it highly aggravated the offence". The upshot was that Daniel was fined £ 3,000 and sentenced to life in the Fleet.<sup>184</sup>

The problem which arises out of the Daniel affair concerns the involvement of Cobham and Raleigh. Daniel was himself forced to acknowledge his incrimination of them to be "false and slanderous" and "that they never offered him money". His comment upon the transcript of the trial at this point, "Never reported nor spoken by me", probably means that he denied ever having talked with them, and thus merely repeats his "No such words", the phrase he used to annotate the charge that he had alleged to the countess that the Cecilians were interested in the letters. In the Star Chamber on the day that he was tried were the two courtiers, who "did protest that they never knew Danyell",<sup>185</sup> and, to conclude the case for Cobham and Raleigh's innocence, there is a letter which the extortioner had his wife draft in 1603, when he had been in prison for two years and when, with James I on the Throne, he hoped for release. The letter was to be sent to Cobham and Raleigh, and was to state that Daniel had been informed "that the Countess of Essex would not have prosecuted him, but for a false report that he was bribed to betray the contents of the late Earl of Essex's letters to them, to the Queen, or to Sec[retary] Cecil". Consequently Daniel appealed to them "to declare to the world that he never betrayed any letters to them".<sup>186</sup>

On the other hand, the public seems to have thought that Daniel was in collusion with Essex's enemies, and eloquent testimony to this belief is provided by an anonymous poem. The poem was written in 1603, when Cobham and Raleigh were them-

selves awaiting trial for treason, and purports to be "The disparinge complainte of wretched Rawleighe for his treacheries wrought against the worthie Essex". It is a very long work, one stanza of which, the eighteenth, certainly refers to Daniel:

For as by letters I procur'd thy bane,  
 which of a periur'd villaine I did buye,  
 whoe for comoditie hadd stollne the same  
 from her to whome thou sent'st them faithfully,  
 containeinge nought but truthe & modestie,  
 Yet I, which knew they would thee much infest,  
 did spare noe cost till I hadd them possesst.

In another stanza, which alludes to another aspect of the fall of Essex and which will therefore be quoted later, Cobham is mentioned by name.<sup>187</sup>

Perhaps one can say no more of Cobham, Raleigh and Daniel than that the two courtiers were known to be the most likely suborners of Essex's servants, and that Daniel, the opportunist, used their names to intimidate the countess. The judicial exoneration of Cobham and Raleigh does not prove much: in June 1601 it would have been unthinkable that they, any more than other members of the victorious faction, should publicly have been disgraced: but the private letter drafted in 1603 attests their innocence of complicity with a despicable criminal. Daniel's familiarity with the great, however, and especially the plea which he made to Cobham in March 1600, indicates that the fellow knew enough about the baron and his colleague to appreciate the effect which the mention of their names would have upon Frances of Essex. Neither he nor she entertained any doubt that, given evidence against her husband, the two Cecilians would use it.

April 1600 saw little improvement in Cobham's condition. On the third Rowland Whyte said that "all Advancements at Court stand at a Stay." He also reported, however, that Cecil was a frequent visitor to Cobham House, where the baron was "very desirous to be a Cownsailer, but her Majestie is not willing to perfer [sic] them to these high Places they looke for." The 'them' were Cobham and Raleigh, the latter of whom "went discontented away, and is not yet returned".<sup>188</sup> Despite denial of his chief desire, however, Cobham got a few concessions while the Secretary visited him. His maternal cousin's husband, Robert Harris, was involved in a dispute with the Corporation of Reading, and in his support Cobham enlisted the aid

of Cecil, Nottingham and Sir William Periam, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.<sup>189</sup> Also at this time Cobham seems to have had hope of getting for his brother George a position which would satisfy Brooke's craving for place and profit, for Brooke in the spring of 1600 seemed so sure that the Mastership of the Hospital of St. Cross would be procured for him that he refused the prebend of Strensall at York, a sinecure which Archbishop Hutton had long been petitioned by the government to bestow upon him.<sup>190</sup> While others were striving to advance him, the baron's brother helped himself by engaging in the financing of mercantile ventures at sea, a profitable business to which Cobham also appears to have been introduced by Raleigh.<sup>191</sup> The brothers were evidently closer in this last year of Essex's life than they were ever to be again, and when the Coppingers, the relatives of Cobham's half-sister Frances's son, declared their intention to sue Brooke for abusing the wardship of the youth, the baron intervened. On 21 May he wrote to Cecil, Master of the Court of Wards, about it, saying,

I pray you send me by this bearer the petition exhibited by the Coppingers against my brother, that his counsel may have time to consider, and that you will now, at the beginning of this term, appoint some afternoon that the cause may be heard before the Attorney of the Court of Wards.

Perhaps Cecil managed to induce the Coppingers to settle out of court; there seems to be no other record of the case. Concluding this letter to his brother-in-law, Cobham made a remark which shows how aware were the Brookes of their dependence upon the Secretary. "I hear you mean this afternoon to come to my Lord Keeper's to sit in Council," he wrote, referring to Cecil's attendance at a meeting at York House, where Essex was confined while awaiting trial.

I pray you be advised, my Lord Treasurer's two daughters have the smallpox. You know he [Buckhurst] doth ever wear furs. There is no one thing that doth carry infection as much as furs doth. I have heard you often say that you more fear the smallpox than anything else. Respect your health above anything, and think upon yourself and your poor friends if such a misfortune should now befall you.<sup>192</sup>

It is highly likely that Cobham's requests to Cecil also included representations on behalf of Raleigh, who was asking for the Governorship of Jersey, a post currently held by the dying Sir Anthony Paulet. From his retreat at Sherborne Raleigh wrote to the baron on 6 April a wry complaint about his failure to obtain

a remunerative office. "I canne write your Lordshipp nothing from hence, but that wee live," he began. "I have written to Master Secritery that I would be gladd that Her Majesty weare butt good for Pawlett's matter, though I hope<sup>not</sup> after it or ought elce; butt if ther be neather honor nor profitt I must begynn to keep sheep betyme."<sup>193</sup> A few months later Cecil told his friend Carew that Raleigh was at Court, a persistent "suter for the captaynshippe of the Ile of Jarsey (Sir Anthony Paulett being dead); he hath verie good hope, though my Lord Henry Seymour doth earnestly stand for it."<sup>194</sup> The Cecilians were successful, and Raleigh got the post.

In his letter of 6 April, Raleigh had expressed his hope that Cobham meant to go to Bath to recuperate from his exhausting winter. "God hold your Lordship in the mind to cum to the Bathe," he had written. "If your Lordshipp receve awnswere that Bates howse is taken up, it is butt for me; and your Lordship may have the on half notwithstanding." This offer to share a house at the spa with the baron indicates how close Raleigh and Cobham were at this time, as indeed does the affectionate closing of the letter: "I am wher I can do your Lordship no services. I will not, therefore, pester you with idell words in which I can butt profess what I would more willingly execute; till when, and ever, your Lordships absolutely to comande." Evidently Cobham meant to take advantage of his friend's offer: Bath was "well known all England and Europe over" for the beneficial effect of its waters, which invalids both bathed in and took "inwardly, in Broths, Beere, Juleps, &c.,"<sup>195</sup> so that the baron no doubt expected to profit from a course there: and by 12 April it was reported at Court that he would go.<sup>196</sup> Raleigh, who had apparently come up to London to see what was being done for him, went down again in advance of his friend, and on 19 April Rowland Whyte observed that he had gone away discontented. "Sir Walter Rawley," he wrote, "is gon into the Cowntrey, vnsatisfied. My Lord Cobham, what soever the Matter is, is nothing well pleased; he goes the First of May towards the Bath."<sup>197</sup>

Before leaving London, Cobham made an effort and got to the feast of the Order of the Garter, held at Greenwich on 23 April.<sup>198</sup> His proxy of the previous year having been rejected by the queen, King Henry IV in 1600 sent over M. Le Chat, his

Governor of Dieppe, to be installed in his place as a Knight. Cobham's servant Christopher Milles met the Frenchman at Dover and, "accompanied with many Gentlemen of Kent," conducted him to Court, where there was "good Care taken to receive him very honorably".<sup>199</sup> At the ceremony of installation Cobham was present, and later cast his nine votes for those courtiers whom he was willing to see admitted to the order. His nominees were the Earls of Kent, Derby and Rutland; the Lord Zouch, Lord Burghley (Cecil's half-brother) and the young Lord Grey, who had sought his support in his opposition to Essex; and Raleigh, Sir William Knollys and Sir John Fortescue. Raleigh's candidacy was supported by Lord Thomas Howard, to whom Raleigh had asked especially to be remembered in his letter of 6 April, as well as by Nottingham, Northumberland, Shrewsbury, Buckhurst, Scrope and Sheffield.<sup>200</sup> It is an indication of Elizabeth's absolute control over membership of the order that, despite his nomination by such powerful men year after year, she never bestowed the Garter upon the proud knight to whom it would have meant so much.

During the Garter ceremonies of 1600 Cobham also fulfilled an obligation which he had incurred the year before, when Garter King of Arms participated in his installation in the order. On 22 April a handsome document was drawn up; ingrossed on vellum, ornamented with Cobham's arms and crest and with a splendidly illuminated capital letter, the deed conferred upon William Dethick a cash annuity of £ 2 and a yearly gift of a buck, "taken out of my parke at Cobham or else where according to myne assignements & by my warrants". The words with which the document opens are redolent of the pride with which the baron accepted his formal responsibilities as a Knight. "Henry Baron of Cobham," they run,

Lord Warden of the Cinque Portz Knight & Companion of the most Noble Order of the Garter. To all Noble-men & Gent: present & to come. Whereas it hath pleased the Queenes most excellent Ma<sup>ty</sup> Souereigne of the most Noble Order of the Garter w<sup>th</sup> the consent of the Knights of the said most noble Order, late assembled in Chapter, to nominate, electe & Install me, the said Henry Lord Cobham to be one of the knights fellowes & companions of the most noble Ord<sup>r</sup>: Sythence which time hauing Intelligence That by the auncyent chapters, statuts, ordinances & customes of the said most noble Order there hath ben a certaine s<sup>ome</sup> of Money & annuity appointed & ordeined to be paid by euery Knight fellowe & Companion of the said most noble Order, after theyr seuerall estates & degrees, of Dukes, Marquesses, Erles, Viscounts, Barons, or Bachelor Knights, unto Garter the principall Kinge of Armes & cheefe Officer of Armes for the said most noble Order To

th'end that he might y<sup>e</sup> more cōmendably liue & entertayne him self,  
& administer in his said Office to the honno<sup>r</sup> of the said most noble  
Order ....<sup>201</sup>

St. George's Day past, the following day Cobham wrote to Cecil to ask him and Nottingham to sign a chit for him, permitting him to take up "cart horses to draw my provisions" along the long road to Bath.<sup>202</sup> On the twenty-ninth the baron wrote again, saying that he had meant to go to Court that day, "but I am in such pain in my foot that I am not able to go." "If I may be able," he said, he would say good-bye to his brother-in-law that evening, and take his formal farewell of the queen next day.<sup>203</sup> Meanwhile, at Bath, Raleigh waited for his friend. "'Here we attend you and have don this senight,'" he wrote on the twenty-ninth, and

'mourne your absence; the rather because wee feare that your m[inde] is changed. I pray lett us here from you att least, for if you cum not wee will go hereby home, and make butt short tariing here. My wyfe will dyspaire ever to see you in thes parts, if your Lordship come not now. Wee can butt longe for you and wyshe you as [our] owne lives whatsoever.'

Raleigh signed himself, "'Your Lordships everest faythfull, to honour you most.'"<sup>204</sup>

Despite his preparations, Cobham did not go west in 1600. Encouraged for some reason both to hope that his Councillorship might at last be given him, and that the manor of Otford might not after all be reserved for Sir Robert Sidney, he returned to Court. The ailing Lord Hunsdon, whose Lord Chamberlainship the baron was reported to be coveting, went to take the waters, as Whyte informed Sidney on 10 May, "but 400 [Lord Cobham] is staid behind, hoping still to be a Cownsailor, and doth not giue over his Sute for the Parke."<sup>205</sup> Two days later Whyte wrote again to Sidney:

400 ... staies from going to the Bath, and purposes with all the Strength and Credytt he hath, to gett a State in the Parke.<sup>206</sup>

Thus, pursuing the same things he had sought before his accident, Cobham resumed his place at Court. Overshadowing all was still the unresolved fate of his arch-enemy.

The big social event of the early summer of 1600 was the marriage of Anne Russell to the young Lord Herbert, heir to the earldom of Worcester, on 16 June. The dowager Lady Russell, Cecil's stern old aunt, wrote in unusual exultation and archness to her nephew to ask him to play host at the wedding supper, and the Secretary, although he must have been deeply disturbed that the long postponed

trial of Essex, held on 5 June, had proved a fiasco from which no conclusion could be drawn, can hardly have declined her invitation. "I entreat none," wrote the old lady,

but such as be of the bride's and bridegroom's blood and alliance to supper that night. The Earl of Worcester with his Countess, the Earl of Cumberland with his Lady, the Lady of Warwick, the Earl of Bedford with his Lady, will sup here. If it please you to do the like, and as my husband to command as the master of my house for that supper, and to bring my Lord Thomas [Howard] and my Lord Cobham with you, being of our blood, and your servants, my Lord Thomas's men and my Lord Cobham's to be commanded to wait and bring up meat that supper, I will trouble you no longer than for a supper time that night till the same day sevensnight, being the 16th of June, ... the marriage day.<sup>207</sup>

The wedding was to bring honour to the Blackfriars, and, particularly, to Cobham. On 14 June Rowland Whyte informed Sir Robert Sidney that "Her Majesty is in very good Health,

and purposes to honor Mrs. Anne Russels Marriage with her Presence; it is thought she will stay there Monday and Tuesday. My Lord Cobham prepares his Howse for her Majestie to lye in, because it is neare the Bridehouse. There is to be a memorable Maske of 8 Ladies .... The Preparacion for this Feast is sumptuous and great, but it is feared, the Howse in Blackfriars wilbe to litle for such a Company. The Marriage is vpon Monday; what els may happen in it, I will signifie when it is past.

The Feare I haue 400 [Lord Cobham] might take this Oportunity of 1500 [Queen] going to his Howse, made me to beseach c c [Countess of Warwick] to haue an Ey vnto Oteford, and to continue an honorable Care towards you, that no Prejudice may be donne vnto you, which is faithfully promised.<sup>208</sup>

John Chamberlain, although not so positive as Whyte that the queen would sleep at Cobham House, had some news about the baron's own matrimonial plans to impart to Dudley Carleton. "We shall have the great marriage on Monday at the Lady Russells," he wrote on 13 June,

where it is saide the Quene will vouchsafe her presence, and lie at the Lord Chamberlaines, or the Lord Cobhams, whose marriage is thought likewise shalbe then consummated, yf yt be not don already.<sup>209</sup>

Chamberlain's expectation that Lady Kildare and Cobham would be formally seen together as man and wife at the Herbert wedding was disappointed, but his and the rest of the Court's anticipation of great entertainment was not. On 16 June the queen came up the river to Blackfriars Stairs, and, as Whyte reported a week later,

The Bride mett the Queen at the Waterside, where my Lord Cobham had provided a Lectica, made like half a Litter, wherein she was carried to my Lady Russels by 6 Knights. Her Majestie dined there, and, at

Night, went through Doctor Puddins Howse (who gaue the Queen a Fanne) to my Lord Cobhams, where she supt. After Supper the Maske came in, as I writ in my last; and delicate it was, to see 8 Ladies soe pretily and richly attired. Mrs. Fitton leade, and after they had donne all their own Ceremonies, these 8 Ladys Maskers choose 8 Ladies more to dawnce the Measures. Mrs. Fitton went to the Queen, and wooed her to dawnce; her Majestie asked what she was: Affection, she said. Affection! said the Queen. Affection is false. Yet her Majestie rose and dawnced; soe did my Lady Marques .... The Bride was lead to the Church by the Lord Harbert of Cardiffe, and my Lord Cobham; and from the Church by the Earles of Rutland and Cumberland. The Gifts giuen that Day were valedwed at 1000 l. in Plate and Jewells, at least. The Entertainment was great and plentiful, and my Lady Russell much comended for it. Her Majestie, vpon Tuesday, came backe again to the Court, but the Solemnities continued till Wednesday Night.<sup>210</sup>

Cobham would have been justifiably proud of having the queen under his own roof, and even though one cannot accept the identification with the baron of the cocky young popinjay who bears the sword of state in the famous processional portrait of Elizabeth,<sup>211</sup> one imagines that his self-assurance must have soared in June 1600. The queen's cryptic remark, widely interpreted as having reference to her disillusionment with Essex, was the more meaningful for being pronounced in Cobham's house.<sup>212</sup>

The baron's foot injury must not have been bothering him at the beginning of the summer of 1600, for soon after the Herbert wedding he went abroad, leaving the country for what seems to have been the first time in thirteen years. His destination was the Netherlands, to which Northumberland and the Earl of Rutland had just gone to join the army; there Prince Maurice was leading his Dutch troops in an endeavour to relieve Newport. The baron seems also to have gone to France, where the Anglo-Spanish peace conference was going on at Boulogne. With him Cobham took Raleigh, and the fact that two such politically prominent and ambitious men should have been on the Continent shortly before the conference foundered was thought by many to be no coincidence. Historians differ. Those who would see Raleigh's every move as significant hint that he and his friend bore the queen's commission, either to intervene in the conference or to explain to the Dutch why the English appeared to be deserting them in their need: as Tytler says, Raleigh "was recalled to court to undertake, in company with Lord Cobham, a secret mission to Flanders".<sup>213</sup> Miss Handover, reluctant to think that the queen would have taken any step in international affairs without consulting Cecil, says that one finds

"Raleigh and Cobham interfering, without licence from the Queen, in a matter of state".<sup>214</sup> In expressing this kind of interest in the Flemish trip, and in demonstrating an inability to discover what the trip really involved, historians have an honourable precedent, for on 31 July 1600 the wily King Henry of France himself vainly required his ambassador in England to enlighten him. "Je desire aussy sçavoir ce que vous aurez depuis appris du voyage des sieurs Cobham et Rallex," wrote the king, "dont l'on discourt diversement, comme de toutes autres occurrences."<sup>215</sup>

Cobham announced his departure to Cecil on 10 July. Writing from Sandwich, whence he expected to embark on The Adventure at four o'clock the next morning, he said that "Sir Walter Rawley, with the rest of your poor friends", had just arrived there by water, and that, although at first correctly informed that they would see no action if they went to Newport because the Spanish had raised the siege there, they had since been made to believe wrongly that the fort was still under fire. "So that now, God willing, we hold our former determination." The baron concluded by assuring the Secretary that he would write to him from the Continent, and that he would try not to overstay the leave which the queen had given him.<sup>216</sup> The next day Cecil wrote to Sir George Carew, the one man to whom the Secretary seems to have unburdened himself in letters, that "My L. Cobham and Sr W. Raleigh are stollen over to Dunkirk."<sup>217</sup> It is upon this terse statement that Miss Handover bases her assertion that, "Whatever their purpose, Cecil was not privy to it." If the Secretary was indeed uninformed of the trip before it was made, it may be that Cobham and Raleigh had become suspicious of his handling of Spanish affairs. On 5 July, evidently just before leaving, Cobham demanded that he be instructed about how to deal with twenty-four soldiers who had tried to force their way through the immigration authorities at Dover by claiming that they had come from the Netherlands for recruits and were accountable only to the Council. "I pray to receive direction," Cobham wrote sharply to his brother-in-law, "for if this course be allowed, I shall not be able hereafter to execute her Majesty's commands."<sup>218</sup> There is nothing to prove that the twenty-four men were other than they purported to be, but Cobham may well have thought them to include

in their number intelligencers who had been licensed by the Secretary to evade the ordinary channels over which the Lord Warden presided.

By 12 July the Court knew of the absence of two of its most prominent figures.

Whyte wrote to Sidney,

My Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Rawley, are gone to the States Camp, to see the Service. My Lady Kildare, tooke it very heuilly, and kept her Chamber the first Day he went.<sup>219</sup>

"To see the Service" was, so far as the public knew, the travellers' objective.

To the peace commissioners at Boulogne Cecil wrote on the fourteenth, in concluding a general letter of instructions,

I have little more therefore at this time to trouble you withall, only I think good to preoccupate with you another Circumstance if they [the Spanish] hear it, which is the going over of my Lord of Northumberland and my Lord of Rutland, and now my Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh. Of whom if they speake (but not otherwise) you may use this Argument, That they have no Charge, nor carried either Horse or Man, but some half a dozen of their owne; but finding the Queen is so resolved to have Peace (if good Conditions could be had,) they obtained leave with importunitie to see this one Action, before they should become desperate of seeing any more of that kynde in her Majestie's Tyme, which God long continue.<sup>220</sup>

Before he could send off his letter to the commissioners, as Cecil informed them in a postscript, Cobham and Raleigh got back to Court, "so as that Matter will be quickly answered". The Secretary's final remark indicates that the purpose of their visit was expected soon to be known; he cannot have written it much before 19 July, when his letter would have been five days old and still not dispatched, since on that date it was said at Court that Cobham had not yet got back.<sup>221</sup> Whatever and whenever it was that Cecil learned what his colleagues had been doing, there is no means of knowing it today. There is a letter dated 18 July from Sir Henry Neville, the ambassador in France who sat with the commissioners at Boulogne, in which scepticism about the military purpose of the trip is expressed:

We understand by Reports, but not otherwise, that my Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Rawleigh are gon over, upon Pretext to see the Camp and Seige of the Fort Isabella near Ostend, where Count Maurice is yet unprofitably, as he was before at Newport; but I cannot think but they have some other end, and that in England there is some Allarm taken of these Matters, although we be not worthy to know it.<sup>222</sup>

Neville's pique was hardly justified: although dissatisfied with the progress of

the conference, the English government was, so far as Cecil was concerned, not minded to give it up or to desert its commissioners. The ambassador's suspicions remained unallayed, but on 23 July, when he wrote again to Ralph Winwood, he seems to have thought that, if the travellers had spoken with the Spanish directly from the queen, they had done no harm:

My Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Rawleigh are returned, but I hear their Journey was not altogether idle, nor upon Curiosity only, but that they carried some Message which did no harm: the Particulars you shall know when I am better informed of them.<sup>223</sup>

Meanwhile, in England, Rowland Whyte told Sidney on 22 July, "Surely it is thought that my Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Rawleigh were sent to Prince Moreis to understand somewhat of it, and to yeld satisfaction for the not sending of supplies and vitle in an open manner."<sup>224</sup> Such surmises as Neville's and Whyte's, however, tell very little about what Cobham and Raleigh achieved. All one knows is that by 26 July the two men were back in England,<sup>225</sup> that their visit to the Netherlands left the military situation there unchanged,<sup>226</sup> and that their stop-over at Boulogne may have contributed to the concluding of that stage in the Anglo-Spanish truce: on 2 August Sir Thomas Fane informed Cobham from Dover that Sir Henry Neville, his wife and family, and Secretary Herbert and the other commissioners had arrived home.<sup>227</sup>

What one may suspect about the Flemish episode is that, in growing distrust of Cecil, especially of his handling of Spanish affairs, the baron and his anti-Spanish companion made independent contact with the minister of Philip III in the Netherlands. This man, who was later to contribute greatly to the formal destruction of Cobham and Raleigh as political agents, was the brilliant Charles de Ligne, comte d'Arenberg. That the baron and Arenberg corresponded after 1600 there is no doubt, and little that they did so without the knowledge of Cecil. The big question is whether Cobham wrote on behalf of the queen. Later, in explaining to King James how he, a private man in the context of international affairs, could have presumed to conduct an intercourse which verged on negotiation with the representative of a foreign power, Cobham asserted that Elizabeth had known about him and Arenberg, and encouraged them.<sup>228</sup> Miss Handover rejects this story,<sup>229</sup> but

one ought to ask whether the baron did not begin as the queen's servant, and then, seeing the possibility that, by going over the Secretary's head and becoming the minister with whom alone Spain would treat, he could assure his position under James, whether he did not take upon himself more than he should have done. Certainly the one letter from Arenberg to Cobham which survives suggests that the baron had led the count to believe that he could be instrumental in bringing about a peace between their two countries; it also indicates, in Arenberg's request for a portrait of Cobham, a close if somewhat diplomatically flowery relationship between the two men. Since the outcome of Cobham's dealings with Spain, if there ever were any of an individual kind, belongs to Jacobean and not to Elizabethan history, there will be little occasion to consider this letter in discussing the baron's life in 1602, the year to which it belongs. It can therefore best be transcribed here, and be allowed to suggest the possible complexity of Cobham's Continental visit of 1600. Dated at Brussels on 22 November 1602 (that is, according to the English calendar, on 12 November), when Anglo-Spanish negotiations seemed to have quite broken down, it reads:

Monsieur, L'affection et zèle que je porte au bien publicq m'ha donné courage de vous escrire la presente, pour entendre si vous demeurez encores près de vous si constant qu'il n'y peult avoir aultre conference, sans que nous envoions pour traicter chez vous.

Je vous supplie, Monsieur, me voulloir tant obliger de me faire entendre librement sur cela vostre opinion; ne faisant doute d'une bonne responce bien agréable: vous asseurant que je m'emploieray tant affecteusement par deia en ce faict, comme je voy que la calamité en quoy le pais et generalmente tout la Chrestienté est, le requiert; -- m'asseurant reciproquement de vostre bonne affection à ce bon oeuvre tant publicq; et avecque cest assurance je demeureray Monsieur

Vostre bien humble et très affectionné serviteur  
Charles d'Arembergh.

Longtemps y a que j'attende avecq devotion la pourtraiture par moy tant désiré, lequel je vous promets, sera si bien venu comme l'affection de l'auoir me presse.<sup>230</sup>

Cobham received a sign of royal favour upon his return from the Continent in 1600. He had long been suing for permission to buy outright his house at Canterbury from the Crown: "he offers," Whyte wrote on 19 July, "100 Yeares purchase. The old Rent is xx l. per Annum."<sup>231</sup> On those terms, Whyte learned as the Court was quitting Nonsuch on 8 August, the baron had got his house, although the patent had not yet been signed by the queen.<sup>232</sup> On the sixteenth Buckhurst was able to

inform Cobham that the royal signature had been obtained; warning the purchaser that he and his advocates would be in trouble if the deposit of £ 1,000 which he had let it be known he had already made, were not paid, the Lord Treasurer urged Cobham to send the money at once. Cobham apparently felt sure that, having gained "great Honor and Profitt" by bringing the queen to part with one of her great houses, he could be cavalier about cash, for a month after Buckhurst wrote his letter the deposit was still unpaid.<sup>233</sup> On 23 August it was being publicly said at Court that he had Canterbury.<sup>234</sup>

Further recognition from the Crown came in a letter from the Privy Council dated 17 August. Mountjoy's replacement of Essex in Ireland had proved effective, and at long last, after years of mismanagement, the conduct of the suppression of the rebellion was bringing results which gave the government hope of ultimate success. In a mood of exultation, the Lords wrote

A letter to the Lord Cobham, her Majesty's Leutenante in the county of Kent. As wee are ready to note the neglects and faultes that are comytted in the execucion of those services that concerne the state of the realme whereby great prejudice doth often aryse and hinderance to those weighty causes, so wee do not forgett to observe the good indevours of those Leutenantes and counties that with heedfull care do performe those direccions they receive from her Majesty and from us in theis occacions of publique service. Emongst others wee do verie well discerne the extraordinary regard your Lordship hath used both in former tymes and in the last leavy of menn that were made in that county of Kent under your Lordship's Leutenancy for the service of Irelande, wherein as your care is cheefest, so your Deputy Leutenantes following your good example have shewed very forward indevors therein, which according to our dutyes wee have made knowne unto her Majesty, and her pleasure is that her gracyous acceptance thereof should ... be made [known] to your Lordship by our letter.<sup>235</sup>

The Council was right to refer to Cobham's officers: Kent could hardly have been governed had it not been for the efficient Sir Thomas Fane, Lieutenant of Dover Castle, and the baron's deputies within the shire proper: but the letter is also a tribute to Cobham himself, a commendation of his discharge of his duties which reminds one that, as his many business letters to Cecil also show, he did not neglect his administrative responsibilities while pursuing his political ambitions.

Raleigh too came in for recognition upon his return to Court. Before leaving for the Continent early in July, Raleigh seems to have been on terms of intimacy with

the Lord Admiral, an intimacy which must have owed much to Cobham's liaison since in the past the two men had not been the best of friends. On 2 July Nottingham had written to his prospective son-in-law about some business dealing which he had with Raleigh ("Raweleighe"); Raleigh had sent him a letter, to which Nottingham had replied at once, "purposing to return the same unto him by that messenger, but could never since hear of him, which is very strange to me". Cobham was therefore asked to be the messenger.<sup>236</sup> Returned from the Continent, and, after a visit to Dorset, to Court, Raleigh

had 3 or 4 Fitts of an Ague; his own Creditt with the Queen is of late grown good, and he cannot want the Assistaunce of his Freinds whose Autority is greatest.<sup>237</sup>

Whyte's conclusion about the heights to which Cobham and Raleigh were climbing is interesting. He found that the baron was no longer making enemies, but showing unusual amiability, even toward Sir Robert Sidney: talking about what he and Raleigh had seen in the Netherlands, where Sidney held his command, Cobham did not "say any Thing to your Dishonor," reported Whyte on 8 August, "but that you had Reason not to be in such an Army as a private Man."<sup>238</sup> The implication was that Sidney, who had for so long sought the barony of Sidney of Penshurst and a position in England, might look for favour from the Cecilian leaders if he would desert his useless leader, Essex. Whyte pointedly remarked to Sidney, in reporting yet another rumour that Cobham had married Lady Kildare, "I doe wish that there were a Reconciliacion betwen you, as he is now allied, where you receue much Loue and Kindnes."<sup>239</sup> One gets the impression that the baron and his friend were not particularly subtle in their overtures to courtiers: the young Lord Grey, whom they had seen in the Netherlands and advised to return to Court where he should be favoured, rather sarcastically wrote to Cecil about "these two gallants" who "depart so well furnished as I shall not need to discourse either former neglects and weakness of counsel, or present resolutions, and therefore refer all unto them:"<sup>240</sup> yet their importance could not be denied.

Despite the attention which he would have received there, however, Cobham did not stay long at Court when first he got back from the Continent. After ascertain-

ing that his purchase of Canterbury Park had been assured, he went down to Dorset to visit Raleigh, who had already hurried home to his wife. Writing to Cecil from Sherborne on 13 August, Raleigh told how Cobham had spent only one night with him and had then gone on to Cornwall, despite Raleigh's attempts to hold him longer.<sup>241</sup> One cannot guess the purpose of the baron's trip to Cornwall, unless it were to look into the troubles in the Mines Royal there; he and the Secretary's brother, the younger Burghley, had sent a report to Cecil about them on 1 July, before Cobham left for the Netherlands.<sup>242</sup> By 30 August the baron was back in London, perhaps having gone first to Cobham Hall: the gift which he sent to Cecil of "grapes and plums, which I think be the best you have eaten this year", sounds like the produce of his own garden.<sup>243</sup> By then Raleigh had also come to Court, and, as Whyte reported on 16 August, been ill there, but by 6 September the two friends were thought to be again at Sherborne, and with them this time was Cecil, who could there visit his son. Raleigh had signed his letter of 13 August to the Secretary, "I pray beleue that when all harts ar open and desires tried, that I am your poorest and your faythfullest frind, to do yow service," and his wife had also made an expostulation of her affection for Cecil ("Bess returns yow her best wishes, notwithstanding all quarrells"). It must thus have been a congenial gathering in which the leading Cecilians found themselves early in September. As Whyte wrote to Sidney,

Mr. Secretary hath picked out this Time to be away, and to take some Pleasure abroade, from the infinit Paines and Care he takes in the Dispatch of her Majesties Service, when he is in Court. Yt is said he is gon, accompanied with my Lord Cobham, to see Sir Walter Rawleigh at Sherborn, where young Mr. Cecill, his Sonne, is brought vp.<sup>244</sup>

One need not suppose that Cobham had any particular reason for being away from Court so much during the summer of 1600, although there are at least two things which might have made him glad to be away. One was the release from confinement on 26 August of the Earl of Essex. Cecil explained to Carew three days later how the queen was "contented he shall hold himself to be vnder no guard but the guard of duty and discretion, yet he must in noe sort take himself to be freed of her Majesty's indignation, in which respect he is commanded to forbear to presume to approach the Court or her person".<sup>245</sup> At first determined to live retired in

Oxfordshire, and for a time shunned by all "but those whoe are of his blood", the earl gradually returned to his old position as effectual head of the anti-Cecilian group in London, and London, ever subject to his charm, became an increasingly unpleasant place for the Secretary's partisans to be in.

It would also seem that Whyte's report to Sidney on 23 August, "It is credibly sayd, though it be very secrett, that my Lord Cobham is married to my Lady Kildare," had more truth in it than transmissions of rumour usually have. Cecil, commenting on the Court in his letter to Carew of 29 August and noting Cobham's prominence, wrote, "My Lord Cobham (since his iorney into Flanders,) is a courtyer, and doth marrye at Michaelmas." Later that autumn, when Michaelmas was long past, the Secretary again referred to Cobham's marriage in a letter to Carew, dated 8 November, and in doing so suggested that the baron must have been finding the countess and her father's insistence that he regulate their relationship extremely uncomfortable. "Thus haue I held you," Cecil said,

to whome I can write no chang of any things concerning our private, onely this is true that meere necessity makes the Lord Cobham a married man, whereof there is yet no publication, but now is so pressed as, ether it must be declared or els haue warrs.<sup>246</sup>

There must have been 'warrs', since it was not until May 1601 that Cobham finally took Frances of Kildare as his wife.

With the onset of autumn 1600 a tense period of political life began. Raleigh got his Governorship of Jersey and went off to the island for a time; Cobham must have missed him. Then, following a successful summer campaign, the commanders in the Irish wars returned. In October Essex came back from the country and took up residence again in his town house. Across from him was Drury House, where the Irish veteran Southampton lived; there the Essexian headquarters was set up.

By 17 September Cobham was occupying his apartments at Court, waiting for the queen to remove from Oatlands to Hampton Court.<sup>247</sup> His promotion to a seat on the Council was thought to be imminent, as were Sir John Stanhope's appointment to take over from Cecil the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Lord Thomas Howard's succession to Hunsdon in the Lord Chamberlainship.<sup>248</sup> To Cobham on his return from Ireland in September the Earl of Southampton wrote familiarly, thus

acknowledging the baron's prominence, for Southampton was thought to be Essex's hottest supporter. The earl was also eager to pay his respects to Cecil, and, being informed by Cobham and Howard that the Secretary would not be in London, wrote to assure him that he would "on his first arrival wait upon him."<sup>249</sup>

The more the cynosure he became, the more Cobham needed money, and it seems that at this time he sold his patronage to an ambitious lawyer, John Hele, the queen's Serjeant-at-Law. In 1604, when Cobham had been attainted and imprisoned, Hele was arraigned in the Star Chamber on charges of fraud. One of the points of the bill against him indicates that he had in 1600 obtained for Cobham a loan of £ 3,500, receiving sureties in the amount of £ 10,000, the interest on which sum Hele was himself to pay, in return for which favour the baron was, in the words of the indictment, "Corruptlye to obtaine for him the M<sup>r</sup>shippe of the Rowlles". (The charge against Hele was that, Cobham having failed to get him the office, he got the baron in 1603 to undertake to repay the loan with interest, but did so by a document so "subtellye & Cautelouslye" drawn that by its terms the baron's bonds would apparently have remained undischarged even when Hele had been paid in full. Serjeant Sir Edward Phillips succinctly described the sleight as "an arrowe of the Sergeaunte's quyer made wthin y<sup>e</sup> Circle of his chamber cautelously & craftely done".)<sup>250</sup>

The tortuous means which Cobham was using to maintain his position would not necessarily have been known to the baron's enemies, who would only have seen him and Raleigh, under Cecil, triumphing where once Essex had seemed about to rule all. Driven to desperation, Essex in the early autumn of 1600 appears to have pleaded with King James of Scotland to intervene in the domestic politics of England. Intimating to the king that if Cecil had his way it would be not James but the Infanta Isabel, a descendant of King Edward III, who would succeed Elizabeth on the Throne, Essex so disturbed the king that late in the year the latter determined to send his principal advisers to the queen to demand that she name her successor. Essex, given new heart by the success of his stratagem, "made ready against the comming of the Scottish Ambassadour, whom hee dayly expected," a set of instructions with which to guide Lord Mar in his interview with the queen. Henry Cuffe,

the brilliant politician who lost his life for being too devoted in his secretaryship to Essex, later presented to Cecil "the effecte of those instructions, obseruing, so farre as my memorie will serve mee, the verie wordes and methode of the originall it selfe". Cuffe's reconstruction of what Essex proposed Mar should say to the queen was this:

That the king his master thoughte it necessary to beseeche her majestie to declare his righte to the successioun of this Crowne, not because hee observed in her majestie any wante of princely favour and affection towards him, but because hee hathe founde by infallible prooffe that somme very gracious with her majestie, being of extraordinary bothe power and malice, will not fayle one daye, if God prevente it not, to make theyre advantages of the vncertaintie of successioun, not only to the preiudice, but also to the evident hazarde, and almost inevitable ruine, of the whole Ilande.

For prooffe of theyre power there needeth no longe discourse, all meanes in all partes and quarters of this realme being in a manner wholly in theyre handes. In the West, Sir Walter Raleigh commaunding the vttermost province, where hee maye assure the Spanyarde his first landing, if that course be helde fittest, being also captaine of the Isle of Jersey, there to harbour them vpon any occasionn. In the East, the Cinq Portes, the keyes of the realme, are in the handes of the Lord Cobham, as likewise the Countie of Kente, the nexte and directest waye to the Imperiall citie of this realme. The treasure, the sinewes of the actionn, and the navye, the walles of this realme, being commaunded by the Lord Treasurer and Lord Admirall, bothe these greate officers of State and the rest above named being principally loved by the principall Secretary, Sir Roberte Cecill, who for the further strengthening of him selfe hathe established his owne brother, the Lord Burghley, in the government of the Northe partes; and in the Presidentship of Wales now voyde will vndoubtedly place somme body who shall meerey acknowledge it of him. As likewise, in Irelande, hee hathe already procured for Sir George Carewe that province, which of all others is fittest for the Spanyardes designes, in whose handes, if the commander himselfe maye be beleaved, there is a greater army then hee needeth; to omitte that the sayde Sir George is shortly in expectation to succede to the government of that whole kingdome, vponn the recalling of the now Lord Deputye.

That theyre malice towards that Kinge [James] was no lesse then theyre power, it appeared, first, that somme of them had given directe prooffe of theyre ill affectionn by ill offices, &c. [This pointe was lefte to the Ambassadour because the Earl of Essex was enformed that the King was able to produce cleare evidence thereof.]

Secondly, because all theyre counsayles and endeavours tende to the advancement of the Infanta of Spayne to the successioun of this crowne.<sup>251</sup>

This astounding manifesto, this denunciation of the entire cabinet of a successful government by the leader of an ineffectual Opposition who had not established his loyalty and who feared for his very political life, was never made to the queen. James decided against sending his ambassadors. Studying it now, one sees what Elizabeth would surely have seen had it been delivered to her, that Essex was forcing

her to choose between himself and almost every capable minister she had. The choice was not a difficult one for the queen to make, but for the woman it was devastating.

In November Raleigh came home from Jersey.<sup>252</sup> During his absence a fire had broken out at Durham House, the episcopal palace which the queen had allowed him to occupy since 1584. Lady Raleigh, learning from Cecil in October of what had happened while she was away in Dorset, had feared that she and her husband would have no town house that winter in which to entertain their friends. "Hit tis trew," she wrote,

that your packet brought me the newes of the mischans of feeiar at Durram Houes, wher, I thanke God, hit went noo fardar. Other wies, hit had rid ous of all our pvoor substans of plat and other thinges. Unly now the loos is of your cumpani and my Lord Cobham's wich I thinke by this menes wee cannot injoy this wintar.<sup>253</sup>

Raleigh, however, on coming to London, found the house still habitable, and so he was there when on 8 February 1600/1 his long war with Essex culminated in the last armed action which he was to see in the reign of Elizabeth.

On Saturday, 7 February, the Council sent Secretary Herbert to Essex House to request the earl's presence before them. The summons ended weeks of suspense: although not possessed of any positive information, the Lords had long been expecting Essex to make some overt move by which to rid himself of the enemies who kept him from the queen, and they were determined to discover what were his plans. The earl, for his part, seems to have been persuaded both by his own fears and by the urgings of the young knights and minor lords who surrounded him that Cecil and his party were about to put an end to his political career. When Herbert delivered the summons, Essex therefore refused to leave the safety of his house. Next morning the Council summoned him again, and this time the messengers found that not only was their summons rejected, but that they themselves were captives of the earl behind the locked gates of Essex House. The imprisonment by a subject of Lord Keeper Egerton, Sir William Knollys and the Earl of Worcester, as well as of their companion, the Lord Chief Justice, was a declaration of civil war. Secretary Cecil at once drew up a proclamation of Essex's treason, to be read should the earl attempt to enter the City, and Essex obligingly, surely knowing that he

had played into the hands of his enemies, accompanied by 200 armed men sallied forth from his house to incur the penalty of that proclamation. John Stow records the cry which he used in his vain effort to rally the populace to his support: he and his confederates, "as they passed Fleetstreete, cryed, for the Queene, for the Queene".<sup>254</sup> William Masham, a former servant of Essex's, later declared that at Gracious Corner the earl "told the people that he acted for the good of the Queen, city, and crown, which certain atheists, meaning Raleigh, had betrayed to the Infanta of Spain".<sup>255</sup>

Essex's jingoistic appeal to the crowd, however, moved them not at all, and the message which Masham received from one of the countess's servants confirms what Stow also says was the real cry of the Essexians on that crucial day. "I went towards Fenchurch Street," Masham related, "and in Mark Lane met Pettingale, a servant of Lady Essex, who told me that Cobham and Raleigh would have murdered my Lord that night." "In other places," wrote Stow of the rebels' declarations to the people, "they sayd, that Cobham and Rawleigh, would haue murdered the earle of Essex in his bed." These assertions of Essex's fear for his life, and of his determination to kill his enemies before they could kill him, ring true. Several other witnesses of the day's events testified that the earl "was like to have been murdered by Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh ... that ere long the Earl would possess the Queen's favour again, and that two or three of the greatest of them should be hanged or put to death."<sup>256</sup> The Earl of Rutland, who accompanied Essex on his march through the City, swore that the earl "said his life was practised to be taken away by Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh" and that "he meant to possess himself of the City, the better to revenge himself of his enemies, Sir Robt. Cecil, Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh."<sup>257</sup> Lord Monteagle, another militant Essexian, said the same,<sup>258</sup> and Henry Cuffe, Essex's secretary, added that the earl thought that one of his servants, a frequenter of Cobham House called Wiseman, was to have murdered him.<sup>259</sup> Another of Essex's men reported that the earl had named not only Cobham and Raleigh but also Cecil as those who would have him assassinated, and had accused all three of them of having <sup>had</sup> a scrivener in Paternoster Row or the Old Bailey forge his name to "some capital matters which he had in his pocket to

shew":<sup>260</sup> the allusion to forgery was, as it later emerged at Essex's trial, to the letters which John Daniel had stolen, so that it is interesting to find Essex himself asserting that Daniel had acted for Cobham and his friends. The large number of men who, examined later by the Council, asseverated that they had heard on 8 February that Essex was fighting for his life indicates that the charge against Cobham and the others had been assiduously spread through the City.

Despite his personal plea to the populace, Essex received no support from London. Cecil's composure no doubt saved the day for the government; as a courtier wrote on 11 February, "The main point was the providence and celerity of the Secretary, who foresaw before he was believed, and showed great dexterity and courage in ministering sudden remedies."<sup>261</sup> The people stood irresolutely by, intimidated by Lord Burghley's reading of the proclamation of Essex's treason and by the orderly assembly of the queen's troops, and the earl hurriedly rode through the City to the river, where he took a boat back to his mansion. There he put himself under siege. Outside the walls of Essex House waited Nottingham and Lord Thomas Howard, Grey and Burghley, Cobham, Raleigh, Sir John Stanhope, the Earls of Lincoln and Cumberland, even Sir Robert Sidney: "those who," in Miss Handover's words, "supplied the country's dignity and power".<sup>262</sup> Faced with insurmountable odds, Essex late in the evening capitulated and submissively walked out of his gates.

On 13 February the Council gave an official account of the rebellion to the country. Speaking at a public session of the Court of Star Chamber, the foremost Councillors stated what had happened five days earlier, and Cecil, although protesting himself unprepared to make an address, delivered a comprehensive indictment of his fallen enemy. The principal points in it were, besides the earl's armed uprising, Essex's ambitious refusal to be content with the honours which the queen had heaped upon him, his hypocritical profession of religious sympathy with Catholics and Puritans alike, his demagoguery, his traitorous dealings with Tyrone in Ireland, and his Bolingbroke-like scheme to depose Elizabeth as though she had been another Richard II. These points were to constitute the case brought in against Essex at his trial on 19 February.<sup>263</sup>

Also on 13 February the Council issued letters to the nobility, requiring their presence at Court "uppon this accident of the rebellion of the Earles of Essex, Rutland and Southampton"; the lords were to appear before the queen before the twenty-first, since, as went the letter which Cobham received, the noble rebels were "to receave tryall as belongeth to their birthe and qualitie" and it was "her Majesty's pleASURE that your Lordship as a Peere of the Crowne and one of approved fidelitie to her Majestie should be present at their arraignment".<sup>264</sup> On Tuesday, 17 February, a second letter was issued to each of twenty-five peers, requiring him to be "at Westmynster Hall by eight of the clocke in the mornyng on Thursday next";<sup>265</sup> these twenty-five were to be Essex's jurors, and among them were Cobham and the young lord whom the earl had offended, Grey of Wilton. Essex's brother-in-law Northumberland, although he had been written a letter on 13 February, was not called to jury service.

The court met on 19 February:

A spacious court was made in Westminster Hall in the form of a square, the head of which was towards the Court of King's Bench; upon the sides of the square were made seats for the Peers; and the lower seat for the Judges. At the upper end of the square was a chair and a footstool under a canopy of state, where the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst sat as Lord High Steward, The Earls, Barons, and Judges sat according to their degrees.<sup>266</sup>

Cobham sat in the eighth seat down from the Lord Steward's chair, on the right side; next him was Grey.<sup>267</sup> Essex and Southampton watched them take their places, and watched too as Francis Bacon, formerly an influential member of the earl's secretariat, took his place among the Queen's Counsel. The conclusion of the trial was evident from the moment the court was called into session.

"At the barr," Cecil wrote later to Sir George Carew,

'the Erle laboured to extenuate his fault by denying that euer he meant any harm to her Maties person, and by pretending that he took armes principally to saue himself from Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh, who (he gaue out) should haue murdered him in his house on Saterdag night. He pretended also an intention he had to haue remoued me, with some others, from the Queen, as one who would sell the kingdom of England to the Infante of Spayne, with such other hyperbolicall Inventions.'<sup>268</sup>

The transcript of the trial corroborates in part Cecil's account of it. Essex showed only contempt for Raleigh, who stood intimidatingly by as Captain of the

Guard, commenting as Raleigh was called to give evidence, "What booteth it to swear the fox?" Defending himself, Essex spoke passionately, finally drawing Cobham to question him directly. "God knows I was drawn into this hazard," swore the earl,

by those that have the Queen's ear, and abuse it, informing her of falsehoods against many of us; which, having felt a long time, I chose at last rather to hazard her Majesty's mercy than to abide the dangerous courses that they might work against me. My purpose was to have come unto her Majesty with eight or nine honourable persons, who had just cause of discontentment, though not equal with mine, and so prostrating ourselves at her Majesty's feet, to have put ourselves unto her mercy. And the effect of our desires should have been, that she would have been pleased to have severed some from her Majesty, who, by reason of their potency with her, abused her Majesty's ears with false informations; and they were Cobham, Cecil, and Raleigh. For we thought that my Lord Cobham carried himself in factious and dangerous courses, and told her Majesty many untruths; and he was a principal cause, as I think, of withdrawing her favour from us. And to have removed such a base informer from her Majesty, I would have bended my tongue, my brain, and my best endeavour with all diligence; but without purpose of harm to her Highness: for, I protest, I do carry as reverent and as loyal duty to her Majesty, as any man in the world.

At this point Cobham spoke up. "I pray you, my Lord of Essex," he said,

let me know, I entreat you, why you lay such imputations upon me as you have delivered. I never bore you any malice; indeed I confess I have disliked some of your ambitious courses, which could not but breed danger to the state, in which respect I sought to hinder their growth.

So proper an attitude Essex could not hope to counter. It must have seemed clear to him, as it does to one today, that Cobham had been schooled by someone less impassioned in speech than himself to represent the Cecilian party in a spirit of loyalty to the Crown quite detached from partisan considerations. Essex retorted mildly,

My Lord, I have forgiven all the world, and therefore you shall not need now to insist upon these circumstances. I lay my curse upon him that shall do your Lordship any harm for my sake; for I protest my heart beareth you no malice, for what I spake was freely and in God's presence, hoping her Majesty would have heard us and our just complaints.

These were the magnanimous words of a man who considered himself already condemned

Before Cobham could reply, Buckhurst decreed that "the matters before alleged by the Earl of Essex, concerning my Lord Cobham, Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir Walter Raleigh, were impertinent, and willed them to proceed in the business in hand,"

Essex asserted, "My opinion of them is not mine alone, but is fortified by the opinions of others," whereupon Bacon made a pious little speech. While one must resent it because it comes from a man who had long helped to direct the earl's suicidal career, one must also appreciate the aptness of what Bacon said. "My Lord," he addressed the Lord High Steward when he saw that Essex's plea of rising in self-defence was not to be sifted,

I expected not that the matter of defence would have been excused this day; to defend is lawful, but to rebel in defence is not lawful; therefore what my Lord of Essex hath here delivered, in my conceit, seemeth to be simile prodigio .... And this I must needs say, it is evident that my Lord of Essex had planted a pretence in his heart against the Government, and now, under colour of excuse, he layeth the cause upon his particular enemies. My Lord of Essex, I cannot resemble your proceedings more rightly than to one Pisistratus, in Athens, who, coming into the city with the purpose to procure the subversion of the kingdom, and wanting aid for the accomplishment of his aspiring desires, and as the surest means to win the hearts of the citizens unto him, he entered the city, having cut his body with a knife, to the end they might conjecture he had been in danger of his life. Even so your Lordship gave out in the streets that your life was sought by the Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh, by this means persuading yourselves, if the City had undertaken in your cause, all would have gone well on your side. But the imprisoning the Queen's Councillors, what reference had that fact to my Lord Cobham, Sir W. Raleigh, or the rest? You allege the matter to have been resolved on a sudden. No, you were three months in the deliberation thereof. Oh! my Lord, strive with yourself and strip off all excuses; the persons whom you aimed at, if you rightly understand it, are your best friends.<sup>269</sup>

To call the Cecilians Essex's best friends was of course rank hypocrisy, but on 19 February 1600/1 words hardly mattered. Essex had been undone, and the jury could come to one conclusion only. He was found guilty of high treason and was, with Southampton, condemned to death.

Back in the Tower, Essex asked that Nottingham, Buckhurst, Cecil and Egerton might visit him, so that he might, as the Secretary later told Mountjoy,

say what he knew or could reveal, especially of that injurious imputation to me (whom as a Councillor he had so wronged). He vowed and protested that on his own conscience he did freely acquit me from any such matter, and was ashamed to have spoken it, having no better ground, and professed to bear no malice to those others, the Lord Cobham and Raleigh, whom he had named his enemies, and by whom (but as they had been illwillers to him) he knew no other, than that they were true servants to the Queen and the State.<sup>270</sup>

His execution was set for 25 February. Once the queen recalled the warrant which she had issued, but she returned it to the Council and made no second rescission

of it. Only Southampton was to be spared. Raleigh later sought to account for the queen's unexpected obduracy. "Yea," he wrote, a better anecdotist, one suspects, than historian,

the late Earle of Essex told Queene Elizabeth, that her conditions were as crooked as her carkas: but it cost him his Head, which his Insurrection had not cost him, but for that speech.<sup>271</sup>

On the twenty-fifth, early on Ash Wednesday morning, Essex laid his head on the block and, under the proud gaze of Raleigh, there in his capacity as Captain of the Guard, he died. Cecil wrote that "no man liuing could dye more Christainly [sic] than he dyd."<sup>272</sup> It was Cobham's wife who left to posterity a story which indicates how deeply the queen felt her favourite's death. Elizabeth had upon her accession to the Throne made much of the Coronation Ring with which she bound herself in marriage to her kingdom. Yet after the queen's death the Countess of Kildare assured Bishop Parry

that the Queene caused the ring wherewith shee was wedded to the crowne, to be cutt from hir finger some 6 weekes before hir death, but wore a ring which the Earl of Essex gave hir unto the day of hir death.<sup>273</sup>

At his trial Essex had made much of Cobham's enmity to him, and for months after his death Cecil, the baron and Raleigh were slandered throughout the countryside by the late earl's relatives and friends.<sup>274</sup> Of the two specific charges made against the three Cecilians by their enemy in his last days, one must be regarded as true: Cobham and his friends must certainly have been making sure for years that the queen knew of all her favourite's misdeeds and indiscretions. Of the other one it is hard to know what to make. That Cobham and Raleigh, on their own or in collusion with Cecil, had actually suborned Wiseman or anyone else to murder Essex in his own house seems most unlikely: had the earl been assassinated, suspicion would have fallen directly upon his public enemies, and the queen would, since both her honour and her affections would have been touched, <sup>not</sup> have spared them. It is not easy, however, to imagine Essex trumping up such a charge against the three men simply to gain popular sympathy. Cecil, speaking in the Star Chamber on 13 February, accused the earl of having done just this. "What was his pretence in this his last diabolicall treason," the Secretary rhetorically asked.

Did he not as he was pricked forward in his trayterous rebellion, doatinge upon the affection of the people to him gyve out in base speeches y<sup>t</sup> he was in feare to be murthered in his bed by Cobham, Rawley, & Cicill.<sup>275</sup>

The Secretary even claimed to know that Essex had sent his servant Temple into the City the night before he rebelled, "to solicit his entertainment in the city the next morning," and to claim that "he should have been murdered in his house by certain honourable persons."<sup>276</sup> Back in 1569 the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, rising in rebellion, had claimed that their private enemies "had beset their park with armed men"; as though supposing that Essex had used the Northern Rebels' excuse as his precedent, Cecil observed contemptuously, "Pernici-  
ossima vitia quae virtutis specie fruuntur," most shameful are those offences which seek to prosper under colour of virtue.<sup>277</sup> One wonders whether even Robert Cecil could have suspected the gallant Essex, desperate though he was in 1601, of such dishonour.

A possible answer to why the earl charged Cobham, Raleigh and Cecil with a plot to murder him is suggested by a ballad written in 1603 by someone who delighted in the spectacle of Raleigh's own fall. The anonymous writer then expressed the belief that the Cecilians had contrived to make Essex refuse to appear before the Council when it summoned him on 7 February, and thus to force him into armed resistance, by inducing him to believe that if he left his house he would be killed. These are the words which the balladeer put into Raleigh's mouth:

And now I finde it dothe my conscience gall,  
that wee suborn'd a Judas to betray thee;  
whoe tould thee, when the Counsell did thee call,  
that I & Cobham by the waye would slaie thee;  
advisinge thee therefore for to staie thee;  
And thus by fraud wee forc'd thee to offend,  
by disobayenge when the lords did send.<sup>278</sup>

There is no proof that it was by such a machiavellian sleight that Essex was tricked into betraying himself into the power of the Cecilians, nor ought one to hope that written proof would have escaped the Secretary's confiscation of any evidence incriminating himself and his colleagues. Yet the balladeer's assertion does not seem farfetched. The Secretary knew that so long as Essex lived there could be no peace in English government, he also knew that the malcontents at

Essex House would sooner or later upset the kingdom, and if he and his colleagues forced the earl's hand in such a way as the ballad suggests, they were guilty at most of framing an opportune time, not of framing an innocent man. Essex as much as they had established the rules of the deadly game they played for so long; they proved themselves, in the best traditions of classical politics, the more skilful. Abraham Colfe understood what had happened, and said at Oxford in May that Essex had been another Cicero; the Piso, Catiline and Antony of 1601, of course, saw to it that Colfe was silenced.<sup>279</sup>

Whatever was the extent of Cobham and Raleigh's involvement in the final overthrow of Essex, the two friends emerged from it as men whose inclusion in Cecil's government seemed imminent. Examination of supporters of the late earl showed that it had been Essex's meaning "to kill the Lord Admiral, the Secretary, the Lo. Cobham and Sir Walter Rawleye":<sup>280</sup> having escaped the consequences of a successful coup d'état by their enemy, these four now assumed more than ever in the eyes of the whole country the appearance of power second only to that of the queen herself. The freedom with which Cobham asserted himself once Essex was dead becomes marked in the written records of the spring of 1601. In March he received a signet bill for a lease of land from the Crown,<sup>281</sup> and at the same time he bought up some property adjoining his house in the Blackfriars.<sup>282</sup> He must have at last entered into serious negotiations with Lord Admiral Nottingham for his marriage with the Countess of Kildare, since the contract was signed not long afterward. He was also engaged with Nottingham, Lord Thomas Howard and Cecil in privateering ventures.<sup>283</sup> Politically the baron's favour was desired by many. John Bargar, a Kentishman born on the Cobham estates, a man who had served both Lords Cobham, had been imprisoned in the aftermath of the Essex rebellion and had sued to Cobham to obtain his release; this Cobham demanded of Cecil.<sup>284</sup> The baron's first cousin, Sir Calisthenes Brooke, when he became involved in a quarrel with Sir Francis Vere, begged Cobham for support, and was alarmed to find that he could not have it.<sup>285</sup> A suitor for the Mastership of Clare Hall addressed himself to the baron in March.<sup>286</sup>

What Cobham did not know was that Cecil fully intended to keep him always in the position of one who could only pass petitions on to a higher authority, never grant them himself. The Secretary was content to let the world think that his brother-in-law was "his dearest friend", and that part of his power was due to his having the Cinque Ports in Cobham's hands,<sup>287</sup> but he was quietly determined to deceive that world.

\* \* \*

#### Chapter IV

Sir Robert Cecil was given his first opportunity to negotiate as the uncontested head of the English government when James VI sent his ambassadors to London immediately Essex had been executed. They, the Earl of Mar and Edward Bruce, reached Court on 5 March 1600/1,<sup>1</sup> and the Secretary, who had learned from the confessions of Henry Cuffe what suspicions Essex had been implating in the mind of the Scottish king, at once met with them and set about to make his private peace with their master. It was being said abroad that, as to the succession to Elizabeth of King James, "it would be no mastery to wrest the sceptre out of his hands."<sup>2</sup> Cecil meant to assure the Scots that such an opinion was wrong, and in doing so he meant to show James that when he came into his second kingdom, he would owe it to the Secretary. Already knowing the inconvenience which his alliance with Cobham and Raleigh against Essex was costing him, Cecil had no intention of sharing James's indebtedness with them, and so he allowed Mar and Bruce to return to Scotland with the impression of his two colleagues which Essex had already given to the king. James had instructed his ambassadors to tell Elizabeth, when their business with her was done,

that the greatest revenge that ever I shall take of her, shall be to pray to God to open her eyes, and to let her see, how far she is wronged by such base instruments about her, as abuse her ear; and that, although I shall never give her occasion of grief in her time, yet the day may come, when I will crave account at them of their presumption, when there will be no bar betwixt me and them; and ye shall plainly declare to Mr Secretary, and his followers, that since now, when they are in their kingdom, they will thus misknow me, when the chance shall turn, I shall cast a deaf ear to their requests; and whereas now I would have been content to have given them by your means a preassurance of my favour, if at this time they had pressed to deserve the same; so now they contemning it, may be assured never hereafter to be heard, but all the

Queen's hard usage of me to be hereafter craved at their hands.<sup>3</sup>

Thus wrote James VI when, thinking that his only English supporter had died in Essex, and that the claims of his rival the Spanish infanta were supported by the Cecilians, he dispatched instructions to his ambassadors from distant Linlithgow.

At the offices of the Duchy of Lancaster late in April 1601, one of Elizabeth's 'base instruments' met Mar and Bruce, and there Cecil gave his word that, so long as James allowed the queen to live out her life in tranquillity, never allowing anyone in Scotland besides the ambassadors and the king's private secretary to know of their pact, he would effect the king's accession to the Throne of England upon Elizabeth's death. Cecil made the secret treaty alone, making provision for inclusion in it later only of his two most trusted friends, Lord Henry Howard and Lord Thomas Howard, and before the ambassadors left London they were provided with a code in which numerals stood for the principal political figures at the English Court. Cobham, Raleigh and Raleigh's friend Northumberland were thus metaphorically as well as actually reduced to ciphers. The notorious secret correspondence between the queen's Principal Secretary and the king whom, as long as she lived, she would never openly acknowledge as the heir to her kingdom, was thus initiated. It was to be carried on for almost two years, and with each letter Cobham and Raleigh's chances of a prosperous future diminished. They probably never knew what was begun in those heady months of victory after Essex's execution, and no matter how dark were their suspicions of Cecil's good faith toward them, they can certainly never have guessed how effectively and how completely he had betrayed them. As Cecil wrote to James in what he endorsed "my first lettre to the Kinges Majesty in the Queenes life, vppon my conference with the Erle of Marr and [Bruce] the Lord Kinlosse, at the Duchye House",

Further I must presume (vnder the former pardon) to say thus much to your Majesty; -- that although it be a common rule with many rising princes to refuse noe adress, yet you will fynde it in your case, that a choyse election of a feaw in the present, wilbe of more vse then any generall acclamation of many; the one strengthninge selected and honest myndes when they see they are not reckned in the ordinarye (though they affect noe singularitye), the other having such a repugnancye in the mynde of her Majesty as those that resolute to be trew to booth, in ordine, shalbe forced to be more negligent of the second, least they should be mistrusted of lack of duty to the first.<sup>4</sup>

Cobham and Raleigh could never have kept such a secret as Cecil chose to repose in the Howards, who with himself constituted the 'feaw' who would secure James's peaceful succession to the Throne.

Blissfully unaware of what had happened to his political future, Cobham in May 1601 finally married Frances Howard. George Whitton, writing to Dudley Carleton on the fourth, apologized for not sending news sooner by explaining that all private correspondence was intercepted by the government during the months which followed the Essex affair. "For Court news," he told how Cecil was said to be betrothed to Elizabeth Brydges, a cousin of Cobham's who later married Sir John Kennedy,<sup>5</sup> and that "my lord Cobham [is] married to the Countesse of Kildare."<sup>6</sup> On 27 May John Chamberlain told Carleton that "the Lord Cobham hath married the Lady of Kildare but I heare of no great agreement;"<sup>7</sup> he referred perhaps to a known lack of concord between the newly weds, or to a deficiency in the marriage contract. Also on the twenty-seventh a courtier vacationing at Bath noted in a letter to Cecil that Cobham "is and has been looked long for here",<sup>8</sup> which suggests either that the baron and his wife were to have honeymooned in the west, or that Cobham's health had again failed him and that he was supposed to take a course of physic alone before coming to Court for the first time as a married man. It seems clear that he had set out uxoriously upon his marital life, for Cecil, writing to his intimate friend Carew on 29 June, made a remark which, despite its crypticism, must surely refer to Raleigh, Cobham and the countess. "If I dyd not know that you do measure me by your owne hart towards me, which is likewise the rule of mine towards all others," Cecil declared with that warmth which one finds only in his letters to Carew,

'it might be a doubtfulness in me that the meetings of those whom I do loue and will (howsoever they do me) might create in you some belief that I were vngratefull towards them. But, Sir, for the better man [almost certainly Raleigh, as Miss Handover also suggests] the second [Cobham] wholly sweys him, and to which passions he is subiect who is subiect to his Lady, I leaue to your Judgment and Experience; only this I pray you, retayn Fayth and Confidence for me, and when you and I speake, you shall see my studies haue ben, and are, to make you the companion of my lyfe in honour and comfort.'

These words suggest that Cobham's marriage had created some sort of breach between

the baron and Raleigh, and Cecil. What they make clear is that it was Carew with whom Cecil meant to share his private future; although one cannot be certain of it, it would be strange indeed if he did not confide to his friend, at least in its later stages, his participation in the secret correspondence with James. His increasing determination to rid himself of his former colleagues he evidently shared with Carew, and it is from his letters to him that one learns much of the Secretary's feelings for Cobham. Already, in June 1601, he was joking with his friend about the consternation into which his brother-in-law and Raleigh had been thrown by the queen's announcement of additions to the Council: "'This day hath inflamed their minds,'" he wrote on the twenty-ninth, "'for now Shrewsbury and Worcester are sworn Counsaillors, and Sir John Stanhope vice-Chamberlaine.'" Raleigh, he assured Carew, would not get a Councillorship unless he resigned his Captaincy of the Guard to Carew, who had long wanted that post at Court; both friends knew well that the position near the queen Raleigh would never surrender, since it gave him the only political independence of Cecil which he possessed.<sup>9</sup>

Cobham did not go to Bath in the early summer of 1601, nor did he stay long at Court, where, judging from Cecil's letter to Carew, things were not going well for him. He and Raleigh had appeared together at John Daniel's trial for slander and extortion on 17 June,<sup>10</sup> and by 19 July the Earl of Northumberland was writing to him from the Netherlands, saying that he understood him and Raleigh to be down at Sherborne.<sup>11</sup> On that day Cobham was actually still in the Blackfriars.<sup>12</sup> By this time the baron had had the first of his quarrels with his wife: a news-letter of 1 July notes that "'The Lo: Cobham hath put away his goodly Lady, whereat the Lo: Admyral ys much offended & they two great enemyes.'" <sup>13</sup> Estranged from Nottingham, separated from the countess, disappointed in his hopes of a Councillorship and insulted by the promotion of others over his head, Cobham was really already past the peak of his career within five months of the death of the man from whose fall he had expected to gain so much. It is therefore not to be wondered at that the rest of his life under Elizabeth should have been a prolonged anti-climax. The wonder is that he should have lived so long on hope alone.

A result of the queen's failure to give him a seat on the Council in June 1601

seems to have been Cobham's plunging himself into work connected with his administration of the Cinque Ports, perhaps in order once again to demonstrate his worth.<sup>14</sup> When at last he left London early in August he took care to authorize Cecil to take over for him during his absence,<sup>15</sup> so that Sir Thomas Fane wrote from Dover on the eleventh, in concluding the first of several long letters of news of Continental affairs which passed through his hands, that "forasmuch as I have ever used to advertise my Lord Cobham of the occurrences of this place, I have held it not undutiful in me to certify in semblable manner to you in his absence."<sup>16</sup>

Cobham's destination in the summer of 1601 was Bath, which he reached via Cornwall; apparently he meant also to spend some time on his estate at Milplashe, in Dorset. Raleigh, writing to him from Sherborne on 13 August, told him that a Spanish fleet had been sighted in the Channel and that if he did not want to be recalled to London for dispatch to Dover he had better hurry away into the west. "If you needs will into Cornwall, hasten, or you may be sent for." Raleigh signed himself "yours 'before all that live'", and Lady Raleigh, in mock annoyance at the extremity of this expression of affection between the two malcontents, added to her husband's letter a postscript. "If I could digest that last word of Sir Walter's letter," she wrote, "I would likewise express my love, in which I am one with Sir Walter. Pray hasten your return, that we may see the Bath together."<sup>17</sup> Later in the month Cobham's friends were still waiting for him: "'I hope your Lordship will be here tomorrow or a' Saterdag,'" wrote Raleigh, "'or else my wife sayes her oysters wilbe all spilt and her partrig stale; if your Lordship cannot cum Friday, I wil wait on yow wher yow ar. I praye send mee word if yow go to lyve in Melplashe, that I may attend yow.'" The knight also wanted to know whether Cobham had yet leased the double house which they shared at Bath.<sup>18</sup>

By 6 September Cobham was at Bath, from which he wrote to tell Cecil that he would be back at Court on the following Tuesday; the queen would then be at Basing, the Marquess of Winchester's house in Hampshire, on her summer progress. Apparently he had been summoned home, for he said that he should have taken the waters next day but would "leave all for obedience' sake. See how I am distracted to London.

I must send for apparel to meet me. Whether that come in time or not, I will be there."<sup>19</sup>

That Cobham wanted it to be thought that he returned to Court against his will is made further clear in a letter which Raleigh sent to him from Basing. Raleigh spoke of the arrival of an ambassador extraordinary from Henry IV, the famous Marshal of France, Charles de Gontaut, duc de Biron. Sir John Fortescue had informed Cobham on 3 September that Biron was then at Calais "with an honourable train", waiting for favourable winds to bring him across to Dover.<sup>20</sup> Raleigh now told Cobham that the Frenchman had arrived in London, and that the queen wanted him entertained there in her absence. "I that know your Lordshipps resolution when wee parted," he wrote, referring to Cobham's obvious reluctance to come to Court,

'cannot take on mee to perswade yow, I will only say this muche; it is but a day and a half journey hither, the Queen will take it exceeding kyndly and take herself more beholdinge unto yow then yow thinke. They French tarry butt 2 or 3 dayes att most. I will presently returne to the Bathe with your Lordship agayne. The French weare all black and no kind of bravery at all, so as I have only made mee a black taffeta sute to be in; and leave all my other sutes. This is all I can say, saving I only wished yow a littell to beare, and make the Queen so much the more in your debt. It will be Thursday er they have adience. It were to long to tell the Queens discourse with me of your Lordship, and finding it, I dust not say that I knew yow weare resolved not to cum, butt left it to the estate of your boddy. I need not doubt butt that your Lordship will be here; yet I wishe yow to hold such a cource as may best fitt your honor and your humour together. If yow cum, shee will take it most kyndly. If yow cum not, it shalbe handled as yow will have it....'

In a postscript Raleigh referred to what appears to have been Cobham's intention to make another trip to the Continent. Saying that he was about to leave Court for London to pick up his new black suit "and a playne black saddell", and that he would be back at Basing by Tuesday night, Raleigh advised Cobham that, "if your French jurney holde, it will muche stand you for them to know what yow ar here, for I am resolved that the Queen will most esteeme yow here and use you."<sup>21</sup>

Evidently Raleigh was desperately afraid that Cobham, sulking in the West Country, would allow himself to be edged out of the queen's favour by the friends whom he had estranged before leaving Court. Next spring, when he was unwell, Cobham was to tell Cecil that it was only under duress that he was obeying the queen's command

to appear before her; "I trust the Queen will now believe," he wrote on 3 April 1602, "I am not apt to make needless excuses, whatsoever was told her when the Marshal Biron was here."<sup>22</sup> It was against these tale bearers that Raleigh struggled in September 1601. He had found that the queen's instructions to seven peers to entertain Biron in London and to escort him to her at Basing had not been carried out: from Crosby House on 7 September he had told Cecil, "'I am gladd I came hither, for I never saw so great a person so neglected. He hathe bynn here now left; not on nobelman to accompany them nor to gwyde them. And it is <sup>so</sup> long er they hard of my Lord of Cumberland as they thought they weare neglected."<sup>23</sup> Raleigh took over their entertainment, and clearly hoped that Cobham would benefit himself by assuming it at Court.

Cobham took his friend's advice and hurried east. On 12 September the French ambassador Boissise informed his king that on the previous day Biron had been escorted by Nottingham, Cobham, Raleigh and Lord Stafford to the environs of Basing, where by arrangement they encountered the queen out hunting. "Hier," wrote Boissise,

les sieurs admiral, Cobham, Stafford, Ralleg et autres des plus apparens de la dite court le vindrent trouver au matin et le menerent à la chasse, où la Royne le vint surprendre à cheval et bien parée et accompagnée de toutes ses dames et de grand nombre de noblesse.<sup>24</sup>

Soon afterward Raleigh went down to Sherborne, finding, it would seem, that once returned to Court Cobham did not want to go back to Bath; on 25 September he referred in a letter to Cecil to the baron's presence in London.<sup>25</sup>

The baron's attendance at Court and his visits to Kent were necessary in the autumn of 1601, for on 11 September writs were issued for the last Parliament of the queen's reign. The session was originally scheduled to begin about 20 October, as Francis Golding informed Sir Robert Sidney, and in Kent a heated contest was to be fought between Cobham's adherents and Sidney's. Golding pleaded earnestly with Sidney to come over from Flushing to be present during the elections, for his being at home "would give greate Incouragement to maney, that otherwise will be afraid to showe them selves against the other Competitors". Young Francis Fane, the son of the heiress to the Nevilles of Abergavenny and of the brother of

Cobham's Lieutenant of Dover Castle, was, according to Golding, being encouraged by the baron to stand for Kent; Sidney's agents did "dare not goe against Mr. Fane".<sup>26</sup>

Parliament opened on 27 October. Supported by Cobham, Fane had been returned for the shire, while in the Cinque Ports Dover returned his cousin George, to whom evidently the ailing Sir Thomas had turned over his seat. Throughout the Ports Cobham's candidates seem to have been returned; some of them were clearly connections of Raleigh, such as Hugh Beeston, who sat for Winchelsea, and Sir Arthur Gorges, for Rye. The younger Sir Thomas Sherley, reconciled with Cobham after his dishonourable courtship of Lady Stourton years before, sat for Hastings.<sup>27</sup>

Before Parliament met, Cobham was most probably again on terms of civility with his wife, for on 12 October he informed Cecil of his intention to have passed in the forthcoming session a bill allowing her a jointure equal to that which had been assigned to his mother and to his grandmother before her. Even then, however, the countess seems to have been living with her father, for Cobham asked Cecil to show the draft of the bill "to my Lord Admiral that I may have his allowance, and that his daughter will yield her consent likewise".<sup>28</sup> The baron was again ill at this time: on the fourteenth he announced that he had been "called home for a few days by my physician's advice":<sup>29</sup> but when the queen opened Parliament on 27 October he was in his seat, and on that day was appointed to be a trier of petitions for England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland.<sup>30</sup> Cobham's share of committee work was extremely heavy that autumn. He studied bills which ranged in topic over a broad field, from one "for preservation of Pheasants and Partridges" to one "for suppressing the multitude of Ale-House and Tippling-Houses".<sup>31</sup> None seems to have been of any great moment. Of his wife's jointure one hears nothing: the countess was having difficulty in obtaining the property left to her use by her first husband,<sup>32</sup> and it would seem that she would have had similar problems in getting what her second marriage brought her had Cobham's attainder in 1603 not put her in receipt of the free generosity of King James. The only business having to do with Cobham's private family in the Parliament of 1601 seems to have been the reading on

1 December of a bill "for confirmation of all Leases made and to be made according to the true intent of the last Will and Testament of George Lord Cobham Deceased". This piece of legislation received only one reading and was not proceeded in; nothing is known about why it was introduced in 1601.<sup>33</sup>

George Brooke was not returned to Parliament in 1601, although it would appear that he had in hand business which would better have been expedited had he sat in the House. Perhaps a strange letter which Brooke wrote to Cecil on 3 October refers to the former's attempts to get himself a seat, attempts which the Secretary would not openly support. "Though I do perfectly believe that no phantasms can terrify you where the action is justifiable," wrote Brooke,

the riot of other men's tongues being too weak an opposition against the inward force of judgment and conscience; and do assuredly know that the publishing of this would rather bring forth prayers than clamours, and do well remember that for the discovering of yourself I did never propound it, but advised the contrary in my conference with you; ~~yet~~ I thought myself bound in good manner to accept your reasons for good when you were not tied to yield other reason than your pleasure, and therein to acknowledge your respect though I could not assent to your opinion. But my brother, to whom you referred me, will not allow me this interpretation, but doth assure me that your meaning is to have it set on foot, and to give it all your furtherance so that you be neither confessed as a party nor used as the first mover. If I be thus mistaken, I desire to be reformed by yourself, and pray that for the proceeding I may either take direction from yourself (which I had rather), or else have leave to propound and receive your censure immediately.<sup>34</sup>

If this obscure message does not refer to Brooke's political ambitions, then it may refer to a business scheme which he proposed to Cecil in a letter written five days later. "I have nursed and brought to perfection with my great charge," he wrote on 8 October,

the invention of another man upon hope of benefit to myself: but as well that benefit as the publishing of the mystery depends upon a privilege to be procured. Which kind of suit in my opinion, as it is very injurious in things already common, wherein every man's interest is equal, so is it in a manner due unto all new inventions if the matter brought forth be in itself allowable. For to suppress them here is but to send them over and our money after them, instead of drawing money and commodities from all parts when by such favour they are planted at home. But this consideration is your proper. For myself, if my wish were in my power I could not desire such a privilege but in other men's names, both because the nature of the mystery is mechanical and the estimate of the profit uncertain. If it shall please you to protect and direct this suit, it is in your own power to invest yourself in it, and I am ready to inform you further in it whensoever you shall give me leave.<sup>35</sup>

The tortuosity of Brooke's style makes it always difficult to understand him; it would seem that he was asking Cecil to introduce into Parliament a bill allowing a lifetime monopoly of the commercial use of a new invention to the inventor. Cecil, knowing that he would have to meet a concerted denunciation of monopolies by the whole House of Commons, would not have touched such a proposal, and, although his reply to Brooke does not survive, one may be sure that he refused to do what his brother-in-law asked.

Finding no help in the Secretary, Brooke turned to Robert Johnson, a burgess for Monmouth, and prevailed upon him to introduce his bill into the House. The result was a fiasco, not only unprofitable but humiliating to the heir of the house of Cobham. "On Friday the 11th day of December," reads the Parliamentary journal,

the Bill comprehending and containing the maintenance of good and profitable Arts and Trades for the Commonwealth was delivered by Mr. Johnson, (who was desired to put the same into the House by Mr. George Brook Brother to the Lord Cobham) the effect of it was, that every man which had or could invent any Art or Trade, should for his life monopolize the same to his own use, or he that could add to or refine the same should do the like.

Mr. Fettiplare [sic: Giles Fettiplace, Member for Devizes] shewed, That the Bill was unprofitable and not good for divers reasons. First it was too general, because it speaketh as well of Arts invented, as to be invented. Secondly, the Bill sheweth not that they will be profitable for the Commonwealth; whatsoever they be, this Bill alloweth. For divers Arts have been devised in London, that that shall be wrought with one man, which would not heretofore be done with forty: This is unprofitable, because it setteth not the poor and many hands on work. Thirdly, it will breed confusion; because if but a little addition be made by another, a new Licence is granted to this man; And now if to that addition another shall add, that will be in infinitum, and so confusion. Whereupon he concluded, that he for his part thought fit the Bill should be squash'd, and divers cried, Away with it.

Fettiplace's objections against automation were telling in a Parliament which became famous for its passage of the Poor Bill, and the few supporters of such monopolies of inventions as Brooke proposed were unable to counter what he had said. One, referring to Raleigh's support of a monopoly "for making Tinn by Mills out of the Old Rubbish in Cornwall", observed that improvers of inventions ought to be encouraged: "Nemo nascitur Artifex. No man would come to that perfection upon the first knowledge of it, as being taught by the first Inventor for a season." This unnamed defender of Brooke's proposition also observed that it was

not "unprofitable that the work of many should be done by one". "It is," he stated in a brave defence of mechanization,

profitable for the Commonwealth, if Water may be brought to ever[y] mans House for ten shillings value, where it would not be done with ten pound cost, as by the Water-work device in London. So of Iron Mills in the Low-Countries, and of the Corn Mills upon the Thames. So of shooting and charging of Ordnance and Fire-works and the like. And generally of all Arts, Trades and Sciences which cannot be done by Poor but by Persons judicious and of Skill, and those that have a more natural inclination to come to perfection in these things than every base Beggar.

Reasonable and advanced though this opinion was, it went clear against the temper of the House, and a philistine named Snigg destroyed its effect with a sneer. "The Author of the Bill," Master Snigg declared, "perhaps was a Sugarman, for he hath the word Refiners of Arts, &c."

So it was put to the question for to be read a second time; And all said No. But when the Speaker said, all those that will have the Bill read a second time say I, Sir Richard Knightly said No aloud; at which the House laughed, and not one said I, I.<sup>36</sup>

So ended in derision Brooke's only attempt to sway Parliament. One never learns what his invention was, and one hears no more of him until the reign of Elizabeth is almost over.

The really important events of the autumn of 1601 did not take place in Parliament, which was dissolved on 19 December. All the time that the legislators sat, and while Cecil bore the full weight of responsibility for those policies which the Commons found most objectionable, Cobham and Raleigh were meeting at Durham House and attempting to devise a means whereby they might rid themselves of their dependence upon the Secretary. Involved in their manoeuvres were Raleigh's friend Northumberland and Cobham's wife, the indomitable countess. It is from the letters which passed secretly between Cecil House and Holyrood Palace that one learns most about what went on in these consistories of the malcontents.

On 22 November Lord Henry Howard, who was by this time fully cognizant of all Cecil's plans, wrote a most interesting letter to the Earl of Mar. From it it appears that the Countess of Kildare had for some time before Cecil concluded his pact with James VI been herself in correspondence with the king, once her suitor, and that her communications with him had been interrupted by Cecil's entry into

the same business. Receiving no reply to her letters to James (or, rather more probably, to Foulis his secretary), and suspecting that someone else at the English Court had made her services superfluous, she guessed what had happened and threatened to denounce Cecil to the queen for his traitorous private dealings with a foreign prince. "Kildare," wrote her cousin Howard,

out of rage that her grand leak hath had a stop, though with all the kindness, caution and consideration that discretion can devise, as before this you know, is almost mad; and challenged Cecil to his face as author and contriver of this inhibition, by discovering some things to King James, as she had imparted heretofore to himself in confidence. Your Lordship need not doubt, but in answering, he played his master's prize, sometimes scoffing, sometimes braving her. Whereupon I caused 9 [Foulis] to speak with [i.e., to correspond with] her again, and so strongly to insist by way of discourse, upon probable suspicions, or rather evident demonstrations of the ill affection of Cecil to King James, as her idle apprehensions might spend and vanish, for want of proof or probability to warrant them. After the round speech of Cecil with her, she spake with 9 in another style; ascribing his malice toward her, only to the constancy of her devotion to Cecil. But yet she laid down likelihoods of her precedent imagination, that Cecil was well affected to the King; which both her own repentance upon better arguments, and 9's reasons satisfied. She was in such a passion out of disdain, as I assure your Lordship, that if she had been discovered and detected to the Queen by Cobham, as for a week and more the Queen's strange countenance to her, gave us all cause to fear, she was resolved to have accused Cecil also with as many probabilities as suspicion and spleen could heap together, of running the same course with King James, to the utter ruin of all his best advantages. For to my own worthy nephew, the Lord Thomas Howard, who is her counsellor at these hard streights, she threatened to break the neck of that weasel (which was her own term) that had disgraced her; but the particular she told him not.

I think that 9 will signify some part of these proceedings, which I leave to him, and only beseech your Lordship to present this figure to the wisdom of King James; who will soon perceive what proportion there is between the good that possibly can grow from such a busy body as understands no secret of state, nor so much as ordinary passages (because her own sex dare not speak before her), and the plunge she puts the King's friends and affairs to, by these passions and precipitations upon every accident that troubles her. She is now put into the vein of seeking by good means to draw Cecil to favour King James: and here we mean to hold her, till the latter day, for any good she shall ever work by her endeavour. For I have advised Cecil, by this advantage of her intermeddling, to make that impression of his respect to King James, which may wear out those marks which facility had left in her mind before; and make her see her own idleness in arming at impossibilities; for believe it, that she keepeth in her mind a large memorial of all advantages by word or action that may hold those persons in this place in awe, that she would reign over.<sup>37</sup>

It was to such a woman that Cobham was married, and to a member of so machiavelian a family. Evidently the countess's courses she did not share with her husband, who, deceived by Cecil's show of interest in the Spanish claimant upon the succes-

sion, was opposed to James. Nor did she belong to any Court party, cut off as she was by her notorious indiscretion from even the gossip of the Privy Chamber. Lord Thomas Howard, her cousin, although apparently not yet aware of Cecil's pact with the Scottish king, was a man whom the Secretary respected highly and whom he was later to advance to real power under James; with him she can have had no sure alliance.

With the other woman who figured prominently in Cobham's circle at this time Lady Kildare was constantly on bad terms. Lady Raleigh early in 1602, hearing that the countess had slandered her to the queen, wrote to Cecil in a desperate (and, had she known it, a quite unnecessary) move to open his eyes to the harm which the woman was doing them all. "Sir," she told him,

I vnderstand that hit tis thought by me Ladi Keldare that you shuld doo me that fafor as to let me knoo how unfaforabel shee hath delt with me to the Queen. Hit tis trew that I shuld not have mistrosted so vnhonorable a thought in heer to me, without good prowf. But I protest, as yow knoo, I neuer vnderstood hit by you; nether did I ever see you, or heer from you, sens heer ladiship deed me that good office. Therfor hit tis but heer mistaking wich shee ewsseth to much. I unly say this, that for the honnar I beear herr name and the auncient aquaintans of heer, I wish shee wold be as ambitious to doo good, as she is apte to the contrari.<sup>38</sup>

As mistress of Durham House, where Cobham and Northumberland met with her husband, Elizabeth Raleigh seems to have shown herself the true daughter of the clever Sir Nicholas Throckmorton. Lord Henry Howard, himself perhaps the most devious politician ever to plot at Whitehall, considered her "a most dangerous woman, and full of her father's inventions".<sup>39</sup>

The first indication that the Cecilian party had splintered, and that Cobham and Raleigh meant to succeed Essex as the opposition to the Secretary's rule, came late in 1601 when the baron tried to discredit his brother-in-law with the queen. Cobham hinted to Elizabeth that Cecil was doing the forbidden thing, meddling in the succession. The baron can have had no sound knowledge with which to back up his accusation, but it is possible that from his wife he had got a suggestion of what she for a time guessed Cecil to be doing. "For his pains," remarks Miss Handover, Cobham "earned a royal snub."<sup>40</sup> Howard gave Edward Bruce "notice of a dialogue between the Queen and Cobham," but unfortunately the letter in which he

did so has been lost; one knows only what he told Bruce in a later letter, which was that "Cobham spiced Cecil as soundly touching idle apprehensions of his inclining to the side of King James, as his wit would enable him." "When the Queen excused Cecil," Howard continued,

so as that there were no further hope of working his malicious desire, nor of disgracing one (without such demonstrations, as it were better he were strangled, than he could produce) whom she reputes a pillar and supporter of her state, he made shew to give back, and rather fear facility than corruption in the person whom he found her set and resolute to justify.

Having said so much, on 4 December 1601, Howard went on to brand the opponents of the Secretary with the name which has clung to them. "You must remember also," he told Bruce,

that I gave you notice of the diabolical triplicity, that is, Cobham, Raleigh, and Northumberland, that meet every day at Durham House, where Raleigh lies in consultation, which awaked all the best wits of the town out of suspicions of sundry kinds, to watch what chickens they could hatch out of these cockatrice-eggs that were daily and nightly sitten on.<sup>41</sup>

"A dangerous intelligencing man," old Lady Bacon had called Henry Howard, "no doubt a subtle Papist inwardly, and lieth in wait."<sup>42</sup> "That weasel," Lady Kildare called Cecil. A woman of "passions and precipitations," Howard called her. "The diabolical triplicity" he labelled her husband and his friends. Such were the people in whose hands the future of the house of Cobham rested in the last year and a half of Elizabeth's reign.

Howard protested to Bruce in his letter of 4 December that it was necessary for him to describe the situation at Durham House "that that which follows may be better understood". What he went on to describe was how Northumberland had been inveigled by Cobham and Raleigh to go to the queen with charges against his own estranged wife and the rest of what remained of the Essexians, denouncing them as supporters of James's claim to the Throne. "These wicked villains, Cobham and Raleigh," wrote Howard,

handled the fool so cunningly, as he gave them his word to break these scandals to the Queen, and, which is more, to put into her head a suspicion of Cecil's disposition that way, by the sorcery of all the Howards, who were vassals to that hope, and drew him by violence into their conspiracy. When they had encouraged this gallant to undertake this enterprise, not caring much whether Cecil

were galled or Northumberland ruined, pleasing themselves with the comfort of the sequel, which they looked for, Northumberland's heart failed him, in so much as he came to Cobham, pressing him to break these matters with the Queen, and giving his word, that in case the Queen required proof, he would be produced to justify. Cobham, that had proved the weakness of his own credit in the same course before, drew back, protesting that it was not his own particular, but favoured and assisted by his good wishes and furtherance; because it was the only course to break the necks of those that, in the Queen's affection and Cecil's industry, stood between him and his ends, of being called forward to the government.

According to Howard, Cobham and Raleigh were thrown into consternation by Northumberland's last-minute refusal to go through with his denunciation of Cecil; the scheme whereby they had hoped at last to win their Privy Councillorships now threatened to overthrow them quite, since Northumberland was notoriously indiscreet and they knew that he would tell the Secretary of the aborted plan. Cobham therefore hurried to his brother-in-law and told him that Northumberland was saying that the Essexians met freely in the Tower and that they intended to release Southampton and, under his leadership, to declare themselves in favour of James's precipitate accession to the Throne. Such a coup would, of course, Cobham insisted, have implicated Cecil, who was charged with the safe-keeping of the imprisoned rebels. No sooner had the baron delivered his message than Northumberland appeared before Cecil with the same news. Next Cobham confided to his brother-in-law, "upon protestation of secrecy", that Northumberland meant to denounce him to the queen, a stratagem of which, Howard assured Bruce, Cecil "doth as certainly know Cobham and Raleigh to be authors and inventors". Thus Cecil's erstwhile friends extricated themselves from what could have been a very serious predicament. "All this skirmish in projection," Howard drily observed, with perhaps a swipe at Raleigh's supposed atheism,

did end more peaceably, without any other markable affair, than an admonition to Cecil of that which he knew many ways, and by many means before, that hell cannot afford such a like triplicity that denies the Trinity.

"But now, dear Mr. Bruce," the same long letter continued on 4 December 1601,

that you may judge in what a world we live of factions and phantasies, I must let you know that, whereat you will wonder much, and I believe with reason; for Cobham, finding how impossible it is to cut the sinews of Cecil's motion in our estate; and that, like a raging billow, he doth rather break himself than the rock against which he beats, finding the same difference to be between King James's greatness

growing, and his own false glory diminishing that was between John Baptist and our Saviour, of whom it [is] said, Hunc oportet crescere, illum autem minui, &c.; either turned within five days after, or, at the least, seemed to turn another leaf, and taking the advantage of the fitness of the time, wherein he was appointed to accompany the Duke [of Lennox] at his last going to the Queen, brake with him, touching the conceit which many hold of his affection to King James, and, as himself hath since imparted with his own mouth to Cecil, both excused himself of imputations past, and vowing future affection, which is almost miraculous.

In explaining to Cecil his about-face, Cobham admitted that it looked as though James would one day indeed be King of England. "He said, laughing, there is no wisdom in being taken sleeper, when the game determines." He also told his brother-in-law that he knew that, "tho' Cecil be no professed friend, yet he is no malignant enemy; and therefore, since the King's unfriends begin to quit their party in all places, it were a vain part for him to contend alone." Moreover he thought that "the Queen herself, in her affections, inclines that way; and therefore weak encouragement for any other to stand out with him." Cobham concluded by saying "that he protested to God, nothing in this world was more against his heart; but that discretion and sense of his state present, by the decay of the prince regnant, and future, by a successor malignant, urged him."

Howard himself admitted that the reasons which Cobham said had moved him to embrace the Scottish claim were such as "might move a reasonable man", but he took care to stress Cobham's repugnance for James as king and to insinuate that both he and Cecil knew that these were not the true motives of the baron's resolution. They were, rather, "but colourably laid together by Raleigh, that his purpose might be better carried and covered". "I told Cecil that, for me," Howard went on,

to add caution to such a wit were superarrogant; but yet I must needs tell him, that the motives which indeed wrought most with Cobham were shadowed and smothered. His ends were, either, 1. To get an advantage of Cecil, by participation in conference. 2. To keep him at the least from doing that hurt, which otherwise it might be that he would have done, upon discovery of haunts by his own pioneers. 3. To search, by insinuation, the scope of the King's courses, and what persons of account are actors upon that theatre. 4. Hold Cecil in awe for ever by advantage either of his connivance, or of his consent. 5. To breathe himself upon this bare tree, till he may take a further flight. 6. To embark with one whom he conceives, as he confessed plainly to Cecil, not to be much affected to the Earl of Marr and Mr. Bruce; both which he doth hate mortally. 7. To draw from King James such effects of love and confidence, by communication of intelligence, as might raise his present fortune with the Queen, which is the mark whereat his coloured

ambition doth aim, by giving check without discovery. These reasons Cecil believes to be the motives; and therefore answered to Cobham's plain confession, That he made a great adventure, if King James were either malicious or humorous, considering his ordinary axiom both since the death of Essex and before, delivered with passion and often openly, That it was not possible for any man to be a loyal subject to his gracious mistress, that respected King James in any degree, either present or future. Cobham said, That such fervent speeches were effects of zeal, and so to be interpreted. Cecil said, That he would neither make nor meddle with his course, but he had done that which he would not adventure for his state, but hoped that her Majesty should outlive him; and after her, setting aside conscience, which ought ever to favour right, he was indifferent which way soever it should please God to dispose of the monarchy. This cold answer pleased not; but there was no further help, where caution had sealed up secrecy.

Following Cobham's talk with Cecil, Raleigh went to the Secretary "with the same brave flourishes of confidence and love", requesting him to inform the queen that he had refused the Scottish Duke of Lennox's request to confer with him about the succession. "And thus," Howard remarked, "ended the comedy, wherein I note, that, like a birchen rod that is cast in the fire when the fault is punished, they have both in some sort entered into a kind of treaty, without admitting Northumberland into the least part of the reckoning: A fit cover for such a cap, and a [proper] reward for such a cozener."

Howard concluded his letter by urging Bruce to advise the king, "for his own security and service" (for "their intentions are traiterous"), to use Cobham and Raleigh diplomatically should they attempt through Lennox to enter into direct communication with him, neither giving them "advantage by encouragement of intelligence", nor making them "desperate by contempt of their offerings. This good we have gained to begin withal, that having limed their own fingers with laying twigs, they dare not guess nor challenge upon the King's steps, nor chafe his poor servants by the fury of their inquisition." He also asked that James write Cecil a letter, to show him that Howard had done what he had promised and fully divulged the contemptible condition of the Durham House conspirators. "For," he asserted, "Cecil sware to me this day, that duo erinacii [i.e., hedgehogs], that is, he and they, would never lie under one apple-tree. The thing that Cecil would have me print in the King's mind, is the miserable state of Cobham and Raleigh, who are fain to put their heads under the girdle of himwhom they envy most, and that they cannot escape his walk with all their agility, which if you seem in your letter

by the King's direction to observe you tickle the right humour."

It is too bad that one must depend upon Henry Howard for most of one's information about the intrigues which preceded James's accession to the Throne. Not only was the man too clever by half, notoriously unprincipled and full of zest for the top-level intrigue in which after sixty years of exclusion from government he found himself, but his style is, in Thomas Birch's words, intolerable for its "harshness, pedantry, and obscurity".<sup>43</sup> Yet depend upon him one must. That he was acting for the most part in concert with Cecil is clear: no reasonable judge can accept Algernon Cecil's pathetically pious attempt to vindicate the Secretary of complicity in the virulent campaign to damn Cobham and Raleigh in James's eyes. "That he did not see Howard's letters to Scotland, and knew nothing of their temper," is by no means proved by Howard's occasional remarks to Bruce that he was divulging more than Cecil might wish him to do.<sup>44</sup> Preparing the way for his friends' political liquidation Cecil obviously was, and as his instruments he used members of a family expert in the conduct of power politics. Henry Howard was his secretary; Thomas Howard, Lady Kildare's confidant, must have been his chief informant. Why he should have decided that Cobham and Raleigh must not share in the government of Jacobean England is not so clear. Their factiousness, their unreliability, their utter refusal or inability to play the political game with the singularity of purpose and the self-effacing, patient waiting of which the Howards were masters, perhaps explains why he could not face a future in which they would be constantly at his side, demanding more and more power and prestige. Whatever his motives, Cecil was successful in condemning utterly the two men to impotence under James. That king's first, famous words to Raleigh upon receiving him in 1603 could equally well have been spoken to Cobham had the baron's name lent itself to punning: "Raleigh! Raleigh!" James is supposed to have said, "True enough, for I have heard rawly of thee, mon." From whom the king had heard is clear from Howard's letters.

The position of Cobham at the end of 1601 is, then, fairly clear. He and Raleigh had despaired of getting Privy Councillorships from Cecil, and, while they could

not afford an open break with him, they had evidently decided that they would use what means they could to obtain them behind his back. Northumberland the vain-glorious they used. Unaware of the extent of Cecil's support of James VI, yet knowing that a man as astute as he must somehow have been prepared to accept the Scottish king's accession to the Throne should the queen die without announcing her heir, they sought to profit from Elizabeth's known aversion to discussion of the succession by discrediting the farsighted Secretary. Unsuccessful in their attempts to do so, and exposed to danger because of their inclusion in their plans of the unreliable Northumberland, they then turned Jacobite. Why the baron had for so long openly declared his antipathy to James is by no means clear: perhaps he failed to see that the time had passed when it was dangerous for a Lord Cobham to involve himself in pro-Stuart politics in England, perhaps he and Raleigh really had some wild idea that they might bring in the Infanta of Spain and make her their puppet. What in retrospect seems to have been so obviously impracticable need not have been so regarded at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Whatever their reasons, the two men apparently sought to establish direct communication with James through a means which Cecil had rejected, the king's cousin Lennox. Lennox was at Edinburgh a rival to Mar and Bruce, Cecil's correspondents, and, excluded from their counsels, knew nothing of the king's arrangements in England. It is therefore probable that he thought to steal a march on the other Scottish ministers by leaguering himself with two such influential Englishmen as Cobham and Raleigh appeared to be. He must have listened with some pleasure to their protestations of affection for James, while his attention must reciprocally have gratified the two friends. What Cobham and Raleigh did not know, however, any more than Lennox knew it, was that James had already decided upon whom he would rely in England, so that their exchange of pleasantries did the duke no good, while to discuss the succession with a foreigner was to Cobham and Raleigh highly dangerous. As Cecil pointed out to his brother-in-law when Cobham told him of what he had done, James, when he received Lennox's report of their conversation with him, might well inform Elizabeth of what her subjects were doing behind her back. The Durham House faction had thus exposed itself, and had more than ever to

rely upon Cecil's protection until it could evolve a new means of making itself independent of him and assured of a future under Elizabeth's successor. Meanwhile Cobham's wife was playing her own game, and being roundly deceived by the line which Foulis was feeding her from Edinburgh. The ruse which Cecil and his Scottish correspondents had hit upon to keep Lady Kildare occupied was consummately handled: even the English government's agent in Scotland, George Nicholson, was made to believe that her clandestine dealings there were a source of disquiet to Cecil. As late as 5 August 1602 the Secretary's man, Levinus Munck, was writing a letter from his master to Nicholson in which he pretended to want "to knowe what countesse it is that keepes correspondency in Scotland".<sup>45</sup> Throughout these months Lady Kildare was apparently still separated from her husband, although in the spring of 1602 it was decided at Durham House that the baron should seek a reconciliation with her in order to discover what she knew about James's contacts in England.

Thus an uneasy peace prevailed at the English Court. Raleigh seems to have gone down to Sherborne at Christmas 1601-02, for a letter from him to Cecil dated only Candlemas Day may probably be assigned to his time. In it Raleigh asked the Secretary for an answer to his many letters, while inquiring after Cobham, from whom he professed to have received no word, "neather of his suite, or of his cumminge or other matter, this 3 weekes".<sup>46</sup> Perhaps the baron was attending to his affairs in Kent, where, after buying Canterbury Park, he bought at Christmas 1601 the reversion of his Aunt FitzJames's manor at Malling.<sup>47</sup> On 22 February Cobham was at the Blackfriars, where, from a comment in a business letter to Cecil concerning the Cinque Ports, it would appear that he had been having trouble again with his old injury ("The pain of my foot is much eased").<sup>48</sup> By 1 March he was ready to go to Court, since he wrote on that day to Cecil that he would be glad to see him before he left London.<sup>49</sup> Cecil met the friendly advances of his former allies with tranquillity. He told James in February that, in all Raleigh's "light and soddain humours", "I do no way check him, because he shall not think I reiect his freedome or his affection, but alwaies (sub sigillo confessionis) vse contestation with him, that I neyther had nor ever wold in individuo contemplate future idea, nor ever

hoped for more then iustice in time of change." Calling Cobham and Raleigh "these gaping crabs", who "wold not stick to confess dayly how contrary it is to their nature to resolute to be vnder your soverainty" did he not forbid them to speak so, the Secretary deftly dismissed the pair as <sup>un</sup>worthy of the king's confidence ("the secretest arctery of their hart is like the sive of Danae that leaked faster then the springs cold fill it, which she frequented howerly"). Evidently Cecil feared that James might double-cross him, for he also touched upon the unreliability of the king's cousin the duke. "This I will beseech," he wrote,

that, however your Majesty shall resolute in omnem euentum to serve your self of their professions, whom the D[uke] conceaueth to have gaigned as so fitt instruments for you, that you will thus farr please to give me credit as to believe that, whensoever yow shall (without great occasion, palpably seen to the world) imploy a person of any so eminent qwality, whose experience is no better (thogh otherwise he be very worthy) in distinguishing between ventosity and verity, he will leaue more clay and rubbish behynd him in our streets then some of the best labourers you haue can be able to cleanse in seven yeares after. For it is to well knowne to me that during his aboad (what with the discourses of his followers and the noyse that he had great resort vnto him, the changing of his lodging, the refusing to see (one tyme) the Queens phisitien,) that such ielousy was raised of his bestowing his time in privat conferences and accesses, as, although her Majesties mind was well prepared towards you before hand (with long foresight), yet was it one of our greatest industryes euen to effect any reasonable desires, without suspicion of some privat end or inward affection.

Cecil pointedly concluded his caveat to James by recalling how successfully Mar and Bruce had handled the queen, although they were in London "in a time when my soverains hart was bytterly inflamed with preiudice against your self and them".<sup>50</sup>

In another letter of this time, to his friend Carew, Cecil unburdened himself further of the violent distaste which he had conceived for the company of his former intimates. On 25 March 1602, from the Court at Richmond, the Secretary wrote to Carew a letter in cipher in which it seems that he professed himself deserted except by the Howards. "I say thus shortly to you, that of all our Number (God knoweth it) excepting 3002 and 2050 I have none but vypars." He wrote nothing of the Scottish business, apparently because Carew had not been taken into the secret, but he referred to Cobham and Raleigh's jealousy of Mountjoy, whose Lord Deputyship of Ireland had proved to be a great success. "I write thus much to this End," he told Carew, "that in your letters to those two 3006 (Cobham?) and 2048

(Raleigh?) you do not extoll 2047 (Mountjoy), nor yet write any thing to humour them which might infect th'other, for they shew all men's letters to every man." It was another, plainer way of comparing the discretion of Durham House to the sieve of Danae. The loneliness and tension of the man is suggested in his concluding words to his absent friend. Denying the rumours that he would marry again, Cecil wrote, "No, I seek safety, wish I had you, and rest al solito."<sup>51</sup>

In his letter to the king written in February, Cecil had shown how nervous he was. Pleading with James not to believe anything, favourable or ill, which Raleigh might say about him should the king decide, despite Cecil's advice to the contrary, to conduct a correspondence with Durham House through Lennox, he had touched upon Raleigh's supposed atheism. "A person whom most religious men do hold anathema" was a telling way to describe his opponent to a king who prided himself on his piety. Then Cecil went on to say that he would "leave the best and worst" of Raleigh to Howard's relation, "in whose discretion and affection you may dormire securus." Pace Algernon Cecil. Accordingly at about this time Howard warned the king not to let Lennox know why Cecil was rejecting overtures of peace from the Spanish governors of the Netherlands. It had long been notorious that the Secretary wanted peace ("both his father had been in this degree pacificus," wrote Howard, "and he himself had heretofore inclined to that side"), but in 1602 Cecil had to be careful not to encourage English Roman Catholic sympathizers with the Infanta to think that she could be considered a real rival to James in the matter of the succession. He refused to negotiate with Brussels ostensibly because the terms offered were not acceptable to England. Cobham and Raleigh, apparently determined to act as a kind of Elizabethan Loyal Opposition to whatever Cecil's government did, were encouraged by the Secretary's lack of interest in the peace proposals to think that they might enter into negotiations over his head. Howard was afraid that, through Lennox, the pair might learn what it was which constrained Cecil from acting according to his traditional policy: "Were it possible for them, by any mean," he told James, "to get notice, that your Majesty misliked of their endeavour to procure this peace, they would as readily conclude of the motive of Cecil's earnest opposition." Howard's fear was justified: if James's aversion to

an Anglo-Spanish treaty were known at Durham House, he pointed out, "they would easily conclude, with what adamant that needle were touched, that bent to that pole; and thereupon not only disable Cecil's faithful industry in this drift, but in all other things, and make him forever suspect to Queen Elizabeth, after she had found, that he were in the least degree (though for her own good, if she could discern without passion of prejudice) inclined and bent toward you." Howard knew that at Brussels Cobham and Raleigh "nourished a certain muddy spring of intelligence"; they maintained these Belgian connections, he told James, "only, that Queen Elizabeth, being startled with suspicion of you, might run the other course with a stronger resolution". Evidently Cobham and Raleigh were coming more and more to hope that the Infanta of Spain might after all receive the queen's nomination as heir presumptive if James could but be even temporarily discredited.

It is pointless to search in Cobham's private correspondence for corroboration of these activities with which Howard charged him. Cecil would of course have destroyed any letters bearing on the succession as soon as, in the first year of James's reign in England, the baron's papers fell into his hands. There is only the letter which the minister of the Spanish Archdukes of the Netherlands wrote to Cobham in November 1602, suggesting that they attempt to negotiate the peace which Cecil did not seem to want, to connect the baron with international affairs at this time.<sup>53</sup> Practically all that one knows of Cobham's personal life in March 1602 is that, on the twenty-eighth, his servant Morris was robbed of £ 200 in chains, rings and bracelets belonging to his master.<sup>54</sup>

Of another member of the Durham House triumvirate, however, letters concerning King James survive. Northumberland, in March 1602, at last seeing that he owed no loyalty to Cobham and Raleigh, offered his services to the Scottish king. "I will no longer concele that affection wyche hetherto hathe been depressed," the earl assured James, and then proceeded to plead with him not to attempt to seize the Throne before the queen had passed naturally away. England was, according to him, groaning under the rule of Cecil: "The nobilitie," he asseverated, thinking no doubt of himself and Cobham above all, "are wnsatisfied that places of honor are

not giuen them:" but reform must not be brought about by invasion and rebellion. A border lord, Northumberland would have been one of the first magnates to have to choose between his dying sovereign and her impatient successor should James anticipate his right; one can sympathize with the earl. He concluded by insisting that, "For mater of your clame after her maiestie, I here noene almost cawle it in question," a statement which James, assiduously informed by Howard of the wild hopes of Durham House, must have found amusing.<sup>55</sup> The king's reply was gratifyingly cordial: thanking his "Ryght trustie cusing" for his "most wyse plaine and honest letter", he assured Northumberland that he would wait out his time with patience, and that, "when ever it sall please god to call her to his mercy, you may be a chiefe instrument to assist my setteling in that seate wyche I honor as the apparant heire."<sup>56</sup> Henceforth the earl's allegiance was to the Scottish king: the diabolical triplicity had been reduced to "that accursed duality".<sup>57</sup>

Eager to make sure that the power of Durham House, already weakened by the defection of Northumberland, might be further lessened, Lord Henry Howard drew up for Cecil's study in March or April 1602 a plan of attack against Cobham and Raleigh. It seemed to him imperative that the queen should be informed of the desperate lengths to which the malcontents were willing to go in their determination to get the better of Cecil:

Hir Majesty must knowe the rage of their discontent for want of being called to that height which they affect; and made to taste the perrill that growes out of discontented myndes, untamed by due reverency of loyaltie. She must know that the blame is only laid on hir, in their opinion, though danger make them seek to cover and disguis the reste; -- complayning to their frends of ministers of State, and threatninge the better sort, -- with words of spleen and passion, -- to requit their curtesie, if occasion be offered.

Howard was aware that, "if there wear anie vertewe or valewe" in Cobham and Raleigh, such information about them "myght make a fearfull princess more enclinabel to give them entranc, for fear of working mischief in the State." "But," he assured Cecil, "the Queen doth so well understand their levitie, indignitye, and slander, and interest which theie hold in the world's conceit ... as ther is no doute of hir relentinge." He therefore urged the Secretary to launch a campaign of vilification against the two men, "so that roundly hir Majestie must daily, and by divers

meanes, be let to knowe the worlde's apprehendinge hir deepe wisdomes in discerninge the secret flawes of their affections." The presence about her of Cobham and Raleigh was to be deplored for several reasons. One was the unpopularity of the two men at home, which caused the enemies of England to hope that they might succeed in attaining governmental power and thus "aliene the peoples reverent affection, as some mischef wold succeed of it." "She must," Howard insisted, "be taught to see the perrill that growes unto princes by protectinge, countenancing or entertaininge persons odious to multitudes, without necessity to warrant grace." Another flaw in the two men which might be brought to the queen's attention was their indiscreet meddling in the succession: "Some pageants of theirs must be brought to light dailye, that maie move her spleene and cheflie -- if it be possible -- some touch wherin they seeke to make some benefit of the Quene by delusion or cousening." Their incompetence in office must be stressed; although we hear only from Howard that Cobham mismanaged the Cinque Ports and Raleigh his government of Jersey, the Secretary's confidant evidently thought that there was something which "the Queen must know [of] the weakenesse of thes governours in places which they have in charge, and [of] howe much is often drawn from the service by the distast of their insolency." Finally, Howard insisted that the plots laid at Durham House must be revealed. Writing as though Northumberland were still a participant in the counsels held there (he could not believe that the earl was cured of "his favour toward that accursed duality"), he set out for Cecil a character sketch of the principal conspirators against the Secretary's power. Thus Howard made Cobham, Raleigh and Northumberland seem to be an amalgam of all the faults of an Essex. The queen, he said,

must be told what canons are concluded in the Chapter of Durham, where Rawlye's wife is president; and withall how weakely Cobham is induced to comende the courses that are secretely inspired by the consente of that fellowshipe. Evrie one havinge at his hart a mortall gripe of some particuler that vexeth him: Northumberland is made that any man should be thought so fitt for place of martiall employment as himself, havinge never before the last year's siege [of Bergen-op-Zoom], beholden either place or service that might make him capable of any command in a less jeoparddaie; Cobham dies to think that any man alive should be thought so fitt for any place that falles, vewing both his owne person and his quality in glasses of false presumption.... Rawlie, that in pride exceedeth all men alive,

findes no vent for paradoxis, out of a councell bord; but, holdinge absolutelie lost to him what others gaine, inspireth Cobham with his owne passions, that by such a trunk they may be carried to another ear; and cares not at what rate he purchase opportunitie to vex others, having no great hope of ascending to his owne altitude. His wife, as furious as Proserpine with failinge of that restitution in Court which flatterie had moved her to expecte, bendes her whole witts and industrie to the disturbance of all motions by councell and encouragement, that may disturbe the possibilitie of others' hopes, sinc her owne cannot be securid.

The deduction which one must draw from Howard's account of Durham House is that Cobham was completely under the spell of the Raleghs. "It appears," said one of their contemporaries in 1603, "that Cobham took Raleigh to be either a God or an idol."<sup>58</sup> Raleigh and his wife, for their part, knew that Cobham and the countess had the queen's favour which they had long ago forfeited, and that that favour was essential to them if they were to unseat Cecil. The combination of Raleigh's wit and Cobham's position at Court, the latter factor being quite subordinated to the former, was indeed a threat to the Secretary's supremacy; this Howard knew and feared.

Continuing his memorandum to Cecil, Howard expressed the opinion that the way "that Cobham hath elected to ingreate himself [with the queen] is by the Peace with Spaine". It was held that the baron, "a man bred in England, hath no experience abroad,"<sup>59</sup> and so Howard satisfied himself that the conclusion of a peace "hath so many difficulties as will rather confound his dizziness then reward his industry". Moreover, recalling how his own brother Norfolk had been destroyed by dealing with a foreign power behind the queen's back, Howard opined that the best way for Cecil to rid himself of Cobham was by encouraging the baron to proceed in his self-chosen course. "So must you embark this gallant Cobham," he advised the Secretary, "by your witt and interest, in some cours the Spanish waie, as either may reveale his weakenesse or snare his ambition.... Be not unwilling, both befor occasion of any farther employment, to ingage him in the traffick with suspected ministers; and, upon the first occasion of farther treatie, to make him the minister. For my own part, I account it unpossible for him to scape the snares which wit may sett, and weakenesse is apt to fall into. The Queen did never yet love man that fayled in a project of importance put into his hands." Howard was confident that Cobham could not resist an opportunity to meddle in Anglo-Spanish

affairs; indeed, he was sure that Durham House had already decided that there should be its field of action, from which either Cobham, or the notoriously anti-Spanish Raleigh, should emerge triumphant. Referring to the shoals of international diplomacy as to waters infested with crocodiles, Howard wrote:

We see that theas two gallants, having onc chosen to converse inter amphibia, ... devide their provinces at this day, touching traffick of the State, with so great artifice, as, if the Peac goo forward, Cobham prospers by his industri; if it doo not, Rawlie by his opposition. In matter of intelligence Cobham is commended as most secret; in matter of action Rawlie blazed as most sufficient. Cobham in discouraging hath holden a kind of privelege to vent his passions; Rawly, to temporize. Cobham must have the rough hand of Esau, in execution of rigor; Rawlie, the soft voice of Jacob in courtlye hypocrisy. Cobham must delight, seconde, inveigle, and possesse the Queen's opinion, -- by improving dangers, casting figurs, and contrivinge invectives against the Scottish hopes, pretensions, and actions. Rawly must insinuat his own affection, applaud their expectations, and concurr with them. Cobham must in all things tender the consirvation of the present state, to maintayn his owne tenur. Rawlie must perswad anticipation, for prouf of knowne destini. Cobham must exclayme against the small account and reckininge that is made of noblemen. Rawlie must in all discoursis hold them to bee fooles, and therby insufficient for charge; or cowhards, and therefore incapable of lieutenantye. Cobham must relate, and gain the credit of the Queen's satisfaction; Rawly must inspir and romanc; secur from justification, Cobham must be the block almightie, that gives oracles; Rawlie must [be] the cogginge spirit that still prompteth it.

Had Howard written so to Scotland of the public front which Cobham and Raleigh were putting on, one might be justified in doubting his description of it; since he was writing for Cecil, who knew the two men even better than he, one must accept it. Evidently they were buoyed up with hopes of their own invention. "The patience of theis in being thus well pleased with a cupp of cold water," observed Howard epigrammatically,

when their sowle doth thirst for aqua vitae of the highest kinde; their humble carriage in so great oppression of hart; their dissimulation of supposed and pretended wrongs; their resolution to watch; their custome to praye; their satisfaction to fast; -- in persons\* of that sufficiency to judge -- of that agility to cumpare -- of that temper to prayte -- of that enclination to stirr -- of that disposition to mutinie -- of that eagerness to revenge -- maie move you to conclud that in their own judgments they conclud the ruin of their credit is upon opposition to you, and the weaknesse of their advantages, upon contradiction of opposits.

Since it was clear to Howard that Durham House was merely biding its time until it could find Cecil in an unguarded moment, he advised the Secretary that "it wear good to gain the start.... For to give them a blowe in the Queen's conceit --

once possessid with suspicion and prejudice after their suggestions -- must of necessity be found mor harde then nowe, when neither the Quene, for her privat humor, nor the State, for any publick use or employment, doth stande in any need of them."

It was always a matter of apprehension to Cecil and Howard that the wily James might betray them. Lennox was a favourite of the king, standing in a personal relationship to him in which Mar and Bruce could not hope to share; should the duke increase his hold over his cousin, there was always the danger that a Lennox-Cobham-Raleigh combination might supplant the Mar-Bruce-Cecil one as the means of bringing James to the English Throne. Yet Howard, in the spring of 1602, did not think that Durham House was having much success in its correspondence with Lennox. "That out of Scotland littell good is to be don," he told Cecil,

we gather by their daintiness to write; by the littell good they gotte, or their sollicitor, at the last embassy; by their diffidence in that untrustie nation; by their uncertainty of the Kinge's acceptance; and in respect of the danger that may yet growe to them, in the case they should not accept -- like the witches of Seville in Spain, which, having all renounced their beleafe, yet wear not all possessed of the power of illusion -- by causing their knight first to sownde the passage, befor they put in their foot; by guiltiness of their own opposition to persons, that in favor have the start; by danger of discoverie, -- consideringe the Secretarie doth not favor it. Without their adventur; we can derive no grownd of operation. Of their adventuringe, against so many palissados of pike, there is no probabilitie in such craftie fellowes. Therfor the life of operation, in this degree, may be reported desperat.

Howard knew that the surest way to rid the Secretary of Cobham and Raleigh was to have James reveal to Elizabeth that Durham House was in correspondence about the succession with Lennox. It would, however, require strong assurances from James that Cobham and Raleigh could commit their futures to him before the two men would express their treason on paper, and without such sure evidence of what they were doing Cecil could not afford to have their dealings with Scotland known. As Howard put it,

But as they will not write, without some stronge motive of confidenc; and after such a warrant is awarded by the King he will not willingly permitt the cancellinge or defacer of his owne workemanshypp, therfor no good is to be brought to pass in that circumference. Besids, it maie be that the King will be afraid that such a scandale maie discourage others for embarkinge, out of fear that ther is intelligence between the scowts and the enemy.<sup>60</sup>

What one would of course like to know about Howard's memorandum "Contra Rawleigh et Cobham" (as Sir Robert Cotton endorsed the paper when it came into his hands) is whether Cecil acted upon the advice which it contained; indeed, one would like to know for certain that he even saw it. If anyone was to poison the queen's mind against Durham House, as Howard suggested it should be, the Secretary was the only man to do it, for, despite her increasing confidence in his companion,<sup>61</sup> Elizabeth never admitted Howard to any position of authority. No more a Councillor than were Cobham and Raleigh, and even less a minister, since they at least held the Wardenships of the Cinque Ports and the Stannaries, as well as the governments of Kent and Jersey, Lord Henry's position in the Elizabethan cabinet was purely that of the Secretary's confidant. Information given by him against Durham House would have been to the queen just so much more "London News", for which she had always had such contempt;<sup>62</sup> only from her Principal Secretary would denunciations of two of the foremost men about her have counted with Elizabeth for more than scandal.

In all probability Cecil never made an overt attack on his brother-in-law and his other former friend in the queen's lifetime. The Secretary was himself playing so dangerous a game, what with corresponding with James and with inventing excuses to delay the long desired treaty with the Spanish Netherlands, that he could not afford an open quarrel at Court. A glancing blow at his own policies might have sufficed to ruin him. Cobham continued to enjoy the queen's favour.

A measure of the baron's indispensability to the queen in the spring of 1602 is provided by certain letters which he wrote at the time of the visit of the Duc de Nevers. Nevers was King Henry's nephew, and his special embassy to Elizabeth was the occasion of much pomp. The queen sent Cobham to Gravesend to fetch him to London on 2 April in a royal barge.<sup>63</sup> This duty the baron found troublesome, for he was ill at the time, and the day after escorting the duke to the capital he wrote to Cecil of what the effort had cost him. "I have been so troubled with the cold that I dare not go to the Court to-day," he informed his brother-in-law.

The Duke I brought up yesterday at the Tower wharf, both the ambassadors [Christophe de Harlay, comte de Beaumont, and Boissise, who was being recalled] met him. I left him at Barbican; there I received

a message from Mr. Vice-Chamberlain [Stanhope] that within a day or two he should have a house provided for him. It gave him great contentment. The Queen, I presume, will like his manner well, which is more after the Italian than French. His company is not great, and those of account not above seven, the Marquis of Cuevre and Count Chaumont being the principal. I cannot say for his abode, but he seems desirous to stay St. George's feast.

I pray you excuse my not coming to-day to the Queen.<sup>64</sup>

At five o'clock that afternoon Cobham wrote again to Cecil:

I must confess I was so troubled with the cold it was 10 o'clock before I rose, but as soon as I was up I wrote to you. To-morrow I will not fail to be there. But for the Queen's commandment, I would not have gone for the world, for I was in my diet; going so suddenly in the air, I have gotten more hurt than good by it. I trust the Queen now will believe I am not apt to make needless excuses, whatsoever was told her when the Marshal Biron was here.<sup>65</sup>

Cobham had perhaps foreseen that he would be the first Englishman of importance to receive Nevers, and had ("though I know my part is to obey and not to advise") informed Cecil on 29 March "that till his coming to Gravesend, I would not have her Majesty take notice of it. Till he came to Neuport, the Archduke [Albert of the Netherlands] took no notice of him."<sup>66</sup> Because the government accepted his suggestion, the baron was at least spared a long trip to the coast, where a foreign prince of Nevers's rank was usually met. Even the journey from the Blackfriars to Gravesend, however, was in Cobham's debilitated condition more than he wished to repeat. When, therefore, Vice-Chamberlain Sir John Stanhope informed him on 16 April that the duke was ready to depart and that the queen had ordered Cobham to escort him back to Gravesend, the baron wrote concernedly to Cecil about it. "I acquainted him truly," he told the Secretary of what he had said to Stanhope, "that at that instant I was in my hot-house, and therefore very unfit to take a journey by water, and so prayed him I might be excused. I hope this just excuse will not be mistaken."<sup>67</sup>

What Cobham had actually told Stanhope, however, was soon known to Cecil, and trifling as the difference between the two accounts may seem to be, it was evidently thought by the Vice-Chamberlain that the Secretary would be interested in it. Cobham had indeed informed Stanhope that he had been "in physic these nine days" and had that morning been "in the hot-house", but he had also gone on, rather pathetically, to ask the Vice-Chamberlain not to let the queen know what an invalid he was becoming. "I pray you," he had written,

free me from blame, for I protest it is true that I have written and no excuse, yet if the Queen might know no otherwise but that I was gone abroad so that you could not give me notice, the favour were great unto me. I know if the Queen know the true excuse, she will make a 'scorknw' of it.

He ought not to have entrusted Stanhope with his misapprehensions about the queen's capacity for sympathy, for the Vice-Chamberlain dispatched his brother to Elizabeth with the tale of Cobham's true condition and then promptly sent the baron's letter on to Cecil with a few lines appended to it. "I send you my Lord Cobham's letter," he noted, "but I have written to Michael Stanhope the true excuse. I pray you use it as you think good."<sup>68</sup> In the second half of April Howard said that Cobham and Raleigh "hover in the air for an advantage, as kites do for carrion;"<sup>69</sup> obviously he and the Secretary felt that they could not stoop too low in order to defeat such men at their own game.

In the same letter in which he spoke so contemptuously of his opponents, Howard referred again to Cobham's wife in a manner which tantalizes a modern reader, who cannot fully understand the allusion. It would seem that the countess had again been indiscreet and had let it be so widely known that she was in correspondence with James's secretary that the queen almost came to hear of it. "You may imagine," Howard declared, citing letters now lost which he and Cecil had written to the king and to James's private agent, the Master of Gray,

into what danger the folly of Kildare hath not only brought herself, but the cause, her courses being no longer whispered, but almost divulged in the mouths of so many. It is not possible by art to do more than is done in this place, to the stopping of these leaks; but beside the peril of her traffic, which is full of inconvenience, thus weak she is also, by strange affection to Cobham, whom never woman loved, or will love, beside herself, that if he could but once bring himself, by art or falsehood, to stop but one leak, I dare assure you, on my credit, which shall never fail a true friend, that he might in the same instant not only descry the card, but ingross the gain unto himself, of all the voyages and discoveries which she hath made from the first day of her putting to sea, which King James's friends perceive; and therefore clap on all our sails when she doth but offer to approach, or underhand to contract with us.

It becomes obvious that the countess was finding it difficult to maintain her estrangement from her husband, and that Cecil and Howard feared lest, reconciled with him, and complementing what he knew with what she learned by independent means, she jump to the proper conclusion regarding the Secretary's activities.

A letter written at the end of April 1602 shows that Durham House, no doubt alerted by the countess's indiscretions at Court, was rapidly coming to the decision that Cobham and his wife must be reunited. Howard, professing to believe that such a reunion could not be effected because of the Lord Admiral's continued resentment of the baron's treatment of his daughter, told Bruce of

a new invention among that crew, that Cobham should court his own wife, and force his own disposition to make use of her access and industry, and still the admiral, if it be possible, who now barks at all their outridings, and expresseth passion, though without prejudice hitherto. They begin to bill; but because they do not tread, we must expect no chickens of the game, that in another age may maintain the cockfighting.

Howard's coarseness allows one to conclude that Cobham felt only antipathy toward his wife, and that, despite his tactful approaches to her, the couple had by no means resumed married life.

Howard finished his account of Durham House by saying that Cobham's unwonted congeniality had been extended to take in not only his wife but even Cecil, from whom the baron desired a favour. "Cobham hath a suit," as Howard vividly put it, "and candles must be set up to all saints, till that end may be compassed, which causeth this sudden heat of an after summer." One admits the ironic justice of Howard's remark,

We were never so quiet and secure, neither was the world ever both within and without more finely cozened, which proves, that both honest men and good workmen have the cause in handling.<sup>70</sup>

The suit which Cobham was conducting in April and May 1602 seems to have concerned Raleigh, and to have been directed to Cecil as Master of the Court of Wards. Elizabeth, the daughter of William Bassett of Blore, in Staffordshire, later described as "a great heyre",<sup>71</sup> was a royal ward, and on 18 May 1602 her wardship was sold to Cobham. Two days later the baron sold it to Raleigh, who apparently meant to marry the girl to his son (although not, as some historians have stated, in order to found a royal dynasty to rival that of the Stuarts: Bassett of Blore was not of the family to which belonged Sir Robert Bassett, who, "in the beginning of King James the First's reign, made some pretensions to the crown of England" as a descendant of Edward IV).<sup>72</sup> The amazing thing about this bartering for a lucrative wardship is, as Professor Hurstfield has discovered, that Raleigh himself,

immediately he had got it, entered into a private deal with Cecil whereby "Sir Robert Cecil, as Master, made it possible for Sir Robert Cecil, as a private individual, to reap the profits."<sup>73</sup> The Secretary's duplicity at this juncture was indescribably profound; one doubts that even Howard knew of the lengths to which his partner went in benefiting himself while maintaining the semblance of his old intimacy with his former friends.

Another suit which Cobham dealt in at this time concerned his brother. The bishopric of Hereford had fallen vacant and the queen, through Cobham, had intimated to Dr. Robert Bennett, Dean of Windsor and Master of the Hospital of St. Cross near Winchester, that he should be named to fill it. When Bennett heard in May 1602 that it was being rumoured that he did not want the bishopric, he wrote in haste to Cobham to assure him that he would consider himself disgraced should he fail to get it; willingly, he said, would he give up his sinecures for it. Cobham preferred his case to the Secretary.<sup>74</sup> Several months passed and nothing was done for Bennett. Then, in October, Archbishop Whitgift undertook at Cobham's suit to ask the queen to make the appointment, and the baron asked Cecil to prepare the queen for the interview. "I pray you," he urged his brother-in-law, "shew him what favour you may, which I will esteem as done to myself."<sup>75</sup> The trouble was that Bennett was being lampooned,<sup>76</sup> and so it was not until January 1602/3 that the dean's name was finally cleared and he was elevated to the bishopric. John Chamberlain, in announcing the news to Sir Ralph Winwood, revealed why Cobham had been so interested in Bennett's promotion. "There is much canvassing for his Deanry," Chamberlain said, "and mastership of St. Crosse which George Brooke wold faine ingross."<sup>77</sup>

Although Brooke was a layman, it was by no means too much for him and his brother to hope that he would be given St. Cross. Their father, many years before, had been granted "the next advowson of the hospital of Holyrood, near Winchester," to present Dr. Dee on the death or resignation of Bennett;<sup>78</sup> while Cobham cannot have inherited such a hold over the sinecure, it was probably understood in the royal circle that his brother, who had found a prebend at York not enough for him, should be allowed to have it. In January 1603 it seemed that Brooke's patient waiting had borne fruit. Then, inexplicably, the queen withheld the mastership from him, and the last letter which survives from his pen in the period before she died is a shocked outcry made to an unidentified lady of the Court. "Madam," it

reads,

The Message which you sent me, of her Majesty's gracious Purpose altered towards me, hath put me into that ecstasie, that I know not whereupon to rest my self, not having Power to believe that which I am bound to know. Is it possible that you should be so weak in Grace with her Majesty, as not to prevail in so small a Matter for any Man but of an entire Reputation? Or shall I believe that her Majesty, who suffers not the merit of her Servants to be buried with them, should not hold me equivalent with any new Melchisedech, without Father or Mother? I protest (Madam) I could not presage any ill Success to my self, but only of the means of my Ambition, and have held it therefore superfluous to claim any Favour in vertue of Supererogation, esteeming it too great a derogation from my self, for so poor a thing as a Spital-house, to raise the Dead to speak for me, or challenge any thing more than my own. But it is neither the strangeness of the Matter, nor the hardness of my belief, that can alter the Decree of a Prince. But I must take it in good payment, that is no less than for as great a Disgrace as can outwardly befall me; yet must I ever hold my self beholden to this Suit; for though I lose the Hospital, yet have I lost many Errours; withall I have weighed my Friends in a Balance, and taken a just measure of my Fortune. I must not despair, it is not impossible for a Man well taught to make a retreat into him self; neither will I yet despair of my Suit, only for this Reason, that this Change cannot proceed of her Majesty's proper Motion, but must be procured by some blind Practice that dares not see the light, though it may be my Fortune to bring it forth blushing; howsoever it be, it shall never distemper my dutifull Affection towards her Majesty, though that be for ever barred from her knowledge: for they who are able to prevent her Goodness, will be ever likely to prevent my Service, That the Place is already meant to a Divine cannot be true, nor my Impediment: For there is no kind of her Majesty's Servants and Subjects so provided for, there being such store of Places that fall daily both better than this in value, and more proper for their Function. Your Ladyship hath been hitherto an honourable and faithfull Intercessor for me; Good Madam, be not weary to continue so still, as I shall do ever to acknowledge it; and if I be able, in part to deserve it.<sup>79</sup>

So far as one knows, George Brooke remained loyal to Elizabeth so long as she lived, although the loss of the sinecure upon which he had set his heart rankled. When King James came to the Throne and, out of "his private favour", gave St. Cross to the pious Arthur Lake,<sup>80</sup> Brooke is supposed to have considered himself freed of all obligations of lyalty to the new king. He entered into a conspiracy so deep and complex that it has never been satisfactorily fathomed, and when grievously he paid for his folly with his head on 5 December 1603, it was observed that he "had Saint Croftes in his sight from the scaffold, which drove him first to discontent".<sup>81</sup>

Brooke always believed that it was Cecil who had prevented him from getting the mastership from Elizabeth. The dark suggestions which he made in his letter to his friend at Court, the mutterings about the authors of the 'blind Practice'

which it might be his fortune to bring forth 'blushing', all point to the Secretary, and in 1603 his servant Timothy Elks confessed to Sir John Harington, as the latter informed Cecil, that "the cawse of his Masters discontentment toward your honor in particular, grew in the Queens tyme about the Mastership of Saint Crosse, the missing whearof, his state decaying, by his large expence, made him a more dawngerows malcontent in this tyme."<sup>82</sup> Very little is known about the relations between Brooke and Cecil in the last year of the queen's life. In January 1603, when St. Cross was refused him, Brooke showed deep resentment when his brother-in-law questioned not him but Cobham about some supposed misdeeds of one of Brooke's servants. "I cannot but complain to you of yourself," he wrote to Cecil on 22 January 1602/3, "that howsoever your affection be in private you would not trust me immediately with the delivery of my own servant. For whatsoever my value be, my metal is as pure as any man's living, and so it ought to be taken."<sup>83</sup> The Secretary replied placatingly, recalling how much he had loved Brooke's sister ("the dearest bond, that ever I was tied in," he called his marriage with Elizabeth), and claiming that he had discussed the servant's case with Cobham simply because their both being at Court made the baron more accessible to him than was the Londoner Brooke ("the inwardness of my conversation with my Lord ... both our fortunes hath established in this place, where we both ordinarily live"). He concluded by answering Brooke's claim of integrity:

For the first part, Sir, if you remember from what stock you are a branch, you may conclude that I need no remembrance of that, being next yourself as well able to guess at the mixture as any, when I conceive if any composition could be purer than other, I had most trial of it, to my infinite comfort till God found me fit to be corrected with the privation. For the second part, which concerns your value, I can say no more but this, that the purest gold may be touched with pitch and no less valuable to those that otherwise would have prized it. That pitch, I mean, credulity of the practices of malice and envy, whereof when you shall make separation, I confess there remains nothing of the solid, but that which may attract the best offices of him that never wronged you but ever resolved to be your assured friend and brother-in-law.<sup>84</sup>

All of which tells one only that Cecil knew that Brooke suspected him of crossing his desires, and that, deftly, the Secretary was able to make his brother-in-law seem wrong to do so.

How much Brooke deserved Cecil's double-dealing is not clear. One's only infor-

mation about the relations between Cobham and his brother at this time comes from a short passage in a letter written at some time in 1602 by Henry Howard to Edward Bruce. It alludes to the doings of a Scottish agitator named Daniel, whom both London and Edinburgh had under surveillance, and remarks on "the late discovery made here of traffic between Daniel and George Brooke, brother to Cobham, who sometimes favouring, sometimes taxing his brother's tricks, may be drawn easily to suggest any thing against his old master for his Mecaenases".<sup>85</sup> What exactly these words mean it is hard to say. Brooke had long professed to depend upon the Secretary's favour, so that it may mean that Durham House had bribed him to betray whatever he might know of Cecil's doings. On the other hand, it may be a simple statement that Brooke could always be depended upon to lean whichever way the hope of money enticed him. Evidently he was not a significant figure in Anglo-Scottish politics (Howard's having to describe his relationship to Cobham indicates that), nor was he a man for whom the astute Howard had anything but contempt.

The person with connections with Durham House in whom Cecil and his partner were truly interested remained Cobham's wife, not his brother. On 4 June 1602 Howard informed the Earl of Mar that Lady Kildare had spoken in confidence with Cecil, and that he had done his best to keep her on her guard against her husband; evidently there was still danger that she and Cobham should get together and compare notes. "Kildare tells Cecil," Howard wrote,

that she conceives much better of her husband, and of Raleigh, than she was wont; because they rail not openly in the privy chamber, as their manner hath been heretofore. But Cecil did plainly shew, that they were much more circumspect, but not more kind; more cunning, but not more honest; though, for his own part, if their actions were just in other kinds, for so much as concerns the King of Scotland, he would neither blame nor justify.... She told him, that all counsellors had shifts to save themselves from harsh constructions, though their actions were opposite; but he would one day see, that the best course was to favour King James, rather than to follow the factions of other men.

One feels a kind of bemused pity for the countess. After her interview with Cecil, Howard said, she went home and wrote to David Foulis that she "knew not what reckoning to make of Cecil; for sometimes he spake of King James with respect, and afterward, in a long time again, he would never so much as speak of him". Howard,

she decided, was a supporter of the Infanta's claims and thus was responsible for Cecil's indecision: "I am grown a Spaniard," her cousin told Mar, "according to my Lady Kildare's conceit, though, in respect of kindred, she be sorry."

Of Cobham at this time Howard had also something in particular to say. Envious of Mountjoy's success in Ireland, the baron had gone to the queen and insinuated that the Lord Deputy had his eye upon James, "the rising sun which he honours". He and Raleigh had always tried to get the queen to look into the affairs of a man called Dickinson, whom Lady Kildare had used as go-between in her Scottish correspondence at least since 1600. Dickinson knew much, for James had refused to correspond with the countess in code, so that the servant apparently carried many verbal messages.<sup>86</sup>

By 4 June Cobham and Raleigh had also undertaken with the Duke of Lennox to do all they could to discredit the duke's rivals, Mar and Bruce, by spreading the word at the English Court that the two ministers were bent upon persuading the king to avenge Essex's death when he came into his second kingdom. "Your Lordship may believe," Howard swore to Mar,

that hell did never spew up such a couple, when it cast up Cerberus and Phlegethon. They are now set on the pin of making tragedies, by meddling in your affairs; since among us longer than they follow the Queen's humour in disclaiming and disgracing honest men, their credit serves them not.

To illustrate how far Cobham and Raleigh had alienated the respect of the chief men at Court, Howard related a bluff speech of the baron's father-in-law, Nottingham. "My Lord Admiral the other day wished from his soul, that he had but the same commission to carry the cannon to Durham house, that he had this time twelvemonth [sic] to carry it to Essex house, to prove what sport he could make in that fellowship."

Finally, in case he had not sufficiently assured his opponents of Mar's hatred by telling the Scottish earl of their personal attacks upon him and Bruce, and by showing him that they had no following at Court, Howard went on to make Cobham and Raleigh seem objects fit only for ridicule. "I wish some time, with my soul," he protested, "your Lordship and Mr. Bruce were with me and Cecil, to laugh at this convention of the King's new followers, that think to catch the wind in a net, and

to dance in a net; and yet no man able, by the working of some secret charm, to look on them."<sup>87</sup> It must be confessed that the denizens of Durham House seem to have done little to disguise the folly of their proceedings, but, without a Robert Cecil and a Henry Howard to inform upon them, they could never, no matter what they did, have appeared so ridiculous and so contemptible as these letters from the Scottish secret correspondence make them seem to have been.

All the while that his partner was writing these damning reports, Cecil kept up a show of friendship for the condemned. To his beloved Carew, who was about to be recalled from Ireland, he wrote on 30 June 1602 a letter which would move one to sympathize with the harassed Secretary did one not know what a game he was playing. "Georg," he said,

it is necessary that I haue you here if any good in this Time be wrought you, for God long lasten; know it, we will be merry, and yet believe me 2 old freends vse me vnkindly, but I haue couenanted with my Hart not to know it, for in shew we are great, and all my reuenge shalbe to heape coales on their heads. In my conscience they wold not haue you to retourn, yet when you do leue to come home, seem not to them that you come to swe for any thing, nor do you let them know butthat you will retourn and are in sickness, and moue them 2 to conioin with me by coniuration of old Frenship.<sup>88</sup>

It was Raleigh's Captaincy of the Guard which Carew, assured by Cecil of the queen's high regard for him, was coming home covertly to seek; Raleigh had himself returned to his government of Jersey, reaching the island on 3 July. Keeping up appearances as well as Cecil himself did, he asked in a message to the Secretary written on the twentieth to be given "I leue to salute my Lord Cobhame and yow, both in a letter!"<sup>89</sup> That Cecil could not have shown his distaste for this kind of camaraderie is suggested by what seems to have been his professed concern for his brother-in-law's health at this time. On 30 July Dr. Thomas Langton, the eminent physician who attended Cobham, wrote to the Secretary that, "according to your request, I am and will be very careful of my good Lord's health." Although the lord is never mentioned by name, it seems probable that Cobham was the patient; if he was, then he had had "a fit of tertian ague, which ended with a large sweat". Afterward, Langton continued, the sick man had "an emollient clyster, and after it made a light supper, and this night [30 July] bettered the other nights". That morning he had been "let eight ounces of blood, a present means to prevent the

pocks, and end his fever. He was the lightsomer after the taking of this gross and melancholic blood."<sup>90</sup>

It may be that the illness was brought on by too much exertion. Edward Bruce, early in August, thanked Howard for detailed information about how Cobham, through Lennox, had been mounting an unrestrained campaign of slander against the Secretary, Howard and their northern counterparts. In Edinburgh the king's ministers were grimly interested in knowing that Cobham, with amazing "curiositie and diligence", "lewes no stounes wnstirred to make ws stwmbles, and enterith at all oppennes wyth a rode in hes hand by charms to turine ws into serpents". The baron had apparently attempted to discredit James's ministers with Elizabeth, and might have succeeded had not Cecil made a "wery wise ansour" to the queen, "wherein he did ouertake both 7 [Cobham's] to great heast and her to miche credulitie".<sup>91</sup>

Illness kept the baron from accompanying the queen on her last summer progress. His wife went along: on 31 July, drawing lots in a courtly game held at the Lord Keeper's house at Harefield Place, Lady Kildare came up with a girdle, to which was affixed a posy which read, "With fortunes girdle happie may you bee/ Yett they thatt ar lesse happie ar more ffree:"<sup>92</sup> but it was not from her, but Northumberland, that Cobham received news of the Court.<sup>93</sup>

Then, early in August, alarmed by a congregation of Spanish ships in the Channel, Raleigh returned to England; by the ninth Cecil was informing Carew that Cobham was at Dover and Raleigh at Sherborne, "'newly come out of his Island'".<sup>94</sup> The baron proceeded to Cobham Hall, from which he wrote to the Secretary on 12 August and again on the sixteenth, sending before him to Theobalds "some fowl such as I have here, a fat 'shouler' and six 'olins', with a basket of apricocks and plums".<sup>95</sup> On 20 August he was at his newly-bought "Palace at Canterbury", which he and his father had held in lease for many years; there he recommended to Cecil's attention a soldier who had just returned from Ireland and whom he described as "my seruaunte Cobham doues".<sup>96</sup> One would like to know more about this oddly named man, who must have been born on the Brooke estates.

Meanwhile, outside Kent, those activities which gave the lie to the interchange

of civilities between Cobham and his brother-in-law were gaining momentum. On 24 August Howard informed King James of the inclusion in the secret understanding between them of two men to whom he had assigned the ciphers '40' and '50'. The latter "hath most to hazard", Howard told the king, "having carried himself very strangely toward you and yours in former times": one would suppose that the new conspirator was Cobham's father-in-law, the Lord Admiral.<sup>97</sup> The entry of Nottingham into the counsels of Cecil House may have put an end to his daughter's meddling: on 27 August Howard asked Bruce for a complete account of Lady Kildare's dealings with the king over the previous years,<sup>98</sup> and thereafter one hears no more of her correspondence with Edinburgh. The other, whom James had welcomed to the party in a letter dated from Falkland on 29 July, was almost certainly Lord Thomas Howard, since the letter alludes to the new man's courtesies to James in administering an important post which he had not long held. The circumstances fit Lord Thomas's appointment to the Constableness of the Tower just after Essex's execution, and to his favourable treatment of Southampton there, a man for whom James always showed much concern.<sup>99</sup>

Durham House was also anxious to consolidate its position, and from Weymouth on 12 August Raleigh wrote to Cobham that he was ready to confer with the baron at Bath whenever the latter chose to ride west. "'I will not fayle yow, or whatsoever elce your Lordship will use me in, in this worlde,'" he protested, adding that he did not doubt that Northumberland, knowing he was back from Jersey, would leave Court and "'meet us also att the Bathe'". The extent of Northumberland's adherence to James on terms unknown to his two former colleagues Raleigh evidently did not know. Raleigh suggested that the three men get together by the end of August at the latest. He also referred to the rumour that Hunsdon was dying, and that the Lord Chamberlainship would fall to Cobham. "'If it be so,'" he gaily remarked, "'I hope that your Lordship may be stayde uppon good cause; -- if it be so, I could more willingly cum eastward than ever I did in my life.'" Then Raleigh waxed for a moment philosophic. "'Howsoever it bee,'" he continued,

'they be butt things of this worlde, by which thos that have injoyed them have byne as littell happy as other poore men. Butt the good

of thes changes wilbe that while men ar of necessity to draw lotts, they shall hereby see their chances, and dispose themsealvs accordingly .'

The letter concluded with a reference to Raleigh's quarrel with another of the Howards, Viscount Howard of Bindon, in which the knight protested that he was unable much longer to restrain himself, despite his affection for Lord Thomas Howard, and, chiefly, Cecil's "'love to my Lord Thomas'" .<sup>100</sup>

To Cecil Raleigh also wrote a few days later, informing him that a ship had come in in which they and Cobham had shares; fearing that the Lord Admiral, whose quarrel with the baron had evidently not been made up, might interfere to their detriment in the unloading of the vessel, he asked Cecil as a share-holder to assure the just distribution of the profits. "'I hope you will excuse my cumbersome letters and sutes,'" he concluded, in a vein which must have struck the Secretary as ironic. "'It is your destney to be trobled with your frinds, and so must all men bee.... If wee cannot have what we would, methincks it is a great bonde to finde a frinde that will strayne hyme sealf in his frind's cause in whatsoever, -- as this world fareth,'" <sup>101</sup>

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### Chapter V

On 15 September 1602 Raleigh was at Bath, asking in a letter to Cecil to be remembered to Cobham.<sup>1</sup> So, with duplicity on all sides, the last autumn and winter of the queen's reign began. Lord Henry Howard summed up the situation in which the Court found itself early in September. Writing to the Earl of Mar he said:

In this place all is quiet, and hath ever been without disturbance, since that Cobham by sickness, and Raleigh by directions, were absent from court; for though Northumberland, to maintain life in the party, were directed by them to attend the progress, yet his head is so shallow, and his friends are so few, as he was not able to make good the first point of their project, which was to give intelligence, much less to carry the sovereign. Being weary of ill lodgings, in respect of his patched body, he made a sudden retreat, and now means to go down to visit his Damon Raleigh, who is come from his stand into Dorsetshire, which hath angered the Queen exceedingly, because he did it without premonition of his purpose for fear of a countermand: so gracious doth his own conscience hold him at this instant with her Majesty.

The queen was well. In fact she was hindering the harvest in the Home Counties by traipsing through the countryside:

Our sovereign was never so gallant many years, nor so set upon jollity ... hunting or disporting in the mean time every other day, which is the people's age; and if things go forward, or continue the next year as they are in present, will give a motive of exception to Sir Walter Raleigh against the Prophet David, that affirms the age of man, but not as he will think the age of woman, to be seventy years; and whatsoever doth exceed that period, to be labor et dolor.

Howard himself was in exceptional favour. "Queen Elizabeth," he wrote,

never used me in my life so well as she doth now, making a poor use of my aptness for her humour of recreation and jollity, for which I am only fit, being otherwise unable to sound the deeps of her capacity, by the weight of my consideration in greater things.<sup>2</sup>

The phenomenal resistance to the incapacities of age which the queen put up attracted visitors to England in the autumn of 1602. "With a desire to see her Majesty and the country," wrote Cobham to Cecil from the Blackfriars on 14 September, came the twenty-three-year-old Duke Philipp Julius of Pomerania.<sup>3</sup> For so petty a prince it was not necessary that Cobham should inconvenience himself, and so, rather than go into Kent, about the third week of September the baron imposed upon himself a course of physic which lasted some three weeks.<sup>4</sup> From Court on the twenty-sixth the Secretary wrote to inform him "of the ouerthrowe of the 4 galleys",<sup>5</sup> Spanish ships taken in the Narrow Seas by English and Dutch sailors, who found them laden with "36 chests of gold, besides sowse, bars of silver and pieces of eight", as well as with many slaves. Some of the slaves swam ashore and were put up by Sir Thomas Fane at Dover Castle; the good man was alarmed by their semi-nudity and asked the government for permission to clothe them.<sup>6</sup> Cobham thought that the encounter with the Spaniards was "more famous than any action that has happened this great while",<sup>7</sup> but, dealing in matters far weightier than the capture of a few ships belonging to a reluctant enemy, he did not become very excited about it.

The capacity of both Cobham and Cecil to conceal their true feelings resulted in a superficial heightening of the friendly relations between them in late September and in October. To Cecil's new London house the baron, despite his taking a cure, offered to pay a visit on 28 September; at the same time he declined an invitation to dine with the Secretary, "having divers fishermen of Rye and Dieppe which I must dispatch away this afternoon". Raleigh was still out of town, but Cobham told Cecil that he hoped that shortly they would see him again.<sup>8</sup> Five days

later, the baron heard of the death of a rich London merchant named Hever; he asked Cecil for the wardship of the heir.<sup>9</sup> There is no indication that he got it, but he cannot have been refused outright, for his friendly notes to his brother-in-law continued to be written. In October he learned from the Ports that the plague was raging in the Netherlands, and he took it upon himself to advise the Secretary to put an embargo upon shipping out of Amsterdam into England lest the country be contaminated. "This is worthy of the consideration of my Lords," he urged on the eleventh, "and you in particular shall do well to put your best help unto it."<sup>10</sup>

When the Spanish galleys were captured in September, it was discovered that the King of France had outfitted them with pilots.<sup>11</sup> It was probably to give account to the queen for this breach of their treaty that Henry IV in November sent M. Tamma, Lieutenant-Governor of Boulogne, to England. Cobham, informed by his men on the coast of the Frenchman's meaning to come over, on 15 October referred to his imminent arrival in a long and newsy letter to Cecil. At the time the Secretary was unwell, and his brother-in-law knew that the receiving of Tamma would be troublesome to him. "I received your letter," Cobham began,

This matter of Bullion you shall find to be true, I am afraid, Before he come to the Court he will be well-advised, so much, I believe, I may assure you. Whether you have seen this book written in Roine's praises, I know not. If you have not read it, it is strange that, a man living, such a book should be written in his praises. I think I shall now buy the lease of Malling\*. Cartwryght and I am almost agreed. I should take it for a favor that you would pray the Queen to know her pleasure, what she will do with my pearl. I have a proclamation set forth by the Signorie of Venis, forbidding our ships to come to any place of their territories but to Venis if you have not seen it, I will send it you. It is of importance....

P.S. -- If that you heard that three weeks since I had taken the diet, you had heard truth, but now I am out of it. This book of Roine's return me when you have read it.<sup>12</sup>

Several things here are not very clear. The Malling reference is to the estate formerly held by his aunt in Kent; Cobham already held the reversion of the lease of it, and now intended to anticipate his possession of it by buying out the present holder.<sup>13</sup> Of the reference to the pearl little can be made; Cobham was dealing in pearls a few months later,<sup>14</sup> and it is possible that at the time that this letter was written he had already presented one to the queen and was anxious

to know how his gift would be used. Raleigh on 14 October had asked him "how the Queen accepted the jewell".<sup>15</sup> It is in the book 'in Royne's praises' that one is perhaps most interested. No one by that name can be discovered, nor does an encomium which would have so surprised Cobham seem to have been printed in England at this time. One must suppose that the book was French and devoted to the rising statesman de Rosny, the future Duc de Sully, whose name in English was variously spelled 'Rhony', 'Rhoney', 'Ronye', 'Rosne' and 'Rhosny'.<sup>16</sup>

By 8 November, when Cobham was able to inform Cecil that M. Tamma had landed in England, bringing with him a gift for the Secretary from the Governor of Boulogne of "a very fair horse", Cecil was very ill. Cobham asked his brother-in-law to let him know "how you rested this night. Towards evening I will come and see if you take no physic."<sup>17</sup> The Secretary, when he had recovered, spoke of his illness as the most serious which he had had in thirty years.<sup>18</sup>

Of the Christmas celebrations at Court in the last year of the queen's life there are conflicting reports. On 23 December John Chamberlain told his friend Carleton that "There is no shew of any great doings at court this Christmas. Sir Walter Raleigh hath caried away the Lord Cobham, the Lord Compton and others to Sherbourn."<sup>19</sup> This is rather surprising news, since a few years before Cobham and Compton had been rivals for the hand of the heiress Elizabeth Spencer, and the scandal which attended Compton's victory must have created much ill feeling among the principals in the affair. Five days after Chamberlain sent his letter off to Paris, Rowland Whyte informed Sir Robert Sidney that "My Lord Cobham is at Court, and carried the Sword before her Majesty yesterday."<sup>20</sup> The pomp suggested by this second report is in keeping with what one would expect from Chamberlain's letter of 17 January 1602/3 to Winwood, in which the Court was said to have been especially brilliant during the holidays, infused with new life by the example of Sir Edward Wotton, the new Comptroller of the Household. There had been dancing, bear baiting and plays, and "golden playe", in which Cecil had lost £ 600 in one night at cards.<sup>21</sup>

A sort of hectic gaiety is what one would imagine to have prevailed at Whitehall as the year 1603 began. Men were nervous. Cobham had received a letter from the

Spanish minister the Count of Arenberg in November in which it was suggested that the baron attempt to bring the queen to negotiate for peace with the Archdukes of the Netherlands. He replied to it (none too discreetly, one would guess, since the Venetian ambassador was able to say in the spring that Arenberg had "always had in hand certain threads of negotiation for this peace with Lord Cobham and the High Admiral [sic?]"<sup>22</sup> and, as Cecil and Howard had intended, a few months later was angrily reprimanded by King James I for doing so.<sup>23</sup> Cobham's defence in April 1603 was that he had acted on the queen's orders, but the king was assured by his enemies that the baron's business with Arenberg concerned the Infanta, the count's sovereign, and her claims upon the succession, an affair which Elizabeth would never have countenanced.<sup>24</sup> It would have been folly in Cobham to communicate with Isabel of Habsburg, but in the last months of Elizabeth's life much folly was indeed contemplated.

It seems clear, however, that as he waited for his queen to die, the baron looked north for his future sovereign. Had it not already been decided by the Secretary that Cobham and Raleigh would be eliminated from the political scene, Durham House would no doubt have fared as well as any other faction under James. Northumberland, in his private correspondence with the king, did his best to excuse the indiscreet course which his friends had taken. "As for cobham and rawlieghe," the earl told James late in 1602,

how thay bend towars yowr right this is my censowre, although thay be in faction contrary to somme that howld wyth your title, yet in that point i can not deny but they be of the same myndis, and to rwn the same cowrs. The first of theas tuo i knowe not how his heart is affected; but by the latter, whome sixtein years acquentance hath conferred to me, I must needs affirme rawlieghs ewer allowance of yowr ryght, and althowghte I knowe hem insolent, extreamly heated, a man that desires to seeme to be able to swaye all mens fancies, all mens cowrses, and a man that owt of himselfe, when your time sall come, will neuer be able to do yow muche good nor hearne, yet mwst i needs confesse what i know, that there is excellent good parts of natur in hem, a man whoes lowe is disawantageus to me in somme sort, which i cherise rather out of constancie than pollicie, and one whom i wishe your maiestie not to loose, because i would not that one haire of a man's head sowld be against yow that might be for yow.

Northumberland's defence of Raleigh was noble, but unfortunately such magnanimity could have little effect upon James, whose mind was already ruled by Cecil. A measure of the earl's ingenuousness is provided by what he had to say about the

Secretary. Him too Northumberland sought to defend against the charge that he "sould affect to bring in the infanta". While arguing that Cecil could not intend to do any such thing, the earl pointed out to James that the king could not expect the Secretary "to open hem selfe unto your maiestie, wpone any condition, so long as her maiestie liueth, for he is wery wise, and is not ignorant how harshe a thinge it is to her disposition that any sould think or looke towars a new sonne".<sup>25</sup> The astute James thanked Northumberland for his letter. "i am heartly glad," he said, "that it is my good fortune to be acquainted wyth a noble man cariing so honorable a mynd," and he commended the earl on his "cheritable interpretation" of the intentions of Cobham and Raleigh.<sup>26</sup> Yet the letter can have had no effect upon him. Northumberland, by his correspondence with the king and his painfully obvious attempts to be as honest as he could be in a dangerous situation, saved his own skin, but he could do nothing against the machinations of Cecil and Howard to preserve his friends'.

Cobham, by the beginning of 1603, had apparently given up his unproductive correspondence with the Duke of Lennox. He wrote no letters north. It is even possible that he thought that he might be carried to safety upon the king's accession to the Throne by the goodwill of his brother-in-law. On 12 January Cecil agreed to go shares in a tripartite venture with the baron and Raleigh; cleverly he asked that his participation in the voyage be kept secret, but his partners were probably not put on their guard against him by his desire to appear uninvolved with them, since he claimed that for the Principal Secretary to engage in what was essentially a privateering expedition might be misconstrued as corruption. He could not do so innocent a thing as say the Lord's Prayer, he protested to Raleigh, without being accused of motives ulterior to piety.<sup>27</sup>

Not only as a business partner but as a suitor to the queen for some unspecified favour was Cecil tied to Cobham to January. On the eighth the baron arranged to meet his brother-in-law at Court, to go with him to Elizabeth. "For the success, I leave all to God and her Majesty's good pleasure," he wrote, "but howsoever your worthy and careful dealing for me is as well accepted as if all things were to my

oest satisfaction, and when occasion and not protestation must be the proof, then you shall have the perfection of my profession."<sup>28</sup> Such declarations of friendship and gratitude cannot have been wholly sincere: there must yet have been an element of bluff in Cobham's relations with Cecil: yet the baron, now that he had resigned himself to the inevitable succession of James, must have decided that the Secretary was still his best, indeed his only hope. He did not know what Cecil's plans were: as late as 9 March, only two weeks before Elizabeth died, the most sagacious observers at Court still found that "'so subtle is the Secretary that hardly can it be judged which way he will take, and he as yet ruleth all:"<sup>29</sup> but he must have known that there were plans, sound ones, and that they could save all Cecil's friends. It had become essential to Cobham that he be still accounted one of those friends.

An interesting side-light on Cobham's activities at this time is provided by a letter which he wrote, probably to Sir Robert Cotton, on 12 January 1602/3. Showing that, in a period of extreme tension, the baron turned to those studies which were to console him later during his years in the Tower, the letter reads:

S<sup>r</sup> my brother haht [sic] tould me that you hav a paper boke of my lo of Essex notationes of cornelius Tacitus, I desir to borrow it of you, will promis faythfully to retourn it vnto you agayn with many thanks. I am not now very well and so am constrayned to keap to my hous, wh tyme [I] shuld be glad to speand in redeng of it. I shall tak it very kindly, and so I cōmitt you to Gods protection from my Hous in y<sup>e</sup> Black Friers y<sup>e</sup> 12 of Januarr 1602.<sup>30</sup>

Apparently his indisposition was at least partly caused by his old trouble with his broken ankle bone, for as late as 14 March Cobham was telling Cecil that he was "constrained to stay at home this day to ease my leg". Next day he hoped to see the Secretary.<sup>31</sup>

It was not, by mid-March, his brother-in-law's condition which was of crucial interest to Cecil. In his letter of the fourteenth Cobham had expressed the hope "to hear from you of the recovery of her Majesty". This time Elizabeth was not to recover. On 9 March Cecil had written to George Nicholson, in Scotland,

'that she hath been soe ill disposed theise eight or nyne dayes, as I am fearefull least the contynuance of such accidents should bringe her Majesty to future weakenes, and soe to be in danger of that which I hope myne eyes shall never see; for although she hath good appetite,

hath nether cough nor fever, distemper nor inordinate desyre to drinke, yet she is troubled with a heate in her brestes and drynes in her mouth and tongue, which keepes her from sleepe every night, greatly to her disquiett.<sup>32</sup>

Yet, Cecil reported, the queen had not taken to her bed (she "was within theise three dayes in the garden"), so that at Court, while all were "in a dump", yet some thought tht she might "continue past the month of May." One thing only was held certain: "she cannot overpass another winter."<sup>33</sup>

To no one cause could the queen's decline be attributed, although Elizabeth had received a cruel blow by the death on 25 February of her cousin and contemporary, Catherine Carey, Cobham's mother-in-law. A Court gossip observed of Lady Nottingham's passing that "her Matie tooke [it] much more heavily then my Lorde,"<sup>34</sup> Lady Kildare's father. Whatever it was which occasioned the crisis, Cobham hurried to Court and there demanded a voice in the deliberations of the Council. The Lords watched the queen slowly die, and waited for her to name her successor; meanwhile they made provision for what would have to be done should she die silent. Northumberland reported the situation to King James on 17 March:

For the counsell of the staite, I must lett your Maiesty understand, that they have wrought thus fare touardes an honest and just course with muche lyking for oure whole cuntrye, and I conceave that they meane honestly to your Maiesty. They have called to them some of the nobilitie, at that tyme no more being at court then the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Cobhame (who els would haue mutined extremelye) and my selfe, to whome they haue gevin notice of their desyre of oure assistance, bothe in aduyce and other wais, for the good of the state, and depression of suche as wold moue insurrections, if that misfortune of the lose of oure mistres shall happen. Herafter a greater number wilbe summoned, but as yet stopped upon hoape of amendment.

In his letter Northumberland made it clear that the majority of those at Court expected James to succeed his cousin: "euery man that offered themselves to me are wholly devoted to your right," asserted the earl, "and I heere none contradict it, though somme are sylent and say nothing. Thus muche for the generall."<sup>35</sup> James's reply, written just after he became King of England but before he knew that he was, was suitably regal. "All men that hathe trewlie served there present soueraine," he promised, "shalbe alyk welcome to me as they are presentlye, or wer in tymes past vnto her, claiming nothing in that turne as king of Scotland, but hoaping therby to have the meanes to knitte this wholle Iland in a happie and

perpetuall vnitie."<sup>36</sup> One would recall the lofty words of the future Louis XII, "Le roi de France ne vengera pas le duc d'Orléans," did one not know that James VI had already tacitly decided to make at least two exceptions to the general amnesty to be granted by James I.

Early in the morning of the last day of the English year, at three o'clock on Thursday, 24 March 1602/3, Queen Elizabeth died. Her cousin Sir Robert Carey, Lady Kildare's uncle, at once slipped away toward Edinburgh with the news that on the queen's deathbed she had mutely acknowledged James's right to succeed her, and the Council, joined with the peers who were present at Court, came together to sign the proclamation announcing the accession of the king. Cobham was among the signatories;<sup>37</sup> if, as an anecdote current later in the century held, he, Raleigh and Sir John Fortescue attempted to make their support of the king conditional upon his acceptance of certain articles defending their offices, no contemporary proof of their inept action survives.<sup>38</sup> At the signing Cobham is known to have made only one objection, and that was to the inclusion in the list of peers of the Irish Lord Clanricard, the husband of Essex's widow and the old enemy of the baron's cousin Calisthenes.<sup>39</sup>

Cobham, confronted with the accomplished fact of James's succession, and perhaps on the one hand frightened by the suspicion that he might already have been deprived of the king's favour, while on the other assured by Northumberland that old wrongs would be forgotten, sat down and wrote at last directly to James himself. "I have not hitherto prest like other men to make myself known to your Majesty or your ministers," he began,

being secured therein as well by the soundness of your judgment as the integrity of my duty, which made me that I could not fear that other men should forestall your favour by their untimely intention, but rather hope that your Majesty should make my sincere and considered service unto my present mistress an argument of my future fidelity unto yourself; which from this time forward I shall rather desire effectually to show than to promise. Your Majesty doth already understand the proceedings here by a general letter from us all; but lest for want of right information you might attribute more or less to any than is due I hold it my duty to testify thus much, that it is not the credit or device of any one that can challenge anything specially, but it was an universal assent of all which gave this speedy and dutiful passage unto your Majesty's rightful claim, fear and necessity working the same effect in the ill affected (if there were any such)

that duty and allegiance did in all the rest. Though my longing be great to present my service to your Majesty in person and to kiss your royal hands, yet I shall be forced to stay some few days to perform those rites in my private charge in the behalf of your Majesty which I have assisted amongst the rest of my fellows in this place. That being performed, if I receive not your commandment to the contrary, I shall not rest till my eyes have seen that blessing which this kingdom hath long desired; and I doubt not but your Majesty shall in your service acknowledge me to be a member of that house which hath yet never been unfaithful to their masters.<sup>40</sup>

It was a good letter, but it was read by a man whose vision had been deftly framed by those who had indeed forestalled James from giving his favour to any of the house of Cobham. Cobham and Raleigh, Edward Bruce wrote on the king's behalf to Howard on 25 March, "ar forlorine in our accompts, and i beseiche yow think not that any subiect in england is able to win grond in ws to the least disgrace of 10 [Cecil]."<sup>41</sup>

Unaware of the futility of all he did, Cobham concluded, as he had promised the king he would do, the business for which he was responsible, the proclaiming of James's accession throughout his bailiwick of the Cinque Ports. "Having received thenclosed proclamation from our right honorable the Lord Warden this day," wrote Sir Thomas Fane from Dover Castle to the Mayors and Corporations of the Ports on 26 March,

for the proclayming of King James the Sixth, King of Scottes, King of England, France, and Ireland, I held it fitt to send the same, that upon sight hereof you cause the same to be performed accordinglie; and for the better demonstration of our joy that we take therein, you are to discharge all such ordinance as you have in every your severall Portes as sone as the proclamation shall be reade, as also to make such bonfyers and such other ceremonies as in the leike cause hath byne accustomed at the proclaymeing of any prince.<sup>42</sup>

His traditional duty done, Cobham wrote from the Blackfriars on 28 March asking Cecil to tell him that which "I may know, that you will acquaint me with it, for I confess my desire is to see the King my master before he comes out of Scotland."<sup>43</sup> The Secretary, knowing that as soon as Cobham and the king met the baron would see how he had been betrayed, tried to dissuade Cobham from riding north; unsuccessful, he had to take immediate steps to circumvent his brother-in-law's purpose. On 30 March John Chamberlain informed Carleton that "the Lord Cobham is even now taking poste to go toward the kinge and do his wonted goode offices: but the Lordes

do so little like his going that I thincke his errand wilbe there before him, or soone overtake him."<sup>44</sup> By 12 April Chamberlain's prediction had been proved true: "The Lord Henry Howard," he was by then able to write, "was sent thither to possesse the Kinges eare and countermine the Lord Cobham."<sup>45</sup>

The game of deceit was almost up. Cobham discovered that the Secretary meant to deprive Raleigh of the Captaincy of the Guard, and publicly crossed him. "There is a foolishe rime runnes up and downe in the Court," one learns of 10 April,

of Sir Henry Bromley, Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Cobham, and the Deane of Canterbury, Dr. Nevil, that eache should goe to move the King for what they like.

Nevil for the Protestant, Lord Thomas for the Papist,  
Bromley for the Puritan, and Lord Cobham for the Atheist.<sup>46</sup>

By this time Cobham and Cecil had already openly fallen out with each other. "I heard," wrote a diarist on 7 April,

there had bin a foule jarr betwixt Sir Robert Cecile and the Lord Cobham, upon this occasion, because the Lords and late Counsell, upon the Queenes death, had thought good to appoint an other Captaine of the gard, because Sir Walter Rhaley was then absent, which the Lord Cobham tooke in foule dudgeon, as yf it had bin the devise of Sir Robert, and would have bin himself deputy to Sir Walter rather [than] any other. The Lord Cobham likewise at subscribing the proclamacion tooke exception against the Earl of Clanricard, inepte, intempestive, but he is nowe gone to the King, they say.<sup>47</sup>

It was already clear to the French ambassador at least that the baron was entirely ruined.<sup>48</sup>

Furious at the affronts which he received from his brother-in-law, Cobham swore to reveal to the king what he knew of Cecil's traffic with Spain, and at once set out for the north. By 12 April he was at Newcastle with the Court. Already there, however, was Lord Henry Howard.<sup>49</sup> One need not ask why, by the sixteenth, the baron was back in London, "lately returned from his Majesty discontented,"<sup>50</sup> nor why, as the French ambassador reported to his government, he had been "fort mal reçu encore que Sa d<sup>t</sup> Majesté n'aye pas laissé de lescouter".<sup>51</sup> It would have been Howard who made sure that James would not even hear what Cobham had to say. The baron, who was back in London in time to see the funeral "of that old, but glorious, and most happy Piece of Sovereignty, the late Queen,"<sup>52</sup> was never afterward to talk with royalty. "For it was observed, that after the Lord Cobham came back

Footnotes to Book Five

## Chapter I

(pp. 712-15)

- 1 See above, p. 595.
- 2 See John Hele to James I, c. 24 February 1603/4 (The Egerton Papers ..., ed. J. Payne Collier (Camden Society, 1840), pp. 391-92).
- 3 David Jardine, Criminal Trials (1832), I, 413.
- 4 See John Hele to Cecil, 13 October 1603 (P.R.O., S.P. 14/4/16).
- 5 See P.R.O., Star Chamber 8/170/30; and Cecil Paper 108/11, abstracted in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVI, 375, in which Cobham thanks Cecil for his "purpose I sholde hav my sable Cloakes".
- 6 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 154.
- 7 See John Hele's statement of late 1604 (P.R.O., S.P. 14/10/85).
- 8 P.R.O., Star Chamber 8/170/30.
- 9 See Richard Williams to Cobham, 30 May 1601 (S.P., Dom., 1601-03, p. 46, where P.R.O., S.P. 12/279/94 is incorrectly dated 30 March).
- 10 See H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 442-43; XV, 138-39, 222, 225.
- 11 Sir Thomas Wilson to James I, 2 November 1618 (P.R.O., S.P. 14/103/67; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1611-18, p. 290). The elder Cobham's library had been left to George Brooke.
- 12 A General History of England (1752), III, 717.
- 13 Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners, in the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, & James I ... (2nd ed., 1838), III, 73 n.
- 14 Cobham to Cecil, 24 July 1605 (MS. Lansdowne 89, f. 88).
- 15 The Diary of John Manningham, of the Middle Temple, and of Bradbourne, Kent, Barrister-at-Law, 1602-1603, ed. John Bruce (Camden Society, 1868), p. 168.
- 16 Thomas Cornwallis to Sir John Hobart (The Court of King James the First; by Dr. Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester; to which are added, Letters Illustrative of the Personal History of the Most Distinguished Characters in the Court of that Monarch and his Predecessors ..., ed. John S. Brewer (1839), II, 92).
- 17 P.M. Handover, Arbella Stuart, Royal Lady of Hardwick and Cousin to King James (1957), p. 187.
- 18 Sir Thomas Wynne to Sir Dudley Carleton, 28 January 1618/19 (P.R.O., S.P. 14/105/67; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1619-23, p. 8).
- 19 England in the Seventeenth Century (3rd ed., 1961), p. 39.
- 20 S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 512.
- 21 See below, p. 793.
- 22 Jardine, I, 412.
- 23 Jardine, I, 414.

- 24 Sir Walter Raleigh, a Biography (1899), p. 186.
- 25 A Life of Robert Cecil First Earl of Salisbury (1915), p. 399.
- 26 Jardine, I, 408.
- 27 A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and other Crimes and Misdemeanors from the earliest Period to the present Time ..., edd. William Cobbett, J.B. Howell and others (1816-98), II, 5.
- 28 The Elizabethan House of Commons (1949), p. 214.
- 29 See above, p. 377.
- 30 Letters and Memorials of State ..., ed. Arthur Collins (1746), II, 25; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 245-46.
- 31 Collins, II, 26; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 246.
- 32 Whyte to Sidney (Collins, II, 27).
- 33 Whyte to Sidney, 12 March 1596/7 (Collins, II, 27; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 248).
- 34 The Elizabethan House of Commons, p. 215.
- 35 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 108.
- 36 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 115. See also above, pp. 614-16.
- 37 Collins, II, 27.
- 38 For Collins's misreading of 'H. Brooke' as 'L. Brooke', see above, p. 707, n. 25.
- 39 Collins, II, 30-31; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 251-52.
- 40 Collins, II, 32; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 252-53.
- 41 Collins, II, 31. See also above, p. 615.
- 42 Collins, II, 97; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 254. Collins does not date this letter, but includes it among material from the year 1598; Robert Boies Sharpe erroneously assumes that it refers to a quarrel between Cobham and Essex in the spring of 1598 (The Real War of the Theaters: Shakespeare's Fellows in Rivalry with the Admiral's Men, 1594-1603: Repertories, Devices, and Types (Boston, 1935), p. 71).
- 43 Collins, II, 33; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 256.
- 44 See the notes to the family tree, p. 1102, n. 39.
- 45 Collins, II, 35; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 258.
- 46 See Whyte to Sidney, 27 March 1597 (Collins, II, 34).
- 47 Collins, II, 38; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 265.
- 48 Collins, II, 39-40; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 266.

- 49 Collins, II, 38, where Whyte informs Sidney on 13 April that Hunsdon "hath not yet the whyte Stalfe". Sir Edmund Chambers dates Hunsdon's appointment at 17 March (The Elizabethan Stage (Oxford, 1923), II, 195). Joel Hurstfield says in error that the younger Cobham became Lord Chamberlain (see The Queen's Wards: Wardship and Marriage under Elizabeth I (1958), p. 301).
- 50 Collins, II, 41; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 267.
- 51 See Whyte to Sidney, 19, 23 April 1597 (Collins, II, 41, 44; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 268, 271).
- 52 See Whyte to Sidney, 23, 27 April 1597 (Collins, II, 45).
- 53 Collins, II, 47-48; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 273-74.
- 54 Collins, II, 51; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 276.
- 55 See H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 198.
- 56 Collins, II, 52; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 279.
- 57 Collins, II, 37; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 282.
- 58 Collins, II, 53.
- 59 Sidney to Essex, 24 May 1597 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 210).
- 60 Sidney to Essex, 31 May 1597 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 225).
- 61 See H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 211.
- 62 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 217.
- 63 Collins, II, 54-55; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 285-86. For Bennett and the lease, see H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 306.
- 64 See S.P., Dom., 1595-97, p. 442.
- 65 See S.P., Dom., 1595-97, p. 505.
- 66 A Journal of all that was accomplished by Monsieur de Maisse Ambassador in England from King Henri IV to Queen Elizabeth Anno Domini 1597, trans. and edd. G.B. Harrison and R.A. Jones (1931), p. 9.
- 67 See Cobham to Cecil, 16 June 1597 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 257).
- 68 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 306.
- 69 See S.P., Dom., 1595-97, p. 467.
- 70 See S.P., Dom., 1595-97, p. 467.
- 71 See Cobham to Cecil, 1 August 1597 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 330).
- 72 Quoted by Edward Edwards, The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh ... (1868), II, 176.
- 73 S.P., Dom., 1595-97, p. 471.
- 74 See H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VIII, 163, where Lady Northampton is erroneously described as a countess by the editors.

- 75 See H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 316-17.
- 76 S.P., Dom., 1595-97, p. 485.
- 77 See Sir Henry Savile to [Edward Reynoldes?], 19 January 1599/1600 (S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 385).
- 78 See Francis Gell to Cecil, 6 October 1597 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 419).
- 79 See Sir William Browne to Sir Robert Sidney, 3 August 1597 (H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 290). Raleigh's style as 'Lord Warden' in this and other references was derived from his Lord Wardenship of the Stannaries.
- 80 See Raleigh to Cecil, Terceira, 8 September 1597 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 379).
- 81 The History of the World ... ([1628]), V, i, 9.
- 82 For the references to Sir William Brooke's part in the Islands Voyage, see "A larger Relation of the said Iland Voyage, written by Sir Arthur Gorges Knight, collected in the Queenes Ship called the West Spite, wherein he was then Captaine; with Marine and Martiall Discourses added according to the Occurrences," in Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others, written by Samuel Purchas (1625) and published by James MacLehose and Sons (Glasgow, 1907), XX, 59, 64-67, 72-82. Camden's account of the taking of Fayal is in his History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princesse Elizabeth, late Queen of England ... (4th ed., 1688), p. 532, where the typographical and stylistic error "William Brake" is carried over from the imperfect edition of 1635 (p. 473).
- 83 The Court of King James the First, pp. 179-80.
- 84 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 429; cited by P.M. Handover, The Second Cecil: The Rise to Power 1563-1604 of Sir Robert Cecil, later first Earl of Salisbury (1959), p. 158.
- 85 See Neale, The Elizabethan House of Commons, p. 220.
- 86 See Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, 23 October 1597 (Collins, II, 70; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 298).
- 87 See the official Return of Members of Parliament (Part I. Parliaments of England, 1213-1702) (1878), p. 436.
- 88 See Cobham to Cecil, 12 October, and Henry Lord Norris to Cecil, 17 October 1597 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 429, 435).
- 89 Cobham to Cecil, 6 October 1597 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 421).
- 90 Return of Members, p. 433.
- 91 Whyte to Sidney, 8 October 1597 (Collins, II, 63; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 294).
- 92 Collins, II, 62; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 293. Neale, in glossing this letter, incorrectly identifies the Sir William Brooke from whom Sidney had wrested the senior seat in Kent with George Brooke's son of that style and name, who was born in 1599. Neale thus calls the Member of 1597 Sidney's "rival, Cobham's nephew and heir" (The Elizabethan House of Commons, p. 73; see also p. 30). J. Cave-Browne makes the same mistake (see "Knights of the Shire for

- Kent from A.D. 1275 to A.D. 1831," Archaeologia Cantiana, XXI (1895), 230).
- 93 See Sidney to Cecil, 17 February 1596/7 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 65-69).
- 94 Collins, II, 68.
- 95 Collins, II, 66; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 295.
- 96 The writ is P.R.O., C219/284/23.
- 97 Collins, II, 71; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 299.
- 98 See above, pp. 653, 657.
- 99 See Cobham to Cecil, 14 June 1605 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVII, 260), where the baron, resisting the efforts of the creditors of both his late brothers to gain satisfaction from him, informs Cecil: "For my brother, Sir William Brook, I was a surety. He dying, left his goods and lands to my brother George. That this debt should lie now upon me I appeal to your lordship."
- 100 See the notes to the family tree, p. 1134, n. 52.
- 101 Cecil Paper (Petitions) 1927; abstracted in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XIII, 609.
- 102 P.C.C. Cobham 110.
- 103 The place where Brooke was killed is established by MS. Harl. 1529, f. 63b, where the knight is described as "caesus iuxta Milende sine prole", and by the pedigree notes drawn up in the mid-seventeenth century by Henry Oxenden and published by Keith W. Murray in the Genealogist, XXXIII (1917), 62, where Brooke is said to have been "slain at Miles end by Sr [sic] Tho: Lucas K<sup>t</sup> 1597". There is an excellent brief account of the facts of Brooke's death in John H. Evans's "The Rochester Bridge Lands in Grain," Archaeologia Cantiana, LXVIII (1954), 193-94, although one cannot understand why Evans, who has no evidence other than that cited in the present work, should say that Brooke was "probably killed in October or November, 1597". The fact that his slayer was attempting to flee the country between 24 and 29 December would suggest a date near Christmas.
- 104 See the pedigree compiled from visitation records in Douglas Grant's Margaret the First: A Biography of Margaret Cavendish Duchess of Newcastle 1623-1673 (1957), pp. 27-32. See also A.L. Rowse's Raleigh and the Throckmortons (1962), p. 121.
- 105 Natures Pictures Drawn by Fancies Pencil to the Life, Written by the thrice Noble, Illustrious, and Excellent Princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle (1656), pp. 368-69.
- 106 A.P.C., 1597-98, p. 198.
- 107 A.P.C., 1597-98, p. 205.
- 108 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 450-51.
- 109 See An Index to Bills of Privy Signet ..., ed. W.P.W. Phillimore (1890), p. 60.
- 110 See R.H. D'Elboux, "Coats of Arms in Queenborough Castle," Archaeologia Cantiana, LVIII (1946), 22. See the notes to the family tree, p. 1094, n. 29, for a comment on the identity of Sir William's arms with those of his father's cousin, Sir Edward Brooke. George Brooke would have assumed his brother's arms upon Sir William's death; they are wrongly blazoned by Charles Henry Cooper and Thompson Cooper in their Athenae Cantabrigienses (Cambridge, 1858-1913), II, 360.

- 111 Jardine, I, 429-30.
- 112 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VIII, 38.
- 113 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VIII, 554; see the notes to the family tree, p. 1159, n. 57.
- 114 See Sir Edward Coke's letter to Cecil about Brooke's inquisition post mortem (the original of which does not now survive), dated 20 January 1604/5 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVII, 26).
- 115 See P.R.O., S.P. 12/274/83, a list of Cobham's income and expenditures for the half-year ending 25 March 1600, in which is the item: "To m<sup>r</sup> G. Brook esquier for a quart' anuitie -- xvjli xiiis iiijd". The will of William Lord Cobham provided Brooke with 5 s. less than this per quarter: see above, p. 660.
- 116 See Cobham to Cecil, 21 May 1600 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 153), and the notes to the family tree, p. 1182, n. 69.
- 117 See Michael Hikes to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 6 December 1603 (Lodge, Illustrations, III, 76).
- 118 Goodman, I, 160.

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## Chapter II

- 1 The writ was addressed "Henrico Brooke de Cobham, Chl'r" (Sir William Dugdale, A Perfect Copy of All Summons of the Nobility to the Great Councils and Parliaments of this Realm, From the XLIX. of King Henry the III. Until these present Times ... (1685), p. 536).
- 2 See Whyte to Sidney, 23 October 1597 (Collins, II, 70).
- 3 Sidney to Essex, 29 January 1597/8 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VIII, 29-30).
- 4 Sir Simonds D'Ewes, The Journals of all the Parliaments During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth ... (1682), p. 525.
- 5 S.P., Dom., 1595-97, p. 526.
- 6 See A.P.C., 1597, p. 95.
- 7 Collins, II, 75; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 302.
- 8 Collins, II, 74; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 300.
- 9 See S.P., Dom., 1595-97, pp. 524-25.
- 10 Edwards, Raleigh, II, 182-83.
- 11 S.P., Dom., 1595-97, p. 525.
- 12 See H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 459-60.
- 13 See H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 460.
- 14 See H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 461.

- 15 See A.P.C., 1597-98, pp. 81-82.
- 16 See A.P.C., 1597-98, p. 86.
- 17 See H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 465-66.
- 18 See S.P., Dom., 1595-97, pp. 527-28.
- 19 See H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 470-71.
- 20 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 471.
- 21 See Cecil Paper 57/3; abstracted in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 475.
- 22 D'Ewes, p. 529. That Cobham was present when the bill was first read is confirmed by the attendance lists included in the Journals of the House of Lords, Beginning Anno Primo Henrici Octavi ([1846]), II, 199.
- 23 See Journals, II, 200, 201, 205.
- 24 See D'Ewes, pp. 529-30, 531, 536, 538, 543, 543-44; Journals, II, 200, 205; Heywood Townshend, Historical Collections ... (1680), p. 92.
- 25 See Cobham to Cecil, 12 October 1597 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 429).
- 26 See above, p. 621.
- 28 Journal of ... de Maisse, ed. Harrison, pp. 90-91. The journal is dated according to the Gregorian calendar; the entry quoted above is there marked 5 January. De Maisse was evidently confused by the differences between French and English practice, since he states that his conversation with La Fontaine took place on the sixth day of the English Christmas (31 December). If that had been the case, he could not have recorded it in his diary before what was by his reckoning 10 January.
- 29 Journal, p. 104; the entry is dated 9 January.
- 30 L'Ambassade de France en Angleterre sous Henri IV: Mission de Jean de Thumery Sieur de Boissise (1598-1602) (Paris, 1886), p. 146.
- 31 A.P.C., 1597-98, p. 249.
- 32 Evidently connected with this problem is Nottingham's letter to Cecil of 8 January 1597/8 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XIV, 49-50), which mentions "Captain Willis who starts tomorrow with Lord Cobham and my pinnace the Lion's Whelp".
- 33 Collins, II, 86; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 316-17.
- 34 Thomas Birch states in error that Cobham, Raleigh, Lord Thomas Howard, Southampton and others not only left London with Cecil but accompanied him to France (Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth ... (1754), II, 373).
- 35 S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 22.
- 36 Collins, II, 79. The letter continues: "500 that now is, is in great Fauor with the Queen, and leanes to no Party, and her Majestie likes the better of yt, and vses hym very well, as ll [?] and others tels me; to hym and his Sister haue I deliuered your Lettres." Hope Mirrlees identifies '500' with Henry Lord Cobham and makes the peculiar statement that Cobham "leans to no party" in 1598 (A Fly in Amber being an extravagant biography of the romantic antiquary Sir Robert Bruce

Cotton (1962), p. 186). It is almost certain that Whyte's '500' was George Lord Hunsdon, who succeeded William Lord Cobham as Lord Chamberlain, and thus inherited the cipher which had stood for him (see above, p. 648). The cipher for the younger Cobham was '30' (see above, pp. 648-49, 724), changed in a letter of 27 October 1599 to '400' (see H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 407). One would thus interpret Whyte's words as 'The Lord Chamberlain', not 'the Lord Cobham, that now is'. To either of Hunsdon's prominent sisters, Lady Scrope or Lady Nottingham, Whyte would have delivered Sidney's letter; it is impossible to imagine what purpose would have been served by Sidney's writing to Lady Stourton or to the mad Lady Sondes.

37 See below, pp. 970 ff.

38 P.R.O., S.P. 78/41, f. 191; quoted by Leslie Hotson, Shakespeare's Sonnets Dated and other Essays (1949), p. 154.

39 See Handover, Cecil, pp. 167-71.

40 See P.R.O., S.P. 12/266/64; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 26.

41 See Whyte to Sidney, 18 February 1597/8 (Collins, II, 91; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 324).

42 Whyte to Sidney, 25 February 1597/8 (Collins, II, 92).

43 See Cecil and Sir John Herbert to the queen, 5 April 1598 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VIII, 118-27).

44 See Whyte to Sidney (Collins, II, 94).

45 Collins, II, 94.

46 "Scrutiniū hoc anno habitum ex speciali mandato Dominae Reginae inter acta huius ordinis non est relatū" (MS. Ashmol. 1129, p. 432).

47 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VIII, 269; quoted by Charlotte Carmichael Stopes, The Life of Henry, Third Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's Patron (Cambridge, 1922), p. 164. Mrs. Stopes tentatively dated the letter '1599', but Cecil Paper 62/71 bears the endorsement '1598'.

48 Stopes, p. 128.

49 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VIII, 355; quoted by Stopes, p. 127.

50 See William A. Shaw, The Knights of England ... (1906), II, 95.

51 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VIII, 261-62.

52 See K.M.E. Murray, The Constitutional History of the Cinque Ports (Manchester, 1935), pp. 73-75, for a description of the installation of a Warden according to prescription.

53 Murray, p. 75.

54 F.F. Giraud, "Cinque Ports: Notes from Minute Books of the Corporation of Faversham," Archaeologia Cantiana, XXVIII (1909), 42.

55 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XIV, 45. The original speech is recorded in Cecil Paper 130/115, and is undated.

56 Cecil, p. 154.

57 See Sir Thomas Fane to Cobham, 28 September 1597 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 403-04).

58 John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton (The Letters of John Chamberlain, ed. Norman Egbert McClure (Philadelphia, 1939), I, 43).

59 The Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham ..., ed. Harold Spencer Scott (Camden Society, 1902), pp. 21-22.

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### Chapter III

1 Letters, ed. McClure, I, 43.

2 MS. Add. 37666, f. 45.

3 G.B. Harrison erroneously states that by 1598 Cobham "had married a daughter of Lord Burleigh" (Journal of ... de Maisse, p. 141). Edward Thompson insinuates that Cobham had been married in the 1590s when he says that "Cobham, whose own wife was dead, in 1602 married Lady Kildare" (Sir Walter Raleigh ... (1935), p. 161). The source of this idea that Cobham was a widower when he married Lady Kildare would seem to be Brewer's note in his edition of Goodman, "Cobham did not live on good terms with his first wife" (I, 69 n.).

4 G. Harvey to the Council, 6 December 1603 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XV, 310).

5 Collins, II, 26; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 246.

6 Queen Elizabeth's Maids of Honour and Ladies of the Privy Chamber (1922), p. 255.

7 S.P., Dom., 1595-97, p. 147, where the letter is tentatively dated "Dec? 1595". The reference in it to the Lord Treasurer and Lord Burghley as to two different men indicates that it could only have been written not only after Lord Treasurer Burghley's death in 1598, but after Buckhurst had received the Treasurership in 1599. Elizabeth Russell died in July 1600; the dowager's reference to her daughters could thus have been made only before that time.

8 Collins, II, 30; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 251.

9 See the article on Spencer in D.N.B., written by Charles Welch.

10 Collins, II, 95; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 331.

11 See Chamberlain to Carleton, 31 January 1598/9 (Letters, ed. McClure, I, 66; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 157).

12 Letters, ed. McClure, I, 73; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 169. This letter proves the error made in the Complete Peerage, in the article on the Compton Earls of Northampton, where it is said that Elizabeth Spencer married Compton in 1594.

13 See Cobham to Cecil (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVI, 353).

14 See the annotated pedigree of Ratcliffe in Burke's Commoners, IV (1838), 402, where Margaret is shown to have been christened at Manchester on 6 March 1572/3.

15 Collins, II, 48. References such as these to 'Mistress Ratcliffe' have led Esmé

Wingfield-Stratford, in The Lords of Cobham Hall (1959), to call Margaret a widow.

16 See above, p. 752.

17 Cecil to Sir George Carew, 5 September 1601 (Letters from Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew, ed. Sir John Maclean (Camden Society, Volume LXXXVIII, 1864), p. 96).

18 Thomas Fuller, The History of the Worthies of England, ed. John Nichols (1811), II, 13. Kildare's inquisition post mortem, as transcribed in the last century, is preserved as the document lettered Exchequer, Co. Meath, Eliz., No. 51, in the Public Record Office of Ireland.

19 Chamberlain to Carleton, 8 November 1598 (Letters, ed. McClure, I, 52; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 118). The docquet for the grant, P.R.O., S.P. 12/268/109, is inaccurately abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 118, where the sum is given as £ 200.

20 See Hurstfield, Wards, pp. 78, 127.

21 See the notes to the family tree, pp. 1185-86, n. 71.

22 Memorials of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster: The Parish Registers, 1539-1660, ed. Arthur Meredyth Burke (1914), p. 25.

23 Conyers Read (Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth (1960), p. 289) cites as evidence of Hunsdon's matrimonial projects S.P., Scotland, 1583-84, p. 238, but assumes that the baron was attempting to match James VI with a daughter or a niece of his.

24 Honors True Arbor, sig. CV. Darcie reproduces Lady Kildare's arms, which were those of FitzGerald (argent, a saltire gules) and Howard of Nottingham (gules, a bend between six cross-crosslets fitchée argent, on the bend a mullet [sable?]), the whole surmounted by a countess's coronet. He acknowledges her marriage with Cobham, but indicates by his illustration that she did not quarter the Brooke arms.

25 [Edward Hatton,] A New View of London; or, An Ample Account of that City ... (1708), p. 335.

26 Collins, II, 122.

27 Indication of Memorials, Monuments, Paintings, and Engravings of Persons of the Howard Family ... (1834), p. 89.

28 Brian FitzGerald, The Geraldines: An Experiment in Irish Government 1169-1601 (1951), p. 300 n.

29 A Parallell betweene Robert late Earle of Essex, and George late Duke of Buckingham (1641), p. 9. See below, p. 1027.

30 Cecil Paper 41/65; abstracted in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VI, 213-14.

31 See Lord Henry Howard to Edward Bruce, 27 August 1602 (The Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with King James VI. of Scotland, ed. David Dalrymple [Lord Hailes] (Edinburgh, 1766), p. 209).

32 Howard to John Earl of Mar, 22 November 1601 (Secret Correspondence, p. 19). Catherine Drinker Bowen cites this passage as though from D'Israeli's Amenities of Literature (1842), III, 167 (The Lion and the Throne: the Life and Times of Sir Edward Coke 1552-1634 (1957), p. 155).

- 33 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVII, 582.
- 34 Patrick Cruttwell, The Shakespearean Moment and Its Place in the Poetry of the 17th Century (2nd ed., 1960), p. 36.
- 35 See below, pp. 946-47.
- 36 Lord Henry Howard to Edward Bruce, [before 27 April 1602] (Secret Correspondence, p. 89). Howard's remark is incorrectly taken to refer to William Lord Cobham's marriages, proving them unhappy, and also taken to refer to Frances Lady Cobham's unpopularity among the ladies of the Court, in the Complete Peerage, III, 349 n.
- 37 Letters, ed. McClure; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 152.
- 38 See above, p. 641.
- 39 Burgh's inquisition post mortem is P.R.O., C142/252/16.
- 40 Worthies, II, 13.
- 41 See Correspondence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leycester, During his Government of the Low Countries, in the Years 1585 and 1586, ed. John Bruce (Camden Society, 1844), p. 411 n.
- 42 Collins, II, 71.
- 43 Collins, II, 74.
- 44 See Whyte to Sidney, 14 January 1597/8 (Collins, II, 80).
- 45 S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, pp. 32-33.
- 46 S.P., Ireland, 1598-99, p. 285.
- 47 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 11-12.
- 48 Francis Mitchell to Cecil, 20 October 1604 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVI, 333).
- 49 See the notes to the family tree, pp. 1192-93, n. 74.
- 50 See the notes to the family tree, pp. 1190 ff., n. 74.
- 51 MS. Folger V.a.321, f. 87b.
- 52 See above, p. 443.
- 53 See the confession of Anthony Copley, 14 July 1603 (Charles Dodd's Church History of England ..., ed. M.A. Tierney (1839-43), IV, 1, xvii); Sir Edward Coke's abstract of the case against the conspirators, drawn up in August 1603, (Edwards, II, 463). The house in the Blackfriars was taken over by one Mere (see an anonymous letter to Cecil, dated 1605, H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVIII, 83).
- 54 See the notes to the family tree, pp. 1183-84, n. 69.
- 55 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 501.
- 56 For a short account of Sir William Brooke of Cooling and Sterborough, see the notes to the family tree, pp. 1193-98, n. 75.

(pp. 771-76)

- 57 See Harrison to Cecil, 6, 27 February 1598/9, and Harrison to Cobham, 14 March 1598/9 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 60-61, 83-84; S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, pp. 168-69). See also H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 160, 170-71, 210-11, 219.
- 58 See Sir Thomas Fane to Cobham, 23 March 1598/9 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 113-14).
- 59 Jasper Swift, returning from his fact-finding mission at Douai, where he had lived as a spy, made his report to the Bishop of London and to Cobham in 1599 (see H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XIV, 119).
- 60 See H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 89-90.
- 61 S.P., Ireland, 1599-1600, p. 6.
- 62 See S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 105, where Boissise's name is incorrectly transcribed "M. de la Boisiers".
- 63 See Laffleur, Boissise, p. 343.
- 64 MS. Ashmol. 1129, p. 432: "propter seditiones & rebellionis flammam in Hibernia motas ipsa solemnitas minus splendoris habitura videretur."
- 65 See MS. Ashmol. 1109, f. 36b; 1129, pp. 434-35. The Earl of Cumberland alone chose to vote for the new Lord Burghley, Cecil's half-brother, rather than for Cobham.
- 66 Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Q. Elizabeth and K. James I Collected (chiefly) from the Original Papers of the Right Honourable Sir Ralph Winwood, Kt., . . ., ed. Edmund Sawyer (1725), I, 17.
- 67 See S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 195.
- 68 Historicall description of the Iland of Britaine . . . (Part One of the first volume of Holinshed's Chronicles, ed. 1587), pp. 161-62.
- 69 A formal Latin account of the ceremony of degradation is in MS. Ashmol. 1129, p. 446. A lively paraphrase of it is given by William Green, Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor (Princeton, New Jersey, 1962), pp. 111-12.
- 70 MS. Ashmol. 1112, f. 17. A more formal, Latin account of the installation is in MS. Ashmol. 1129, p. 435.
- 71 The State and Dignity of a Secretary of State's Place, with the Care and Peril thereof; written by the Right Honourable Robert, late Earl of Salisbury . . . (1642), in Harleian Miscellany, II (1809), 281.
- 72 See H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 177-78.
- 73 S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 203. Buckhurst gained the queen's approval of a suit presented by the Cinque Ports on 9 July (see H.M.C., Report 13, Appendix IV, p. 118). Cobham and Buckhurst were then acting in concert for the benefit of the Ports.
- 74 H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Epers, II, 372.
- 75 H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Epers, II, 375.
- 76 Birch, Memoirs, II, 418; quoted by Edwards, I, 253-54, and in part by Handover, Cecil, p. 193.

- 77 A Parallell, p. 9.
- 78 See H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 231.
- 79 Captain Matthew Bredgate to Cobham, Plymouth, 31 July 1599 (S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, pp. 270-71).
- 80 S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 270. Cobham's reference to Bourbourg (spelled by him in P.R.O., S.P. 12/271/138 "Bourboro") is incorrectly transcribed by the editors of the State Papers "Bourbon".
- 81 S.P., Dom., 1593-1601, p. 270.
- 82 H.M.C., Foljambe Papers, pp. 74-75.
- 83 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 259.
- 84 H.M.C., Foljambe Papers, p. 76.
- 85 H.M.C., Foljambe Papers, pp. 77-78.
- 86 Collins, II, 115.
- 87 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 287.
- 88 Merrick to Edward Reynoldes, August 1599 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 343).
- 89 Cecil, p. 194.
- 90 Drury to George Parker (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XIV, 116-18). Cobham's letter to Cecil asking for the dispatch of Woodhouse's pardon is dated 21 June 1599 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 208); Lord Chief Justice Sir John Popham's complaint to Cecil about the irregularities of the affair was written on 25 June (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 213-14). R.C. Bald's capable account of the whole, confused episode is in his Donne & the Drurys (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 36-38.
- 91 Collins, II, 118.
- 92 Collins, II, 120.
- 93 Collins, II, 114.
- 94 Collins, II, 141.
- 95 Letters of Philip Gawdy of West Harling, Norfolk, and of London to Various Members of his Family 1579-1616, ed. Isaac Herbert Jeayes (1906), p. 103; the second set of square brackets is the editor's. Jeayes incorrectly dates the letter 1600.
- 96 Whyte to Sidney, 23 November 1599 (Collins, II, 142). That Margaret Ratcliffe was twenty-six when she died is evidenced by the Manchester parish records (see above, p. 890, n. 14).
- 97 Whyte to Sidney, 23 November 1599 (Collins, II, 143, where the ciphered "5000 eldest Daughter" is identified by Handover (Cecil, p. 243) with a Talbot of Shrewsbury.
- 98 Collins, II, 149; the square brackets are the editor's.
- 99 Collins, II, 149.

- 100 Collins, II, 140.
- 101 Collins, II, 125.
- 102 Whyte to Sidney, 20 September 1599 (Collins, II, 126).
- 103 Whyte to Sidney, 30 September 1599 (Collins, II, 129; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 397, where Collins's erroneous transcription of the phrase describing Lord Henry Howard, "the last is held for a Ranter," is corrected to "he is held a newter."
- 104 See Cobham to Cecil, 2, 5, 8 October 1599 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 362, 365, 368) and Sir Thomas Fane to Cobham, 31 October 1599 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 382-83).
- 105 Whyte to Sidney, 2 April 1600 (Collins, II, 184; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 453).
- 106 Whyte to Sidney, 11 January 1599/1600 (Collins, II, 157; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 428).
- 107 See Whyte to Sidney, 10 November 1599 (H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 411).
- 108 See Whyte to Sidney, 27 October 1599 (H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 407).
- 109 See Whyte to Sidney, 31 October 1599 (Collins, II, 137; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 408).
- 110 H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 411.
- 111 Collins, II, 141; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 415.
- 112 Collins, II, 141; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 415.
- 113 H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 421.
- 114 Collins, II, 157; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 428.
- 115 Collins, II, 161.
- 116 Collins, II, 162-63; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 433-34. The square brackets are the editor's.
- 117 Collins, II, 165; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 434. The square brackets are the editor's.
- 118 H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 435.
- 119 Collins, II, 167; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 439.
- 120 Whyte to Sidney, 11 March 1599/1600 (H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 447).
- 121 Whyte to Sidney, 2 April 1600 (Collins, II, 183-85; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 452-53. All but the last set of square brackets are the editor's.)
- 122 Collins, II, 178.

- 123 Collins, II, 187; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 457. The square brackets are the editor's.
- 124 Collins, II, 190; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 457.
- 125 Whyte to Sidney, 12 April 1600 (Collins, II, 187).
- 126 Whyte to Sidney, 3 May 1600 (Collins, II, 191).
- 127 See Whyte to Sidney, 26 April, 3, 10 May 1600 (Collins, II, 190, 191, 192; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 457, 458, 459).
- 128 Collins, II, 193; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 460-61. The square brackets are the editor's.
- 129 Collins, II, 206; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 473.
- 130 S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 85, where the letter is misdated 1601.
- 131 See Sir John Fortescue to Cobham, 3 September 1601 (S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, pp. 93-94).
- 132 Francis Woodward to Sir Robert Sidney, 30 November 1599 (Collins, II, 146-47).
- 133 Collins, II, 153.
- 134 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 416.
- 135 P.R.O., S.P. 12/273/57; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 363.
- 136 See Handover, Cecil, p. 205.
- 137 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 77.
- 138 Collins, II, 156; the square brackets are the editor's.
- 139 See Whyte to Sidney, 19 January 1599/1600 (Collins, II, 161).
- 140 Collins, II, 158.
- 141 Letters, ed. McClure, I, 86.
- 142 Jardine, I, 431.
- 143 See above, p. 629.
- 144 Northumberland to Cecil, 13 July 1596 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VI, 260).
- 145 H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 421.
- 146 Edwards, II, 438, transcribing MS. Cotton, Titus, C. vi, f. 387.
- 147 Northumberland to James VI, 1602 (Correspondence of King James VI. of Scotland with Sir Robert Cecil and Others in England, during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth ..., ed. John Bruce (Camden Society, 1861), pp. 65-66).
- 148 See S.P., Dom., 1591-94, p. 530.
- 149 See MS. Ashmol. 1129, pp. 427, 430.
- 150 Whyte to Sidney (H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers. II. 421).

- 151 Whyte to Sidney (Collins, II, 159).
- 152 See Handover, Cecil, p. 204.
- 153 See Sir Henry Neville to Cecil, 25 January 1599/1600 (Winwood, I, 146-47).
- 154 See Northumberland to Cecil, The Hague, 12 January 1600/1 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XIV, 159-60).
- 155 See Northumberland to Cobham, 19 July 1601 (S.P., Dom., 1601-03, p. 71).
- 156 Northumberland to Cobham's cousin, Sir Calisthenes Brooke, 9 July 1601 (S.P., Dom., 1601-03, p. 64); see also below, p. 1162.
- 157 S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 391.
- 158 Whyte to Sidney, 19 July 1600 (Collins, II, 207; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 473).
- 159 H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 435.
- 160 George Gilpin to Sidney (H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 438).
- 161 Collins, II, 166. John Chamberlain sent substantially the same news to Dudley Carleton in his letter of 22 February 1599/1600 (see Letters, ed. McClure, I, 86-87, where McClure unwarrantably takes Buckhurst's statement, "yt is without example for a man of his place to be employed out of the realme," to refer not to himself but to Cobham).
- 162 See Cobham to Cecil, 16 February 1599/1600 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 38).
- 163 Collins, II, 167; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 440).
- 164 Cobham to Cecil, 18 February 1599/1600 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 40).
- 165 Collins, II, 172; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 443.
- 166 Collins, II, 173.
- 167 Collins, II, 174.
- 168 See H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 46.
- 169 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 63-64.
- 170 Collins, II, 175; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 446.
- 171 See below, pp. 1004-05.
- 172 See Laffleur, Boissise, p. 380.
- 173 See Laffleur, Boissise, p. 381.
- 174 Collins, II, 188; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 455.
- 175 See Cecil, p. 205.
- 176 Collins, II, 179; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 448.
- 177 H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 449; the transcript in Collins, II, 180, is defective. The square brackets are the editor's.

- 178 Collins, II, 181.
- 179 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 77.
- 180 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 79-80.
- 181 Cobham to Cecil, 29 April 1600 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 129).
- 182 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 83.
- 183 From a transcript of Essex's trial, 19 February 1600/1 (Jardine, I, 329).
- 184 S.P., Dom., 1601-03, pp. 57-59.
- 185 Les Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata 1593 to 1609 ..., ed. William Paley Baildon (Privately printed, 1894), p. 121.
- 186 S.P., Dom., 1603-10, p. 6.
- 187 The poem, in MS. Add. 15,226, is transcribed in Ballads Relating Chiefly to the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, ed. W.R. Morfill (The Ballad Society, Hertford, 1873), pp. 252-59; underlined words are the editor's expansions of Elizabethan contractions.
- 188 Collins, II, 185-86.
- 189 See Cobham to Cecil, 4 April 1600 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 97); see also the notes to the family tree, p. 1110, n. 39.
- 190 See above, pp. 598-99.
- 191 See Cobham to Cecil, 11 May 1600 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 143); Raleigh to Sir John Gilbert, 1597 (?) (Edwards, II, 195).
- 192 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 153; see also the notes to the family tree, p. 1182, n. 69.
- 193 Edwards, II, 203-04; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1601-03, p. 27, where the letter is erroneously dated "6 April 1601?".
- 194 Cecil to Sir George Carew, 29 August 1600 (Letters, ed. Maclean, p. 24).
- 195 Fuller, Worthies, II, 279.
- 196 See Whyte to Sidney (Collins, II, 187; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 454).
- 197 Collins, II, 188; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 455-56).
- 198 His presence at the ceremonies is noted in Baildon, p. 110.
- 199 Whyte to Sidney, 19 April 1600 (Collins, II, 188; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 455-56).
- 200 See MS. Ashmol. 1129, p. 436.
- 201 MS. Ashmol. 1132, f. 163.
- 202 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 123.
- 203 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 129.

204 Edwards, II, 206; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1603-10, p. 5, where the letter is erroneously dated 29 April 1603.

205 Collins, II, 192; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 459. The square brackets are the editor's.

206 Collins, II, 193; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 460-61. The square brackets are the editor's.

207 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 175-76. An unnecessary "[and]", inserted by the editors between "servants" and "my Lord Thomas's men", has been omitted.

208 Collins, II, 201-02; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 468. The square brackets are the editor's.

209 Letters, ed. McClure, I, 98.

210 Collins, II, 203. Doctor 'Puddin' was probably Sir William Pady, the prominent society physician; "my Lady Marques", whom Collins identifies with a Marchioness of Winchester, could have been one of three women, either the wife or mother of Winchester, or Helena, the widow of Cobham's uncle William Parr, Marquess of Northampton. One would guess at the last, both because Lady Northampton took precedence over the rest of the queen's ladies, acting as chief mourner at Elizabeth's funerals in 1603, and because she is elsewhere noted as a fine dancer, Cobham himself being her partner on at least one recorded occasion (see above, p. 731). This masque of eight allegorical figures coming in search of a ninth which was performed at Cobham House has attracted the attention of many historians of the stage; Sir Edmund Chambers has given it the name, "The Lost Muse" (see The Elizabethan Stage (Oxford, 1923), I, 169).

211 This painting, reproduced often (see, for example, The Elizabethans, introduced by Allardyce Nicoll (Cambridge, 1957), p. 39), is now in the Digby Collection. It depicts the queen borne in a litter, surrounded by Knights of the Garter and other prominent courtiers, and preceded by an arrogant, foppish, dark young man, lightly bearded, with a large nose, supercilious brows and a slight sneer, who wears the insignia of the Garter and carries a sword of state. The occasion which the painting commemorates was for many years taken to be "Queen Elizabeth's Procession in a Litter to Celebrate the Marriage of Anne Russell at Blackfriars, June 16, 1600," and George Scharf, in an article of that name (The Archaeological Journal, XXIII (1866), 131-44), attempted to identify the people represented in it. The swordbearer, Scharf decided (p. 140), was Cobham, and he corroborated his identification by referring to the print of Hogenberg's portrait of Sir Henry Cobham, which he took to be of the baron, not his uncle (see the notes to the family tree, p. 1150, n. 55). Freeman O'Donoghue, in compiling his Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits (1908), listed an engraving by R. Cooper of a gentleman "holding state sword. Copied from Vertue's plate of Queen Elizabeth going in procession to Blackfriars; with the erroneous title, 'Lord Hunsdon'" (p. 455); O'Donoghue identified the subject of the engraving with Henry Lord Cobham, and the British Museum's copy of the engraving has since been annotated by someone who accepted Scharf's article as the definitive one on the subject.

Unfortunately, apart from his nose, the swordbearer hardly resembles the authenticated portraits of the Brookes, and it is now even doubted that the procession can be related to the Russell-Herbert wedding at all. David Piper, Assistant Keeper of the National Portrait Gallery, in a private communication of 20 June 1961, expressed the opinion that "the identification of the Elizabeth procession with that of the Blackfriars wedding of Lord Herbert is unlikely. The bearer of the sword seems to be the 7th Earl of Shrewsbury rather than Cobham."

One might observe that, while the litter in the portrait seems to be quite an ordinary affair, the lectica which Cobham provided for the queen attracted comment because of its singularity. Not only did Rowland Whyte feel that he had to try to

describe it for Sidney ("a Lectica, made like half a Litter"), but John Chamberlain referred to it as "a curious chair" in his letter to Dudley Carleton of 24 June (Letters, ed. McClure, I, 99).

212 Misdating of the wedding is common: Nicoll is out by only a week in saying that it took place on 9 June 1600 (p. 160), but Wingfield-Stratford goes badly wrong in assigning it to 11 June 1599 (p. 77): so that the significance of the queen's remark to her relationship with Essex has been widely interpreted. Patrick Fraser Tytler, saying that "Some months after the death of Essex, Lord Herbert married Mrs Anne Russel," gives the impression that Elizabeth's words were those of a disillusioned old woman who had had to execute her last favourite (see The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh ... (Edinburgh, 1833), pp. 231-33).

213 Raleigh, p. 226.

214 Cecil, p. 219.

215 Laffleur, Boissise, p. 168.

216 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 239, where the date on Cecil Paper 251/100, 10 July, has been erroneously rendered 19 July.

217 Letters, ed. Maclean, p. 8.

218 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 222.

219 Collins, II, 206; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 472.

220 Winwood, I, 215.

221 Whyte to Sidney (Collins, II, 207; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 473).

222 Winwood, I, 230.

223 Winwood, I, 231.

224 H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 473-74. That Cobham dealt with the Dutch about collecting some of the debt which they already owed the queen for men and supplies is indicated in letters to him from Thomas Phelippes, dated 20 November 1600 and 23 March 1600/1 (S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, pp. 490-91; 1601-03, p. 17).

225 See Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain (S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 457).

226 See Paul Ive to Cecil, Middleburgh, 28 July 1600 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 247-48).

227 See H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 261.

228 See Cobham to James I, 29 April 1603 (S.P., Dom., 1603-10, p. 6).

229 See Cecil, p. 301.

230 Cecil Paper 96/53, in which basic punctuation has been introduced; abstracted in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 469.

231 Collins, II, 207; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 473.

232 See Collins, II, 209.

233 See above. p. 791.

- 234 See Whyte to Sidney (Collins, II, 212).
- 235 A.P.C., 1599-1600, pp. 598-99; the square brackets are the editor's.
- 236 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 220.
- 237 Whyte to Sidney, 16 August 1600 (Collins, II, 210).
- 238 Collins, II, 209-10.
- 239 Whyte to Sidney, 23 August 1600 (Collins, II, 212; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 479).
- 240 Grey to Cecil, 16 July 1600 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 235).
- 241 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 273-74; transcribed in full in Edwards, II, 226-27.
- 242 See H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 217.
- 243 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 296-97.
- 244 Collins, II, 214.
- 245 Letters, ed. Maclean, p. 24.
- 246 Letters, ed. Maclean, p. 55.
- 247 See Cobham to Cecil (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 316).
- 248 See Whyte to Sidney, 9 October 1600 (Collins, II, 217; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 486).
- 249 Southampton to Cobham, 24 September 1600 (S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 469); see also Southampton to Cecil, September 1600 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 333).
- 250 Baildon, pp. 171-73. For Hele's demands upon Cobham, and the baron's activity in his behalf, in the first half of 1601 and in 1602, see S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, pp. 539, 541; 1601-03, pp. 27, 53; H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 126.
- 251 Correspondence, ed. Bruce, pp. 83-84; the second set of square brackets is the editor's.
- 252 See William Stallenge to Cecil, Plymouth, 4 November 1600 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 375).
- 253 Edwards, II, 404; the underlined words are interlineated in the manuscript.
- 254 The Annales, or Generall Chronicle of England, begun first by maister Iohn Stow, and after him continued and augmented with matters forreyne, and domestique, auncient and moderne, vnto the ende of this present yeere 1614, by Edmond Howes, gentleman (1615), p. 792.
- 255 S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 547. Lady Essex's servant Pettingale, otherwise 'Spero Pettingar', later denied speaking with Masham on 8 February (see Pettin-gale's examination, taken on 23 October 1601, in S.P., Dom., 1601-03, p. 111), while Arthur Mills, on 18 February 1601/2, stated that Masham had taken up arms in Essex's cause (see S.P., Dom., 1601-03, pp. 152-53).
- 256 "The examination of Fras. Smith, gent.," 10 February (S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, pp. 548-49). See Sir John Leveson's eye-witness account in Cecil Papers 83/64, 65.

- 257 "The examination of Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland," 12 February (S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, pp. 552-53).
- 258 "The examination of William Parker, called Lord Monteagle," 16 February (S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, pp. 574-75).
- 259 "The examination of Hen. Cuffe," 16 February (S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 572).
- 260 W. Cope to Cecil, regarding the testimony of Christopher Doddington (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 70).
- 261 Vincent Hussey to [?], 11 February (S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 551).
- 262 Cecil, p. 223. See the account there of the surrounding of Essex House, and the authorities cited.
- 263 See "Rough notes of speeches in the Star Chamber" (S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, pp. 554-55).
- 264 A.P.C., 1600-01, pp. 150-51.
- 265 A.P.C., 1600-01, pp. 169-70.
- 266 Jardine, I, 310.
- 267 See the narrative of Essex's trial and execution in H.M.C., Rutland Papers, I, 371.
- 268 Cecil to Carew, [4?] March 1600/1 (Letters, ed. Maclean, p. 69).
- 269 The above quotations from a transcript of the trial are from Jardine, I, 329, 350-51.
- 270 Cecil to Mountjoy, 26 February 1600/1 (S.P., Ireland, 1600-01, p. 200; the underlined words denote Cecil's corrections of a draft letter apparently prepared by a secretary). The phrasing of Cecil's letter to Carew follows this to Mountjoy almost exactly.
- 271 The Perogative<sup>[sic]</sup> of Parliaments in England ... (1640), p. 43.
- 272 Cecil to Carew, [4?] March 1600/1 (Letters, ed. Maclean, p. 71).
- 273 Manningham, p. 159.
- 274 See a note on the Devereuxes of Warwickshire, written after 10 September 1601 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 387), and "the examination of Thos. Woodhouse of London," 15 October 1601 (S.P., Dom., 1601-03, pp. 109-10). See also a report by Valentine Thomas of a conversation had with a seminary priest, Thomas Wright, 15 February 1600/1 (S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 568).
- 275 MS. Folger V.a.321, p. 11, headed: "The Speach of M<sup>r</sup> Secretarie in the Starrchamber in the Moneth of february. 1601. Anno Reginae. 43."
- 276 "Directions for the Preachers," [14?] February 1600/1 (S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 567).
- 277 "A memorial about the insurrection of the earl of Essex," [19?] February 1600/1 (S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 599).
- 278 Morfill, p. 256.

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- 279 See Colfe to Cecil, Newgate, 21 May 1601 (S.P., Dom., 1601-03, p. 44).
- 280 Paul de la Hay to Cecil, 14 March 1600/1 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 127).
- 281 Phillimore, p. 44.
- 282 See Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, II, 506-07.
- 283 See "Money accounts of the voyage of the Lyonese," 18 April 1601, the quadruple bonds drawn up on 24 April 1601, and "Account of goods received out of the prize the White Grayhound," 1601 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 171, 177, 539).
- 284 See Bargar to Cobham, [c. 8 February] 1600/1, and Cobham to Cecil, 14 May 1601 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 30-33, 198).
- 285 See the notes to the family tree, pp. 1161-62, n. 57.
- 286 See Cobham to Cecil, 9 March 1600/1 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 115).
- 287 George Kendall to Cecil, [April?] 1601 (S.P., Dom., 1601-03, pp. 37-38).

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## Chapter IV

- 1 Carte, III, 687.
- 2 Kendall to Cecil, [April?] 1601 (S.P., Dom., 1601-03, p. 38).
- 3 Secret Correspondence, pp. 9-10.
- 4 Correspondence, ed. Bruce, pp. 7-8.
- 5 See the notes to the family tree, p. 1091, n. 25.
- 6 P.R.O., S.P. 12/279/77; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1601-03, pp. 39-40.
- 7 Letters, ed. McClure, I, 123; abstracted in SP., Dom., 1601-03, p. 45.
- 8 Sir Henry Lee to Cecil (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XIV, 178).
- 9 Letters, ed. Maclean, pp. 84-85; see Handover, Cecil, pp. 246-47.
- 10 See above, pp. 802-03.
- 11 See S.P., Dom., 1601-03, p. 71.
- 12 See a letter of that date from Cobham to Cecil (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 291).
- 13 Hotson, Shakespeare's Sonnets Dated, p. 159. In a private communication of 29 December 1961 Professor Hotson kindly provided the approximate date of this news-letter and vouched for its authenticity.
- 14 See Sir Thomas Fane to Cobham, 30 June, 3 August 1601; Cobham to Cecil, 19, 24, 27 July, 4 August 1601 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 254, 319, 291, 299, 302, 320); the Privy Council to Cobham, 19 July 1601, and Rye and Winchelsea to Cobham, 27 July 1601 (H.M.C., Report 5, p. 139); Thomas Phelippes to Cobham, 13, 28 June, and to Cecil, 21 August 1601 (S.P., Dom., 1601-03, pp. 51, 55, 86-87); John Owen to Cecil, August 1601 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 371).

(pp. 834-42)

- 15 See Cecil to Sir Thomas Fane, 8 August 1601 (S.P., Dom., 1601-03, pp. 82-83).
- 16 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 333; see also Fane to Cecil, 23 August 1601, on p. 356.
- 17 S.P., Dom., 1595-97, p. 489, where the letter is erroneously dated 13 August 1597[?]; Miss Handover, quoting from the letter (Cecil, p. 193), follows the incorrect date.
- 18 Edwards, II, 227-28; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1601-03, p. 87.
- 19 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 382.
- 20 S.P., Dom., 1601-03, p. 94.
- 21 Edwards, II, 234-35, where the letter, which is undated, is assigned to 12 September, as it is in the abstract in S.P., Dom., 1601-03, pp. 96-97.
- 22 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 94-95.
- 23 Edwards, II, 233.
- 24 Laffleur, Boissise, p. 553. Boissise dated his letter 22 septembre, that is, according to the English calendar, 12 September; Raleigh's letter urging Cobham to come to Court can thus hardly have been written on that date (see above, n. 21).
- 25 See Edwards, II, 239.
- 26 Golding to Sidney, Penshurst, 16 September 1601 (Collins, II, 231-32; abstracted in H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 535).
- 27 See Townshend, p. 349.
- 28 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 423.
- 29 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 428.
- 30 See D'Ewes, pp. 599-600; Townshend, pp. 129-31.
- 31 See D'Ewes, pp. 602-04, 606, 610, 617-18; Townshend, pp. 132-33, 135-39, 148-49
- 32 See the notes to the family tree, p. 1186, n. 71. See also the queen to the Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and Gerald Earl of Kildare to Cecil, 14 September, 12 December 1601 (S.P., Ireland, 1601-03, pp. 74-75, 213).
- 33 D'Ewes, p. 607; see also Townshend, p. 136, H.M.C., Report 4, p. 116, and Journals of the House of Lords, II, 238.
- 34 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 403.
- 35 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 412.
- 36 D'Ewes, p. 678; see also Townshend, pp. 310-11.
- 37 Secret Correspondence, pp. 19-23; abstracted in H.M.C., Mar and Kellie Papers, pp. 53-56, and there wrongly dated 22 November 1607.
- 38 Cecil Paper 85/134; abstracted in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 84.
- 39 Howard to Bruce, [c. 30 April 1602] (Secret Correspondence, p. 68).

- 40 Cecil, p. 247.
- 41 Secret Correspondence, p. 27. The other quotations from this letter are from pp. 35-52.
- 42 Lady Bacon to her son Francis, 1 April 1595 (Birch, Memoirs, I, 227).
- 43 An Historical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France and Brussels, from the Year 1592 to 1617 ... (1749), p. 100.
- 44 A Life of Robert Cecil, p. 188.
- 45 "The Journal of Levinus Munck," ed. Howard Vallance Jones, English Historical Review, LXVIII (1953), 242.
- 46 Edwards, II, 224, where the letter is dated 2 February 1600? or 1601? On 2 February 1599/1600 Cobham and Raleigh were at Court, hoping to be named Privy Councillors when Mountjoy left for Ireland; a year later they were in London, expecting the climax of the Essex affair.
- 47 See the notes to the family tree, p. 1112, n. 39.
- 48 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 57.
- 49 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 66.
- 50 Correspondence, ed. Bruce, pp. 18-19.
- 51 Letters, ed. Maclean, p. 108.
- 52 Secret Correspondence, pp. 58-62.
- 53 See above, p. 814.
- 54 See H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 88-89.
- 55 Correspondence, ed. Bruce, pp. 53-61.
- 56 Correspondence, ed. Bruce, pp. 61-63.
- 57 Howard to Bruce, [c. 30 April 1602] (Secret Correspondence, p. 66).
- 58 Cobbett, II, 5, transcribing the words of Serjeant Hele at the trial of Raleigh on 17 November 1603.
- 59 Cobbett, II, 5.
- 60 The memorandum (MS. Cotton, Titus, C. vi, ff. 386-92) has often been excerpted; the best transcription of it is in Edwards, II, 436-44, from which the above quotations have been made. The asterisked word 'persons' on p. 856 is tentatively rendered by Edwards 'presence'; in the manuscript (f. 390b) it is abbreviated 'pesns'.
- 61 Rowland Whyte wrote on 12 September 1600 of the queen's remarkable show of favour to Howard (see Collins, II, 48).
- 62 "The Confession of the Lady Elezabeth's Grace," 1548 (A Collection of State Papers ... from the Year 1542 to 1570 ..., ed. Samuel Haynes (1740), p. 102).
- 63 See P. Laffleur de Kermaingant, L'Ambassade de France en Angleterre sous Henri IV: Mission de Christophe de Harlay comte de Beaumont (1602-1605) (Paris, 1895),

pp. 20-21.

64 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 94.

65 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 94-95.

66 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 148. Cobham was informed by Sir Thomas Fane of Nevers's awaiting at Calais favourable winds to carry him to England on 18 March 1601/2 (see H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 131). The editors of the Salisbury Papers have erroneously dated both these letters 1600/1.

67 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 110.

68 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 111.

69 Secret Correspondence, pp. 88-89.

70 Secret Correspondence, pp. 68-69, 74.

71 John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 24 October 1618 (Letters, ed. McClure, II, 174).

72 John Prince, Danmonii Orientales Illustres: or, The Worthies of Devon ... (ed. 1810), p. 52. Arthur Cayley (The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, Kn<sup>t</sup> (2nd ed., 1806), I, 356) and Tytler (pp. 256-57) refer to Raleigh's supposed plan to make an heiress to the Throne of his prospective daughter-in-law. The pedigree of Bassett of Blore makes it clear that that family was not descended of Frances Bassett, the daughter of King Edward IV's celebrated bastard Lisle (see Staffordshire Pedigrees based on the Visitation of that County ..., ed. Sir George J. Armytage and W. Harry Rylands (Harleian Society, 1912), p. 20).

73 See The Queen's Wards, pp. 301-04.

74 See Cobham to Cecil, 21 May 1602 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 163).

75 Cobham to Cecil, 6 October 1602 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 424).

76 See Bennett to Cobham, 31 October 1602 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 458). For the suggestion that Bennett's appointment to Hereford is reflected in Michael Drayton's poem, The Owle, ll. 379-86, see Drayton's Works, edd. J. William Hebel, Kathleen Tillotson and Bernard H. Newdigate (1932-41), V, 178; see also below, p. 1065, n. 1.

77 Chamberlain to Winwood, 17 January 1602/3 (Letters, ed. McClure, I, 181; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1601-03, p. 283, where the paraphrase "George Brooke wants his deanery and mastership of St. Cross" is misleading).

78 S.P., Dom., 1591-94, p. 513.

79 "Mr. George Brook, to a Lady in Court," [n.d.] (Cabala, Sive Scrinia Sacra: Mysteries of State and Government ... (3rd ed., 1691), pp. 116-17).

80 Bishop Bilson to the Privy Council, 4 December 1603 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XV, 307). See also Goodman, II, 14-15.

81 Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, 11 [more probably, 10] December 1603 (Jardine, I, 470). Historians have generally stated, as do the Coopers (Athenae Cantabrigienses, II, 359), that the disappointment of his expectation of receiving St. Cross "induced Mr. Brooke to enter into certain conspiracies then on foot by the disaffected".

- 82 Sir John Harington to Cecil, 27 July 1603 (The Letters and Epigrams of Sir John Harington together with The Prayse of Private Life, ed. Norman Egbert McClure (Philadelphia, 1930), p. 103, where the letter is incorrectly dated 27 June 1603; abstracted in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XV, 212).
- 83 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 614.
- 84 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 631.
- 85 Secret Correspondence, p. 234.
- 86 See Howard to Bruce, 27 August 1602 (Secret Correspondence, p. 209).
- 87 Howard to Mar, 4 June 1602 (Secret Correspondence, pp. 124-36).
- 88 Letters, ed. Maclean, p. 116.
- 89 Edwards, II, 247.
- 90 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 264.
- 91 Correspondence, ed. Bruce, pp. 38-39.
- 92 The Complete Works of John Lyly ..., ed. R. Warwick Bond (Oxford, 1902), I, 502.
- 93 See S.P., Dom., 1601-03, p. 232.
- 94 Edwards, II, 248.
- 95 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 282, 302-03.
- 96 Cecil Paper 94/157; abstracted in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 308-09.
- 97 Secret Correspondence, pp. 182-88; see p. 139 for a further suggestion that '50' was Nottingham.
- 98 See Secret Correspondence, pp. 208-10.
- 99 See Correspondence, ed. Bruce, pp. 76-78.
- 100 Edwards, II, 249-50; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1595-97, p. 266, where the letter is misdated 12 August 1596? and indexed as to William Lord Cobham.
- 101 Edwards, II, 251-53. See also Thomas Honiman to Cecil, Plymouth, 31 August 1602 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 338).

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## Chapter V

- 1 See Edwards, II, 254.
- 2 Secret Correspondence, pp. 229-33.
- 3 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 373.
- 4 See below, n. 12.
- 5 "Munck", p. 243.

- 6 Sir Thomas Fane to Cobham, 25 September 1602 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 398).
- 7 Cobham to Cecil, 24 September 1602 (S.P., Dom., 1601-03, p. 242). For further details about the capture of the galleys, see Fane to Cobham, 25, 27 September 1602 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 398-99, 401).
- 8 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 404.
- 9 See H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 416.
- 10 Cobham to Cecil, 11 October 1602 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 438; see also p. 428).
- 11 See Sir Thomas Fane to Cobham, 25 September 1602 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 398).
- 12 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 442-43. The asterisked word 'Malling' is erroneously transcribed by the editors of the Salisbury Papers 'Matling'. Cecil Paper 185/33 has no details about the book concerning 'Royne' or 'Roine' which are not reproduced in the printed calendar.
- 13 See the notes to the family tree, p. //12 , n. 39, and above, pp. 276, 595.
- 14 See Cobham to Cecil, 18 June and [c. July] 1603, and Sir John Peyton to Cecil, 2 August 1603 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XV, 138-39, 222, 225).
- 15 Edwards, II, 255.
- 16 See H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, Volume XV passim.
- 17 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 541; see also Sir Thomas Fane to Cobham, 7 November 1602 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 465).
- 18 See Handover, Cecil, p. 292.
- 19 Letters, ed. McClure, I, 178.
- 20 Collins, II, 262.
- 21 See McClure, Letters, I, 181.
- 22 Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli to the government of Venice, 29 April/8 May 1603 (S.P., Venice, 1603-07, p. 21).
- 23 See Cobham to Cecil, [c. May] 1603 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XV, 83).
- 24 See Cobham to James I, 29 April 1603 (S.P., Dom., 1603-10, p. 6), and above, p. 813.
- 25 Correspondence, ed. Bruce, pp. 66-68.
- 26 Correspondence, ed. Bruce, pp. 70-71.
- 27 See H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 599.
- 28 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 590. In February Cobham received his grant (see Phillimore, p. 66, where the signet bill is erroneously dated February 1603/4).
- 29 Anthony Rivers to Giacomo Creleto (S.P., Dom., 1601-03, p. 298).

- 30 MS. Cotton, Vespasian, F. xiii, f. 290. This letter has been incorrectly ascribed to Cobham's uncle, Sir Henry Cobham, who died in 1592 (see the notes to the family tree, p. 1148, n. 55).
- 31 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 674.
- 32 Quoted in Correspondence, ed. Bruce, p. xlix, as from Cecil Paper 92/18.
- 33 Anthony Rivers to Giacomo Creleto, 9 March 1602/3 (S.P., Dom., 1601-03, p. 298).
- 34 Philip Gawdy to his brother, February 1602/3 (Letters, ed. Jeayes, p. 126).
- 35 Correspondence, ed. Bruce, p. 73.
- 36 Correspondence, ed. Bruce, p. 75.
- 37 The text of the proclamation is in John Strype's Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion and Other Various Occurrences in the Church of England, during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign: Together with an Appendix of Original Papers of State, Records, and Letters (Oxford, ed. 1824), IV, 516-19.
- 38 Stebbing (p. 180) refers to Sir John Hawles's countenancing of the story that the three men had "tried a movement for 'articling' with James before proclaiming him", and notes that Aubrey "narrates that at a consultation at Whitehall he [Raleigh] went to the length of recommending the establishment of a 'commonwealth'". Carte (III, 709) accepts the story as true. It would appear that Raleigh was in fact absent from Court when the queen died (see below, p. 880).
- 39 See below, p. 880, and, for the quarrel between Clanricard and Sir Calisthenes Brooke, the notes to the family tree, pp. 1159-61, n. 57.
- 40 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XV, 64-65. The date ("April 1603") assigned to this letter by the editors appears nowhere on Cecil Paper 102/154, of which the calendared transcript is otherwise a fair copy; it reads like a letter written immediately Cobham came under the sovereignty of James.
- 41 Correspondence, ed. Bruce, p. 50.
- 42 H.M.C., Report 13, Appendix IV, p. 126.
- 43 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XV, 15.
- 44 Letters, ed. McClure, I, 191.
- 45 Letters, ed. McClure, I, 192.
- 46 Manningham, p. 168.
- 47 Manningham, p. 160.
- 48 See Ralph Graye to Cecil, Newcastle, 12 April 1603 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XV, 44).
- 49 "Le Milord Cobam est allé trouver il y'a quelques jours le Roy, il est ruiné i'honneur et d'amis. S'estant fort brouillé avec M<sup>r</sup> Cecil et d'autres dont il a enduré de tres grands affronts, Et dit-on qu'il se promet de s'en vanger en iescouvrant au Roy toute la Caballe passée, C'est un insigne Callomniateur Ennemy ie La France et de sa Majesté [Henri IV] et qui a le plus autorisé les bruits qui ont été Semez contre Elle, j'espere qu'estant haii d'un chacun et publié pour imposteur, le Roy ne luy ajoutera point de foy" (Beaumont to M. de Villeroy, 10/

20 April 1603, in MS. King's 123, f. 68b).

50 Simon Thelwal to Dr. Daniel Dunn (Thomas Wright, ed., Queen Elizabeth and Her Times ... (1838), II, 495).

51 Beaumont to M. de Villeroy, 16/26 April 1603 (MS. King's 123, f. 92).

52 The phrase is Arthur Wilson's, from his History of Great Britain, being the life and reign of King James the First (1653), p. 1.

53 Jardine, I, 430.

54 Charles Topclyffe to Cecil (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XV, 143).

55 Cecil Paper 189/86; abstracted in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVI, 409.

## BOOK SIX

## Literature and Drama

The name of Cobham is generally encountered in works of literary and theatrical criticism and history in only three connections. William Lord Cobham is widely known as the patron to whom William Harrison dedicated his great Historical Description of the Island of Britain, which forms the first part of Holinshed's Chronicles. Again, Cobham and Henry his successor have long been considered by some authorities to be likely prototypes of Falstaff, while others identify them with the powerful courtiers who objected to Shakespeare's supposed attack upon the memory of Sir John Oldcastle in creating his reprobate knight. Thirdly, there is the marital history of Philippa Brooke, the daughter of Sir Henry Cobham, which is recognized as the source of A Yorkshire Tragedy. These traditional connections of the Brookes with literature and drama, while they are by no means all that can be pointed out, yet serve to suggest convenient divisions of the entire body of material which reflects the effect which the family had upon the world of letters and the stage. In the ensuing chapters this material is thus considered in three discrete sections. The first chapter treats the Brookes as patrons of literature; the second surveys the evidence which associates them with the Falstaff question; the third briefly rehearses the case for seeing in Philippa Brooke's marriage the subject of what is probably George Wilkins's play, and suggests what other traces of Brooke family history may be seen in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century drama and poetry.

Chapter I

Historians, it has been demonstrated, agree upon little which concerns William Lord Cobham. Yet on one point they are unanimous. "Sir William was a patron of literature," writes Waller; "a great patron of literature," insists Vicary Gibbs; "a friend of poor authors", is Warrant's way of expressing it. "He was plainly one of the aristocratic intelligentsia that set the tone among the courtiers in matters of taste," concludes Wingfield-Stratford.<sup>1</sup> The evidence upon which these observations are based is that of dedications, and it is the purpose of this study

not only to show how strong such evidence is for calling Cobham a considerable patron of letters, but also to suggest that his family generally was known to be an intellectual one.

To show that Cobham and several of the other Brookes were the recipients of dedicatory epistles is not, unfortunately, enough to prove that they were great patrons. While not presuming to take sides in the vexed question of what relationship actually existed between the Elizabethan writer and his Maecenases, one must admit the reasonableness of the warning given by Edwin Haviland Miller:

Biographers, swept away with zeal for their subjects, have converted almost every important personage of the era into a Maecenas. Yet many dedications were unauthorized. Since writers like merchants were speculators and opportunists, they endeavored to flatter potential patrons into acts of charity, either in the form of a stipend or through appointment to a sinecure. For this reason a dedication to a patron is not prima-facie evidence that a particular author received favor. Second, nobles had not the means to support the swarms of people writing books and soliciting gratuities, and even the best authors did not enjoy sustained patronage from a single family. The peregrinations of writers like Daniel and Florio from one noble house to another clearly indicate a lack of continuity in English patronage, and this inability to relieve authors of economic uncertainty contributed to the debasing flattery and exploitation of new patrons. Third, although writers were certainly not disinterested commentators, their monotonous wails about patronage unquestionably have more validity than the mechanical fawning characteristic of Elizabeth dedications.<sup>2</sup>

Once made aware of the danger of setting too much store by the number and wording of the dedications directed to the Brookes, one may go on to discover what were these dedicated works, and also perhaps to find some indication of how they were received. One may also use the words 'patron' and 'patronage' in pursuing the matter, so long as one keeps in mind the difficulty of establishing just what they meant in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

It is not until twelve years after William Lord Cobham came to his title that he is found being solicited by a writer. An expectation that he would take an interest in literature, in that of a religious nature at least, was probably one of the responsibilities which Cobham had borne from the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, for there was a tradition of patronage in his family. His father and his sister and her husband, the Northamptons, were regarded as promoters of the Reformation, and had had devotional works dedicated to them as early as 1542.<sup>3</sup> It

is therefore not surprising that it was such a man as he who signed himself 'Thomas Tymme, Minister', who first seems to have approached Cobham in 1570. Tymme, a Cambridge man, was the rector of St. Antholin's, London;<sup>4</sup> he was destined to become well known for his translations of Continental works mildly puritanical in character, but in 1570 nothing of his had yet appeared in print when he published Newes from Ninie brought by the Prophete Ionas: Which newes is plainlye published in the Godly and learned exposition of Maister Iohn Brentius folowing, translated out of Latine into Englishe by Thomas Tymme Minister. 'Brentius' was Johann Brenz the elder, the eminent colleague of Luther, whose death occurred later in the year of Tymme's translation of his commentary on the Book of Jonah.<sup>5</sup> Brenz's original intention in expatiating upon the prophet's words is expressed in the short preface to the work: "wee come not together in the Church to trifle and playe," he said sternly, "but we come to the ende we might be instructed in the worde of the Lorde." Tymme heartily endorsed this sentiment, but his pedestrian prose does little to make the heavy, Teutonic theology more palatable; attempting to conclude his translation with a resounding alarm, he produced a fair sample of his style with the lines,

Repent Englande in time,  
as Ninie that Citie did:  
For that thy sinnes before the Lorde,  
are not in secret hid.

Yet, uninspired as it may now seem to be, the little book was offered to Cobham with some confidence. "To the right honourable Lord Willyam Cobham, lord Warden of the cinque Portes," the dedication begins,

Thomas Tymme wisheth Nestors yeares, increase of honor, with  
preseruacion of desired health,  
The curteous behauiour, the noble vertue, but speciallye the  
godlye zeale (Right honourable) which fame and report certefieth  
me to be in you, hath kindled such an earnest affection in me,  
that my rudenesse, and base state stayeth mee nothings at all,  
to dedicate this simple worke vnto you. For I know that Nobilitie,  
gratefully accepteth at others hands slender giftes, and of small  
reputation, according to their habilitie that offer the same.  
Artaxerxes, his good acceptation of a handfull of running water,  
made mee thus bolde, to offer this Pamphlet to your honour as a  
token of my good will: hoping that as he thought no disdain of  
the one, so you will not take scorne of the other. Let me craue  
therefore this one thing, at your honours handes, that the base-  
nesse of my translation of the learned Brentius procure, not you,  
to refuse the patronage and defence of my slender woorke. Which

as I know vndoubtedly shall neuer counteruayle your worthinesse: so do I assuredly hope that it may be a prooffe of my good will, and meaning. The worthy Prophete IONAS, deserueth a worthie personage to be his defence and garde, agaynst scoffing Lucian, and fretting Momus. Wherefore, if your honour refuse not, but vouchsafe, to take the same vpon you (as I perswade myselfe you will, weying the giuers intent, and seing that these are partly the first frutes of his trauaile) you shall not onely purchase immortall prayse of others: but I also shall be encouraged, and animated to greater and waightyer attemptes: which I shall no sooner atchieue, but you shall be a witnes to my indeuours, and a rampire [rampart] to my exploytes.

Thus hauing boldly required your honors assistance, and tediously molested your eares with circumstaunces, leauing now at length to abuse your friendly pacience, I end: wishing to your honor the increase of Nobilitie, with a most happie estate, and afterthis lyfe, the gladsome ioyes of the euerlasting lyfe to come.

Beneficium dando accepit, qui digno dedit.

It is hard to decide what were the motives of Tymme and his fellows in dedicating such works to Elizabeth's peers. Eleanor Rosenberg, citing the opinion of Arthur Golding that the Earl of Leicester's acceptance of one of his works might "'cause it too bee the more imbraced of others,'" says that "apparently the approval of noblemen helped to spread the Gospel."<sup>6</sup> Yet, in a society where unsolicited dedications appear to have been expressed in much the same way as those which reflected a genuine interest on the part of the patron, the reading public must have been wary of assuming that a lord whose name graced a book of divinity actually endorsed the work. One cannot imagine many people buying the Newes from Ninieue in the belief that Cobham was earnestly poring over it for the good of his soul.

Whatever the extent of Cobham's appreciation of Tymme's first offering, the baron must have encouraged the young divine to dedicate something else to him, for later in the same year of 1570 the second<sup>of</sup> Tymme's books issued from the press of Thomas Marsh "in Fletestreate neare vnto S. Dunstones church". This one was A Catholike and Ecclesiasticall exposition of the holy Gospell after S. Mathewe, gathered out of all the singuler and approued Deuines (whiche the Lorde hath geuen to his Church) by Augustine Marlorate. And translated out of Latine into Englishe by Thomas Tymme, Mynister. The book had been "Sene and allowed according to the order appointed". Marlorat was a Frenchman; three years older than Calvin, he had been educated at Lausanne and there embraced the reformed doctrines. After holding a pastorate at Vevey, he had gone to Rouen and there been hanged by the order of Guise and Montmorency upon the capture of the city by siege on 30 October 1562.<sup>7</sup>

Although today pretty well forgotten, Marlorat once enjoyed a wide reputation for scholarship and Calvinist righteousness. Tymme calls him "that blessed Martir of Fraunce", and as late as 1688 Paul Freher of Nuremberg, in his Theatrum Virorum Eruditione Clarorum, published his portrait in the same plate which depicted Calvin himself. In 1570, eight years after Marlorat's execution, Tymme undertook a translation of the tetralogy in which the French exegete had, with imposing scholarship, collated with his own and those of Calvin the commentaries upon the evangels of such reformers as Bucer, Erasmus, Melanchthon, Brenz, Bullinger, Zwingli and Wolfgang Muscul. The Exposition of the holy Gospell after S. Mathewe was the first part of this translation, and Tymme dedicated it to Lord Cobham in an epistle which, while very long, is interesting enough to justify transcription here. For it shows that the baron had rewarded Tymme for the translation of Brenz, and it also alludes to attempted piracy in printing which suggests that the profiteers of the book trade had quickly decided that Tymme's works would sell well enough to be worthy of their attention. "When I had well waied with my selfe (right honorable)," the writer begins,

the diuers happe and chaunce incident, and appertayning to the painefull pilgrimes and trauelers in the troublesome sea of this worlde, I was not a litle abashed. But being encouraged againe, and with the spurre and pricke of good successe, prouoked with others to take my venture I launched my shippe at the laste from shore (all doubt set aparte) and loused to the wynde. But halas experience should haue bene my guide, for nowe vnloked for, greater daungers than earst I thought of, shewe them selues. The prating Pirate, who robbeth men of good name and fame, doth nowe appeare, yet he stayeth me not halfe so much, as the vnskilfulnes of those, who haue the helme in hãd. Againe, the rocke, the raging sea, and sandes, ere nowe in sighte, notwithstanding they make me not so muche afraide, as the manner and dispositiõ of the countrey, where I ariue. For the commodities wherewith my shippe is freighte, are counted of the most parte of them incommodities, my treasure trumperie, and my traueiling trifeling. But if this my Barke did bringe vayne marchaundise, it should be both in safetie and in lesse daunger of shippe wracke, and also haue more spedie vtteraũce and quicke sale. For do we not see that bookes of vanitie, cõtayning tales, newes, and iestes, are of the more estimation and prise amonge the greatest parte of men than bookes of holy scripture? Yet these much more necessary for soules health. Do we not see that gasing glasses to gallãt our selues in pryde, are of more valewe with some, than that glorious Glasse (the Gospel I meane) that perfecte lawe of libertie? Yet this more mete for Israels welthe. Wherefore, the want of iudgement and skill of those to whose hands the helme of my shippe is committed: againe, the boisterous blastes of vain wynde, with the whiche my shippe already hath bene tossed,

hath constraigned me, and made me bolde to craue at your honours handes that you will vouchsafe your selfe to be the maister and guide of this my shippe, both for the singuler iudgement and discretion that I knowe to be in you, and also for the loue that you beare to such as trauayle in these affaires.

I haue once already founde suche frendship at your honours handes, tempered with liberalitie (whiche I cannot sufficiently requite) that now againe I am the more bolde to moleste and trouble you. Crauing pardon that for your noble courtesy then, I nowe dare presume to committe vnto your honours charge the conduction of a drifte, and sea beaten ship.

And although the very substaūce of the treasure and precious pearle contained in my shippe, of it selfe is so excellent that it nedeth not the commendation and defence of man: yet notwithstanding because by Gods appointment man hath to do with the same for his saluation, and therefore I (being one among all other moste vnworthy) hauing taken vpon me to publishe the same by translation out of Lattin into our vulgar tongue for the common profite of my countremen, must of necessitie, (my own vnworthines I say considered) humbly beseeche your honor to be a garde and defence of this my endeuour handled with as great dilligence as possible I coulde.

In so doing you shall not only promote the glory of God, and greatly further this my simple labour, but also make me bounde vnto your honor while life doth laste. Thus hauing boldly required your honourable defence, and troubled your eares with tediousnes, I ceasse, wysing to youre honour long lyfe, increage of nobilitie, and the perfecte felicitie of the lyfe to come.<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps Cobham's response to this second dedication to him within a year was cooler than his first had been. Although a partial explanation of his conduct which appears later indicates that Tymme had intended to offer yet a third work to the baron, the translator in 1575 addressed Marlorat's exposition of St. John to the Earl and Countess of Sussex. He had been, as he told the earl, "caught with the commendation of your Learning and Wisdome generally noyzed," and, explaining his inclusion of the countess in his dedication, he said that he thought it appropriate "to ioyne you both togither, thinking with my selfe that it must needes follow, that suche skill and iudgement beeing in so Honorable a man, must needes by societie of matche worke like effect in so honorable a Mate."<sup>9</sup> Tymme seems never to have made any such assumption about the effect which Cobham's learning had upon his wife: that is to say, no dedication in which Lady Cobham is joined with her husband introduces a book of Tymme's.

Two curious features about the publication of the commentary on St. John are explained in the dedication of the next work which, in 1583, Tymme submitted for Cobham's approval. The work was A Catholike and Ecclesiasticall Exposition of the Holy Gospell after S. Marke and Luke. Gathered out of all the singuler and approued

deuines, (Which the Lorde hath geuen to hys Church) by Augustine Marlorat, and translated out of Latine into English by Thomas Timme Minister. One of these peculiarities was Tymme's desertion of his first patron for Sussex, the other the appearance of his translation of Marlorat's work on the last evangel before those on the second and third. Tymme indicates that he had intended to present the baron with the commentary on SS. Mark and Luke long before 1583, but that it had been held up in printing (again "the vnskilfulnes of those, who haue the helme in hād", the printers who preferred to run through their presses more mundane works than Tymme's); he claims that this delay caused the St. John volume, with its dedication to Sussex, inadvertently to appear before the others. His statement is in part corroborated by the Stationers' Register, which shows that the licence for printing the 1583 commentary had been bought as long before as the year beginning in July 1570. Because the dedication of the Exposition of the Holy Gospell after S. Marke and Luke is fairly short, and also because it differs from the previous two in describing Cobham, with what implication it cannot be established, as Tymme's 'Lord and Maister',<sup>10</sup> it may be set down here.

To the Right Honorable his Very Good Lord and Maister, Sir William Brooke Knihte. Lorde Cobham, and Lord Warden Of The Cinque Portes, Thomas Timme wisheth Increase of all true Happines and Honor, wyth the contynuall Comferte of the Spyrite of Consolation. (.)

I Haue heeretofore (Right Honorable and my very good Lord) presented you with Marlorat his collection vpon the Euangelyste S. Mathewe, and I had longe ere this offered vnto you the same Authors collection vpon Marke and Luke, had the Printer with as much spede passed the same through the presse, as I wyth dilligence translated it. But time hauing at the last ouercome all delayes, this Exposition vpopn [sic] the Gospell of S. Marke and Luke, necessarily setteth it selfe betwene that of Mathew and Iohn already prynted: whereby a pleasaunt harmony and perfect consente of the fower Euangelistes doth the better appeare. Howe necessarye and profitable this deuine Exposition will be vnto the Church, the grauity, credit and authoritie of those Godly Fathers, both old & new: out of whose workes and labors the same hath bene collected, by that blessed Martir of Fraunce Augustine Marlorat do sufficiently testefie. Therefore as the learned in the Latine Tongue haue, and doe reape great Profite by this Theologicall Exposition, so I thought good for the more generall profite of my country men to translate the same into the english tongue, The which my labor of all the rest the least, I haue thought good to dedicate vnto youre Honor most humbly beseching you to accept the same accordyng to your wonted goodnesse, and to pardon my bouldnesse. Thus I ceasse, beseching the god of all glory to make you Partaker of that Honor which is prepared for the Sayncts by Iesus Chryst in the Kingdome of Heauen.

It is possible that the death of Cobham's eldest son in 1583 moved Tymme to use

words of sympathy ("the Spyrite of Consolation") when he returned to the baron's patronage that year. Cobham does not, however, seem to have expressed sufficient appreciation of the gesture, if gesture it was, to induce Tymme to remain under his aegis, and in the following years the translator addressed himself to a variety of other great men. It was not until the year when Lady Cobham died and her husband suffered the second of the blows which one may assume him to have felt most, that Tymme ventured again to approach his first patron. This time he did not come with consolation, so that one supposes that his book (entered to John Wolf, according to the Stationers' Register, in January, and to Peter Short in May 1592) appeared several months before the baroness died. This later work of Tymme's was ostensibly of his own creation; it was A Plaine Discouerie of ten English Lepers, verie noisome and hurtfull to the Church and common wealth: Setting before our eyes the iniquitie of these latter dayes, and inducing vs to a due consideration of our selues.<sup>11</sup> The title-page records that the work was "Published by Thomas Timme Minister. London. Printed by Peter Short, dwelling vpon Bredstreet hill, neere the end of old Fishstreet at the signe of the Starre. 1592;" whether Tymme wrote the work as well as publishing it does not appear, although it is perhaps noteworthy that he never attributes the authorship to himself in his dedication of it to Cobham. He merely says that "the generall good which I wish all to find in the discouerie of these ten so cōmon euils ... hath moued me, though after a plaine and rude sort, to publish the same." The lepers, as Tymme or his author saw them, were indeed common: they were the schismatic, the Church-robber, the simoniac, the hypocrite, the proud man, the glutton, the adulterer or fornicator, the covetous man, the murderer and the murmurer; his indictment of them, the enemies and embarrassments of organized Christianity everywhere and always, is stale stuff, and the words with which he greets his oldpatron are uninspired too. Cobham was by then "knight of the Garter, and one of her Maiesties most honorable priuie Counsell" in addition to what he had been before, and Tymme began the dedication with appropriate servility:

The wondrous Queene of Sheba (right Honorable) presented the most wise Salomon with the golde of Ophyr, & richest gifts of the land.

The Samnites brought with them a greate mass of treasure for the noble Romane Marcus Crassus. Howe preposterous then may I seeme, which presume to bring into your honourable presence Lernam malorum, as it were a lazary of Leapers? Pardon (right Honorable) my rudenesse herein, and take it well in woorth, though it may of some be reputed Calabri hospitibus, a trifling gift. Things which haue a base and rude forme, not bombasted to please the fantasie, somtimes afoord more profit then is expected. Happily this home-spunne webbe may be profitable to manie, and therein acceptable to your Honour, a principall piller of common wealth.

After much hyperbolic contrasting of appearance with reality, the dedication goes on to give a conventional reason for addressing Cobham after so long a silence:

Further, your honourable vertues shadowed with no cloudes of vice, and of your wisdom correspondent to your place, hath moued me to present this to your Lordships hands: yet, not without feare to aduenture so base a gift to so worthie a personage. But the late experience of your honourable courtesie, hath imboldened me to make it a messenger of my dutie and vnfaigned loue towards you. May it please your honour to accept it, I cannot but reuerently acknowledge that it proceedeth more of your noble minde, then of the worthinesse of the gift: and in regard thereof, holde my selfe so much the more bounde in all Christian dutie to your honour during life. Thus beseeching almightie God to blesse your Honour, I wish to the world, the loue of God the father, an vniuersall peace at the last to his militant Church, confusion of all hypocrites, and to all his chosen people euerlasting life in the kingdome of heauen. Amen.<sup>12</sup>

The dedication is signed, not "Your humble orator" as twice before, nor even "Your Honors most bounden to serue in the Lorde", but "Your Honours most humble seruant".

The Ten English Lepers was the last work which Thomas Tymme appears to have dedicated to Lord Cobham. His persistence in approaching his first patron, however, suggests that the relationship between them, even if it was not extended beyond 1592, had not been without its satisfactions, and one may consider it possible that Tymme's success encouraged one of his fellow writers to address the baron in hope of similar treatment. This colleague was Thomas Newton, a Cheshire man who had studied both at Oxford and Cambridge before settling down in the 1590s to the practice of medicine. Newton was a prolific and popular writer, whose works on history, medicine and theology gained him a considerable reputation, and whose assembling of ten translations of Seneca's tragedies in 1581 entitles him to the credit for publishing the first collected edition of that influential dramatist to appear in English.<sup>13</sup> Newton's own verse often has a certain felicity. To Tymme's 1595 translation of Adrichom's Briefe Description of Hierusalem and of the Suburbs therof, as it florished in the time of Christ, dedicated to Sir John Puckering, Newton prefaced a long poem redolent of Christian piety, a few lines of which give an indication of its simple superiority to much of the other religious verse of the

time. Newton sings of Jerusalem as the place

Where Christ did preach, where Christ did suppe,  
 where Christ did fast and pray,  
 Where Christ was caught, where christ was whipt,  
 where theeues did him betraye:  
 Where he a precious raunsome paid  
 for man who had offended;  
 Where he was buried; where he rose,  
 and eke where he ascended.

Nothing so attractive as these verses occurs in the work which Newton dedicated to Cobham in 1576. This was a translation of the celebrated Zealander physician, Levinus Lemnius, whose treatises on medicine and theology were enjoying a great vogue throughout Europe at this time, even as their author still lived.<sup>14</sup> Newton gave his translation a very long title, calling it The Touchstone of Complexions. Generallye appliable, expedient and profitable for all such, as be desirous and carefull of theyr bodyly health. Contayning most easy rules & ready tokens, whereby euery one may perfectly try, and throughly knowe, aswell the exacte state, habite, disposition, and constitution, of his Body outwardly: as also the inclinations, affections, motions, and desires of his Mynde inwardly. Fyrst wrytten in Latine, by Leuine Lemnie, and now Englished by Thomas Newton.<sup>15</sup> His dedication to Cobham is proportionally lengthy, but it is so much more interesting a document than his translation, with its testimony to the flourishing state of patronage in the 1570s, and its Protestant emphasis on the necessity of usefulness in art, that one must record it in full.

To the right Honorable, hys singuler good Lorde, Sir William Brooke Knight, Baron of Cobham, and Lorde Warden of the Cinque Portes: Thomas Newton, his humble Orator, wisheth long Lyfe, encrease of honor, with prosperous health, and eternall Felicity.

Sundry times (right Honorable & my singuler good Lord) debatig with my selfe the Chyefe causes, why Artes, and Disciplynes [sciences] doe (in these Alcyon dayes of ours) so vniuersally flourish; although I knowe well ynough that sundry men cā coygne sundry reasons, and alledge manyfold verdictes and probable argumentes therefore: yet in my simple iudgement, nothings more effectually whetteth the wittes of the studious, nor more lustily awaketh the Courages of the learned, then doth the fauourable furtheraunce and cheerefull coūtenaunce of the Price and Nobility. For honor, preferment, dignity, and prayse, feedeth, nourisheth and maynteyneth both Artes & vertues [industries]: and Glory is a sharpe spurre, that vehemently pricketh forwarde gallant heads, & pregaunt natures, to attēpt worthy enterpryses. We see, that thing to bee greedely (and as it were, with a certayne kinde of Ambition) on al hāds sought for and pursued: whereunto the Prince and Peeres are studiously enclyned. And therefore the lesse meruaile is it; though in royalmes and Countries, gouerned by barbarous Prynces, and mōstruous

Tyrannes learning bee vtterly profligated; and though the Muses takinge thence their flight, doe abandon that soyle, where they see themselues so slenderly regarded, and so churlishly entertained. As contrarywise, where they bee reuerenced, cherished, mainteyned & had in pryce, there doe they endenizon thēselues, & settle their dwellings. And this surely (my L.) do I think to be one, or rather an onely cause, which in this old age & latter cast of the world, rayseth vp amonge vs, such a plentiful Haruest of rype and excellent wits, cōspicuous in euery faculty: because by speciall Priuiledge frō the Almighty, & of his great bounty & gracious goodnesse towards vs, we haue such a godly, vertuous, & learned Princesse, & such an honorable State of noble Personages, thēselues not only in euery seuerall Arte singularly skilled, but also to the professors therof (lyke terrene Gods [terrestrial deities: cf. Antony and Cleopatra III.xiii.153]) benigne and bounteous. Of whom may bee sayde that, which (though of vnlike persons) Cicero reported of Socrates, saying, that there were further and deeper matters to be conceyued & thought of Socrates, then in all Plato his Bookes, coulde bee purported or fully decyphered. Whose lenties and fauourable inclinations, would not, neyther ought to bee abused (as they are by some to much) wyth the Patronage of euery friuolous fancy & tryfling toy, tēding neyther to profitable vse in the cōmon wealth, nor to any auayleable purpose, touchig publique society. Whereas many of them, if they coulde finde in theyr heartes, otherwise to tickle their pennes wyth matters of better importaunce, and employe their golden gyftes to the aduancement of vertue and commodity of theyr Country: in steede of being fine Architects and contriuers of matters offensive & scandalous, they might eternize themselues (lyke good mēbers and worthy Ornaments of their Countrey) within the beadrolle [roll of honour] of Fame & perpetuity. What opinion that inuincible Prince Alexāder of Macedony, had of all vayn Artes, foolish baables [baubles?], phantasticall toyes, and curyous deuises, wel appeareth by the rewarde, whych he) [sic: ( ) in presence of his Nobles, & Souldyers) publiquely gaue vnto a certayne dapper fellow (one of his hoast) who partly vpon a brauery & ostentation of his cunning, but chiefly in hope of some magnyficent rewarde, dyd before the kyngs presence, cast or throw a kynd of small Pulse, called a Cychpease [chick-pea], through a Needles eye, being set a prety distaunce of, & that many times, wythout any missinge. Which vayne trkk, & thriftlesse deuise, (sauouringe altogether of a litle foolish curiosity, & nothing at all, of any expedient vse or cōmodity) many of the beholders with admiration cōmended, and deemed right worthy of recompence. In fine, because the skilfull squier, should not loose the hoped fruict, of that his practized knack and notable singularity; the King rewarded him only with a Bushell of Cichpeason. A cōdigne guerdon (doubtles) and very fit to counteruayle such a peeuish [silly] Practise, and vnnecessary Mataeotechny [unprofitable skill]. A great folly therefore & frowardnes is it in mans nature, to bestow such great study, payne, care, cost, & industry in attaynēg such needlesse & friuolous tromperies: the hauing whereof, nozzeleth [trains] the hauer and Artist, in loytering Idlenes, & breedeth otherwyse great inconuenience in the body of the whole common wealth: Which deformity and abuse, many learned Clerks bewayling, haue in eche of theyr seuerall professions, by wryting and otherwise graphically depaynted. And emong many, this Author whom I now (vpon cōfidence of the generositye of your noble nature) presume to present & exhibite vnto your Lordshippe, going a neerer way to worcke then many others, doth not onely (by artificiall [artful] contemplation) wade into the very Gulphe and Camaryne [marsh] of mans apparaunt wilfulnes; but also

rushing into the very Bowells of Nature, bewrayeth, & (as with a pensil) liuely setteth downe the affections, conditions, plyghts, habites, and dispositions, of euery seuerall Complexion [temperament]. And, as one that well knewe himselfe not to bee borne only for himselfe, hath franckly, frendly, and learnedly bequeathed the Talent of his knowledge to a publique and vniuersall commodity. In reading whereof, I am perswaded, that none of indifferēt [impartial] iudgemēt, shal think his oyle and labour lost, neyther his time & trauayle mispent: at least wyse, if it were with like grace in any respect, deliuered out in English, as he hath done, and left it in the Latine. But surely I haue done my best, trusting that others in recompence of my trauayle will not, vpon a Splene, requite mee with their worst, neyther miscōstrue my meaning, which was in playne tearmes and vulgar phrase to goe as neere to my Authours plotforme [platform], as my adle head could well imagine. And now being arriued to Land, after a prety long voyage & pleasaunt sayling in this his Phylosophicall Sea, I approach in most dutyfull humility, wyth such Newes and Wares, as I haue heard, seene, read, & gottē, vnto your Honor, whom for many respects, I mistrust not, but will honorably daygne to heare mee. And now doe I stand at the Barre of curtesy, to heare your Lordships doome, concerning this my temerity. The comfortable expectation whereof, putteth mee in no small hope, that all the better sorte (moued by your Lordships example) will bee the more easie and ready, to dispenche with my vnmellowed adolescency. As for the frowarder and eluisher [more cavilling] Crew, which be so dainety mouthed, that nothing can please, and so squeymish stomacked, that nothing can satisfy, let this poore Booke (in Gods name) take his chaunce amōg them, as it falleth out: yet let it bee as AEsope his fyle, to grate and grynd their vyperous teeth wythall. Sure I am, that theyr seuer and Criticall censures, can no more disquiet me hereafter, then the Conscience of myne owne imbecillitye [misgiving] hath terrified & displeased me already. Yet if thinges were to bee obteyned & compassed by wyshing, I would that neyther this Booke, neyther any other heretofore by mee published, should offend any, no not the very waywardest. But because my case may peradventure now stand no better, thē it did longe agoe, wyth the Phylosopher Theodorus Atheniensis, who complayned of great discourtesye shewed vnto him, because those thynges which hee gaue wyth the ryght hand, were snatched vp & taken by his Auditory, with the left: meaning therby his workes and Lectures, which hee publishing to good purpose, were wrested and sundrely by captious carpers, canuassed [criticized destructively] wyth sinister Interpretations: therefore for refuge I flee into the Sāctuary of your Lordships wonted clemēcy, wyth trust, not thence to bee shouldred out and reiected, but freely to bee allowed the benefite of your goodnesse, that I may leane vpō the staffe of your approued wisdom and authority, and creepe vnder the Targe of your faorable protection, agaynst the currish bawling, and ranckling Tooth of barking Theon [AElius, the Alexandrian critic of Attic orators]. In assured hope whereof I rest: beseeching God to endue and blesse you, with that Right honourable Lady, your Lordships vertuous and louing Wyfe, with the rich gyfts of his heauēly grace, and with continuance of prosperous health both in soule and body, to his honor & glory, your own desyres and cōfortes, and to the profite of this your natie Countrey.

From Butley in Cesshyre, the 22. of September, 1576.

In length alone is Newton's address tedious. Its style is direct and arresting, its ink-horn terms a parade of learning which must rather delight than annoy, its savage attack on the captious both unexpected in its vigour and refreshing in its plainness. The anecdotes are entertaining and instructive, and the message which the story about Alexander is made so unnaturally to convey illuminates especially the mind of an artist dedicated to didacticism. Nothing that one knows of Cobham suggests that he would not have approved of Newton's basic thesis; if he did admit it, he can seldom have seen it more vitally expressed. One suspects that the baron read the dedication of The Touchstone of Complexions with a good deal more pleasure than he did the treatise itself, a pretentiously dull re-working in medico-philosophical terms of the inexhaustible themes suggested by the adage placed on the title-page, Nosce teipsum.

With two established writers already accounting themselves his protégés, Cobham in 1577 was presented with the work with which his name has ever since been associated. This was An Historicall Description of the Islande of Britayne, with a briefe rehearsall of the nature and qualities of the people of Englande, and of all such commodities as are to be founde in the same, by William Harrison. The dedication which the author addressed to Cobham is too well known to require complete transcription here.<sup>16</sup> It begins with a conventional salutation:

To the Right Honorable, and his singular good Lord and maister,  
S. William Brooke Knight, Lord warden of the cinque Portes, and  
Baron of Cobham, all increase of the feare and knowledge of God,  
firme obedience towarde his Prince, infallible loue to the  
common wealth, and commendable renowme here in this worlde, and  
in the worlde to come, lyfe euerlasting.

There is then an apology for the hurriedness of the style, Harrison relating how he had been persuaded to leave off writing a great projected work of his own in order to compile the Historicall Description in time for it to be included in the imminent printing of the Chronicles of Raphael Holinshed. He particularly regrets, he says, how little opportunity he has had to go down to his Essex rectory to consult his own library. Having discussed the conditions under which he wrote, and his intention in writing, Harrison then becomes more personal in addressing his patron. He excuses himself from the possible charge of

relying too much on secondary material, and in so doing shows that he knew something of Cobham's attitude toward writers:

It is possible that your Honour will mislyke hereof, for that I haue not by myne owne trauaile and eyesight viewed such thinges, as I doe here intreate of. In deede I must needes confesse that except it were from the parish where I dwell, vnto your Honour in Kent, or out of London where I was borne, vnto Oxforde & Cambridge where I haue beene brought vp, I neuer trauailed 40. miles in all my lyfe, neuerthelesse in my report of these thinges, I vse their authorities, who haue performed in their persons whatsoever is wanting in mine. It may be in like sort that your Honour will take offence at my rashe and rechlesse behauiour vsed in the composition of this volume, and much more that being scambled vp after this maner, I dare presume to make tendoure of the protection thereof vnto your Lordships handes. But when I consider the singular affectiō that your Ho. doth beare to those that in any wise will trauaile to set forth such things as lye hidden of their countries, without regarde of fine & eloquent handling, & thervnto do weigh on mine owne behalfe my bounden duetie and gratefull minde to such a one as hath so many and sundry wayes profited and preferred me, that otherwise can make no recompence, I can not but cut of all such occasion of doubt, and therevpon exhibite it, such as it is, and so penned as it is vnto your Lordships tuition, vnto whome if it may seeme in any wyse acceptable, I haue my whole desire. And as I am the first that (notwithstanding the great repugnauncie to be seene among our writers) hath taken vpon him so particularly to describe this Isle of Britaine, so I hope the learned and godly will beare withall and reforme with charity where I do treade amisse. As for the curious [captious], & such as can rather euill faoueredly espy then skilfully correct an errour, & sooner carpe at another mans doings then publish any thing of their owne, keping themselves close with an obscure admiration of learning & knowledge among the cōmon sort) I force [care] not what they say hereof, for whether it doe please or dispease [sic] them, all is one to me, sith I referre my whole trauaile in the gratification of your Honour, & such as are of experience to consider of my trauaile, and the large scope of things purposed in this Treatize, of whome my seruice in this behalfe may be taken in goodpart, that I will repute for my full recompence, & large guerdon of my labours.

In conclusion, Harrison speaks favourably of Cobham's family, calling it 'reformed': "your reformed familie" is the phrase as it is expanded in the more polished dedication of the second edition of the Chronicles. The use of this word here is curious. Harrison could have meant it in its religious sense of Protestant, although one can hardly understand why he should have felt it necessary to labour the obvious in using it in that way at all. One tends to think that he may have intended it to mean that he regarded the Brookes as cultivated in manners and interests. "The Almighty God," he begins the peroration in which the word occurs,

preserue your Lordship in cōtinuall health, wealth, and prosperitie, with my good Lady your wyfe, your Honours children, whome God hath indued with a singular towardnesse vnto all vertue & learning, and the rest of reformed familie, vnto whome I wish farder increase of his holy spirit, vnderstanding of his worde, augmentation of honour, & finally an earnest zeale to follow his commaundements.

Harrison signs himself "Your Lordships humble seruant, and houshold Chaplein". Cobham, as soon as he came to his title, had used his advowson to the Essex rectory of Radwinter in the young Londoner's behalf, and Harrison, probably fresh from Oxford, had been inducted there on 16 February 1558/9.<sup>17</sup> The mere holding of a benefice in a village where Cobham had one of his manors cannot have justified Harrison's calling himself the baron's household chaplain, yet since, as the dedication suggests, the rector was resident at Radwinter and visited Cobham Hall only occasionally, it is difficult to tell just what the chaplaincy demanded of him. It is to be assumed that Cobham would not have wanted Harrison to absent himself often from Radwinter; there is, in the ordinances which were formulated for Cobham College according to the baron's own wishes, a stipulation that the priest in whom the Presidents of the College put their trust was to be

the Parson, Vicar, Minister, Curate, or by whatsoever other name he shall be called that for that time being shall be the daily Incumbent and residenciarie within that parish for celebration of Diuine Seruice, and administration of the Sacraments; and not he that shall bear the name only, and liue absent.<sup>18</sup>

It would seem that Cobham disapproved of clerical absenteeism; one may agree with Georges Edelen's opinion that Harrison's household chaplaincy "must have been largely honorary".<sup>19</sup>

Of the personal relationship between priest and patron almost nothing, unfortunately, is known. No letters in which one can be sure that Harrison is mentioned survive among the Brooke papers. There is, however, one which seems to concern him, and although it throws no light on what his religious duties at Cobham Hall entailed, it does suggest that Harrison had the baron's real admiration and affection. Dated on 11 November 1593, two days after Harrison died but evidently, as Edelen notes, before Cobham had heard of his death, the letter apparently refers to a promise which had been made to the priest in his

last days. As Cobham told his son-in-law, Sir Robert Cecil:

My good Sonne moste wyllynglye wolde I have granted youre request: to m<sup>r</sup> Ketredge: hayd I not some few dayes afor my cōmyng from corte promesyd at hareysoones request and hys wyfe, to ðe that of Longe tyme has byne my chappelyne: that therby hareysoons soone myght have som ressonable portiō to mayntayne hem yn the vneuersetye: Chuche was haresoones good wyll, to warde myne that they beyng schollers of cambryeg, hee dyd continuallye veset theym, and presynted thym w<sup>t</sup> suche gratuetye as was yn hes smayll power. Wyche moves not to be vnthaynkfull to hys: and w<sup>t</sup> all to bestowye yt vppō ðe who of Loonge tyme hathe sarvyd me: and Lokes as yn resoon to reppe the frutte of hys sarvys. I am ryght sorry that my promys tyse [ties] me so farre forthe, as yn thys I canne not yelide: otherwys yow maye despose of me, and myne: as knowyth the allthemyghty [sic] god: who allwayes keppe yow and yowrs.<sup>20</sup>

The extreme ellipsis of Cobham's style makes it difficult to understand what exactly he meant. One would assume that he was refusing Cecil's request that he present to some benefice or other the unidentifiable Ketredge, on the grounds that he had already promised his patronage either to Harrison himself or, more probably, to one of his other chaplains upon the recommendation of Harrison. The reference to Harrison's son probably means that the unnamed chaplain would, in gratitude for Harrison's help, give to Edmund Harrison a pittance to assist him to live at Cambridge, where he had been admitted to Queen's College in 1589.<sup>21</sup> It is difficult to take it to mean, as Edelen does, that Edmund Harrison was himself the successful candidate for the position which Cecil sought for Ketredge.

William Harrison published nothing other than his Historicall Description; it came out in two versions, however, and was in some ways a new work when it appeared for the second time in the 1587 edition of Holinshed. One would like to know what were Cobham's reactions to some of the fresh observations which were addressed to him. He would no doubt have been gratified to find his garden listed next after those of the queen and his friend Burghley: if Elizabethans could admire a small plot like Harrison's own, the author asked, "what shall we thinke of those of Hampton court, Nonesuch, Tibaults, Cobham garden"?<sup>22</sup> To Harrison's Protestant or antiquarian strictures upon the use of the phrase 'Knights of St. George' to describe the Knights of the Garter ("Would to God they might be called knights of honor, or by some other name, for the title of saint George argueth a wrong patrone"), Cobham might understandably have taken exception: he

had after all interred his own father as one who had been "in illustrissimū Collegium cooptatus equitum Divi Georgii".<sup>23</sup> With yet another of his chaplain's candid expressions of opinion Cobham, as one who had made the grand tour in his youth, must have wanted to disagree. "This neuerthelesse is generallie to be reprehended in all estates of gentilitie," Harrison wrote,

and which in short time will turne to the great ruine of our countrie, and that is the vsuall sending of noblemens & meane gentlemens sonnes into Italie, from whence they bring home nothing but meere atheisme, infidelitie, vicious conuersation, & ambitious and proud behauiour, wherby it cometh to passe that they returne far worsse men than they went out.<sup>24</sup>

Uncorrupted as he may have felt himself to be by his Italian education, however, Cobham was hardly the man to scoff at Harrison's warning. He had once been brought near to destruction through his own, or at least his brother Thomas Brooke's collusion with Ridolfi, and among the disloyal servants of Norfolk with whom he was thus associated was that "Italianfyd Inglyschemane", as his master called him, William Barker.<sup>25</sup> And, although the queen herself once admitted that she liked "the manners and customs of the Italians better than those of all the rest of the world" and was, "as it were, half Italian",<sup>26</sup> one should remember that Cobham did not give his own sons the experience which he had known of visiting Italy as a young man.

Whatever was the welcome which greeted parts of Harrison's revised work in 1587, the importance of the Historicall Description to the second edition of Holinshed must have been overshadowed for the residents at Cobham Hall by the sections of the Chronicles which had been written by Francis Thynne. For one of these was nothing less than a sixteen-page "catalog of the lords of Cobham".

Thynne had, by 1587, long been known to Lord Cobham, and had once dedicated a work to him. Unlike Tynme, Newton and Harrison, however, he had not published what he wrote, but, presumably after presenting his patron with a copy of the work, had left it among his manuscripts. Not until 1651 did it appear in print, as The Application of certain Histories concerning Ambassadors and their Functions. At once this edition was superseded by a second, definitive one, also dated 1651 and given the title of The Perfect Ambassadour Treating of The Antiquitie, Prive-

ledges, and behaviour of Men belonging to that Function. By F.T. Esquire. Of this work, and of Thynne himself, to whom a student of the Brookes owes a great deal, something must be said. Thynne was the son of William Thynne, or Boteville, the uncle of Sir John Thynne of Longleat. William Thynne was an Henrican Court official whose publications of Chaucer make him, in the opinion of Sir Sidney Lee, "the first genuine editor" of that poet. He had an estate at Erith, then a Kentish village outside London, and it was probably there that his only son was born in 1544 or 1545. That the young Francis spent at least some of his boyhood in Kent is proved by his eye-witness account of the queen's visit to Cobham Hall in 1559.<sup>27</sup> He was educated at Lincoln's Inn and admitted to the bar, but seems never to have practised law, preferring instead to dabble in a gentlemanly fashion in heraldry, history and alchemy. This private study gained for him a place in the syndicate which John Hooker formed about him in order to continue and revise the work of Raphael Holinshed in the mid-1580s, and some of his immense lore was finally printed in the 1587 edition of the Chronicles. Thynne's contribution to the great work, including his extensive notes on the Lords Cobham, was not very successful, as will be shown later, and it was not until 1602 that his knowledge of history and arms earned for him the office of Lancaster Herald. He died in 1608, leaving a dozen manuscript volumes on his favourite subjects, of which only three were later printed.<sup>28</sup>

The earliest composition of Thynne's to be published after his death was The Perfect Ambassadour, a collection of precedents for emissaries going abroad. Its compilation was occasioned by the writer's desire to compliment William Lord Cobham, a fellow Kentishman, on his appointment to the important embassy which the queen sent to the Netherlands in 1578. Thynne was staying with his cousin at Longleat when Cobham went abroad, and it was not until 8 January 1578/9, three months after the baron's return, that Thynne was able to write from Wiltshire an epistle which forms an integral part of the work published in 1651 and which explains why Cobham had not been presented with the treatise at an earlier, more appropriate date. The letter, a very long one, begins:

To the Right Honourable, his Singular good Lord, William Lord Cobham, Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, Francis Thynn wisheth perpetuall health, further increase of honour, and good successe in all his Honourable Attempts.

Although my very good Lord, neither according to my honest desire, nor your honorable desert (wch worthily may challenge from me a farre more dutifull service than my attendance upon you into Flanders) I could not in person, as I did in good will, be present in the same Journey, where I both might have reaped profit, and your Lordship been fully ascertained of my good mind towards you, for that I protest unto you remaining in this outnook of the little world (where London newes is somewhat scant, and the Princes affaires very seldome known) I had no intelligence of your so honourable place of Embassie in this year of Christ 1578. untill two daies after your departure. The which bred some corsey [corrosive] of a Melancholy conceipt in me, by reason of my foolish negligence that would no oftener direct my Letters to crave intelligence from London. And by reason of the unkind forgetfulnes of my kindred & friends remaining there, who would not vouchsafe so much courtesie in a matter so much desired by me, and of so small a trouble to them, as to direct their Letters to me thereof. Wherefore sorrowing for that which is past, that I could not as the rest of my kindred, & friends did, assume such enterprize upon me, and yet not only rejoycing at your honourable entertainment, of the good success, of the wise Dispatch, and of the orderly behaviour, wherewith your Lordship was received beyond the Seas; but also desirous by men [sic: pen?] amongst the rest of your wel-willers at this your happy and desired return to congratulate your Lordship with the tokens of my old vowed fidelitie, as a sign of my hidden joy conceived of your safe arrival, I have thought it my challenged duty to direct this tedious Discourse unto you.<sup>29</sup>

Eight years after Thynne wrote thus tortuously from Longleat, the product of his collaboration with Hooker, Abraham Fleming and John Stow appeared in print. At the front of Harrison's revised Historicall Description there stood still the dedication to Cobham, but it was Thynne's eulogistic account of the baron and his family in the third volume which really made the publication of the Chronicles in 1587 an event in the lives of the Brookes. Entitled "A treatise of the lord Cobhams [sic], with the lord wardens of the cinque ports: gathered (as well out of ancient records and monuments, as out of our histories of England) by Francis Boteuile, commonlie surnamed Thin, in the yeare of our redemption, 1586," the account was written in commemoration of Cobham's appointment to the Privy Council on 2 February 1585/6. Archbishop Whitgift had been sworn in at the same time, and the continuators of Holinshed, in chronicling the event, had said that the new ministers,

being persons worthie of that place, both in respect of their deserts for their former good cariage in the commonwealth, & for the gifts of nature & learning wherewith they are richlie adorned, haue occasioned

Francis Thynne to make the like discourse of the archbishops of Canturburie and the lord Cobhams, with the lord wardens of the fiue ports, as he hath before doone in this chronicle of most of the other principall officers of the realme.<sup>30</sup>

What makes the treatise on Cobham and his predecessors unusual, however, is that, while Thynne had indeed drawn up catalogues of other great officers, he compiled a two-part history, both of a particular family and of a succession of servants of the Crown, when he came to write of the Lords Warden of the Cinque Ports. Only Lord Burghley and the Earl of Leicester were also so honoured.

The reason behind Thynne's attention in print to Lord Cobham is suggested by the eulogy with which his treatise begins. "The diuine philosopher Plato," he wrote,

diuiding nobilitie into foure degrees, saith; that the first is of such as be descended of famous, good, iust, and vertuous ancestors; the second are they whose former grandfathers were princes and mightie persons; the third sort be such as be renowned by woorthie fame, in that they haue obtained a crowne and reward for anie valiant exploit, or in anie other excellent action in the feats of warre; the fourth and cheefest kind of noble men, are persons which of themselues excell in the prerogatiue of the mind, and benefit of vertuous life. For he is most rightlie termed noble, whome his owne dowries of the mind, and not an others woorthinesse dooth nobilitate.

Having said so much, Thynne went on to cite classical authority for his conclusion. Then, protected by the opinions of Socrates, Cassiodorus and Seneca, he narrowed his hypothesis down to the particular and continued:

Now if anie one of all these things by themselues in particular falling in seuerall persons maketh euerie such person noble, who tasteth but one of these foure distinctions of nobilitie: how much more is that person to be termed noble, and rightlie to be honoured therfore, in whom all these foure parts or the most of them doo concur; as to be descended of good, of mightie, of ancient, and of warlike ancestors, and himselfe not to degenerate from them, euen in the cheefest point of all others, which is in his owne actions, therein most of all to nobilitate himselfe and his posteritie? All which as I haue persuaded my selfe are to be found in one, who at this time (as is before said) was amongst others for his woorthinesse and merit aduanced to the estate of a councellor vnder the rarest princesse and queene of this our present age, which noble person being so preferred to that place ministreth iust cause to me to record some antiquities touching the lords of Cobham, and the wardens of the cinque ports; and that the rather, for that the lord Cobham now liuing, being the glorie of that ancient and honorable familie, not onelie meriteth well of his countrie, as after shall appeare; but is also an honorable Mecenas of learning, a louer of learned persons, and not inferior in knowledge to anie of the borne nobilitie of England.

This sounds like rank flattery, Thynne knew that his readers might think it so,

for he went on to discuss Cobham's ancestors by saying that he left the baron

for this instant to himselfe (of whome I cannot saie that which I ought, and he deserueth, and for adding the note of flatterie, I maie not saie that which I can, and euerie man knoweth).<sup>31</sup>

Yet he reverted later to praise, and again to a disclaimer of any sycophantic intent. Arriving at the point in his treatise where he was to record the facts of Cobham's life, Thynne wrote:

But because I maie not set downe what euerie particular action and honour of his might iustlie deserue to be spoken because I might to some therin seeme ouer much to flatter him of whom I write whilst he is yet liuing, I will not either in truth dilate all the circumstances of the matter, neither in ample speeches streine my pen to powre out that which he rightlie deserueth, and euerie one plainlie knoweth: but onelie simplie set downe such things, as he hath valiantlie, honorablie, grauelie, and deliberately performed, in the warres, in peace, abroad and at home, to his countries good, the honour of his familie, his owne aduancement, and his princes liking.<sup>32</sup>

Thynne did not quite keep his promise: even in describing simply Cobham's career, he used terms so commendatory that the baron might well have blushed to read them. The treatise is, however, an important historical document. Despite his occasional errors in dating and his acquittal of Cobham of all the censure which had been passed upon him at the time of Wyatt's rebellion in his youth and of the Ridolfi Plot of 1571, Thynne, in the five years during which he worked on his subject, took care to ascertain and record facts which, without him, would hardly have been passed on to posterity.<sup>33</sup> There can be little doubt that his extravagant praise of Cobham was founded in real admiration, and that his opinion of the baron's magnanimity and generosity had been formed in the course of a long relationship between lordly patron and gentle scholar. Thynne's testimony to Cobham's character and attitudes deserves more serious consideration than would that of a mere petitioner for lucrative patronage.

"A treatise of the lord Cobhams," sad to say, cannot have reached a wide audience. In concluding his short biography of his patron, Thynne had said that he was leaving Cobham in his new seat at the Council board, "inicieng that place, in which I wish him long and happie continuance;"<sup>34</sup> it was from the Council chamber at Greenwich on Wednesday, 1 February 1586/7, that Cobham and seven of his

fellows took steps to commit most of Thynne's florid prose to oblivion. The Council on that day wrote

A letter to my Lord of Caunterbury that wheras ther is lately published a new booke of the Chronicles of England divided into twoo volumes or partes [the first volume being inoffensive], in the end of which ther are added, as an augmentation to Hollingsheades Chronicles, sondry thinges which we wish had bene better considered; forasmuch as the same booke doth allso conteyne reporte of matters of later yeeres that concern the State, and are not therfore meete to be published in such sorte as they are delyvered, the same allso requiring to be reformid, their Lordships have thought good to require his Lordship fourthwith to take order for the stave of furder sale and uttering of the same bookes untill they shall be revewed and reformyd; for the better examinacion of which thinges theyr Lordships wishe him to comytt and devide the volumes and partes of the said booke to the consideracion of Mr. [Thomas] Randolph [Master of the Posts] and Mr. H[enry] Killigrew, with Mr. Doctour [John] Hammond [of the Court of High Commission], or to som such other persons as his Lordship shell think meete for this purpose for the more speede to be used in the reformation of the same, the rather allso for that ther is inserted such mention of matter touching the King of Scottes as may give him cause of offence.<sup>35</sup>

The censors worked quickly, and when the revised second edition of the Chronicles came out soon afterward it was shorter than the original by more than 150 pages. For much of the excision there was cogent reason: Anglo-Scottish relations, the Babington Plot and Leicester's embarrassing expedition to the Netherlands had been subjected by Holinshed's successors to treatment both lengthy and indiscreet, and the Council, as the ultimate authority in printing matters as in everything else concerning the welfare of the Elizabethan state, would have been in the uncomfortable position of appearing to give its official sanction to the chroniclers' views if it had not censored them. Though such justification cannot be found to account for the omission in the revised edition of Thynne's treatises, one may assume that Thompson Cooper is correct in saying that, "in Thynne's case it is ... probable that his interpolations were removed because of their irrelevance and tedious length."<sup>36</sup> For the following little apology to readers of the final version of the Chronicles of 1587 one can offer no more demonstrable explanation:

Now order would. that we should descend into a discourse of the lord Cobhams & lord Wardens of the cinque ports, remembred before page 1435, [column] a [line] 10 but herein the reader is patientlie to put vp the disappointment of his expectation, vpon supposall of some reasonable impediment whie the same was not satisfied. And now

to the course of our historie orderlie to be continued.<sup>37</sup>

The frustrated chronicler apparently did two things when he learned of the Council's decision. He wrote a letter at the government's command, and he took home the excised pages of his treatises in order to present one at least of them at some later date to an infinitely smaller, if presumably more appreciative audience than that for which it was originally intended. Of the letter, which refers particularly to Thynne's censored statements about the conduct of the Earl of Shrewsbury in acting as custodian of Mary Queen of Scots, and which the Council had Thynne write and publish (the extant copy of it is called a 'manifesto'), no more need be quoted here than the part which shows how chastened Thynne had become by February 1587, and how few people had actually been given a chance to read his laborious works before the Chronicles were recalled. The letter is addressed "To the Reader":

There was never any discourse exactly penned (the sacred letters, of which no man ought to doubt because they weare written by the finger of God, onely excepted) wherein none ymperfeccions weare or might haue bene fownd and corrected; which cometh to passe for that the writers thereof are men who, vnable to se all thinges theym-selves, are often enforced to giue creditt to others whereby they sometymes erre; which hapned vnto me of late entreating the Right Honorable George Talbot, Earle of Shrewsbury, in my Contynuance of the Annalles of Scotland ... which error I do here (and that most willingly) confesse and correct, being right glad to embrace the truth, althoughe the same be already withdrawne in most of the bookes, and onely remayneth in some few which onely were dispersed before therror was sene.<sup>38</sup>

Of the excised pages rather more must be said. The pages which contained the treatise on the Cobhams in Thynne's own copy of the original second edition of the Chronicles are among other excisions preserved in MS. Add. 39184 in the British Museum. This collection of fragments from the printed work is now entitled "Castrations of Holinshed Annales of Scotl<sup>d</sup> in some p<sup>t</sup> continued from time in wch Holinshed left, being the y<sup>r</sup> of our L<sup>d</sup> 1571. vntil the y<sup>r</sup> of Redemp [-tion] 1586 by Francis Boteville cōmonlie called Thin". On those pages which contain the Cobham treatise are many marginal and interlinear annotations. The revised version of the work which emerges from the pages thus defaced is duplicated in another manuscript, MS. Add. 12514, in which folios 56 to 77b have been headed "Liues of the Lords Cobham in m<sup>r</sup> Thinnes hand". This latter manuscript is

clearly the final draft of Thynne's revision of the family history which, writing from Clerkenwell on 20 December 1598, he presented to the son of his old patron under the title of "The hystorye, lyues descentes and successions of the howse and Barons of Cobhame of whiche lyne were thre famous distincte famelyes beinge the lordes of Cobhame the lordes of Rondale and the lordes of Sterborowe Castell in Surreye collected by Francis Thynn accordinge to the moost approued truthe, recordes evidences, historyes and monum<sup>tes</sup> of most reverende Antiquytie". The presentation copy (MS. Add. 37666) is a lovely thing of sixty-three folios, written in Thynne's best hand, enclosed in tooled vellum covers and ornamented throughout with the arms of the Lords Cobham and their wives tricked in tincture. On the verso of the first folio is the full coat of Henry Lord Cobham, containing seventeen quarterings. The treatise itself is practically the same as that published in 1587, with some additions necessitated by the occurrence in the Brooke family of events since that time, with the tenses of the verbs significantly changed and the statements, true in 1587, that certain members of the family were 'now liuing', omitted. The dedication was to Henry Lord Cobham, head of his house since his father's death on 6 March 1596/7:

To the righte Honorable his verye good lorde Henrye Brooke lorde & Barone of Cobhame, Lord Wardeine of the fyve poortes, Constable of Douer Castell, and her mat<sup>ties</sup> lieutenant in the countye of Kente.

Thys booke at the fyrste (righte Honorable) collected to be presented vnto the thrice renoomed Barone Williame lorde Cobhame yo<sup>r</sup> noble father (a manne whome for his fauorable curtesye I dyd in his lyfe tyme greatlye reverence, and after his deathe do in yo<sup>r</sup> Loo: persone greatlye honor) not being fullye fynyshed at the tyme of his deathe, I have at lenghe [sic] perfected. Whiche suche as yt is, (thoughe not such as I wolde, and yo<sup>w</sup> deserve) I consecrate to youre favorable acceptance, requestinge yo<sup>r</sup> Loo so to accepte the same, as that yt may manyfest yo<sup>r</sup> fauorable lykinge thereof, and gyve me cause to acknowledge my self as beholdinge to yo<sup>r</sup> Loo: as I was to yo<sup>r</sup> decesed father: for so shall yo<sup>w</sup> make me redye at yo<sup>r</sup> cōmande and the worlde shall knowe that yo<sup>w</sup> do not degenerate from yo<sup>r</sup> woorthye auncestors.

I wolde Immediatlye after yo<sup>r</sup> fathers deathe have psented my duetye to yo<sup>w</sup> in persone, but that the fynyshinge of this woorke hath till nowe stayed mee, to the ende I mighte at one instante bothe offer my selfe and this booke vnto yo<sup>r</sup> Loo: to whome yeldinge my selfe servisable in all offices of duetye, wyslinge followinge encrease of honor & the effectinge of yo<sup>r</sup> good desires, I humbly cōmende me to yo<sup>r</sup> fauer & hertely comytt yo<sup>w</sup> to godde. Clerkenwell Grene. the 20 of decemb' 1598.

Thynne's words suggest that the late Lord Cobham had encouraged him to think that the treatise, while perhaps not suitable for presentation to the public, would be welcomed by the baron himself as a little history of his family. This is the kind of compromise which one would expect the baron to have hit upon, in order to soften the blow which he and the rest of the Council had had to deliver to Thynne's hopes of immortality in print. The chronicler's gratitude to the older lord is evident in the revised treatise of 1598, for the original eulogy of William Lord Cobham was retained, and the brief one which Thynne made of the person to whom he had then to look for patronage was little more than the expression of the hope that Henry would emulate his father's example. "What honor, what rare gyfte, and what blessynge of god yt is to a famelye," began Thynne's address to the younger lord,

to haue a perpetuall successone in the male lyne of anye nooble howse, ys so knowen to all menne, as that yt needethe not here to be spoken of. Wherefore I will not speake any thinge of this lorde Henrye the heyre and woorthy successor of his fathers honors, beinge of suche hoope and towardnesse that he will equall anye of his auncestors, since at the firste entrance into the enheretance and patryemonye of his famelye he is by his princes fauor in the yere of Christe 1597. made lorde wardene of the fyve poortes and constable of Douer Castle (as manye of his auncestors had byn) and lieutenant of y<sup>e</sup> Countye of Kente for w<sup>ch</sup> cause I will leaue hym in his newe honor beinge but a steppe to further advancemente to answere his good desertes. Who remembre the sayinge of Isocrates that we sholde not onlye be heyres of o<sup>r</sup> fathers possessons but also the love borne vnto them will bothe endeovor to kepe his fathers wellwillers and to encourage others by his owne merite to his highe comendatone and comforte.

Thynne's hopes of receiving favour, like his opinions about Cobham's future, were ill founded. Neither he nor any other writer was to dedicate another work to Henry, for the baron, until he was powerless to help men of letters, seems never to have taken time out from politics to devote himself to the literary pursuits which had pleased his father. Thus Thynne's ascertainable connection with the Brooke family ended in 1598.

In 1589, two years after the publication of the second edition of Holinshed and the sensation which it created, a translation by Paul Ive of a French work on tactics came off the presses of Thomas Orwin. It was Guillaume du Bellay's Instructions for the warres, and with it was bound the translator's own Practise

of Fortification. This little treatise was dedicated jointly to Lord Cobham and to Sir Francis Walsingham in the following terms:

To the Right Honorable Sir William Brooke, of the most noble order of the Garter Knight, Lord Cobham, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and their members, of her Maiesties most honorable priuie Counsaile, and Lord Lieutenant of the Countie of Kent.

And vnto the Right Honorable Sir Frauncis Walsingham Knight, principall Secretarie to her Maiestie, Chancelor of the Dutchie of Lancaster, and of her Highnesse most honorable priuie Counsaile.

The manifold benefites that I haue receiued at your Honors hands, since my returne into England, haue enforced me to seeke some meanes whereby I might make known my thankfulness for the same. And finding nothing more agreeable vnto your Honorable cares in the seruice of her Maiestie, wherein I might do you more humble seruice then in the practise of Fortification, hauing had sight therein since the view taken by the Marques Vitell, for the oppressing of the Lowe Countries, with the yoke of Citadels, and exercise sithence Don Johns departing from Bruxels vnto Namure: which Practise, although it be not so common amongst vs, (or of some thought altogether so necessary for vs) as for the nations whose countries do lie adioyning together, where an enemie may enter with a great number of horse & men vpon the sodaine: yet is the knowledge necessarie, that when the practise should bee put in execution in the seruice of her Maiestie, that perfection might be effected that might do her Highnesse seruice. And therefore I haue compiled this little treatise of the practise of Fortification, which I most humbly present vnto your Honors, beseeching you to receiue it as a most humble token of the desire I haue to do you seruice.

This dedication reflects a side of Cobham's life which one is likely to forget in considering his connection with literature. Iue, who always styled himself a gentleman, was a professional munitioner who worked for the Elizabethan counterpart of the War Office. He had toured the Netherlands before writing the treatise, following upon the footsteps of the Duke of Alba's officer, Chiappino Vitelli, Marquess of Cetona.<sup>39</sup> It was no doubt Cobham's responsibility for the defence of the coastal county of Kent which had brought the baron into contact with Iue; that the two men were closely associated by 1594 at least is evidenced by a letter which Cobham wrote from his town house in the Blackfriars on the occasion of Iue's departure for the Channel Islands on one of his tours of inspection of the fortifications which he had erected there. On 9 April the baron, addressing himself to Lord Burghley's secretary, wrote:

Sr: This bearer Pawle Iui ys vppon thursdaie next to take his Iorney from heare to the Islandes of Garnsey and Iersey, and therefore I praie yo<sup>w</sup>, to heape him to speake w<sup>th</sup> my Lo: (yf yo<sup>w</sup> may) that he may take his leave of his Lo: before his de<sup>pture</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> he much desires.<sup>40</sup>

Ive was later directly attached to the Lord Warden's office at Dover, and Cobham's son and successor frequently sent him on fact-finding errands to the Continent.<sup>41</sup> By the time that the second edition of the Practise of Fortification came out in 1597, when his first patrons were both dead, Ive was in a position to dedicate it with some hope of success to the queen herself.

Tracing in roughly chronological order the literary connections of the Brookes, one comes next to the early 1590s, when Tymme's Ten English Lepers was the only book to be dedicated to Lord Cobham. The death of Lady Cobham in 1592 appears to have gone unnoticed by writers at the time, except for Francis Thynne, whose elegiac verses have already been transcribed.<sup>42</sup> In 1595, however, there was printed by John Windet "dwelling at Powles Wharfe at the signe of the Crosse Keyes" an anonymous work entitled The Historie of France: the Foure First Bookes in which, in the dedication to the Countess of Warwick, the Lady Howard of Effingham and "the rest of the illustrious Ladies of her sacred Maiesties most Honourable priuie Chamber", the late baroness is remembered among a splendid company of blue-stockings. It has not been discovered who the writer of the Historie was; his identification with Thomas Danett, whose name has been written in ink beneath the unsigned dedication in the Huntington Library's copy, cannot be substantiated,<sup>43</sup> and no other possible author has been suggested. Whoever he was, his comments on the popularity of historical works among women in the sixteenth century is interesting. Reading them, he says, had been

heretofore accustomed (in my knowledge) by manie high and loftie Ladies, who often times to be meete with wearisomnes, exercised themselues in studie, & reading of worthie writers, as Marguerite Countesse of Lennox, Anne Countesse of Oxford, Francis Countesse of Sussex, Elizabeth Countesse of Lincolne, the Ladie Marie Sydney (liuing my thrice honoured mistresse) truely liberall and bountifull, rare Mother of so heroicall an offspring, by her noble minde and cariage easily discovering greatnes of birth and Princely parentage; and that wise good, and godly Ladie aduancer of so many excellent personages, both in Arte and Armes, employing her credite with her Soueraigne, (then whome none had greater) in doing good offices, for all sortes in generall, but especially preferring those, in whome she might perceiue any signification of vertue to appeare. That graue Matron, harmelesse Courtier, and faithfull seruant Francis Barones of Cobham, (late wife to the noble L. and trustie Councillor yet liuing) to whome I was so much bound (in many duties being likewise to the whole house) as that both in her health and languishing Maladie, she sundrie times admitted me, to conferre or reade with her,

finding in the Ecclesiasticall Historie her most delight.<sup>44</sup>

This, as well as being a striking tribute to her integrity, is the only testimony which one has to Lady Cobham's intellectual interests; one imagines that the Actes and Monuments was one of the works with which her unknown visitor says she consoled herself in her last illness.

The life and reputation of the next writer to be considered among those who dedicated their work to Cobham has been treated by a descendant of his in a modern biography.<sup>45</sup> He was Arthur Golding, country gentleman and brother-in-law of the Earl of Oxford, who has been called "the most voluminous translator of the Elizabethan Era ... one of the substantial, if not brilliant, figures of The Golden Age of English Literature".<sup>46</sup> Remembered chiefly for his rendering into his own language of Ovid's Metamorphoses and Caesar's Commentaries, Golding can still be read in no fewer than thirty-four works, many of them written during the period when he was one of the coterie of Court writers and propagandists who were closely associated with the lords of the Council.<sup>47</sup> After 1580, however, Golding's time was taken up more with litigation relating to his Essex estate, and it was no longer as a professional man of letters that, on 27 January 1595/6, he signed the dedicatory epistle to his translation of the Politicke, Moral, and Martiall Discourses. Written in French by M. Iaques Hurault, lord of Vieul and of Marais, and one of the French kings priuie Councell. Dedicated by the Author to the French Kings Maiestie. This work on statecraft and war was the product of many years of experience, and had been presented to Henry III of France in 1588 by Hurault, one of his foremost advisers. It was therefore a compliment to Lord Cobham that, less than eight years after its original appearance, Arthur Golding dedicated such a work to him. The epistle is very long, containing among other things a forceful expression of Golding's belief in monarchy as that form of government which

hath euer (as well by common and continuall experience, as also by the grounded iudgement of the best practised politicians, and by the graue censure of the wisest men, yea and euen by the ordinance & approbation of God) bin alwaies deemed and found to be most antient and sufficient, most beneficial and behoofful, most magnificent and honourable, most stable and durable, and consequently most happie and commendable.

There is as well an effusive testament of loyalty to the queen,

By whose means God hath also restored vnto vs the bright shining beames of his most holie Gospell, late afore eclipsed with the foggie clouds of superstitious ignorāce and humane traditions, and the true ancient and catholike religion, borne down and in maner ouerwhelmed with the terrible stormes of cruell persecutions: a benefit wherunto none other can be comparable in this world. Of the which religion her Maiestie hath continually shewed her self, not a bare professor, but a most earnest and zealous follower, and a most lightsome example to her subiects: directing all her studies, counsels and proceedings, to the setting forth of Gods glorie, as well by aduaucing and maintaining the same religiō vncorrupted; as also by her most prouident & motherly gouerning of hir people with all iustice & clemencie, to their greatest trāquillitie benefit and welfare.

It is euident that Golding's epistle is far more than a flattering address to a patron; it is rather "a worthy expression of the old Puritan scholar's life rule in the terms of government".<sup>48</sup> That Golding meant it for Cobham's eyes as much as for those of the public, and why he was anxious that the baron should have proof of the excellent sentiments of the writer who so addressed him, are suggested by the opening words of the epistle:

To the right honorable his singular good Lord, William Lord Cobham, L. warden of the Cinque ports, knight of the most noble order of the Garter, and one of her Maiesties most honourable priuie counsell: long continuance of health, with much increase of honour, and prosperitie.

Forasmuch as being vnknowne to your good Lordship, otherwise than by report, yet notwithstanding I haue tasted of your goodnes and fauour to my great comfort in my troubles, of the which when God wil I hope I shall be well discharged: I acknowledge my selfe more bound vnto your honour, than any seruice or abilitie of mine can extend vnto. And therefore to testifie my thankfull and dutifull mind towards you, I haue presumed to dedicate this my labour to your Lordship. And because it is a thing ingressed [ingrafted] by nature, specially in those that are of best and noblest disposition, to take delight in the hearing and reading of such things, as are most proper and incident to their one callings, as whereof they haue best skill, & wherin they most excel, & therefore may most iustly challenge to themselues the censure and iudgement of them: I persuade my self that this my presumption wil not seeme vtollerable, in the sight of your good Lordship, and of the residue of your most honorable sort & calling, both for the matter, & for the author therof. For the matter in substāce, is the due administration of state, and chiefly of a kingdom both in peace & war, at home and abroad.

An attempt has been made to discover what the nature of the assistance was which Cobham gave to Golding, and what were the latter's 'troubles', and it has been concluded that it must have been the baron's helping financially to free Golding from debtors' prison in May 1593 to which the words in the dedicatory epistle

refer.<sup>49</sup> On Golding's own admission one may say that Cobham did not know the improvident writer personally; it can thus have been only because of his scholarly reputation that Golding received assistance. It is as a token of his gratitude for the gesture, and as an indication of his wish to demonstrate to his patron that he had been well worth rescuing from the Fleet, that Golding's laboured epistle, the only careful declaration of his politico-religious position to be found in his work, can thus best be regarded. One would suspect that, in his earnestness, he overdid his vindication of himself; indeed, he seems to have been aware of this, for he concluded the epistle with an apology for its length. "But while I am caried with the streame," he wrote,

of my desire, to encourage my selfe and my countreyemen to the performance of our dutie towards her maiestie, wherein neuerthelesse I haue ben much breefer than the matter requireth: I feare least I become more long and tedious than may beseeme the tenour of an epistle dedicatorie. And therefore most humbly submitting my selfe and this my present translation to your honourable censure and acceptation, I here make an end, beseeching God, greatly to increase and long to continue the honor and prosperitie of your noble house. Written the xxvii. of Ianuary, 1595.<sup>50</sup>

Golding's was the last complete work to be dedicated to William Lord Cobham. The baron died on 6 March 1596/7, little more than a year after the time at which the translation of Hurault probably appeared. Golding was not, however, the last writer to address himself to Cobham, for in 1597 (that is, almost certainly, after 24 March 1596/7) there appeared Ecclesiastes, Otherwise Called the Preacher. Containing Salomons Sermons or Commentaries (as it may probably be collected) vpon the 49. Psalme of Daud his father .... Composed by H.L. Gentleman. To Ecclesiastes, dedicated to the queen, were "annexed sundrie Sonets of Christian Passions heretofore printed, and now corrected and augmented, with other affectionate Sonets of a feeling conscience of the same Authors"; among these latter were sonnets addressed to Cobham, Burghley and Sir Robert Cecil, eight other Privy Councillors and almost fifty lesser courtiers. Elizabeth Cecil, Cobham's daughter, was presented with one of them. This composite work, by the notorious Henry Lok, had been entered in the Stationers' Register on 11 November 1596, and was probably in the hands of Richard Field the printer at the time when

Lady Cecil and Lord Cobham died; the sonnets as they were published make no allusion to their deaths. Lok was an agent of Cecil's who had found favour with James VI of Scotland and who had, since about 1591, been used in bearing confidential messages between Elizabeth and her cousin.<sup>51</sup> His brother-in-law, John Colville, was also in Cecil's employ, and in their correspondence for 1594 there are indications that the two agents regarded themselves as men of letters. Cecil, for instance, they called 'Maecenas', and on one occasion at least Colville addressed an important political dispatch "To Mr. Henry Lok, Esquyer, to be opinned by my honorabill Mecenas". Cecil's secretary endorsed it, less extravagantly, "Mr. Colville to my master".<sup>52</sup> It would not, therefore, be surprising to find Lok, in his early essays in poetry, dedicating some of his work to the Cecils and their families; the number of the dedicatees whose names appear in the poetic appendix to Ecclesiastes, however, renders dubious the compliment bestowed upon any one of them. Although he did not do so, E.H. Miller might well have cited the work in illustration of what he terms a 'promotional technique', "the use of multiple dedications, the most famous instance of which is Spenser's addition of sixteen sonnets to the second printing of The Faerie Queene, and the most infamous example of which are the ninety-three dedications in Geoffrey Whitney's The Choice of Emblems (1586)."<sup>53</sup> Miller does not damn the practice utterly: the decreasing number of patrons after 1590, he says, forced writers who sought support to approach as many potential patrons as they possibly might: multiple dedication was "a device utilized by hack and genius". Judging from the sonnets addressed to Lord Cobham and his daughter, one would say that, in this case, the device was definitely used by a hack.

Lok's style is so tortured, so inverted, allusive and elliptic, that one can read his verses through without comprehending them; how little he is really making them say is clear only when one bears in mind that the king to whom he refers is Solomon, supposedly the author of Ecclesiastes, and that what Solomon considered worth writing, a noble mind might take to be worth reading. "To the Right Ho. the Lord Cobham, Lord Chamberlaine of her Maiesties houshold, Lord Warden of the Sink

Ports, and of the Noble order of the Garter, &c." was addressed the following:

Giftes are not measur'd by the outward show,  
 Nor by the price, of Peeres of Noble kind;  
 They shadowes are, the harts intent to know,  
 And simple figures of a faithfull mind:  
 Then since your vertues high, all hearts do bind,  
 To striue to testifie their grate intent,  
 Vouchsafe suppose, my powre cannot yet find  
 A present fit as will and heart was bent:  
 And what king (writing once) thought time well spent,  
 That reade you once, as thing of some regard:  
 His mind ment well, that it vnto you sent,  
 Time not spent ill, in view thereof is spard:  
 If it more worth, I more loue could expresse,  
 My due regard of you should yeeld no lesse.<sup>54</sup>

"The Honorable Lady the Lady Cecill" was presented with a comparable piece:

In counter-poise of your right high desart,  
 My dutie made my gratefull mind consent,  
 To straine my braine to equall with my hart,  
 In finding forth for you some fit present:  
 Which to performe, thus will and powre (first bent)  
 Was checkt by iust regard of your esteeme:  
 Which me preuented of my hopes intent,  
 Since for your worth, vain things not pleasing seeme:  
 Yet (least a meere excuse you that might deeme,  
 To cloke a thanklesse heart with idle hand)  
 With more then natiue strength a pitch I cleeme [climb]  
 To treat of blisse, which I not vnderstand:  
 But Gods inspiring grace (to king once tought)  
 I here as pawne of dutie, haue you brought.<sup>55</sup>

One can see, when one reads these sonnets, why Lok was not considered worthy of serious criticism by his contemporaries. As the character Judicio says in the second part of The Return from Parnassus, a Cambridge play of about 1600,

Locke and Hudson, sleepe you quiet shauers, among the shauings  
 of the presse, and let your bookes lie in some old nooke amongst  
 old bootes and shooes, so you may [happ to] auoyde my censure.<sup>56</sup>

After 1597 there was no recognized patron of letters at the head of the Brooke family. To Henry Lord Cobham only the manuscript version of Francis Thynne's history of the baron's family was presented, and even that had been meant for the older lord. For, while the extreme literacy of the atmosphere in which he grew up can hardly have been without effect upon him, and while there are extant tributes to his youthful "towardnesse vnto all vertue & learning" and to his mature knowledge of the chronicles,<sup>57</sup> Henry seems to have thought little of the arts until he found himself with a lifetime of imprisonment on his hands. He then

turned translator, producing a fair version in English of Seneca's De Providentia and reportedly working on other of that philosopher's treatises. Of these literary activities, however, as of the library of "nere a thousand good bookes of all learning & languages" which was confiscated by King James's officers a few months before the prisoner died,<sup>58</sup> discussion must be left for a more appropriate time. For, in the age of Elizabeth, the only Lord Cobham to be called a Maecenas was William Brooke.

At this point one must digress a little and consider the rather peculiar position of the works addressed to Lady Kildare. While Henry Lord Cobham's wife was given the attention which the literary world denied the baron, she was always addressed as Lady Kildare, and was evidently regarded as a Howard rather than a Brooke. It is therefore only technically that one can include dedications to her among the literature connected with the house of Cobham. Lady Kildare's independent position at Court makes it unwise even to associate with Lord Cobham the political expressions addressed to his wife.

One cannot be sure that the two epigrams which Sir John Harington presented to the countess were written for her after her second marriage. Their charm, however, is sufficient reason for including them here, even if she was still only Lady Kildare and not yet also Lady Cobham when the poet wrote them. One of these epigrams is entitled In commendation of a straw, written at the request of a great Lady, that ware a straw Hat at the Court; it appeared in print four times in the seventeenth century, and in Harington's own manuscript version of it the lady is identified as "the Lady Killdare".<sup>59</sup> (The 'Iack Straw' of the second stanza was the fourteenth-century rebel leader, a play about whom was published in 1593, and the 'learned Androes' of the third was Dr. Lancelot Andrewes, Dean of Westminster and successively Bishop of Chichester, Ely and Winchester. 'Tuch' in the eighth stanza is touchstone, marble as black, apparently, as the countess's eyes.) Harington's delightful conceit is this:

I vowed to write of none but matters serious,  
 And lawfull vowes to breake, is great offence;  
 But yet, faire Ladies hests are so imperious,  
 That with all Vowes, all Lawes they can dispence:  
 Then yeelding to that all-commanding Law,  
 My Muse must tell some honour of a straw.  
 Not of Iack Straw, with his rebellious crew,  
 That set King, Realme, and Lawes at hab or nab,  
 Whom Londons worthy Maior so brauely slew,  
 With dudgeon daggers honorable stab,  
 That his successors for that seruice loyall,  
 Haue yet reward with blow of weapon royall.  
 Nor will I praise that fruitlesse straw or stubble,  
 Which built vpon most precious stones foundation:  
 When fiery tryalls come, the builders trouble,  
 Though some great builders build of such a fasion,  
 To learned Androes, that much better can,  
 I leaue that stubble, fire, and straw to scan.  
 Nor list I with Philosophers to range,  
 In searching out, (though I admire the reason)  
 How simpathising properties most strange,  
 Keepe contraries in straw, so long a season.  
 Yce, snow, fruits, fish, moist things, & dry & warme,  
 Are long preseru'd in straw, with little harme.  
 But let all Poets my remembrance wipe  
 From out their bookes of Fame, for euer during,  
 If I forget to praise our Oaten pipe,  
 Such Musicke, to the Muses all procuring:  
 That some learn'd eares preferr'd it haue before  
 Both Orpharyon, Violl, Lute, Bandore.  
 Now if we list more curiously examine,  
 To search in straw some profitable points,  
 Bread hath beene made of straw in time of famine,  
 In cutting off the tender knotted ioynts:  
 But yet remains one praise of straw to tell,  
 Which all the other praise doth farre excell.  
 That straw, which men, & beasts, & fowles haue scorned,  
 Hath beene by curious Art, and hand industrious  
 So wrought, that it hath shadowed, yea adorned  
 A head and face of beauty and birth illustrious.  
 Now praise I? No, I enuy now thy blisse,  
 Ambitious straw, that so high placed is.  
 What Architect this worke so strangely matcht?  
 An yuory house, dores Rubies, windows tuch,  
 A gilded roofe, with straw all ouerthatcht.  
 Where shall pearle bide, when grace of straw is such?  
 Now could I wish, alas, I wish too much,  
 I might be straw-drawne to that liuely Tuch.  
 But herein we may learne a good example,  
 That vertuous Industry their worth can raise,  
 Whom slanderous tongs tread vnder foot & trample.  
 This told my Muse; and straight she went her waies:  
 Which (Lady) if you seriously allow,  
 It is no toy, nor haue I broke my vow.

The countess seems to have appreciated Harington's description of her. From the second epigram which he addressed to her, one learns that she spoke of her enjoyment of it to their sovereign (whether Elizabeth or James the word 'prince', used in the neuter, does not make clear), apparently commending his courtesy on the

grounds that he had not forgotten her request that he pay tribute to her hat even though she had made it rather a long time before the poem appeared. "To my Lady Kildare", when he had heard of her praise of him, Harington wrote:

Fayr noble Lady, late I did rehearse  
 A story of a straw to yow in verse;  
 For which to grace me with our gracious prince,  
 My memory I heer yow praised since.  
 But, Madame, I would take yow more my frend  
 Yf yow would my forgettfullness commend.  
 It is no fault, I would blush to graunt it;  
 And, for tis true, I need not blush to vawnt it;  
 That thing that lightly is forgott by no man,  
 That that bides firm in minde of evry woman,  
 Evn that I vow I near remember long.  
 What's that? Yf yow will gess aright: 'tis wrong.<sup>60</sup>

The wit and facility which mark Harington's verses are missing from the literary offerings made to Lady Kildare by two other poets. Both Thomas Powell and the Genevan who styled himself Abraham de Ville Adrecie, alias Darcie, were eulogists of the house of Howard, and their verses on that family are generally inflated and tortuous commemorative writing of the worst kind. Darcie's hardly merit mention here, for his tribute to Lady Kildare is included in his Honors True Arbor of 1625, an outlandish work of genealogy issued to mark the accession of Charles I. The countess was by then a woman nearing sixty, twice widowed and living in retirement, but her elevated station made it essential that she be included in the catalogue which Darcie professed to compile in order "To shew the World, The Excellencie of the Imperiall Scepter of the most Mightie Monarch King Charles, Who, in one of his Kingdomes only, rules ouer such Subiects" as the Howards. Living as obscurely as the countess were three of her relatives, her niece Elizabeth Lady Mordaunt of Turvy, later to become Countess of Peterborough, and her cousins Catherine Cecil, Countess of Salisbury, and Elizabeth Knollys, Lady Wallingford, who was soon to become Countess of Banbury. To these four women Darcie wrote one of the several dedicatory epistles to his work, addressing himself to them in the most grandiloquent manner:

To the Right Gracious and Princely Ladies:  
 Katherine Howard, Countesse of Salisbury, &c.  
 & Frances Howard, Countesse of Kildare, &c.  
 Elizabeth Howard, Vicountesse of Wallingford.  
 & Elizaeth [sic] Howard, Baronesse Mordant of Turuy.  
 True Patronesses of Honour and Vertue.

Right Princely And Gracious Ladies,

Although your Honours doe so liue retir'd,  
 From the Worlds eye, where you are so admir'd;  
 And well you may be so, for sure mans eye  
 Nere saw more Graces then in you doe lye.  
 Yet be contented Fame should to vs bring  
 Your Vertues great vpon her Siluer wing.  
 Among those Ladies that shall them admire,  
 Some good ones will bee found, that will desire  
 To follow you (for great Examples moue  
 Strongly vpon our Minds to hate or loue.)  
 But when Men read who 'tis, that is so Good,  
 How great by Birth, and how aduanc'd in Blood,  
 These Vertues of yours, make you merit all,  
 Honours and Blessings, that vpon you fall;  
 Happie in all things, and more Princely blest  
 In the contentment of your royall Brest.  
 Your Vertues, Blessings, Honours be enrold,  
 With Pennes of Diamonds, in Leaues of Gold.

Hee that Honours with most sinceritie,  
and Humilitie, the Greatnesse of your  
Blood, and goodnesse of your vertues.  
 Ab. de Ville Adrecie, alias, Darcie.<sup>61</sup>

Thomas Powell's occasional verses mark, not the accession of a king, but the death of a courtier. Lady Kildare's mother, the Countess of Nottingham, died on 25 February 1602/3, only a month before her cousin the queen, and Powell paid tribute to her in his Vertues Due: Or, A true modell of the life of the right Honourable Katharine Howard, late Countesse of Nottingham, deceased. The work was printed "by Simon Stafford, dwelling in Hosier lane, neere Smith-field, 1603." In it are recorded the births of some of Lady Nottingham's children, beginning with those of William Lord Howard of Effingham and of Charles Howard. Then, wrote Powell,

A third. Inuention, giue me backe, my selfe  
 Deided. All my numbers keepe consent,  
 And with my soule my stiles ambition melt.  
 Eche sinew of our duty be attent;  
 Forget the funerall state and maiesty,  
 And prostitution [prostration] wholly summon me.

Call her by any epithite exprest  
 In vertues Inuenty; nay discourse  
 Her mothers life: see with what liuelinesse  
 She does insert it, freely, and vnforc'd.  
 Be she the noble Countesse of Kildare,  
 Or Cobhams Baronesse; shee's wondrous faire.<sup>62</sup>

Powell's emphasis on Lady Kildare's beauty is notable. He had also stressed it in dedicating to her in 1601 The Passionate Poet: With a Description of the Thracian Ismarus. Powell did not then mention the countess's marriage to Cobham.

Although the couple were probably man and wife by that time, there had been so much indecision in the course of their betrothal that it was perhaps considered safer not to call the countess 'Lady Cobham' publicly until the contract was actually signed. The signing took place on 27 May 1601, two months after the earliest possible date of the printing of The Passionate Poet, if its printer followed the Julian calendar.<sup>63</sup> It was thus simply "To the Right honorable and my most vertuous Ladie, The Ladie Frauncis Countesse of Kildare", that Powell wished "all perseuerance, with soules happynes", and to whom he gave the distinction of being the loveliest of the queen's ladies. This is the dedicatory poem:

Thrice did we read what passion wrought at once,  
It pleas'd, displeas'd vs, and it pleas'd againe.  
Front-fallowed Athens ministred in frownes,  
Which Ismarus [i.e., Thrace] to Comick did reclaime.  
May she propugne those wronges, and onely those,  
But Thracian refuge do not we propose,  
They weare not Athens furrowes that offended,  
And be she powerfull in her reprehension,  
But want of worthines to thee intended,  
To thee (great Ladie) life of mine inuention.  
'Tis from thy fauour, or seuerer sence,  
We smyle or take acquaintance with offence.  
Vouchsafe (thou fairest of Elisaes trayne)  
From bewties eliment one gracious dymple,  
Th'immensiuenes whereof shall entertayne  
And countenance the error of the symple.  
If thou be pleas'd, then all are satisfide,  
Or be thou pleas'd, so frowne the world beside.

Your Ladyships in all  
dutifull office  
Tho. Powell.<sup>64</sup>

The elusiveness of Powell's meaning in this dedication is typical of the work which it introduces, for his intimation to Lady Kildare that at least three readings of the poem might be needed was no exaggeration. What he wrote with real enthusiasm, he says, he hopes she will approve, not taking it too seriously, above all not judging it by too sophisticated a standard, but treating it rather lightly, as a sincere offering from an unpolished man who admires her.

Powell was not, however, a simple man. He was a graduate of Gray's Inn, that inimitable finishing school for Elizabethan wits and men about town. One ought not to be misled by the device which appears on the title-page of The Passionate Poet: Pallas habet plures spurios quam genuinos pueros may well suggest that not

men of letters are wise, but one would be wrong to suppose that Powell had any doubts about his own insight and cleverness. Far more reliable than the ambiguous Latin tag are the verses which a relative of the poet's contributed to the little volume. In "I.P. to the Author" the poem is commended, and it is said that there is

In it conuaid a Theme of seriousness,  
Of weilding common and the states affaires;  
Pretending fable, where lies nothing lesse,  
Onely to call away seuerer eares.

In other words, The Passionate Poet has a very serious purpose indeed. It suggests how affairs of state might better be conducted, and it judges the men to whom responsibility has been committed. A.F. Pollard has missed the point of it if, in saying that "Powell's verse is poor, and his meaning is frequently obscure,"<sup>65</sup> he intends to imply that the poem is difficult because its author was incapable of clear poetic expression. Fear of official censorship, of trouble with the authorities such as Powell was later to know, undoubtedly influenced the writing of this his first incursion into the dangerous arena of political pamphleteering.

Even to begin to understand what The Passionate Poet is about, one would have to interpret its allegory, and Powell succeeded in making this even more impenetrable than that contained in Drayton's Owl, a poem which has been glossed to no one's satisfaction.<sup>66</sup> Figured in it as trees, plants and flowers seem to be the chief ministers, favourites and Court personalities of the last years of Elizabeth's reign. One would probably be safe in saying that the queen herself is the Vine, and that her state is the Rose (evidently the composite Tudor one), but otherwise one can only guess at identifications. If Lady Kildare's husband is anywhere to be found in the arboretum, one would suspect that he is the Tamarix, the peace-loving colleague of the Olive, which seems to represent Sir Robert Cecil. If Henry Lord Cobham were indeed to be identified with the tamarisk, Lady Kildare would probably have been gratified by Powell's lines on that plant. For, with what looks like a backward glance at the late William Lord Cobham's eminence in the Council, and a forward look into the time when it was thought that the younger lord would be given like office, the poet cryptically remarks:

And now it seemes to me yong Herborist,  
 That Rose and Tamarix should beat the highest,  
 As I confer this season with times past,  
 Not that my hopes expected haue their last.<sup>67</sup>

To attempt such identification without making a thorough study of the poem and its implications, however, is worthless. One can only say that Powell must have had a high opinion of Lady Kildare's intimacy with state affairs when he submitted to her judgement the riddle of The Passionate Poet.

Darcie was a Caroline poet and genealogist; in the age of Elizabeth only Harington and Powell addressed anything which now survives to Lady Kildare. Harington, himself a courtier and a confidant of the queen, would have required from the countess no reward beyond her appreciation of his epigrams; Powell may have expected some more tangible remuneration, but nothing indicates that he received anything. Even if Henry Lord Cobham and his wife, however, disappointed what were probably the hopes of the literary world, less prominent members of the Brooke family did something to perpetuate the tradition established by the baron's father. It was George, the elder Cobham's youngest son, whose intellectual abilities had been recognized in Thynne's short-lived printed eulogy of the family. Although partially deformed, wrote Thynne, George Brooke was

so well indowed with the gifts of nature, and so furthered therein by the helpe of studie, which he imploied in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, where he receiued the degree of master of art, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred eightie and six, that he fullie and more recompenseth that accidentall imperfection, with naturall and procured beautie of the mind, and therefore with Quid (a man more wittie than welfauored) may iustlie saie:  
Ingenio formae damna rependo meae.<sup>68</sup>

Perhaps Henry Lord Cobham was known to think that his brother's wit made up for his deformity all too well; when, at any rate, Thynne presented the baron with the revised history of the Cobham family late in 1598, the praise of George Brooke had been omitted and only a bald statement of his academic career retained.<sup>69</sup> Whatever the likelihood of such jealousy between the brothers, the younger Cobham seems to have had reason to feel Brooke's superior intelligence. Even when on trial for his life in 1603, Brooke heard reference made from the bench to his reputation for learning.<sup>70</sup> Despite statements to the contrary, Brooke apparently himself wrote nothing which has survived,<sup>71</sup> but public recognition of his interest

in intellectual matters led at least two men to look to him for support. He was thus, as a young Master of Arts of only seventeen or eighteen, included among the ninety-three dedicatees of A Choice of Emblemes, and other Devises, For the moste parte gathered out of sundrie writers, Englished and Moralized, And divers newly Devised, by Geoffrey Whitney. The book was "Imprinted at Leyden, In the house of Christopher Plantyn, by Francis Raphelengius. M.D.LXXXVI"; Brooke was in Leiden in 1586, and associated with Whitney's Dutch literary friends.<sup>72</sup> The device presented "To George Brooke Esquier" was particularly appropriate to one whose intellect was presumed to be fairer than his external appearance; it was also, considering the irreparable mischief which Brooke's teeming brain was later to do to his family and friends, a timely warning. Under the injunction "Interiora vide" was a plate which represented allegorically the need to guard against dangers lurking within; it depicted an armed man looking into a house through an unshuttered window. The poem expatiated upon the theme:

Though outwarde thinges, doe trimme, & braue appeare,  
 And sightes at firste doe aunswere thie desire,  
 Yet, inwarde partes, if that they shine not cleare,  
 Suspecte the same, and backe in time retire:  
 For inwardlie, such deadlie foes maie lurke,  
 As when wee trust, maie our destruction worke.

Though bewtie rare, bee farre and neare, renoumde,  
 Though Natures giftes, and fortunes doe excell:  
 Yet, if the minde, with heinous crimes abounde,  
 And nothing good with in the same doe dwell:  
 Regarde it not, but shonne the outward showe,  
 Vntill thou doe the inwarde vertues knowe.

The whole was concluded with a quotation from Amphitryo,

Virtus omnia in se habet, omnia adsunt bona,  
quem Pene'st virtus.<sup>73</sup>

The other dedication to Brooke is a more significant one. Thomas Weelkes, the organist at Winchester whose lovely lyrics are still sung, published in 1600 his Madrigals of 6. parts, apt for the Viols and voices. The first set of madrigals was addressed to Henry Lord Windsor; the second was dedicated

To the right noble minded, and most vertuous gentleman, Maister  
 George Brooke Esquier.

I doe not doubt (most worthie Sir) but that, as well in a genarall  
 opinion, as in your owne iudicious and approued censure, it may  
 bee held for a part of little wit and lesse manners, (vpon so weake

a ground, neither my selfe, nor my poore deseruings being knowne vnto you,) to present vnto you these slender labours, as the fruits of my affected studies. But vnder the fauour of your grauer wisdome, I humbly beseech both your vertuous patience, and pardon heerein: for a generall worlds report both of honour and your delight in this kind, hath so thoroughly possessed my well pleased eares, as hath (forgetfully of my poore selfe) emboldned my spirits, to make your onely selfe, the true iudge, and patron of these my vndereruing papers. Humbly crauing heerein, your gracious acceptance, and in their little worth to nourish them, as beegotten for, and to your onely honorable selfe. Wherin, my heereafter times shall euer bind me to acknowledge it in all due & reuerent thankfulnesse, & in my best wits, deserue it as I may.

No other testimony to Brooke's enjoyment of music is to be found, but one may hazard a guess at why Weelkes knew of it. Francis Meres, in his Palladis Tamia of 1598, mentions as one of England's sixteen "excellent Musitians" a "M. Thomas Mud, sometimes fellow of Pembrook hal in Cambridge."<sup>74</sup> Mudde was a protégé of the Brookes. William Lord Cobham had given him the rectory of Cooling in 1589, which Mudde held for at least three years; in 1597 he was expected to be among the chaplains who walked in the baron's funeral procession; and by 1603 he was vicar of Cobham.<sup>75</sup> The fact that Mudde seems later to have played an unpleasant part in betraying Henry Lord Cobham's confidences to the government is no reason for supposing that he and his patron's youngest son could not have been friendly; the likelihood that they both betrayed Cobham suggests, if anything, a possible affinity between the gifted priest and the clever but frustrated Brooke. Weelkes must have been acquainted with Mudde, one of the recognized masters of English church music at the end of the sixteenth century. It therefore seems most probable that it was because of their intercourse that the organist at Winchester came to think that Cobham's brother might be a fit person to whom to address his work. It is pleasant to know that a man who is remembered mainly as an attainted and executed traitor was the recipient of such songs as "See where the maides are singing", "Cold Winters Ice is fled and gone", "Now let vs make a merry greeting", "Take heere my heart, I giue it thee for euer" and the second part of the delightfully named "Harke, harke, I heare some dauncing".

Except Lady Cecil, Lok's sonnet to whom has already been quoted, no child of William Lord Cobham other than George Brooke appears to have been addressed by a writer in print. Giles Fletcher's verses to Maximilian Brooke, however, survive and

nave also been transcribed earlier in this work,<sup>76</sup> and proof that Lady Cecil's twin sister Frances was interested in literature may be indicated by the bequest to her daughter of her "Cabinet and all her bookes".<sup>77</sup> Of the intellectual tastes of all but one of Lord Cobham's brothers nothing can be said, except that Thomas Brooke the pirate seems to have valued highly his copy of Ariosto's Cassaria.<sup>78</sup> The exception among the baron's brothers was Sir Henry Cobham, to whom at least two books and an epigram were dedicated.

The epigram to Cobham was written by the eminent diplomat, Daniel Rogers, and is one of many contained in a manuscript preserved in the library at Ragley Hall. It is transcribed here through the courtesy of the Marquess of Hertford. Entitled "Ad Henricū Cobhamū de pace sinistrâ post secundos tumultus in Gallijs seruata", it is a roughly drafted statement in abbreviated, at times almost illegible Latin, of the poet's pessimistic view of some Continental treaty, probably the Peace of Longjumeau which was concluded in March 1568.<sup>79</sup> Cobham is not known to have had a hand in French affairs at this time; he had, however, just passed a troubled winter conducting negotiations between London and Vienna, and was otherwise engaged in the spring of 1568 in entertaining the Portuguese ambassador to England.<sup>80</sup> Rogers's poem is thus best seen as something written on a subject of topical interest by one young man in the Elizabethan Foreign Office to another. The following is as accurate a transcription of it as it was found possible to make:

Decessit tandem Gallis Aquilo horrifer oris,  
Et Cobhama sua cum niue cessit hyems.

Ver redijt: sed veris honos nō floret apricus,  
Nubilus aetheres Iuppiter axe riget.

Mars etiā nuper saeuus esse sunt armis;  
Paxq' redit, sed non pacis amica quies.

Quin Boreae Zephris nisā est immedior aura  
Plusq' nocet ver, quam dura nocebat hyems.

Inirent Phoebō lauribus saeua scilicet aegius  
Naturae non iā legibus hora ineat.

Nobilissimū triste fanum Iurata ueneno  
Qua mars deposuit pax grauis arma capit.<sup>81</sup>

Of the books dedicated to Sir Henry Cobham, the first was probably a French work; it has not been identified. One knows that it existed only because Sir Henry, when he was leaving France in September 1583 upon the conclusion of his resident ambassadorship there, wrote to Lord Burghley to tell him that he was sending "a little book dedicated to me".<sup>82</sup> The other book was the publisher Thomas Purfoote's abridged edition of Francesco Guicciardini's history of Italy. Entitled A briefe collection of all the notable things in the hystorie of Guicchiardine, the little quarto volume was entered in the Stationers' Register to Henry Bynneman in 1581, but it was not until ten years later that printing seems to have taken place. Then, on 30 October 1591, it was re-entered to Purfoote, who, a month before the retired ambassador died, dedicated it to "the right Worshipfull Sir Henrie Brooke Cobham Knight" in the following terms:

Right Worshipful, forasmuch as the historie of Guicchiardine hath wonne sufficient credite in mens opinions to couenance it selfe against the enuious: I hope my boldnes may much the better bee excused, presuming to publish in print this treatise containing all the notable and materiall things in that Hystorie: whosoever hee was that hath bestowed his trauaile to reduce so great a volume into so small and necessarie a Booke (though his name be suppressed) hee may merit, no doubt, his due commendation: I thought it a necessarie office for me to make shew of my good disposition, in due consideration towards you whom I haue knowne of long time to be exercised in forraine affaires, and imploied in matters of some weight for her Maiesties seruice and the estate: Hauing thereon addicted my selfe to thinke you meete to receyue this little Booke into your protection, which most affectionatly I recommend vnto you, with my prayers vnto the eternall God for your worships health and long life. From my house in the new rents in Saint Nicholas shambles, this seuenth of December. 1591.

The dedication was a fitting compliment to a man who had spent more than thirty years in the queen's diplomatic service and who had gained the reputation of being "learned and well experienced in Germ'y fraunce and spain".<sup>83</sup>

Although there is nothing to suggest that Sir Henry Cobham gave any encouragement to men of letters, three of his five children were after his death approached in terms so inappropriate to people of their comparatively undistinguished rank that one suspects that their branch of the Brooke family was well known in the literary world. Robert Tofte, when in 1598 he published his Alba. The Months Minde of a Melancholy Louer, diuided into three parts, dedicated his work to Sir Calisthenes and Sir John Brooke, heroes of the Irish and Dutch campaigns, and to their

sister Anne, who had married Edward Heron at some time after 23 June in that year.<sup>84</sup> Alba is a woeful lover's complaint to his unfeeling mistress; it is poetry of a conventional kind, uneven in quality and tedious in its length, but significant today principally for its well known allusion to Shakespeare. Writing of his unsuccessful courtship of his lady, Tofte says:

LOVES LABOR LOST, I once did see a Play,  
Ycleped so, so called to my paine,  
Which I to heare to my small Ioy did stay,  
Giuing attendance on my froward Dame,  
My misgiuing minde presaging to me Ill,  
Yet was I drawne to see it gainst my Will.

This Play no Play, but Plague was vnto me,  
For there I lost the Loue I liked most:  
And what to others seemde a Iest to be,  
I, that (in earnest) found vnto my cost.  
To euery one (saue me) twas Comicall,  
Whilst Tragick like to me it did befall.

Each Actor plaid in cunning wise his part,  
But chiefly Those entrapt in Cupids snare:  
Yet All was fained, twas not from the hart,  
They seemde to grieue, but yet they felt no care:  
Twas I that Griefe (indeed) did beare in brest,  
The others did but make a show in Iest.

Yet neither faining theirs, nor my meere Truth,  
Could make her once so much as for to smile:  
Whilst she (despite of pitie milde and ruth)  
Did sit as skorning of my Woes the while.  
Thus did she sit to see LOVE lose his LOVE,  
Like hardned Rock that force nor power can moue.<sup>85</sup>

At least one critic has supposed that Tofte's unresponsive theatre companion was Anne Heron: says Halliwell-Phillipps, "It would seem, from the first poetical dedication, that 'Mistresse Anne Herne' was the person figured under the title of Alba."<sup>86</sup> Despite possible deductions to be made from the dedications, however, and even despite the inference which, knowing that Edward Heron was of Langtoft, near Stamford, Lincolnshire, one might draw from the Londoner Tofte's apostrophe to the "Northwest Village farre from mine abode,/ Which doth enioy my Mistris presence faire,"<sup>87</sup> one must reject this identification. Even if one assumes that Tofte was bold enough to address to a bride of a few months such verses, one cannot ignore the puns so frequently made by the poet on pearls ('Margarites'), which point to a mistress whose Christian name was Margaret, nor can one take the evidence of the dedications to mean anything more than that Tofte had reason to

think that the Brookes would read his amorous complaints with interest and sympathy. The address to Sir Calisthenes plainly suggests that 'Alba' had never seen the handsome knight, a circumstance hardly possible had she been his sister, while that to Anne Heron herself is obviously to the poet's patroness, not to the inspiration of his poem. The three dedications follow.

To the no lesse excellent then honorablie descended Gentlewoman,  
Mistresse Anne Herne.

Pure Lampe of Vertue, burning alwaies bright,  
Who, Grace in me (vnworthie) dost infuse:  
Cleere Sunne that driu'st each doubtfull Mist from sight,  
The firm'st Maintainer of my crased Muse;  
Lo I this mournfull Verse in sable weede,  
From sorrowes Cell, do send thee for to reade.

Daine thou with cheerfull looke, what my sad eye  
Distils from Lymbeck [alembic] of a bleeding Hart;  
Fruits of True Loue disdainde most wrongfully,  
Vouchsafe of me (as of my Dutie) part,  
A wofull Wight, indebted paieth thee so,  
Bankroute in pleasure, can but pay with woe.

As often as the Moone doth change her course,  
And sunne to nouell Signe doth enter in:  
So often I do call still for remorse,  
Whilst endles sorrow doth new Griefe begin.  
Once I each Month to CRVEL ALBA make,  
A MONTHS MIND, yet no pitie she doth take.

Thou art the SHADOW of her SVBSTANCE faire,  
Resembling her most perfectly in Shape:  
Ah then but smile, and it shall ease my care,  
Though stint it cannot, her nere dying hate:  
Grant me this Boone, and neuer shall my Verse  
Leaue, of thy Christall BROOKE praise to rehearse.

\* \* \*

To the thrise generovs and Noble Gentleman Sir Calisthines Brooke  
Knight, one of her Maiesties chiefe Commanders in Ireland.

Mirror of Knighthood, WORTHIES Caualiere,  
Touchstone of Valour, Chiefe of Chiuallrie;  
Honor of Field, to Foe a deadly Feare,  
Wars bloody Ancient [ensign], Plague to Surquedrie [insolence]:  
Souldiers Reliefe, Mars brauest Coronell,  
Bellonas Trumpet, Battailes Larum Bell:

Sweet to thy Friends, to Strangers nothing sower,  
Whose kinde Behaiour hath bin of such force,  
As ore thy deadliest Foes, th'hast had great power,  
Making them learne true Pitie and Remorse.  
Witnes the sauadge KERNS, and IRISH wilde,  
Wrought through thy Cariage sweete, both tame and milde.

Vertue and Honor, striue in thee t'exceede;  
Valour and Beautie, Intrest in thee claime,  
 Whilst thou thy Noble House noblest indeede,  
Thy House, not thee, through thy Palme-rising Fame.  
 Worthy art thou to be (Faire matchles Wight)  
 MINION to Kings to Queenes, deare FAVORITE.

Then (Courteous KNIGHT) vouchsafe with cheerfull smile,  
 This wofull Verse (though worthles) to accept:  
 Begot by Griefe, brought forth as Sorrowes Childe,  
 Since Thee and Thine (as Sacred) I respect.  
 Ah had mine ALBA seene thy louely Face,  
 For thy sweet sake, I (then) had found some Grace.

\* \* \*

To the right noble and magnanimous Gentleman Sir John Brooke  
 Knight, one of her Maiesties Chiefe Captaines in the Low Countries.

Braue Knight, whose Vertues far exceed thy yeeres,  
 The Ornament of thy thrise Noble House,  
 Whose Worth is such as findes abroad few Peeres:  
 So Famous art thou, and Illustrious,  
 Making the World to wonder at thy Praise,  
 Whilst to thy selfe new Glorie thou dost raise.

Then like vnto another Alexander,  
 Art to thy Countries Foes, a Tamberlaine,  
 (A Bloody Scourge) whilst thou dost them indanger,  
 The Proudst of whom, thou makst to yeeld with shame:  
 Witnes the Siege of AMYENS late in FRANCE,  
 Where Knightly Honor thy Seruice did aduance.

Vouchsafe thou then great MARSIS [sic] Parent Heire,  
 To lay aside thy Martiall minde a space,  
 And view these lines, Th'vntimely Fruits of Care,  
 Which I desire (though not deserue) to grace:  
 Gracious thou art with All, then grace to One  
 This Verse, whose Grace I do entreate alone.

May be, when my coy ALBA shall perceiue,  
 This Fauour done so kindly vnto me,  
 She (for a while) from Rigor then will breathe,  
 Taking Truce, (though not Peace) from Crueltie.  
 Grant me this Sute, and I with zeale will pray,  
 That when thou lou'st, thy Mistris nere say Nay.

One assumes that Maximilian Brooke, the brother of the two knights, would also have been eulogized had he, like them, returned alive from the wars; he had, however, been killed at the Blackwater in Ireland on 14 August 1598.<sup>88</sup> Philippa Brooke, the youngest of Sir Henry's children, was unmarried when Alba was unpublished, and Tofte did not address himself to her. Her place in English literature is a less happy one than those of her brothers and sister, for she was the prototype of the wife in A Yorkshire Tragedy.

Twelve years after first commemorating his respect for Anne Heron in print,

Tofte again presented her with a long work of poetry. This was one of his translations from the French, Honours Academie, or the Famous Pastorall, of the faire Shepheardesse, Iulietta, published in 1610. It is dedicated "To the trulie honorable, as well for vertue, as nobilitie, the Ladie Anne Herne: Wife to that worthie and generous Gentleman, Syr Edward Herne, of the thrice Auncient and Noble Order of the Bathe, Knight". Heron had been created a Knight of the Bath in the coronation honours of James I,<sup>89</sup> and it would appear from Tofte's epithets for him, as well as from the dedication to Lady Heron, that the poet had been given tangible proof of the young couple's regard for him. Here are his words:

Bound by desert, not meriting the same,  
 Words (still) to giue for deeds, doth make me shame.  
 Yet (Beautious) pardon, since the pouer Man  
 Giues, (thogh not what he should) yet what he can.  
 Thanks yeeld I you, (the pay of younger Brother)  
 Let Heyres be franke [open-handed], and not their Riches smother.

What you request, I wish you would commaund,  
 For so my dutie to your Vertue's paund.  
 Vouchsafe this modest Booke, fraught full of wit,  
 A subiect chaste, a Ladie chaste doth fit.  
 Then, honored ANNE, grace HONORS ACADEMIE,  
 Since HONOR honoreth you, as much as anie.

Your Eglets high Conceit, too well doth know,  
 My Swallow MVSE, flies (for your pitch) too low.  
 This stuffe is SHEPHARDS GRAY, spunne course and plaine,  
 Vnlesse that you this worke, (to grace) shall daigne.  
 But as your outward shape is louely faire,  
 So inwardly, you'ar Curteous, Debonaire.  
 Your disposition milde, all faults will couer,  
 And (as vnseene) you gentlie them do smother.

My hope is then, that you will sweetly looke,  
 With your all-pleasing Eye, vpon this Booke.  
 Resolu'de whereon, your Votarie I rest,  
 Liue happie, since manie through you are blest.  
 The Phoenix faire, sprung from your Ashes sweete,  
 As you, so her, in dutious sort I greeete.

It is not among the children of the distinguished Sir Henry Cobham that one finds the last patron, or the last person of whom patronage was asked, among the Brookes. Francis Coppinger was the son of William Lord Cobham's neglected eldest daughter, Frances, the child of the baron's early marriage with Dorothy Neville. Coppinger was a courtier and a seaman, and owned land in Suffolk and in Kent, but, apart from being unhappily associated with the unsavoury later career of his uncle, George Brooke, he does not seem ever to have attained to any particular

distinction.<sup>90</sup> Yet it was to him in 1606, eight years after Anne Heron's name first appears at the head of an epistle dedicatory, that the notorious hack, Anthony Nixon, addressed The Blacke yeare. Of Nixon it has been said that his works merit reading only "because they throw light on the seamy aspects of Grub Street when it was new," that they were composed "with a pair of scissors and a pot of paste".<sup>91</sup> The Blacke yeare ('a joke to be taken seriously', as the words "Seria iocis" on the title-page suggest) fits well into this category, for it is a compilation of plagiarisms and hackneyed phrases thrown together in the style of a mock prognostication. The author of such a work probably needed little or no inducement to address himself to Francis Coppinger; however, the fact that The Blacke yeare was published by "William Timme, dwelling in Pater noster-rowe, at the signe of the Flower de Luce and Crowne neere Cheapside", suggests a possible connection between William Lord Cobham's old protégé, Thomas Tymme, and Nixon's publisher.<sup>92</sup> With whatever hope of remuneration or recognition he did so, Nixon wrote to the late baron's grandson in such terms that Cobham himself could hardly have deserved better of their kind:

To the Right Worshipfull, and worthy Louer of learning, and vertue, Maister Francis Coppinger, Esquire. A.N. wisheth all health and happinesse.

Hauing (Right Worshipful) resolved with my selfe, to publish this little Treatise, & knowing it subject to much preiudice, except it were graced with some worthye Patron, (I meane not by the learned, for they are too courteous, to be Carping; nor by the well minded, for they cherrish Science: but by Detractors, who hauing no learning to iudge, want no libertie to reprooue) I haue followed the example of Metabo, King of the Volschi, who desirous to deliuer his only Daughter frō al peril, & danger, consecrated and dedicated her to the Sister of the Sunne. So I no lesse carefull of my labours, then the King of his Camilla, with deliberate, and aduised iudgement, wholly deuote, & offer my Booke to your fauour and protection: who being the true Maecenas of the Muses, and iudicial in their exercises, are of power to relieue my weaknes by your worthines, & to priuiledge me from enuy, though she were present to deuoure me. If midst your generall fauour to all desert, your worship vouchsafe this particuler benefite to my industry, no day or time (as Tully counsaileth) shall define the memorie of your benefits: But as a true remembrance of your fauours, my future study and labour, shall be employed to doe you all ready and willing seruice.

This is indeed an extravagant address to have been made to so inconsequential a person as Francis Coppinger. Even if one were not already prone to suspect Nixon

because of his unscrupulous method of composition, one would sense that something was wrong with the description of the dedicatee as "the true Maecenas of the Muses". F.P. Wilson puts one's mind at rest, for, calling The Blacke yeare "the most blatant example of word-piracy that I know," he refers one to Thomas Lodge's 1595 dedication of A fig for Momus in order to demonstrate just how little effort Nixon put into his writings.<sup>93</sup> In that work one discovers Lodge addressing William Earl of Derby, a patron of letters whom some today regard as the author of Shakespeare's plays and whom even the men of his own time acknowledged as one of the most brilliant of the literary aristocracy. Derby it was considered almost impossible to praise too highly, and Nixon found in Lodge's self-consciously erudite and flattering epistle to the earl ample material for a dedication to Coppinger. From it the plagiarist stole all that he needed, except for the parenthesis which he took from Lodge's address to his readers, and passed the result on to Coppinger. Wilson chooses his word naively when he says that 'fortunately' Nixon remembered to alter 'right honourable' to 'right worshipful': the author of The Blacke yeare was too proficient in his shifty trade to forget to make so simple yet essential a change. One wonders whether Coppinger was discriminating enough to repay Nixon with nothing more than a return of his own audacious words,

Schollers shall bee preferred, when such as sing Bases, leaue  
to loue good drinke, Or when such dye of surfettes, that keepe  
a temperate dyet. But flatterers shall haue great giftes, when  
the good and godly labours of Schollers shall be scarce worth  
Gramercies.<sup>94</sup>

Such then is the evidence on the basis of which William Lord Cobham and his family have been regarded as great patrons of letters. One finds among it many references to the interest which the Brookes took in intellectual matters, and much expectation of patronage from them, but this kind of testimony is not in itself enough to prove that the writers who approached them were not disappointed. If, that is, one defines a patron as a person who gives tangible support to an artist in the form of gratuities or preferment or protection, this testimony alone does not justify the conclusion that William Lord Cobham or any other in

his family was a patron of letters. Certainly one cannot show that, among published writers, Newton, Whitney, Weelkes or Nixon ever received any encouragement from the Brookes. Tofte, however, seems to refer to some real subsidy in telling Lady Heron that "Words (still) to giue for deeds, doth make me shame." Purfoote the publisher would probably not have expected remuneration or even recognition for addressing his abridged Guicciardini to Sir Henry Cobham: the dedication to an eminent diplomat must have served him well enough as an advertisement of his book. Cobham, at any rate, was probably dead by the time that the work appeared in print. Nor can the importunate Henry Lok have hoped for anything more from the Brookes: he had already a patron in their family circle, in the person of Sir Robert Cecil. William Harrison was even more indebted to the man to whom he dedicated his Historicall Description. Reading the prefatory epistles to other works which were directed to William Lord Cobham, however, one finds many unambiguous tributes to his generosity. Thomas Tymme, by the time that he dedicated his second work to the baron in 1570, was saying that he had "founde such frendship at your honours handes, tempered with liberalitie (whiche I cannot sufficiently requite)" that he was encouraged to approach Cobham again; twenty-two years later Tymme was still referring in an address to Cobham to "the late experience of your honourable courtesie". Francis Thynne, a gentleman whose relationship with the Brookes probably came near to being that of conversation between equals, declared to Cobham's son that the late baron had been a man "whome for his fauorable curtesye I dyd in his lyfe tyme greatlye reverence." Paul Ive thanked Cobham and Walsingham for "the manifold benefites that I haue receiued at your Honors hands": he no doubt referred to preferment and to recommendations made in his favour to other ministers, which to a professional civil servant would have been even more welcome than gifts of money. Again, there is the statement of the anonymous writer of the Historie of France of 1595, according to which he was "much bound" to Lady Cobham "(in many duties being likewise to the whole house)", and had been several times a welcome visitor in the baroness's home during her last illness. He makes no explicit mention of monetary reward for his services,

but suggests that he had been used with more than ordinary generosity and courtesy. Finally, attesting to tangible assistance which William Lord Cobham had given to him, Arthur Golding says gratefully that "I haue tasted of your goodnes and fauour, to my great comfort in my troubles." Words such as these can hardly mean less than that Cobham showed his appreciation to some at least of the writers who offered their works to him, and, in Golding's case, to one who had done not even that much, but only given the baron pleasure in writing works which he had dedicated to others. There is no reason to doubt Thynne's simple but eloquent tribute to him. William Lord Cobham must indeed have been "a louer of learned persons", and, if he was able to appreciate all of the diverse works which were presented to him, he may well also have been "not inferior in knowledge to anie of the borne nobilitie of England".

\* \* \*

## Chapter II

Upon this Occasion it may not be improper to observe, that this Part of Falstaff is said to have been written originally under the Name of Oldcastle; some of that Family being then remaining, the Queen was pleas'd to command him [Shakespeare] to alter it; upon which he made use of Falstaff.<sup>1</sup>

Nicholas Rowe, and subsequent critics and historians of the theatre, have reckoned with the tradition that the name by which Shakespeare's greatest comic creation is known was a second choice. They have discovered that Falstaff indeed made his first appearance on stage as Oldcastle; they have identified with the Brookes the people who induced the queen to have the name changed; and they have considered why the use of the original name was offensive and whether Shakespeare is likely to have offended intentionally. The writings of these scholars, when combined with the results of the manifold consideration of the implications of the name Falstaff itself, constitute a body of critical opinion formidable in mass although varying in quality.

It is the object of the following discussion to apply the criterion of ascertained fact about the Brookes to the deductions of scholars concerning the relationship between their family and the early stage history of the Falstaff

plays. The amount of individual work which has been done on the subject is small, many writers merely paraphrasing with little qualification the opinions of their predecessors. Considered here are, in general, only those scholars who, as proponents of particular hypotheses, have greatly influenced others, or those who, by their rehearsals of evidence and argument in works recently published, may be regarded as current representatives of schools of critical thought. The origins of the name Falstaff, and the question of why Shakespeare chose it as the replacement for Oldcastle, do not concern the Brookes and are not discussed.

As A.R. Humphreys says, "Falstaff was certainly once Oldcastle."<sup>2</sup> Traces of the original name survived revision in the forms of the famous pun in 1 Henry IV (I.ii.48) on "my old lad of the castle"; of the speech-prefix 'Old.' where one would expect an abbreviation of 'Falstaff' in the 1600 quarto of 2 Henry IV (I.ii.138); and of the occasional unmetrical use of the new name where 'Oldcastle' would perfect the decasyllabic line (cf. 1 Henry IV II.ii.119, II.iv.577). Several other circumstances are also commonly accepted as part of the proof of change afforded by the printed plays. One of these is the notable absence of a Sir John Oldcastle from the two parts of Henry IV, works probably derived in their more frivolous aspects at least from the anonymous Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth, where in the printed text of the play there is a palely Falstaffian character so named. Another clue is seen in the punning allusion in The Merry Wives of Windsor (IV.v.7-8) to Falstaff's "chamber, his house, his castle, his standing-bed and truckle-bed" (rendered in the imperfect quarto of 1602 as "Sir John, there's his Castle, his standing bed"), and in the repeated use of the term 'bully-rook', synonymous in the vocabulary of chess with 'castle', which is peculiar in the Shakespeare canon to The Merry Wives. (In the quarto it is applied only to Falstaff.) The most significant of all references to the existence of Falstaff's original is the famous disclaimer in the epilogue to 2 Henry IV, "Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man." All this, which one may call internal evidence provided by the plays themselves, is well known.

Familiar too is the extensive corpus of allusions to the stage Oldcastle which

is found outside Shakespeare. Although it is a tradition that he was long a stock figure in low comedy, Oldcastle incontestably appears in a guise disrespectful to his memory in only one extant work besides Shakespeare's, and that is The Famous Victories, where he is so shadowy a figure that one can form no clear picture of him. Even if one accepts Fleay's reasoned supposition that the priest in The Merry Devil of Edmonton was once called Oldcastle, the two allusions which Fleay finds to that play are only concerned <sup>with</sup> the rubicund effect given to Oldcastle's nose by his unFalstaffian drinking of ale.<sup>3</sup> All seventeenth-century references to the particularities of Oldcastle's immorality, and especially to his obesity, are thus virtually certain to be to the character now known as Falstaff.

The writers of the play which was printed in 1600 as The first part Of the true and honorable historie, of the life of Sir John Old-castle, the good Lord Cobham, can be said to have been striking out against the Falstaffian Oldcastle when they professed to defend their hero's reputation against what "forg'de inuention former time defac'te."<sup>4</sup>

In The Meeting of Gallants at an Ordinarie: or, The Walkes in Powles, printed in 1604 and recently attributed to Thomas Dekker,<sup>5</sup> it is said (sig. B4):

Now Signiors how like you mine Host? did I not tell you he was a madde round knaue, and a merrie one too: and if you chaunce to talke of fatte Sir Iohn Oldcastle, he wil tel you, he was his great Grand-father, and not much vnlike him in Paunch, if you marke him well by all descriptions.

There also appeared in 1604 Robert Parsons's Third Part of a Treatise Intituled Of Three Conversions of England Conteyninge an examen of the Calendar or Catalogue of Protestant Saintes .... The Last Six Monethes ...; in it contemptuous reference is made (p. 31) to "Syr Iohn Oldcastle a Ruffian-knight as all England knoweth, & commonly brought in by comediants on their stages." Parsons published his book under the pseudonym 'Nicholas Dolmans', only the initials of which name appeared on the title-page of the Examen, and in 1611 John Speed turned furiously upon him:

That N.D. author of the three conuersions hath made Ouldcastle a Ruffian, a Robber, and a Rebell, and his authority taken from the Stage-plaiers, is more befitting the pen of his slanderous report, then the Credit of the iudicious, being only grounded from this

Papist and his Poet, of like conscience for lies, the one euer faining, and the other euer falsifying the truth.<sup>6</sup>

Another man writing about 1611 alludes with amusement to the sort of stage display which so incensed Speed. Nathan Field, evidently recalling Falstaff's discourse on honour in 1 Henry IV (V.i.130-44), has a character ask in his Amends for Ladies:

Did you neuer see  
The Play, where the fat Knight hight Old-castle,  
Did tell you truly what this honor was?<sup>7</sup>

The anonymous writer of The Wandering-Jew, Telling Fortunes to Englishmen (which was apparently not printed until 1640, but which is tentatively dated 1628) also alludes to the girth of Shakespeare's character. Part of "The Gluttons Speech" is:

I doe not live by the sweat of my brows, but am almost dead with sweating, I eate much, but can talke little; Sir Iohn Old-castle was my great-grandfathers fathers Uncle, I come of a huge kindred.<sup>8</sup>

One recalls Shakespeare's saying, in the epilogue to 2 Henry IV, that, "for anything I know, Falstaff shall die of sweat, unless already a' be killed with your hard opinions."

The levity shown by the writer of The Wandering-Jew is out of spirit with the other extant Caroline allusions to Oldcastle as Falstaff. Perhaps this appears to be so because, after about 1628, one finds him mentioned, not by playwrights and people otherwise connected with the theatre, but by scholars only. Or perhaps it was recollection of events now forgotten which amused the Jacobeans as much as the entertaining figure of Falstaff itself, recollections of the sensational time in the mid-1590s when an indignant family forced Shakespeare to change his character's name. When their generation gave way to another, and the early, comic Oldcastle was forgotten, men remembered only the revered martyr of the Protestant church and would merely have been puzzled by jokes made at his expense. If the 'ould Castell' which was presented at Court in 1639 was indeed a part of Henry IV?<sup>9</sup> it must even by that time have been only among old theatre men that one of Shakespeare's plays could still be so named. During the inter-regnum there was no green-room gossip by which the Lollard and the buffoon could have been linked,

so that by 1651, when Hey for Honesty was published, its slighting allusion to Oldcastle can hardly have caused amusement to any but the theatrical antiquaries to whom the printers of old plays must principally have addressed themselves.<sup>10</sup> The Restoration brought actors back to the stage and audiences to the theatres, but by then, even to such a veteran playgoer as Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia, it seemed fitting that Oldcastle should live only in the writings of churchmen. It would have been odd if the queen had not known of the other Oldcastle: the daughter of James I and Anne of Denmark, she had been brought up in a theatrical Court, and her first English governess had been the wife of Henry Lord Cobham: one may therefore assume that a thought of the stage Oldcastle occurred to her when, on 19 July 1660, she told her son about a braggart whom they both knew. "Harry Killegrew," she reported,

is come hither and braggs that [he] has fought with Polier, neuer Turke Gregorie fought better as he saith, seauen of the eleuen he killed.

The queen, however, in making the obvious Shakespearian allusion, accepted the revised, printed version of 1 Henry IV, and said that Killigrew told his story, "I beleue, according to my text, Falstaff like".

It would have been irreverent of Elizabeth to have compared the braggart with Oldcastle, for by the middle of the seventeenth century even the most unpuritanical of writers did not allude unrepvingly to the depiction of the Lollard on stage. In 1647 the royalist George Daniel, in his Trinarchodia, The Raigne of Henrie the Fifth, objected to the lax portrayal of Oldcastle (as well as that of the valiant Sir John Fastolf):

The worthy S<sup>r</sup> whom Falstaffe's ill-vs'd name  
Personates, on the Stage, lest scandall might  
Creep backward, & blott Martyr, were a shame,  
Though Shakespeare, Story, & Fox, legend write.<sup>12</sup>

Thomas Fuller, no doubt influenced as Daniel was by Foxe's Actes and Monuments, also felt distaste for Shakespeare's choice of names. In his Church History of Britain, from the Birth of Christ until the Year MDCXLVIII, first published in 1655, Fuller complained, in terms reminiscent of Speed's, that

Stage-poets have themselves been very bold with, and others very merry at, the memory of sir John Oldcastle; whom they have fancied a boon companion, a jovial roister, and yet a coward to boot, contrary to the credit of all chronicles, owning him a martial man of merit. The best is, sir John Falstaff hath relieved the memory of sir John Oldcastle, and of late is substituted buffoon in his place; but it matters as little what petulant poets, as what malicious papists, have written against him.<sup>13</sup>

Fuller's 'of late' lends strength to the theory that the 'ould Castell' performed as late as 1639 was a part of Henry IV. His next work, The History of the Worthies of England of 1662, gives the impression that the change from Oldcastle to Falstaff had not taken place so recently, and suggests that Fuller was indeed referring in the Church History to a pre-Commonwealth convention of using the Lollard's name either on stage or colloquially, despite the change in print. In the Worthies, Fuller wrote of Fastolf that,

To avouch him by many arguments valiant, is to maintain that the Sun is bright, though Since the Stage hath been over-bold with his memory, making him a Thrasonicall Puff, and emblem of Mock-vaour.

True it is, Sir John Oldcastle did first bear the brunt of the one, being made the make-sport in all Plays for a Coward. It is easily known out of what purse this black peny came; the Papists railing on him for a Heretick, and therefore he must also be a Coward, though indeed he was a man of arms, every inch of him, and as valiant as any in his age.

Now as I am glad that Sir John Oldcastle is put out, so I am sorry that Sir John Fastolfe is put in, to relieve his memory in this base service, to be the anvil for every dull wit to strike upon.<sup>14</sup>

It is from statements such as these that James Gairdner drew the conclusion which many have accepted. Writing in 1881, he said:

Tradition kept Oldcastle's memory alive for nearly two centuries after his death, in a form which showed little respect for martyrdom. With his character travestied and his true history perverted, he became a well-known figure upon the stage, repeated in many rude dramatic entertainments, like the clown in modern pantomimes. His likeness was recognised in the form of a fat, dissolute knight, whose conversation smacked of Scriptural phraseology, and whose valour displayed itself in drinking sack and robbing travellers by night. In short ... he was the prototype of Shakespeare's Falstaff.<sup>15</sup>

Having shown that Falstaff was once Oldcastle, one must now consider how the name came to be changed. One of the seventeenth-century allusions to Oldcastle on stage has been intentionally reserved for mention in this connection. In 1625 the antiquary and poet, Richard James, wrote a preface to his Legend and defence of ye Noble Knight and Martyr Sir Jhon Oldcastel which took the form of a letter to Sir Henry Bouchier. In the letter James recounted how a young lady, "hauing

read ye works of Shakespeare," asked him how Falstaff, or Fastolf, could have died in Henry V and yet "again live in ye time of Harry ye Sixt to be banisht for Cowardize?" (cf. 1 Henry VI IV.i.9-47). James answered "that this was one of those humours & mistakes for which Plato banisht all Poets out of his commonwealth," and then went on to assure the girl that the historical Fastolf was neither a coward nor a figure of fun. He also told her that,

in Shakespeare's first shewe of Harrie ye fift, ye person with which he vndertook to playe a buffone was not Falstaffe, but Sir Jhon Oldcastle, & that offence being worthily taken by personages descended from his title, as peradventure by manie others allso whoe ought to haue him in honourable memorie, the poet was putt to make an ignorant shifte of abusing Sr Jhon Fastolphe, a man not inferior of vertue though not so famous in pietie as the other, who gaue witnessse vnto the truth of our reformation with a constant & resolute martyrdom, vnto which he was pursued by the Priests, Bishops, Moncks, and Friers of those dayes.<sup>16</sup>

James's statement that Falstaff was once Oldcastle is just one more piece of evidence pointing toward that already proven fact; his description of those who took exception to Shakespeare's original name for his character as 'personages descended from' Oldcastle's title, however, is uniquely significant. Apart from the suggested reason for the change of name which is implicit in Rowe's words, "some of that Family being then remaining", there is extant no other source for the tradition that it was hurt family pride which occasioned the re-christening of Falstaff. Rowe's terms are less precise than James's. The antecedent of 'that' in 'that Family' is apparently to be inferred from the phrase, "the Name of Oldcastle"; yet no descendants of Oldcastle who bore his name are known to have existed in the time of Elizabeth. It is in fact likely that, if his line was perpetuated at all, its representatives were to be found in several provincial branches of the great house of Norris. These individual descendants themselves would have been too insignificant to make potent protest to the queen about the misrepresentation of their ancestor; in all probability they would have felt no desire to do so, since they would have been ignorant of their connection with him.<sup>17</sup> Rowe's words need not, however, be taken so literally. They are most probably a mere retailing of the tradition better expressed by James, which Rowe

understood only vaguely because he was at a disadvantage in living more than a century after the time of the furore which had given rise to it.

It is thus James alone who gives one the clue by which the defenders of Oldcastle's memory may be identified. There is no reason to doubt James's evidence. It is that of a man who was already twenty-six years old when Shakespeare died, and who, both as nephew and colleague of Sir Thomas Bodley's librarian and as the intimate and librarian of Sir Robert Cotton, would have been in a position to hear details of recent Court and theatre history.<sup>18</sup> When James chose to say that it was people descended of Oldcastle's title, rather than of Oldcastle himself, who forced Shakespeare to rename Falstaff, he was thus not being pompous. It had been as the husband of Lady Cobham that Oldcastle had sat in the House of Lords, and, although he was summoned to Parliament as Lord Oldcastle, he was familiarly known as Lord Cobham to his contemporaries.<sup>19</sup> To the Elizabethans he was the Protestant martyr, Sir John Oldcastle, 'the good Lord Cobham', and James would have regarded this as his title. The Brookes were the Elizabethan descendants of the house of Cobham, and it was to them, not to any descendants real or hypothetical of Oldcastle himself, that James referred with a pedantry for which one is grateful today.

Following James's lead, Shakespearian scholars have unanimously come to identify the family injured by the Falstaff plays with that of William and Henry Brooke. They have not, however, been as careful as he was to distinguish between Oldcastle's descendants and his successors in his wife's title. Fleay, whose explicit mention of the Lords Cobham in this regard is among the first in modern criticism of the subject, speaks of the Brookes as being "lineally descended from the great Sir John Oldcastle".<sup>20</sup> Joseph Quincy Adams follows him, and like him compounds the error of attributing Oldcastle blood to the Elizabethan Lords Cobham by using the word 'lineal'.<sup>21</sup> Sir Sidney Lee also gives a misleading impression of genealogical learning in his statement that the Brookes "claimed descent in the female line from the historical Sir John Oldcastle, the Lollard leader, who sat in the House of Lords as Lord Cobham;"<sup>22</sup> R.B. Sharpe echoes Lee.<sup>23</sup> Marchette Chute goes so far as to say that Henry Lord Cobham "was descended on his

mother's side from Sir John Oldcastle".<sup>24</sup> Sir Edmund Chambers supplies a corrective to these false statements of the Brookes' relationship with Oldcastle: "Sir John Oldcastle," he states with care, "married an ancestress of the Lords Cobham, who were prominent at the Elizabethan court:"<sup>25</sup> but Chambers's accuracy on this point has been less widely influential than have been his unwarranted assumptions on others. Thus one still finds descriptions of Henry Lord Cobham as erroneous as T. Walter Herbert's, in which he is called "the ranking Oldcastle",<sup>26</sup> or as misleading as Alan Keen and Roger Lubbock's, in which he is the man "who made Shakespeare change the family name of 'Oldcastle' in Henry IV to the immortal one of Falstaff."<sup>27</sup>

Yet, however inaccurately scholars may develop James's information, it seems safe, in considering why Falstaff was renamed, to proceed upon the assumption that it was the Brookes who were responsible for the change. One would like to express oneself more positively, but the fact is that nowhere in the extant correspondence of the Lords Cobham in the 1590s or later is any reference made either to the historic or the dramatic Sir John Oldcastle. This is a rather peculiar circumstance. If the Brookes were as incensed as scholars believe them to have been, one would have thought that in their letters to friends and to one another they would have commented upon the injury offered them by the players. Yet no such comment is to be found.

One would also expect to find some official record of the action taken upon the complaint which the Brooke family is supposed to have lodged with the authorities. Such a record might take the form of that which still survives in a Council minute of 10 May 1601, by which was restrained the representation at the Curtain Theatre of

the persons of some gentlemen of good desert and quality that are yet alive under obscure manner, but yet in such sorte as all the hearers may take notice both of the matter and the persons that are meant thereby.<sup>28</sup>

Such a document as this shows that complaints were made and heeded, and other evidence suggests that the government of Lord Burghley felt the greatest sympathy with the complainants. Burghley in fact thought that for a living person to be

depicted on stage was so shameful as to be a suitable punishment for criminals. Once, after passing sentence of fine upon a broker and a solicitor for "'coseninge diuers yonge gentlemen'", he reviewed the case and said (wistfully, one imagines, rather than authoritatively) that he "'would haue those y<sup>t</sup> make the playes to make a Comedie hereof, & to acte it w<sup>th</sup> these [i.e., the offenders'] names.'"<sup>29</sup> And, although there is no comparable instance under Elizabeth, there is the famous case of 1609 in which three principal players who dared insult the Earl of Lincoln by presenting a play "'containing scurrilous and slanderous matter against the said Earl by name'" were pilloried, whipped and fined £ 300 apiece.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps it was only travesty of persons who were living at the time of performance against which official action could be taken. Oldcastle would then have been as fair game for the dramatist, and as safe, as was such an historical figure as Cardinal Beaufort, to the treatment of whom in Henry VI no Elizabethan is known to have objected.

If, however, neither officialdom nor the Brooke family seems to have recorded its attitude toward the stage Oldcastle, there were certain other courtiers who left behind them letters which suggest that they found Shakespeare's character so amusing that they framed about his name an esoteric and highly topical joke. These documents have been seen to provide the strongest contemporary testimony to the Brookes' involvement with the Henry IV plays.

In 1949 Leslie Hotson published a letter with an intriguing postscript which had just been discovered in the Public Record Office. It was a message addressed by the Earl of Essex at some time late in February 1597/8 to Sir Robert Cecil, who was then departing in embassy for France. Among the men who were seeing Cecil off at Dover was Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, the brother of the Maid of Honour whom Henry Lord Cobham is known to have courted but who never married.<sup>31</sup> "Cōmend me allso to Alex: Ratcliff," wrote the earl, "and tell him for newes his sister is maryed to S<sup>r</sup> Jo: Falstaff."<sup>32</sup> Hotson's identification of Ratcliffe's sister with the Maid of Honour can hardly be contested. It would be too fanciful to interpret Essex's words, not as a mock announcement of a marriage, but as a reference to the

actual marriage of Ratcliffe's only other surviving sister, Jane. No date can be assigned to Jane Ratcliffe's match with Sir Ralph Constable,<sup>33</sup> and nothing that is known of her husband permits one to attribute to him the Falstaffian characteristics which he would have to have possessed if the joke were to make its point. That Essex's Falstaff "must," as Hotson says, "be Cobham," is, however, open to question. Although one hears of no other suitor for Margaret Ratcliffe than Cobham, one does not find their names linked until August 1599; that the Maid of Honour may have been courted by another man a year and a half earlier is by no means impossible.

The other letter which mentions Falstaff is also from one of the Essex circle. The Countess of Southampton wrote it to her husband on 8 July in the year when the earl was with Essex in Ireland, that is, on 8 July 1599. Its existence was first made generally known in 1872 when it was published (as being without a date, since the countess recorded only the day and the month in which she wrote it) among the Cecil Papers in the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. In 1922 Charlotte Carmichael Stopes correctly dated it 1599, and scholars since her time, notably Chambers, F.E. Halliday and Hotson, have sought in it a reference to Henry Lord Cobham. The relevant passage reads:

All the nues I can send you that I thinke wil make you mery is that I reade in a letter from London that Sir John falstaf is by his M<sup>rs</sup> dame Pintpot made father of a godly milers thum a boye thats all heade and veri litel body, but this is a secret.<sup>34</sup>

Chambers says that "Lady Southampton's gossip is probably of some acquaintance whom she nicknames Falstaff .... One would guess at Henry Lord Cobham, but he appears to have had no children."<sup>35</sup> Halliday is not troubled by the fact that Cobham is not known ever to have been a father: "the new Countess of Southampton," he says, "wrote a charming and cheerful letter to her husband, describing the arrival of a counterfeit young Cobham."<sup>36</sup> Hotson, like Halliday, sees Falstaff as Cobham, "not married, to be sure, but confidentially presented by his mistress with spurious young fry."<sup>37</sup> One must note the word 'fry', for Hotson goes on to show, by means of a citation from Florio, that the fish bozzolo was called "'a millers thomb or a cob'", and to adduce an ichthyographic argument for his state-

ment that the countess's words contain "what no Elizabethan eye would miss: the sly mental play on 'Cobham'.... We may now be confident that the news which will make Southampton merry is that 'Sir John Falstaff' -- Cobham -- has a clandestine little Cob."

Hotson's explanation is ingenious. One must not, however, forget Chambers's warning: Cobham had, so far as has been discovered, no children. It is inconceivable that he should have had legitimate issue by 1599, for there is no proof that he was married by that date and the marriage of so prominent a courtier can hardly have escaped record. Nor does anyone mention his having fathered a bastard, and one may say with some confidence that a man so viciously attacked by his enemies as Cobham was would not have escaped censure had he done so. One hesitates to read into Lady Southampton's letter more than purports to be there, the birth of a child. Yet the proverbial use of 'miller's thumb' to mean short measure tempts one to suppose that the countess was referring allegorically to the disappointment of someone's expectation of great things. In the first half of 1599, as Essex muddled his way through the Irish campaign, Cobham seemed destined for a seat on the Council beside Secretary Cecil: he never got it, and if Lady Southampton had learned before she wrote her letter that he was not to receive the preferment which he had expected as his reward for helping Cecil to oppose Essex, it is plausible to suppose that she would have reassured her husband and his friend by telling them of their enemy's reverse. Yet such a conjecture is too insubstantial to be put forward with any confidence. Lady Southampton's girlish letters do not readily admit of political readings, nor can one see why, if she had affairs of state to mention in this particular one, she should have resorted to cryptic expression in a personal message to her husband. While candidly admitting that one has no more adequate theory to advance in its place, however, one must withhold endorsement of Hotson's interpretation of the letter of 8 July 1599.

The meaning of Lady Southampton's gossip eludes one, and one cannot corroborate the explanation which has been given for Essex's postscript. Yet, because it is

almost certain that the two letter-writers were referring to a contemporary of theirs when they spoke of Sir John Falstaff, many critics have assumed that that contemporary was Henry Lord Cobham. This assumption raises the question of whether Shakespeare intended his character to be a travesty of the baron, or whether Falstaff was misinterpreted by Cobham's enemies for their own amusement. To choose the former explanation for the Essexian identification of Falstaff with the younger Cobham means maintaining at least three hypotheses. One of these is negative: that the government, contrary to what seems to have been its practice of banning shows in which persons actually living were depicted, even "under obscure manner, but yet in suche sorte as all the hearers may take notice both of the matter and the persons," did not stop the performance of plays in which a prominent nobleman was lampooned. One is here concerned primarily with a matter of fact: the hypothesis is not valid or invalid, but right or wrong: and, lacking documentary proof, scholars who see in the Falstaff plays an intentional squib on Cobham take opposite views about it. One attitude is based upon the belief that the queen took special delight in Falstaff: as Miss Gildersleeve says,

There is no evidence that Shakspeare or his company got into any serious difficulty as a result of this indiscretion. Elizabeth's fondness for the character of Falstaff, to which tradition testifies, would certainly have saved them from punishment.<sup>38</sup>

The other attitude holds that the first Falstaff plays actually were banned: Humphreys, in his reconstruction of what happened in the 1590s, says that the two parts of Henry IV were withdrawn from the stage and reinstated in the repertory only after the elder Cobham died.<sup>39</sup> There is no evidence with which to support either point of view, and without evidence discussion in this case is futile.

The other two hypotheses may be expressed more positively. The first one would claim that Falstaff resembled Henry Lord Cobham sufficiently to constitute an intentional travesty; the other would purport to show that Shakespeare had reason for attacking the Brookes, either from personal motives or through politico-social partisanship. Although they can hardly be taken seriously so long as it is known neither whether the government failed to suppress the Falstaff plays, nor

why it should so have failed, these two secondary hypotheses have been accepted by many scholars. One must therefore give them some consideration before going on to show that the Falstaff allusions in the correspondence of the Essex circle are best seen as evidence, not of Shakespeare's satirization of Cobham, but of private misuse of his great comic creation.

"If," says Eleanor Grace Clark,

Falstaff is a satire on anyone, it must be on one who is 'some fifty' odd, corpulent, and guilty of pursuing ladies for their money and for the gratification of a prodigious lust.<sup>40</sup>

Although one might claim that cowardice or drunkenness or bravado is as essential a characteristic of Falstaff as are the features or traits singled out for attention by Miss Clark, one has no serious argument with her supposition. When, however, she goes on to show that it was Henry Lord Cobham who displayed the qualities necessary to identify him with her hypothetical prototype of Falstaff, one must take exception to what she says. Miss Clark sees the Cobham of 1598 as a fat man of middle age or older; she manages to do so through her inability, after "the most persistent researches", to learn his exact age (he had his thirty-fourth birthday in November), and through a deft analysis of a painting which ought not to have detained her, the so-called Blackfriars portrait in which the handsome, slim young popinjay who walks before the royal litter used to be identified with the baron. "It is possible," she says, "that that painting, being, probably, commissioned by Cobham himself, is somewhat flattering." Thus having shown to her own satisfaction that there is no reason for assuming that the baron's physical features were anything but Falstaffian, Miss Clark proceeds to prove her concomitant contention that Cobham was a fortune-hunter and a lecher. She does so by citing the Court rumours in which his name was linked with those of Elizabeth Russell, of the Lady Bridget or the Lady Susan de Vere, of Margaret Ratcliffe and Lady Kildare.<sup>41</sup> It is hardly necessary to point out that these rumours indicate no more than that the baron was in his middle thirties and still unmarried, that he felt the lack of the Elizabethan courtier's essential adjunct, a wife in the queen's Privy Chamber, that he was childless and confronted with the prospect of an unloved brother succeeding to his title. It is hardly evidence

upon which to attribute to him inordinate lust, nor does it show that he was attempting to marry money.

Miss Clark's argument is specious in the extreme. It has been considered, more seriously than it deserves, because it epitomizes the kind of reasoning by which the younger Cobham and Falstaff have been associated with each other. No other scholar appears to go so ludicrously far as she, no doubt because she alone attempts to see in the lineaments of the one a reflection of the actual physique of the other,<sup>42</sup> but at least a part of her hypothesis is tacitly accepted by many. Hotson, although he does not lay himself open to the ridicule which the bald presentation of such a case as Miss Clark's would invite, refers to "the galled jade Cobham" and to his "notorious character" on no more reliable grounds than hers,<sup>43</sup> and Keen and Lubbock say that Cobham's "notorious lechery ill became his grey hairs."<sup>44</sup>

No scholar has yet put into a Falstaff context what seems to be the only piece of documentary evidence which would at all support these opinions of Cobham's character. Sir Thomas Fane, who had served William Lord Cobham as Lieutenant of Dover Castle and who was continued in that office by Henry, apparently added a little personal advice to a letter which he wrote to the young baron late in 1599. His letter has been lost, but a suggestion of what it contained, and an indication that Cobham challenged his lieutenant's right to pry into his private affairs, appears in another letter which Fane wrote on 26 December 1599. "The cause of my postscript vnto yo<sup>r</sup> LL.," explained the old knight,

proceeded of more zeale then padventure of Judgement wherin If I have erred I cravinge pdon must trulye alledg the olde proverbe, Quando ego nō timui graviora pericula veris. Res est solliciti. plena timoris. amor. The gen<sup>r</sup>all report of the death of one, confirmed by sundrye psons of reasonable credit in the countrey affirminge the great conco<sup>r</sup>se & p<sup>r</sup>vye conventicles of Malitious & evill disposed psons, & the castinge of lewde lybeles, cōsidered by me, w<sup>th</sup> the vsuall man<sup>r</sup> of yo<sup>r</sup> LL. traveylinge in the Cittye by darke in the night, & thearby mynistering much opportunitie of malice & practises to be excepted against yo<sup>r</sup> LL. wheras the co<sup>r</sup>te on the contrary gave all securitie, I preferred the co<sup>r</sup>te duringe theas turbulent tymes pswaded therunto by the recordes of tumultuarie actions in o<sup>r</sup> forefathers dayes, w<sup>ch</sup> [in] pticularitie, neyther tyme nor Judgmente, will geve me leave to disco<sup>r</sup>se knoweing [him] to whom I write [to be] better accq<sup>a</sup>inted & skilfull in the Cronicles by many degrees then my selfe who am inforsed to see

thorough Ignorance [sic] by deceivable spectacles borrowed I know not well of whome & therefore little differinge from the blinde man that thressheth the hai, & therefore strikes many a vayne & frivolous stroke.<sup>45</sup>

This testimony to Cobham's indiscretion is slight. Fane was being careful to commit nothing definite to paper, so that, for all one can now know, the "lewdelybeles" from which he sought to protect the young lord may as well have been political as personal. Secretary Cecil was being lampooned just then in graffiti scribbled on the walls at Court. The "turbulent tymes" in which he wrote were, after all, the uneasy months following Essex's treasonably abrupt return from Ireland, when the earl waited in internment at York House for the Council to decide what could be done about him.<sup>46</sup> Even if Fane alluded to the sort of scandal suggested by one of the possible interpretations of Lady Southampton's letter of six months earlier, his warning to Cobham would be all that one has which points to immorality in the clandestine side of the baron's life. One can hardly construct from so little evidence a case for Cobham as the original of the profligate Falstaff.

The failure of retrospective attempts to see Falstaffian traits in Henry Lord Cobham does not, however, invalidate the theory that Shakespeare consciously set out to embarrass one or both of the Elizabethan holders of the title which Oldcastle had once borne. The only way in which one can disallow this theory is by demonstrating the essential groundlessness of the causes which its proponents adduce as those which led Shakespeare to attack the Brookes.

What Sharpe calls "Shakespeare's malice against the house of Cobham"<sup>47</sup> is supposed to have been founded in two basic attitudes: Shakespeare's sympathy with the Earl of Essex in his political struggle against the Brookes, and his resentment against the puritanic disapproval of the stage which William Lord Cobham brought to the Lord Chamberlainship in 1596. The first of these attitudes may be expressed in several ways, most of them derived from the tradition that Southampton, Essex's friend, was Shakespeare's personal patron, and a few, like Sharpe's own, based upon the belief that Essex and the Careys of Hunsdon, the patrons of Shakespeare's company, were united in their opposition to the Brookes. Of the Southampton hypothesis little can be said. Shakespeare in 1593 dedicated the

published Venus and Adonis to the earl, and in 1594, with much protestation of undying love, The Rape of Lucrece. Despite the vast amount of effort deployed in attempts to prove the tradition that the poet was indeed devoted to Southampton's interests, attempts often necessitated by a critic's notion that Essex is praised in Shakespeare's plays because of the friendship which existed between the two earls, no indubitable link between Southampton and Shakespeare other than the two dedications has been found. Without such proof of their association after 1594, it is futile to try to number the dramatist among the partisans whom Southampton brought to Essex.<sup>48</sup> Just as futile are attempts to envisage Shakespeare mocking the Brookes in loyal emulation of Southampton. For, while it is no more than probable that Lady Southampton alluded unkindly to the younger Cobham in her Falstaff letter, it is a fact that the evidence which certainly connects the earl with the Brookes in the 1590s shows them to have been on most civil terms with one another. The elder Cobham's proposal of marriage to Southampton's step-grandmother indicates some degree of friendship between the two families,<sup>49</sup> and the letter in which Henry Lord Cobham offered in 1598 to help Southampton to reinstate himself with the queen can hardly be seen as other than the "good advice, so kindly given", which the earl's best biographer calls it.<sup>50</sup> One suspects that if Southampton had any influence upon Shakespeare in the 1590s, he would have urged the dramatist to compliment the Brookes, not lampoon them. Indeed one finds in 3 Henry VI, in the only explicit allusion to a Brooke which can be found in the Shakespeare canon, the sort of thing which one would expect if one thought that Southampton had dictated to his protégé. In that play, at I.ii.40-43, the Duke of York casts about for supporters upon whom he can rely in his struggle against the Crown, and issues this order to his son:

You, Edward, shall unto my Lord Cobham,  
 With whom the Kentishmen will willingly rise:  
 In them I trust; for they are soldiers,  
 Witty, courteous, liberal, full of spirit.

Thirteen lines further on, York mentions by name only two of the custodians of the captured Lancastrian king; they are Warwick the Kingmaker and Edward Lord Cobham. It was not until years after the creation of Falstaff that the Brookes and

Southampton became mortally opposed to one another; one must not err, as Dover Wilson does, by saying that "we know little" of Henry Lord Cobham's personality and by then going on to assume that what the baron was in the disastrous first year of King James indicates his nature in the halcyon years of the 1590s.<sup>51</sup>

Of the theory of a Hunsdon-Essex alliance at the time when the Falstaff plays were written Sharpe is the ablest proponent. He says that,

if Shakespeare and his fellows gave intentional offense to the Cobhams in 1596 by presenting the martyred ancestor of their house as a buffoon, it was with the delighted approval of both their patron and the Essex faction.<sup>52</sup>

Yet when one examines the argument which brings Sharpe to this accommodating conclusion, one finds that it is made up of disparate facts. One cannot disallow the opinion that Shakespeare's company resented the intrusion in August 1596 of William Lord Cobham into the Lord Chamberlainship which their old patron had held and which his son had hoped to be given; one knows that Essex and the younger Cobham were violent enemies and that both Essex's candidate and George Lord Hunsdon competed unsuccessfully for the Lord Wardenship of the Cinque Ports which was assured to Henry Lord Cobham in April 1597; one may also agree that, when the younger Hunsdon was ill in 1600, he may well have resented Cobham's attempts to oust him from the Lord Chamberlainship which he had eventually received. But these scraps of evidence, however weighted they may be with other irrelevant facts in text and footnotes, indicate nothing more than that, in the course of four years, both Essex and Hunsdon were at odds with the two Lords Cobham. They do not prove that Shakespeare in the summer of 1596 (when Sharpe conceives 1 Henry IV to have been first produced) could write a travesty of William Lord Cobham, the new Lord Chamberlain and controller of the stage, in the sure knowledge that a united Essex-Hunsdon frontline would protect him from the inevitable consequences. History does not bear out the courtly alliances which Sharpe professes to find recorded in the documents of 1590s; there is more than a little truth in his ingenuous observation on the plays of the Lord Chamberlain's men,

That we have in their productions no other case of personal lampooning so clear as this, is no doubt at least partly due to the fact that the interests and sympathies of the Essex party and the house of Hunsdon so frequently failed to coincide.<sup>53</sup>

Shakespeare's other supposed motive for satirizing the Brookes, his dislike of the Puritanism of William Lord Cobham, can hardly have existed. What has been learned of Cobham's religion has been set down earlier in this work;<sup>54</sup> the baron seems to have been as impeccably Anglican a public figure as was Burghley himself, and Burghley took such care never to permit his private Protestantism to interfere with his conduct of affairs of state that historians still hesitate to say what his fundamental beliefs really were. Cobham apparently did the same. He may indeed have found Anglicanism even more congenial than Burghley found it, for Cobham seems to have had within himself extremes of religious temperament which could only have co-existed in compromise. Brought up as a Protestant and as the heir of an Edwardian reformer, he was yet considered to be so unreliable a professor of the faith established by Elizabeth that for thirty years of her reign he and his wife were approached by promoters of every conceivable Catholic cause. Nor did the death of the Scottish queen put an end to what often looks like Cobham's flirtation with Rome, for in the last five years of his life he is said to have tried to take as his third wife that arrogant symbol of English Catholicism, Magdalene Lady Montague.

Considering what is known of him, one is hard put to it to see how Cobham can have acquired the uncongenial reputation which he now possesses. For, from nothing more than a few utterly unsubstantiated and mildly expressed words of Sir Edmund Chambers, there has resulted a pseudo-tradition so deeply rooted that few scholars and critics think it necessary to test its validity. Chambers said in 1923 that Cobham "was known to be touched with Puritanism".<sup>55</sup> By 1925 Lee was speaking of "the puritanic Lord Cobham",<sup>56</sup> and a year later Evelyn May Albright stated that Cobham "was of Puritan temper, and unpopular among frequenters of the stage".<sup>57</sup> Lesser scholars were quick to take the hint, and even Dover Wilson, who in 1943 had spoken only of Cobham's "strongly Protestant bent",<sup>58</sup> was by 1945 confidently asserting that the baron was "a man puritanically inclined and inimical to the

theatre", one who, as Lord Chamberlain, was "in the strongest position possible to give effect to his prejudices".<sup>59</sup> One finds the same story everywhere. There are Hotson's assertions that Cobham "did not look with favour on the players",<sup>60</sup> that "it is well known that he did not like the players."<sup>61</sup> Bracy describes Cobham as "the only Lord Chamberlain during Elizabeth's period who was hostile to the players", as "this Puritanical and hostile Lord Chamberlain";<sup>62</sup> Miss Gildersleeve calls him the "puritanical nobleman in the position of Lord Chamberlain".<sup>63</sup> The latest edition of 1 Henry IV records Humphreys's ingenious view of looking upon Falstaff as a travesty of "a Wycliffite hero for whom he himself, being Puritanically inclined, probably feels particular respect".<sup>64</sup> Thus, taking his cue from Chambers's statement that "there was a moment of trepidation" when Cobham began his tenure in office, Halliday concludes that when the baron died it was "to the ill-concealed delight of the players".<sup>65</sup>

It was not until 1962 that William Green interposed a few words of common sense into what he calls the "cloudy legend with which scholars have enveloped Lord Cobham". Green expresses so ably the conclusions to which one must come in considering the hypothesis that Shakespeare attacked the Brookes intentionally that one may, despite their length, let his words conclude the discussion of that vexed and vexing subject.

It is true that ever since the 1570's there had been a sniping war between the London city officials and the theater people and that between 1592 and 1596 the city officials intensified their efforts to suppress the players. But the charge that Lord Cobham had Puritan leanings and accordingly used his influence to force the passage of antitheatrical regulations does not seem based on any concrete evidence. If Cobham did follow Puritan doctrines, contemporary documents apparently make no mention of it. Therefore any statement that because his ancestor Sir John Oldcastle was a Lollard, Lord Cobham must have subscribed to the Puritan way of thinking has to be considered as mere allegation.<sup>66</sup>

One may also allow Green to dispose of the argument which attributes to Cobham's Puritanism the persecution of the players in 1596-97 and the closure of the theatres in July 1597. That the Lord Chamberlain's men felt keenly the loss of Lord Hunsdon's protection in the autumn of 1596 cannot be doubted; the little that is known of their plight has been discussed earlier in this work, since it was a feature of Cobham's Chamberlainship, although no way of linking it with

Cobham himself has been discovered.<sup>67</sup> Between the baron and the closure of the theatres four months after his death there can have been no connection. Green is not the first scholar to have noticed that Cobham can hardly have been responsible for the suppression. Miss Gildersleeve, even though she writes under the assumption that the baron's religious outlook probably would have made him favour a curtailment of the players' activities, finds it impossible to believe that Cobham's influence can have outlived him, and she also points to the significant absence of his name from the signatories of the Blackfriars petition of 1596 against Burbage's playhouse.<sup>68</sup> It is Green, however, who, free from misconceptions about Cobham's religion, best summarizes the evidence relating to the baron's supposed oppression of the artists put under his control.

Cobham served as Lord Chamberlain from August 8, 1596, until his death on March 5, 1597. During this period not one piece of legislation hostile to the theatrical interests was enacted. In fact, the first decree for permanent suppression of a public theater was issued on July 28, 1597, four months after Cobham's death. But between 1597 and 1603 -- during the tenure of George, Lord Hunsdon, as Lord Chamberlain -- attempts to restrain the players were numerous and effective. Moreover, while it is impossible to surmise what behind-the-scenes maneuvering may have taken place, the Privy Council records show that Cobham attended few meetings of the Council between 1592 and 1596. More startling, in light of Cobham's supposed hostility toward the theater is the fact that during this period Lord Cobham was absent from every meeting of the Council at which a restraining piece of theatrical legislation was passed. Oddly enough, there is further ground to suspect that Cobham would not have gone out of his way to be antagonistic toward the players.

Green's extra evidence for clearing Cobham of the charge of being what he calls 'antitheatrical' is the fact that the baron was himself the patron of a playing company in the 1560s and '70s, the visits of which to certain provincial cities are recorded earlier in this work.<sup>69</sup>

Green concludes his reassessment of the probable relationship of William Lord Cobham with the players by suggesting to what little extent the baron may be blamed for their hard times in the mid-'90s.

Since the persecution of the players was more intense during the time when both Lords Hunsdon were controlling forces in the government, it seems more reasonable to conclude that the Hunsdons, with their keen interest in the drama, made special efforts to protect their players. But Lord Cobham simply may not have manifested as much concern with this particular problem. If this were the case, Cobham was <sup>not</sup> responsible for repressing the dramatic companies, and he has been much maligned by writers who, in erroneously equating indifference with enmity, have

created their own brand of scholarly folklore.<sup>70</sup>

One is now free to consider the most plausible conjecture about how and why Oldcastle became Falstaff, the one, that is, which cannot be shown to run counter either to ascertained fact, or (since a student of the Falstaff question deals almost exclusively in supposition rather than in fact) to persuasive probability. It is a composite theory, in part suggested by Fleay as long ago as 1886,<sup>71</sup> and expressed in a comprehensive form at least as early as 1923, when Adams published his account of what probably happened to Falstaff in the 1590s.<sup>72</sup> Lee, although giving to it an emphasis different from that which it most readily accepts, also told substantially the same story.<sup>73</sup> Humphreys and Green have recently published their versions, in which the latest opinions on the date of the Falstaff plays have been incorporated,<sup>74</sup> and Geoffrey Bullough's few comments upon 1 Henry IV suggest that he too finds the theory more acceptable than any other.<sup>75</sup> One presents it again here, in a fuller form than can be found in the work of any single published critic, because, paradoxically, it provides the narrative framework which is needed if one is to expose the extreme speciousness of the whole. Demonstrable fallacies have been omitted, for the theory in its essence does not depend upon particular points which can be readily isolated and dismissed. Rather it makes assumptions which, while often conservative enough and advanced with hesitation, ultimately combine to obscure the disparate nature of the few facts which they so conveniently link together. Only by following closely upon the heels of the ideal theorist, an imaginary figure which is nonetheless a composite of many critics, and by excepting against each step which he takes without factual warrant, can one reveal how impossible it is to make a valid reconstruction of the story of Falstaff and the Brookes.

Central to any theory about Falstaff is the problem of dating Henry IV. It is now thought by Sharpe, Dover Wilson, Humphreys, Green and Bullough among others, that Shakespeare wrote 1 Henry IV late in 1596: or rather, in Wilson's case, that he wrote his first version of that play at that time.<sup>76</sup> This is an earlier date than used to be proposed for it (one ignores J.W. Draper's argument for 1595,

since it is principally based upon no more than a failure to distinguish the old and new style of dating in contemporary documents),<sup>77</sup> but the tentative objections to it which are made by Chambers are ably countered by the arguments advanced independently by Wilson and Green. All critics agree that 2 Henry IV followed closely upon the first part of the play. Persuasive as such conjectures may be, however, one must not forget that they are indeed only conjectures: all that one knows positively is that the first part of the play was entered in the Stationers' Register in February 1597/8, when Oldcastle had already become Falstaff; that the earliest extant printing of the first part is dated 1598, and of the second part 1600; and that Francis Meres mentions the play in his Palladis Tamia of 1598.

The theory about Falstaff and the Brookes, by taking as its starting point the latter half of 1596, is thus based from its outset on an assumption. One is asked to picture Shakespeare, either when he sat down to write Henry IV or very soon afterward, finding himself creating a ribald character called Oldcastle while one of the historic Oldcastle's successors in the barony of Cobham was presiding over the theatre world as Lord Chamberlain. For William Lord Cobham was invested with that office on 8 August 1596. There has long been a voluble minority of critics who would see Shakespeare writing the two parts of Henry IV without ever considering the susceptibilities of the Lord Chamberlain. Thus Adams speaks of Oldcastle as "a wholly unintentional wrong against the Cobham family",<sup>78</sup> and Green refers to "the fact that Shakespeare merely took over the character of Sir John Oldcastle from The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth, never realizing that he might cause some wincing among the descendants of the real Oldcastle".<sup>79</sup> Dr. Pitcher alone would quarrel with these statements as they stand, for he does not think that there was an Oldcastle in The Famous Victories for Shakespeare to take over; one may think that his general argument deserves little attention, but one must acknowledge that he is right in insisting that the play is certainly known to have a character named Oldcastle only at the time of printing in 1598, when Shakespeare's Henry IV was presumably already written.<sup>80</sup> Thus a further conjecture, however reasonable, is made by critics who excuse Shakespeare's offending the

Brookes by claiming that he innocently took from an older play the name of Oldcastle. The theory is already pretty fanciful when it is used by Herbert in his reconstruction of the aftermath of the first performance of 1 Henry IV: "in the first exhilaration of his triumph," writes Herbert, "Shakespeare learned that the Oldcastle family, by no means extinct, objected to having their revered ancestor made the laughingstock of the playgoing crowd."<sup>81</sup> Dover Wilson is only slightly more disingenuous when he says that Shakespeare was "ignorant of the early history of the Brooke family",<sup>82</sup> that Falstaff

still retained the name Oldcastle, as is also well known, in the original version of Shakespeare's play; until the company discovered, or were forcibly reminded, that the wife of the proto-protestant martyr they were guying on the public stage was the revered ancestress of the Cobhams, powerful lords at Elizabeth's court. Worse still, one of these lords was not only of strongly protestant bent, but also, as Lord Chamberlain, actually Shakespeare's official controller.<sup>83</sup>

Bullough, for all his obvious reluctance to doubt that Shakespeare knew what he was about, is really very little more judicious than Wilson. "But William Brooke, 7th Lord Cobham," he says,

was Lord Chamberlain from July [sic] 1596 to March, 1597. Even if the actors had difficulty with him for some reason unknown, they would not be likely to insult him deliberately. On the whole it seems probable that Shakespeare took over the name from Famous Victories without arrière pensée and without linking his Sir John with the martyr. He must have known the true history of Sir John Oldcastle as set forth in the chronicles; e.g. he would read of his heresies and escape in the same page where Stow described Henry V's dismissal of his former companions. But he ignored the facts and was later driven to make a perfunctory apology in the Epilogue to Part 2 where he admits that Falstaff may already be killed by the audience's 'hard opinions, for Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man'.<sup>84</sup>

Merely to discredit its advocates, however, would be unfair to the case for Shakespeare's innocence of intention to insult the Brookes. For, given the right to bring conjectures into court, one might show how he could have offended the family, without attributing to him ignorance of the chronicles and of popular literature. One could do so by suggesting that he did not so much 'ignore the facts' as miscalculate the effect which a travesty of those facts would have in so scandalously successful a character as Falstaff. Oldcastle, one has been given the liberty to assume, had after all probably been represented on stage at least

as early as the 1580s, when the famous Tarlton clowned his way through "a play of Henry the fift" which most scholars think must have been a version of The Famous Victories. That play was certainly entered in the Stationers' Register in 1594 and printed in the extant quarto of 1598;<sup>85</sup> its Sir John Oldcastle, it has been argued, however pale a figure he may appear to be when compared with Falstaff, was popular enough to be familiar to Shakespeare's audience. As Humphreys points out, the famous pun on "the old lad of the castle" is made in 1 Henry IV before Falstaff's (that is, originally, Oldcastle's) name has been mentioned: its point would have been lost if the spectators had not known without being told who the fat character previously addressed only as 'Monsieur Remorse' and 'Sir John Sack and Sugar' really was.<sup>86</sup> Objection had never, so far as is known, been taken to this earlier, notorious Oldcastle. Shakespeare, regarding him as the precursor of his own projected character, may have felt that the time for censorship had surely long passed.

This suppositional argument would plead strongly for the Brookes' tolerance, or for their indifference, for it indicates that they had not used their influence to force the first Oldcastle off the stage. William Lord Cobham need not have been a Puritan to have felt discomfort at the public presentation of a corrupt and ridiculous knight under the name of a Protestant martyr. Considered worthy of veneration by the Anglican Church chiefly because Catholic chroniclers of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries had heaped abuse upon him,<sup>87</sup> the historical Oldcastle had first been proposed for Protestant canonization by Tyndale in his Book of Thorpe. This work appeared prematurely and was suppressed as soon as copies of it were brought into England from the Continent in 1530.<sup>88</sup> John Bale's defence of Oldcastle was more effective, and the Lollard was assured of a place in the Anglican hagiography by the appearance in 1544 of A brefe Chronycle concernynge the Examinacyon and death of the blessed martyr of Christ syr Johan Oldecas-tell the lorde Cobham. No Protestant writing after Bale could express doubt that Oldcastle was innocent of treason against his king: he was a martyr who "suffered death at London, Anno 1418", because he had awakened England to the dangers of accepting the spiritual oppression of Rome. Bale saw Oldcastle as the valiant

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forerunner of Henry VIII, and put into his mouth a resounding challenge to the men of his time:

Bewayle maye Englande/ the synne of Sodomytes.  
 For Idolles and they/ are grounde all theyr wo.  
 Of Symon Magus/ a secte of hypocrytes  
 Surnamed prelates/ are vp with them to go.  
 And to vpholde them/ in all that they maye do.  
 yow that be rewlers/ peculyarlye selected.  
 How can ye suffre/ soche myscheues vncorrected?<sup>89</sup>

What made Oldcastle a familiar name to the Elizabethans was not, however, Bale's Brefe Chronycle, but that mammoth work to the nature and extent of which its title gives so ample a clue, the

Actes and Monuments of these latter and perillous dayes, touching matters of the Church, wherein ar comprehended and described the great persecutions & horrible troubles, that haue bene wrought and practised by the Romishe Prelates, speciallye in this Realme of England and Scotlande, from the yeare of our Lorde a thousande, vnto the tyme nowe present, Gathered and collected according to the true copies & wrytinges certificatorie as wel of the parties them selues that suffered, as also out of the Bishops Registers, which wer the doers therof, by Iohn Foxe.

Appearing first in 1563, the Actes and Monuments opened with a calendar of feasts intended to provide Elizabethans with a substitute for the rejected one of the Roman Church. As the Jesuit Parsons said of the place which Oldcastle and his fellow rebels were given in this peculiarly Protestant table of observances, Foxe

appointed vnto them their seuerall festiuall dayes in redd letters (which were the dayes of their hanginge) as vnto solemne martyrs, the first vpon the 6. of Ianuary with this title: Syr Roger Acton Knight martyr, And the other vpon the fifth of February [sic]<sup>90</sup> with this inscription in his calendar: Syr Iohn Oldcastle L. Cobham martyr. Wherby we may see, that these men do not measure things, as they are in them selues: but as they serue to maintaine their faction.<sup>91</sup>

No matter how just was Parsons's observation upon the use to which Foxe and the other English canonists turned any mediaeval evidences of opposition to Rome, to the Elizabethan Anglican his words were mere Catholic blasphemy. For Foxe gave to the story of Oldcastle in the text of his work as much prominence as the entry in his calendar warranted, and proved it to be a tale of martyrdom, entitling it "The History of the moste valiaunt and worthy Martyr of Christ Sir Iohn Oldecas-tell Knight, Lord Cobham, with the whole processe of his examination, death, and Martyrdom, for the true profession of Christes Gospell".<sup>92</sup> For twenty years, in successive editions of that popular work, the Actes and Monuments recorded its

author's quarrel with Roman Catholics who dared question whether Oldcastle "is rather to be commended for a Martyr, or to be reprobud for a traitor".<sup>93</sup> The factual, non-sectarian account of the reign of Henry V which Holinshed published in 1577, and which appeared again ten years later, must have seemed too dull to interest the readers who followed the course of the polemicists' heated controversy.

The culmination of the quarrel, so far as Foxe was concerned, came in the 1583 edition of the Actes and Monuments, which, as "the fift time newly imprinted", appeared again in June 1596. This was, according to the widely accepted conjecture, only a few months before Shakespeare began to write 1 Henry IV. In 1563 Foxe had occasionally given the Catholic chroniclers the due owed by one scholar to others: for instance, he wrote that

it semeth the lesse maruell if Pollidorus [Vergil], being a learned man ouer muche fauoring the Popes parte, whose collectour he was sometyme in this Realme, seduced by other mens errours, did erre him selfe.<sup>94</sup>

By 1583 all such courtesy had gone. "Let vs nowe come to your Englishe Chronicles," Foxe addressed his chief antagonists in that year and again in 1596,

wherewith you see me to presse me, and to oppresse them, whom ye name to be Robert Fabian, Edward Halle, Polydor Virgilius, Thomas Cooper, Richard Grafton .... A dunghill of dirtie Dialogues conteining nothing in them but malitious railing, virulent slanders, manifest vntruthes, opprobrious contumelies, and stinking blasphemies, able almost to corrupt and infect the aire.

Oldcastle, Foxe persisted in saying, died a martyr, not a traitor:

the Lord Cobham was neuer executed by force of the inditement of outlawrie, because if he had, he should then haue bene brought to the barre in the kinges bench, and there the Iudges should haue demaunded of him, what he could haue said, why he should not haue died: and then not shewing sufficient cause for the discharge or delay of execution, the Iudges shoulde haue awarded and giuen the iudgement of treason: which being not so, it is cleare he was not executed vppon the Inditement.

Foxe clenched his argument with a quotation from the Minutes of Council of 1417, to the effect that,

in the said parliament, after the martyrdome of this valiant knight, motion then was made, that the lord Powes might be thanked and rewarded, according to the proclamation made, for his great trauaile taken in the apprehension of Sir Iohn Oldecastle knight, herticke. Thus stand the words of the record. Where two thinges are to be noted: first, how sir Iohn here in the record is called not traitour. but

hereticke onely. Secondlie, marke howe this brother of Iudas here craueth his rewardes, for betraying the innocent bloud. Wherein it is not to be doubted, but that his light fee, and quid vultis mihi dare in this worlde, will haue an heauie reward hereafter in the worlde to come, vnlesse hee repented, &c.<sup>95</sup>

William Lord Cobham, whose late wife had found "in the Ecclesiasticall Historie her most delight",<sup>96</sup> must have been familiar with this perennial argument. It probably intruded itself even into his muniment room. In a great illuminated pedigree of his family which was drawn up in 1571 and which was most likely done for him, it is said that Oldcastle,

thourough the hatred of Thomas Arondell Archebisshoppe of Cantorbury and others of the Clergy, was for the testimony of his fayth brought out of the Kinges fauor, and after most cruelly putte to deathe: Anno -- [5] of Henry the fifte.<sup>97</sup>

If Cobham believed this to be the true interpretation of the events of Oldcastle's last years, he must have taken Foxe's part in the great quarrel. That he did not believe it, at least not unreservedly and with enough fervour to want to assert his belief, is perhaps suggested by his failure to use his undoubted influence as a Councillor to require the writers of Holinshed's Chronicles to bring their utterly unimpassioned account of Oldcastle more into line with the attitude taken by Foxe. The revision of much of the second edition of Holinshed which was ordered by the government in 1587 provided Cobham with the opportunity to force such a change, but he evidently did not take it, for the revised Chronicles treated Oldcastle in exactly the same words as the original had done.

Yet, disinclined though Cobham may have been to interfere in the Oldcastle controversy, the theory which has been advanced requires one to believe that he must have been struck by the contrast in the dual life which the Lollard was leading in his two reincarnations. For the valiant martyr of the Actes and Monuments and the rowdy buffoon of The Famous Victories would indeed have shared nothing but a name.

Mention of the pedigree of 1571 reminds one that William Lord Cobham was of course not only an Anglican who may well have followed the course of the religious dispute over Oldcastle. He was also the head of the family which the controversial Lollard had once represented, and the bearer of the title by which Oldcastle was

known. Even the short excerpts from Foxe which have been quoted show how readily the martyrologist used both Oldcastle's name and his title in referring to him. Bale and the chroniclers did the same. Indeed, Bale led Foxe into making Oldcastle a Cobham by birth and thus into giving him the same ancestry as that of the Brookes. The Herefordshire knight was, according to Bale, the son of "the lorde Regnolde of Cobham [whom] Johan Frosyart numbereth alwayes amongst the most worthy warryours of Englande".<sup>98</sup> Foxe evidently accepted Bale's statement, for he says that Oldcastle "the sayde Lorde Cobham was a man of great byrth."<sup>99</sup> Holinshed was a better genealogist: he wrote of "Sir Iohn Oldcastell, which by his wife was called lord Cobham".<sup>100</sup> Only Parsons the Jesuit, however, followed Holinshed;<sup>101</sup> it was Foxe who, as the biographer of Oldcastle, was widely known and upon whom Protestant writers continued to rely. There was, for instance, John Weever, who published in 1601 a work which had been made ready for the press at the time of Falstaff's first popularity in the late 1590s. This was The Mirror of Martyrs, subtitled and sufficiently described as The Life and death of that thrice valiant Capitaine, and most godly Martyre Sir Iohn Old-castle knight Lord Cobham, in which its author hoped to capitalize upon the current interest in all things Oldcastlian. Weever relied entirely upon Foxe for his interpretation of the Lollard's career, and even went back to Foxe's own source for his genealogical facts, for it was from Bale that he took Oldcastle's description of

My father Reignold Cobham (whom so many  
Haue crown'd with euer-greene victorious baies).<sup>102</sup>

The mis-statements of the Protestant canonists reach, in fact, their most extreme development in Weever, who contrived to confuse Reignold Lord Cobham of Sterborough with his distant cousin, the patriot Lord Cobham of Kent whose grand-daughter and heir Oldcastle married. Thus Rochester Bridge and Rochester Bridge Chapel, both erected by the patriot, are attributed by Weever to the munificence of Old-castle's<sup>father,</sup> with the result that seventeen pages of the Mirror are taken up with a long and silly poetic discourse on the Medway. Even when Weever took a hint from Holinshed and inconsistently made Oldcastle's wife Lady Cobham in her own right, he was incapable of identifying her with Joan de la Pole. She became Joan's grand-

mother, the old patriot lord's wife Margaret Courtenay: "My beauteous wife, my Margarite of worth", rhapsodizes Weever's Oldcastle, who says of fortune,

Shee join'd me with a Ladie faire in marriage;  
By whose high honour I first won the name  
And Seignorie of Cobhams endlesse fame.<sup>103</sup>

Modern critics who call the Brookes the descendants of Oldcastle are evidently in a long tradition of writers who have found the Cobham family tree confusing.

The failure of the influential Foxe and his disciples to master the intricacies of his pedigree cannot have worried William Lord Cobham very much. The genealogical tables in his possession would have made it clear to him that they were wrong, yet he seems not to have taken the trouble to enlighten them. Had Foxe, who so often refers in the Actes and Monuments to receiving material relevant to his work even as he sat down to write ("As I was entring into this storie of the L. Cobham, ... commeth to my hands a certaine booke of newe found dialogues ..."),<sup>104</sup> been given a copy of the following note from the pedigree of 1571 which has already been mentioned, the whole matter of the Brookes' connection with Oldcastle would have been cleared up. "The which Johan Lady Cobham," states the pedigree,

tooke to her thirde [sic: fourth] husbände Sr John Oldcastell knight who in her right was seased of the barony of Cobham ... After whose decease the Barony of Cobham did descende to Sir Thomas Broke knight in the right of Johan his wife daughter of the foresayde Johan Lady Cobham by Sir Reignolde Braybrooke knight her secōd husbände: In whose ofspringe the sayde Barony of Cobham is honorably contynued to this day.

One may interpret rather significantly Cobham's failure to interfere with Foxe. One might suppose that, if Sir John Oldcastle did indeed appear in The Famous Victories, Cobham accepted with equanimity the knowledge that most of the theatre-going world not only identified the character with the Lollard who had once borne his title, but also thought that the clown-cum-martyr was indeed his ancestor. By 1596 Shakespeare, like everyone else, would then have been accustomed to take the baron's forbearance for granted.

The theorist must now say the obvious. The Oldcastle of The Famous Victories cannot often, even when he was first created, have made his presence felt in the great world. He was no more than a minor character in a rowdy Elizabethan romp through chronicle history. Lord Cobham probably would have had no difficulty in

ignoring him. But Shakespeare's Oldcastle was a very different character indeed. He was the inimitable Falstaff, of whose immediate success there can be no doubt. Nor would those who wished to see in him more than just a stage character have had trouble in identifying him with a figure of even broader consequence. For, apparently regarding Cobham's negligence as assurance that the baron would not object to further irreverence, Shakespeare seems to have gone to the chronicles for some of the material from which he constructed this new Oldcastle. Baeske and those writers who follow him perhaps go too far in seeing quite so many reflections of the original Lollard in Falstaff as they do. Yet these critics must have had their Elizabethan counterparts among affronted Puritans and disgruntled courtiers, on the one part those who were jealous of the martyr's reputation, and on the other those who delighted in pointing out anything which would embarrass the favoured Brookes. Such contemporary critics of 1 Henry IV must have been struck, among the parallels which Baeske discovered and the others which one might cite, at least by the resemblances between the stage highwayman and the thieving Lollard of the Catholic chroniclers, between the Falstaffian attempts at corrupting the prince and Oldcastle's supposed intention of luring Henry V into damnable heresy, between the stage pharisee whose "conversation bespeaks a familiarity with Scripture that we do not find in most of Shakespeare's characters"<sup>105</sup> and the traditionally sanctimonious, 'lolling' Oldcastle. The enormousness of Shakespeare's Oldcastle, and the enormity of what he could be thought to imply, could not be ignored.

Even after taking so much for granted, however, and after making the most of the conjectures about how Shakespeare can have offended the Brookes while the head of the family was Lord Chamberlain, the theorist finds himself still on no solid ground. For there is nothing to suggest with any degree of probability precisely who it was who required Shakespeare to remove Oldcastle from his play; when the change was made; or on what occasion, whether at a public or a courtly performance, the name of Falstaff was first spoken. This lack of evidence cannot be emphasized too much. It means that theorists who argue the case for censorship by either of the two Lords Cobham do so on nothing more than confidence in their own intuitive

powers. Attempts to link the question of the Brookes' part in the early history of Henry IV with their reactions to the other Falstaff plays must necessarily be even more fanciful. Richard James's statement that the house of Cobham objected to Oldcastle's depiction on stage is the only incontestable proof which one has that the Brookes took any notice whatever of Shakespeare, Shakespeare's reference to Oldcastle in the epilogue printed in the 1600 edition of 2 Henry IV the only indication that the dramatist felt any need to notice the furor created by the character which he had renamed Falstaff. All else is the product of retrospective imagination. The caveat formed by these facts must dominate one's mind if one is to avoid confusing, in what follows, the little which is known with the much which is conjectured.

A theorist who would accept the likelihood that 1 Henry IV was written in 1596 would also hold that its first Court performance was also given in that year. The quartos of 1598 and 1600 do not say that Queen Elizabeth saw Henry IV, but, in view of the tradition about the conception of The Merry Wives, the next conjecture which would have to be made is that Henry IV was presented before the queen in the winter of 1596-97. If one were willing to make this new supposition, one would be free, first to imagine 1 Henry IV being put on stage, at The Theatre or elsewhere, late in 1596 and attracting much attention, and then to suggest that its success induced Shakespeare to complete the second part in time for the whole to be given before the queen at Christmas. One might also suggest that the celebrity which gratified Shakespeare discomfited the extreme Protestant element in his audience (or, rather, the Puritans among the after-theatre companions of his audience). One recalls James's words that exception to the depiction on stage of the martyred Oldcastle was taken, not only "by personages descended from his title", but also "peradventure by manie others allso whoe ought to haue him in honourable memorie". It was especially Foxe and his followers who held Oldcastle 'in honourable memorie', those of the sterner sort of Protestants who were incapable of conniving at frivolous treatment of sacred subjects. Their attitude is reflected in John Weever, who dedicated his Mirror of Martyrs to William Covell, the learned Puritan divine who "railed against noblemen and bishops", those

profane sophisticates.<sup>106</sup> Weever told Covell that he was content that Oldcastle should "stand bare-headed to these churlish times, and endure the censure of his vtmost enemies, onely to make his Death more glorious." He then expressed, in a telling jeremiad, what were apparently his feelings about the use to which the story of the martyr had been put:

O times vntaught, men scorner of sound teaching  
Louers of playes, and loathers of preaching.<sup>107</sup>

Cobham is most unlikely to have shared Weever's point of view, but the baron's political experience would have made him regard as folly the further insult to the puritanic City fathers which the notorious travesty of Oldcastle constituted. By the time, therefore, that Shakespeare's company came to Court to prepare to entertain the queen with Henry IV at the end of 1596, it might well have found the Lord Chamberlain surprisingly censorious. Having come so far along the road of conjecture, one might as well imagine in what his censure would have consisted. The Chamberlain's strictures on the plays which were to be presented, or, rather, on the character in them called Sir John Oldcastle, would have been two. In the first place, Cobham would have pointed out, the players could not hope to survive if, already deprived of a patron who was also Lord Chamberlain, they wilfully aggravated the strained relations between themselves and the City authorities by lampooning a Protestant saint. Unless they wished to provide the Mayor and Aldermen with further cogent arguments for demanding their utter suppression, they had better cease to call their offensive character by the revered name of Oldcastle. Then, speaking more personally, Cobham would have announced his somewhat belated determination to put a stop to the laughter which was directed at his house. He had not condescended to notice The Famous Victories, but Henry IV presented a far more serious affront to him: he could not allow a travesty of his ancestress's husband, a man who had borne the title of Cobham, to wallow in vice upon the public stage in a play which everyone was going to see. 'Ancestress's husband' Cobham may have had to emphasize, for the players were probably as unaware as most people that Oldcastle was not the baron's ancestor, but only a connection whom Cobham respected, his 'great-great-grandfather's father's father-in-law'. To one

who objected that Cobham could hardly have been so precise as this, the theorist could reply that something of the sort must have given rise in the theatrical world to the Glutton's surely allusive statement in The Wandering-Jew, "Sir Iohn Old-castle was my greatgrandfathers fathers Uncle."<sup>108</sup>

Sir John Oldcastle, then, had on the Lord Chamberlain's orders to be removed from the dramatis personae of Henry IV. One would like to be able to accept the theory. Two characters called Harvey and Russell, the originals of Bardolph and Peto, were probably cut out of the play at the same time as Oldcastle; the theorist could argue that they went because courtiers bearing their names took advantage of Cobham's enforcement of censorship to do a little defending of family honour of their own.<sup>109</sup> That Ned Poins did not also disappear could be seen to indicate that Cobham showed much moderation when he exerted his authority, for his late wife had been the grand-daughter of one of the prolific Pointzes of Gloucestershire. (Through the birth of children, says Prince Hal to Poins (2 Henry IV II.ii.29-30), "the world increases and kindreds are mightily strengthened.") Indeed, there is much sound reasoning behind Sharpe's identification of Shakespeare's Poins, a gentleman of good family who is Prince Hal's most intimate companion, with William Pointz, the impecunious adventurer and servant of the Earl of Leicester who was Lady Cobham's first cousin.<sup>110</sup> If, in fact, the Lord Chamberlain could be proved to have endorsed the objections of the Russells of Bedford and of Sir William Harvey to the use of their names for stage characters, without troubling to raise a similar objection to the use of one which was borne by people who called his own children 'cousin', Cobham's complaints would seem to have been eminently reasonable. The grounds on which he made them would have been those of extreme provocation and not of excessive family pride. Thus, while concurring with Dover Wilson in attributing to the elder Cobham and not to his son the protest which resulted in the renaming of Falstaff, one could do so without endorsing Wilson's reasons, which are that William Lord Cobham is more likely than Henry to have been puritanically proud of his connection with the Lollard martyr.<sup>111</sup> One could align oneself rather with Green, who says that,

Actually, the elder Lord Cobham was more in a position to demand immediate remedial steps for this accidental slur on his family name. As Lord Chamberlain he had the power in Court as well as the authority to order either directly or through the Master of the Revels that the alteration be made.<sup>112</sup>

There would, to the theorist, seem to be a further reason for thinking that the majority of critics are wrong in making Henry Lord Cobham the original objector to the use of Oldcastle's name for Falstaff. It cannot be established precisely, even by those who accept the winter season of 1596-97 as the general period of performance, on which days the first presentation of the two parts of Henry IV was made at Court. Shakespeare's company played there on 26 and 27 December, and on 1 and 6 January, as well as after the Christmas season, on 6 and 8 February.<sup>113</sup> It is, however, sufficient for the theorist's purposes to assume that it was after seeing Henry IV on any one of those days that Queen Elizabeth traditionally expressed her approbation of the plays by saying that she would like to see more of Falstaff.

The tradition that it was a royal command which made Shakespeare write The Merry Wives of Windsor was not expressed in extant form until 1702, and is therefore of dubious authenticity. Its latest critic, however, while doubting the reliability of the corollary to it which asserts that Shakespeare wrote the play in a fortnight, accepts it as substantially trustworthy. As Green says in doing so,

Skepticism is healthy; but if there are strong facts lending credence to the legend and no definite contradictory evidence, the tradition deserves to be respected.<sup>114</sup>

The theorist who agrees with this judgement can profess to see in the very core of the story of the royal command a clue both to the time at which Oldcastle became Falstaff and to the identity of the lord, William or Henry, who brought about the change of name.

William Lord Cobham died on 6 March 1596/7. Almost a month before, on 8 February, Shakespeare's company had played at Court for the last time that winter, so that Henry IV, if the date assigned to its Court performance be accepted as the correct one, must have been seen by the queen during the elder Cobham's lifetime. Indeed, Cobham may himself have been present at the play as late as Sunday,

6 February, for it was probably either on that day or at another Sabbath performance, in December, that he used his authority to put down an obstreperous member of the audience.<sup>115</sup> The assumption that Elizabeth saw Henry IV at this time leads the theorist to the further conjecture that The Merry Wives was most probably written in March and April 1597, and first performed on St. George's Day. This is Green's conclusion, made after the closest study of the relevant information which has yet been conducted;<sup>116</sup> it is the same as that to which Humphreys comes,<sup>117</sup> and, while running counter to the deductions of both Chambers and Greg, who think that the play was written after Henry V (1599), it is sufficiently convincing to justify the theorist's regarding it as one of the less specious of the conjectures which he has to make. If the play was written at the queen's request, expressed after a Court performance of Henry IV, the argument would run, then Elizabeth must have become curious to see Falstaff in love at no later date than 8 February. That is, she made her request while William Lord Cobham was still alive.

The theory now requires one to ask oneself how far Elizabeth is likely to have presumed upon her Lord Chamberlain's long-suffering attitude toward the whole Oldcastle affair, whether she would have let it be known that she was interested in Oldcastle's love-life. Oldcastle in an amorous mood would, one way or another, have connoted Oldcastle and Joan de la Pole, the woman from whom Cobham was descended and from whom he derived his title and estate. It would, in short, have encroached far more upon Cobham's family honour than the aspects of Oldcastle which were presented in Henry IV and perhaps in The Famous Victories had ever done. It would be speculation only, but speculation at least founded in what one knows of the queen's consistent course of upholding the dignity of her faithful peers and servants, to assert that Elizabeth is most unlikely to have desired to see further into Oldcastle's private life until the Lollard had been decently hidden behind the name of Falstaff. And if Elizabeth did first see Henry IV after Falstaff had got his immortal name, the changes in the plays must have been ordered and executed in the lifetime of William Lord Cobham. The conclusion deserves as much respect as the string of conjectures from which it is derived.

The Merry Wives was presented on 23 April 1597, when Henry Lord Cobham was the

defender of his family's honour: the theorist who maintains this is next concerned to consider what would have been the baron's attitude toward a play in which a character is pseudonymously known as 'Brooke'. For the disguised Master Ford, in the printed texts of The Merry Wives, becomes Master Brooke in the quarto of 1602 and not Master Broome until the Folio of 1623. To explain convincingly why Shakespeare used this alias for his ridiculous little burgher is a task at which the most ingenious have failed, perhaps because what is known of the perplexing textual history of The Merry Wives is too fragmentary to admit of even such explanation as would meet the standards of the theory. Even Green, usually so capable in dealing with the intricacies of the first months of Falstaff's life, falters in this respect. His hypothesis that Shakespeare was so carried away by his fondness for the punning connection between 'Ford' and 'Brooke' that he failed utterly to associate the latter name with the house of Cobham is too ingenuous. The dramatist might conceivably have been ignorant of the late Lord Chamberlain's surname, but Cobham's sons had become prominent at Court by the time their father died, and they were of course known as the Brookes. It is impossible to endorse Green's view that it was only "in the course of rehearsing" their new play that Shakespeare's company "realized that Brooke was also the name of the late Lord Cobham who had objected so strenuously to the appearance of Oldcastle in 1 Henry IV.<sup>118</sup>

Yet, if he does not attribute Shakespeare's use of the name 'Brooke' to inadvertency, the theorist is pretty well forced to attribute it to malice, or at least to mischievousness. It might perhaps be argued that, as a mild form of reprisal for the labour of revision which the Lord Chamberlain had caused him, Shakespeare thought that he would make Cobham's son experience a little discomfort. He might have done it in the belief that the new Lord Cobham, being a young man and one unencumbered with the responsibility of maintaining the dignity of senior public offices, would take the matter lightly. More probably, it could be said, writing in March and early April 1597, Shakespeare thought that Henry Brooke would never have the power to retaliate even should he object strongly to the misuse of his

family name. The new lord was fighting for his political life in those weeks, and his opponent was the previously unchecked Essex himself, who had sworn that if "her Majesty would grace ... [Cobham] with Honor, I may haue right Cause to thincke my self litle regarded by her."<sup>119</sup> Such an ultimatum seemed to mean that there was no room at Court for both the earl and the baron, and to envisage Elizabeth without Essex near her was beyond most men's imaginations in the mid-'90s. Then, on 13 April, a courtier reported that

My Lord Cobham is come vp, and now yt wilbe quickly knowen what Success he is like to haue in the Cinq Portes. Till the Queen had spoken with hym, she wold make no Graunt of yt.<sup>120</sup>

If the Lord Wardenship did not go to Cobham, Essex had won, and the general opinion was that, with Essex triumphant, no one would ever again have to consider Cobham's feelings about anything. Cobham knew this too, and after an inconclusive interview with the queen he went to see her again, at just about the time when, on 17 April, George Lord Hunsdon "had the Whyte Staffe giuen hym, and therby Lord Chamberlain". From his second talk with Elizabeth, Cobham emerged quite a different man from the one who had gone in: she had used him "better then at the first; and he is assured of the Place".<sup>121</sup> It was not until May that the Lord Wardenship was actually granted to him, and September before his patent was signed, but from mid-April onward Cobham had to be reckoned with as a power in the state. The public quarrel with Essex had put him on his mettle, and the aspersions cast by the Essexians upon him and his father had no doubt given him an increased sense of family pride. He could not safely be baited from the stage at Whitehall during the festivities of St. George's Day. Looking back over what he had written of his new play during the weeks of Cobham's eclipse, the theorist might say, Shakespeare most probably thought that the few Oldcastle allusions in the text could pass muster. The 'castle' which is mentioned in connection with Falstaff's chamber at the Garter Inn could, and still can be taken to allude to nothing more than the old saying that a man's home is his castle; and the recurrent 'bully-rook' is also a phrase suggestive of the Host's 'olde English' jocularities, applied by him as an epithet not only to Falstaff but to Page, Shallow and Ford as well. Indeed, few critics try to maintain that these were conscious allusions to

the Oldcastle story at all. In the circumstances, however, the alias 'Brooke' would admit of no such innocent interpretation. It had to go.

In place of 'Brooke', according to the theoretical reconstruction of the course of Shakespeare's composition of The Merry Wives, the dramatist put 'Broome', the alias which Ford uses in the Folio text of the play. Green and other critics have tried to discover a man of that name who was prominent enough in the mid-'90s "to warrant a topical allusion to him at a Garter feast play".<sup>122</sup> One questions the need of such an actual prototype: the name is so close to 'Brooke' that one suspects it was chosen for the sake of convenience in emendation alone. Yet, for what the information is worth, one may say that there was a Mr. Broom who was apparently employed by the government in connection with Irish affairs late in 1595, and that this Broom the Brookes treated with some courtesy. On 9 October 1595 William Lord Cobham wrote to his eldest son from Richmond,

Son Harry, I pray tell Mr. Broom that his wife is come over and landed well at Dover. He shall do well to find his contrivances for her to come to London, and to provide her a place to remain there until he have been in Ireland. I send hereinclosed a letter to the commissioners of Dover to suffer her to come away with her necessaries....

P.S. I send you my son Cecil's letter for the receipt of the 30 l. Let him [Broom] have some 5 l. to send for his wife; the rest he shall have when he is ready to go into Ireland.<sup>123</sup>

Nothing more is heard of Mr. Broom. His association with the Brookes would seem to have been an official one, having to do with his service to Cecil and the government rather than with any personal relations which existed between him and the Lords Cobham. Shakespeare's use of this name almost certainly would not have been construed as an allusion to anyone in the Brookes' circle.

It is at this point that the theory again finds its ablest spokesman in Green. While pursuing an argument different from the present one, he also reaches the conclusion that Shakespeare must have found himself, within a very short time of the scheduled first performance of his play, again faced with the need of changing a character's name. That Shakespeare substituted 'Broome' for 'Brooke', and that it was as Master Broome that Ford confronted Falstaff at Whitehall on St. George's Day 1597, Green has no doubt. As he says,

There is good reason to suspect a hasty job of altering. The substitution of an m for a k in the players' parts and the prompt book it easily accomplished. But surely Shakespeare would have realized that he had lost his pun with the revised reading 'such Broomes are welcome to mee, that ore'-flowes such liquor. ...' At the last minute he probably found it too complicated to rewrite the whole speech, and knew that in performance the botched pun would pass unnoticed. Had he not had a similar experience in 1 Henry IV when he altered Oldcastle to Falstaff? There was that twist to 'my old Lad of the Castle' in 1.ii.47-48 which he retained even though the reference was now meaningless. Again he let a botched pun go through; and because of lack of interest in accuracy in printed versions of plays, it remained in the script right down through the printing of the Folio.<sup>124</sup>

Green's explanation is attractive compared with the theories which fail completely to consider how Shakespeare's company would have dared affront, by using his name on the stage, a nobleman whose family they had already so recently offended, and one who moreover seemed likely to enjoy the queen's special favour. Yet one must again demur from accepting as proved another critical hypothesis of revision for which there is no textual evidence.

Green is also bound to explain the reappearance in the earliest printing of the play, the quarto of 1602, of the name originally intended as Ford's alias. He does so on the basis of Greg's well known theory, endorsed by Chambers, that the quarto embodies a text which was memorially reconstructed and that the person responsible for the reconstruction was the actor who had created the rôle of the Host. "The Host," says Green,

is the first character who learns that Ford has adopted the alias of Brooke, and he promises accordingly 'thy name shall be Broome [Brooke].' Thus, the Host would have been one of the actors called upon to relearn the line. He would also have been aware of the efforts of the other actors to memorize the new name at the last minute. (It appears forty-two times in the Folio.) And he possibly knew the reason behind the change. When he came to reconstruct the play, he remembered the incident and restored the Brooke reading to the text.....

This individual no longer had to fear any possible affront being taken at the name Brooke. With the reconstruction made for a provincial tour, the chances of anyone witnessing a performance who might object to a Brooke among the characters are slim. Furthermore, with the excision of all dialogue in the Quarto which touches on Court affairs, what remains is a play cast in a rustic setting. Thus Brooke becomes simply a common Elizabethan name and settles among the Fords and Pages without attracting any undue attention to itself.<sup>125</sup>

It is generally agreed that the Folio text of The Merry Wives was set up from a

manuscript either "of a playhouse or a literary type".<sup>126</sup> Green accepts this opinion, and it is when one considers the embarrassing difficulties into which all critics but he have got themselves in explaining why, in 1623, 'Brooke' should have been changed to 'Broome', that one appreciates fully the seductiveness of the theory, and in particular that part of it which holds that the emendation was made by Shakespeare while The Merry Wives was still in the writing or the rehearsal stage. Greg and Chambers, sanest of previous theorists on this point, can only fall back upon the supposition that the Folio publishers were afraid of offending the now familiar 'susceptibilities' of the house of Cobham,<sup>127</sup> Neither of them undertakes to explain who of the family there was to fear in 1623, four years after the death of the long impotent Henry Lord Cobham, and three years before his young nephew William even began, by receiving his knighthood, to count for anything in Court and Parliament. Green prefers to make a different kind of insupportable suggestion; he says only that while "the pirated Quarto retained the original reading of Brooke ... the mother text of the Folio carried the revised Broome" into all editions of Shakespeare until Alexander Pope in 1725 incorporated into his the variant preserved in the quarto.<sup>128</sup> Green's explanation of this minor crux of course lacks proof, but it is the most reasonable which has yet been adduced. That it is the only one which is not incompatible with what is known of the situation at Court early in 1597, however, says much for Green's ingenuity, nothing for the verifiability of what he says.

Shakespeare's encounter with the Brookes ought thus, according to the theory, to have been restricted to differences over Henry IV. It had not been a violent encounter, and tempers must have been equable indeed if the players had to make no more abject a public confession of their fault concerning Oldcastle than that which is indicated by the epilogue to 2 Henry IV. This epilogue is a curious piece, with what was probably a complex history behind it. It can be suggested that the amends which it represents were originally made over a fairly extended period of time. There is reference in it to an address made at the end of an earlier play, which, while it has never been identified with 1 Henry IV, the theorist might

think is more likely to have been that work than any other in the Shakespeare canon. For the unnamed play is said to have been 'displeasing', and, considering that the offence for which the epilogue otherwise apologizes seems to have concerned Falstaff, there would appear to be reason for believing that it was to dissatisfaction with the travestied Oldcastle that Shakespeare refers throughout. If one accepted this suggestion, and admitted the likelihood that the extant epilogue once consisted of only half its present length,<sup>129</sup> the rest being later in date, one could allow the theorist to posit three separate occasions on which Shakespeare expressed his regret for having offended with Henry IV. That is, he thrice apologized for misusing Oldcastle's name.

There is nothing in the epilogue to indicate to what sort of audience it was directed: Dover Wilson's opinion that the reference to 'gentlewomen' in the second part is to Court ladies is highly questionable, and does nothing to identify the location of the performance at which the first part was spoken.<sup>130</sup> The theory holds that Oldcastle cannot be thought ever to have appeared at Court, so that Shakespeare, in apologizing for offending an audience by presenting to them the travestied Lollard, must have been addressing a public assembly. It was the same which he had confronted after their expression of displeasure concerning the unnamed play which has been tentatively identified with 1 Henry IV. Theoretically, then, the lost address spoken on that earlier occasion by Shakespeare or his representative must have been made late in 1596, before the players went to Court, and before one of them found himself acting Falstaff in place in Oldcastle. What the nature of the audience's displeasure was cannot be established, but the theorist might suggest that it was religious; if it was, then a definite public outcry may have been behind what are supposed to have been the Lord Chamberlain's fears that the players were antagonizing the City with their lampoon. Such discussion is, however, even for the theorist, too suppositional to be indulged. What he might pretty well believe is that Shakespeare and his fellows came away from Court in February 1596/7 with a new second part to a play of which the first had been introduced to the public before Christmas, and that at some time between then and the closure of the theatres in July an actor came forward at the end of a per-

formance of 2 Henry IV and spoke the following words:

First my fear; then my courtesy; last my speech. My fear is, your displeasure; my courtesy, my duty; and my speech, to beg your pardons. If you look for a good speech now, you undo me: for what I have to say is of mine own making; and what indeed I should say will, I doubt, prove mine own marring. But to the purpose, and so to the venture. Be it known to you, as it is very well, I was lately here in the end of a displeasing play, to pray your patience for it and to promise you a better. I meant indeed to pay you with this; which, if like an ill venture it come unluckily home, I break, and you, my gentle creditors, lose. Here I promised you I would be and here I commit my body to your mercies: bate me some and I will pay you some and, as most debtors do, promise you infinitely.

When, not long afterward, the theatres were closed, the Shakespeare of the theory might even have considered the dramatic ban to be not entirely a bad thing. He had rechristened Oldcastle at the instance of the late Lord Chamberlain, and had managed to avoid giving further offence to the Brooke family by a strategic substitution of names in The Merry Wives; he had satisfied the more pious of the play-goers in his public audience by displaying to them the revised version of 1 Henry IV and by giving them another play or two in which Falstaff had never been known to them under any name but his own. When the inevitable time came for his reappearance on stage, the fat knight could start afresh, unhampered by the unfortunate connotations of his original. To give added publicity to his reform, it was apparently also decided that Falstaff should appear in print rather sooner than did most successful stage figures, and in February 1597/8 1 Henry IV was entered at Stationers Hall under a descriptive title. Prominent in it was the name of 'Sir John Ffalstoff'. Soon afterward the play went to press, the earliest extant printing of it being a second quarto dated 1598.<sup>131</sup> The Famous Victories also came out in 1598, catching "a prospective reader's eye on the first page" with the name of Sir John Oldcastle.<sup>132</sup> Shakespeare could only have consoled himself with the knowledge that, while licence may be tolerated in the obscure, responsibility is demanded of the famous.

It was perhaps not by coincidence that The Famous Victories appeared in 1598. Thomas Creede, in publishing it, was probably taking advantage of what seems to have been the disappointment of Shakespeare's hopes that the newly named Falstaff

would be allowed to forget his past career. For interest in the Oldcastle controversy had by no means ended in 1597, as one can show in a brief excursion out of the treacherous realm of theory. It cannot be definitely established who was responsible for sustaining Falstaff's former connection with the house of Cobham, but a clue to his identity is provided by the Earl of Essex's letter of February 1597/8. This letter, which has already been quoted, was written only a few days after the entry of 1 Henry IV in the Stationers' Register, and suggests that, while Shakespeare and his company were acting in good faith in publicizing the change of name, the new Lord Cobham's political opponents were determined to frustrate their efforts. And indeed, Essex and his party, by letting it be known that they regarded Falstaff as merely a perpetuation of the travestied Lollard Lord Cobham under a new name, may well have nullified all that the players could do to give him an exclusively dramatic existence, unassociated with historical and religious controversy. Only the enemies of Henry Lord Cobham, seeing in it the means of ridiculing the baron by comparing him with his undecievingly renamed dramatic namesake, can have had an interest in keeping the Oldcastle story alive. That they did so to amuse themselves is suggested by Essex's letter and by that of the Countess of Southampton, which was also mentioned earlier; that they even went so far as to call Henry IV by the Lollard's forbidden name is suggested by another letter written by one of their circle. This was a report which Rowland Whyte made on 8 March 1599/1600 to his master, Sir Robert Sidney, the man for whose appointment to the Lord Wardenship of the Cinque Ports Essex had fought so bitterly and so unsuccessfully against the younger Cobham three years before. Whyte's subject was the entertainment which Lord Buckhurst and Lord Hunsdon were giving to Verryken, the ambassador whom the Spanish Archdukes of the Netherlands had sent to England to arrange a peace treaty with Spain.<sup>133</sup> "All this Weeke," wrote Whyte,

the Lords haue bene in London, and past away the Tyme in Feasting and Plaies; for Vereiken dined vpon Wednesday, with my Lord Treasurer, who made hym a Roiall Dinner; vpon Thursday my Lord Chamberlain feasted hym, and made him very great, and a delicate Dinner, and there in the After Noone his Plaiers acted, before Vereiken, Sir John Old Castell, to his great Contentment.<sup>134</sup>

This account is well known to students of the Falstaff question. They agree that

Verryken, since he was entertained by Shakespeare's company, can hardly have seen anything <sup>other</sup> than one of the parts of Henry IV, for the play properly called Sir John Oldcastle, although it was in existence by this time, was in the repertory of the rival Admiral's Men.<sup>135</sup> One might also point out how undiplomatic it would have been to inflict upon a representative of Catholic sovereigns a work which eulogizes a Lollard heretic's defence of himself against the persecution of the Roman Catholic Church. The entertainment which Verryken was given was thus, in all probability, a Falstaff play. Arranged by a minister who was, with Sir Robert Cecil, Buckhurst and the Earl of Nottingham, a principal promoter of the treaty with Spain, it is inconceivable that this entertainment should have been a gratuitous insult to Henry Lord Cobham, who was not only Cecil's brother-in-law, his and Buckhurst's political ally, and Nottingham's prospective son-in-law, but who was also reputed to be an Hispanophile, whose interest in Verryken may well have taken him, despite an injury to his foot which was then inconveniencing him, to the play that March afternoon. The controversial Lollard's name cannot have been spoken on the Lord Chamberlain's private stage. Verryken must have seen Falstaff, and it was only Whyte, writing to his Essexian master, who perversely spoke of Oldcastle.

The Essex faction, then, evidently persisted in thinking of Falstaff as Oldcastle, and even in calling him that. Shakespeare can hardly be held responsible for their obstinacy, yet he may well have been blamed at the time for the continued use of the censored name which their example provoked. Driven to defend himself, he may have decided to add something to the simple epilogue which he had written earlier. To suggest that he did so, however, one must again assume the rôle of the ideal theorist, for there is no evidence to corroborate the suggestion. What the theorist would hold is that, at some time after the theatres re-opened in the late autumn of 1597, and probably after the ineffective publication of the change of Oldcastle's name in the quartos of 1598, an actor once again came forward to address an audience which had just seen a performance of 2 Henry IV. He could hardly have repeated the words of the original epilogue: many months would have passed, if the theoretical chronology is to be accepted, since he had stood there apologizing

for the 'displeasing play', so that the phrase 'I was lately here' would at least have required emendation: but he may have asked, one way or another, that his hearers accept the play which they had just seen as reparation for some previous offence. For, offering to dance for them, he said,

If my tongue cannot entreat you to acquit me, will you command me to use my legs? and yet that were but light payment, to dance out of your debt. But a good conscience will make any possible satisfaction, and so would I. All the gentlewomen here have forgiven me: if the gentlemen will not, then the gentlemen do not agree with the gentlewomen, which was never seen before in such an assembly.

What it was about which the speaker had 'a good conscience' he probably made explicit in the conclusion of his little speech:

One word more, I beseech you. If you be not too much cloyed with fat meat, our humble author will continue the story, with Sir John in it, and make you merry with fair Katharine of France: where, for any thing I know, Falstaff shall die of a sweat, unless already a' be killed with your hard opinions; for Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man. My tongue is weary; when my legs are too, I will bid you good night: and so kneel down before you; but, indeed, to pray for the queen.

Several critics are of the opinion that this speech can hardly have been spoken while tempers were really heated over the Oldcastle business; for instance, Dover Wilson says "I cannot believe it was uttered on the stage while the matter was still dangerous."<sup>136</sup> The theorist inclines to agree with him, for the theoretical Shakespeare would probably not have promised to extend Falstaff's career if what was already known of it were still causing a furore. Nor is the addition to the epilogue, if it were meant as an apology demanded by irate authorities, likely to have taken such a bantering tone. On the whole, it could be argued, it seems probable that Shakespeare made his explicit disclaimer of any intention of abusing Oldcastle only when the controversy had pretty well moved away from its starting point on the stage and was being carried on in more obviously political circles. The dramatist, by asserting the innocence of his meaning from beginning to end, of the affair, was merely dissociating himself from the unpredictable course of a deadly Court quarrel.

If Shakespeare hoped, however, that he had only to bide his time until it would be safe to continue his surely lucrative and satisfying progress through the story

of Sir John Falstaff, the theorist holds that he was mistaken. For when he set out in 1599 to fulfil his promise of showing Henry V in France, there was no possibility of staging a play 'with Sir John in it'. Various reasons have been advanced for the death of Falstaff off-stage in Henry V. Greg thinks that the defection from the company of the actor who had created the rôle prevented Shakespeare from bringing him on stage;<sup>137</sup> other critics have pointed out most convincingly that Falstaff's end in the history plays is his rejection by the newly crowned Hal, and that any other would be anti-climactic. J.H. Walter adduces much bibliographical and textual evidence to show that Shakespeare did not mean to leave out Falstaff at all, that he wrote a part for him in the play and that this part was hurriedly cut, badly deranging the text and necessitating much new writing and revision. "The conclusion is inescapable; Falstaff originally accompanied Henry to France."<sup>138</sup> 'The burning quotidian tertian' which, according to Dame Quickly (Henry V II.i.125), finally killed the huge character was thus the potent anger of Edmund Tilney, Master of the Revels, sparked by the protests of Henry Lord Cobham. Walter thinks that

the Brooke family, realizing that they could not stop people from calling Falstaff Oldcastle, determined to prevent Falstaff appearing on the stage in a third play, and in this they were successful.

(Walter might have added that Tilney, a connection of the Howards, would probably not have needed much persuading to interfere on behalf of Lady Kildare's husband-to-be.) Continuing his argument, Walter says:

The illness and death of Falstaff look like the result of an agreement with the Brookes that Shakespeare should not introduce Falstaff in person, but would be permitted to give the old rogue an ending that might, in some measure of the letter if not in the spirit, fulfil the promise in the Epilogue to 2 Henry IV, 'for anything I know Falstaff shall die of a sweat'. The Hostess's description is immortal, and the whole play is deepened in tone as a result. Yet the temptation to have one last jest at the expense of Oldcastle was irresistible. There could be no doubt that the audience would be breathlessly savouring every word for a topical hit. It came. The hostess, admitting in reply to the Boy, that Falstaff 'did in some sort, indeed, handle women', adds magnificently 'but then he was rheumatic, and talked of the whore of Babylon'. The F[olio] spelling 'rumatique' gives the pronunciation  $\bar{o}$  (compare the quibble in Julius Caesar, I.ii.155, on 'room' and 'Rome'). The insulting reference to the Church of Rome in 'whore of Babylon' completes the last glance at the Lollard Oldcastle.<sup>139</sup>

Walter is probably right, according to the theory, not to take up the sugges-

tion that the Hostess may also allude lightly to the Brookes themselves in her account of Falstaff's last hours. Sharpe, in discussing a character in A Warning for Fair Women (1599) who, shortly before his violent death, was in a dream "troubled with green meadows", notes that,

Perhaps, since 'a' babbled of green fields' is almost too good an emendation to be true, we may speculate of Falstaff that 'a' trobl'd of Greine fields.' Cobham had lands in the Isle of Greyne, Kent .... It is 'Graen' on Norden's map.<sup>140</sup>

There is nothing patently wrong with Sharpe's ingenious idea, for the Brookes were indeed landowners in the Isle of Grain, William Lord Cobham having left all of his property there to his youngest son, George.<sup>141</sup> One would, however, before recognizing a reference to Henry Lord Cobham in Falstaff's words about Grain, require evidence that the baron resented the diminution of his patrimony caused by this bequest to his brother, resented it, was known to be troubled by it or even babbled about it. There seems to be no such evidence, so that Sharpe's argument is ingenious only, not defensible, and no critic can persuasively contest Theobalds's famous emendation on the grounds of ingenuity alone.

Even without incorporating Sharpe's suggestion, Walter's theory is unnecessarily complicated by its suppositions, first of official censorship and then of a private agreement between Shakespeare and the Brookes. Yet it makes a substantial contribution to the theory, for it contains a core of probability which can be combined with the other reasons advanced to account for the failure of Falstaff to appear in Henry V to suggest what may have happened to Shakespeare in 1599.

It is generally agreed that there is an allusion to Essex's expedition to, and expected return in triumph from Ireland, to which he had gone to check Tyrone's rebellion in March, in the chorus to Act Five of Henry V:

Were now the general of our gracious empress,  
As in good time he may, from Ireland coming,  
Bringing rebellion broached on his sword,  
How many would the peaceful city quit  
To welcome him!

If these words reflect Shakespeare's political outlook for 1599, they must have been written, as Walter says, "nearer March than September" in that year, for the Irish campaign had become known for the disaster it was long before Essex returned

to England in September, a disgraced man and a traitor. Allusions to Henry V in a work which was completed by 16 October show that Shakespeare had put his play on stage before that date.<sup>142</sup> It can therefore be said of Shakespeare in 1599 that, while it cannot be established when he began to write Henry V, to have alluded in it to Essex's generalship in Ireland he must have been still working on the play after March, and that he had finished the writing of it and seen it produced before mid-October. The political situation changed radically between these two ascertained dates. Until Essex left for Ireland, the earl and Lord Cobham co-existed in a mutual distrust which had gone on for so long that their quarrel was at a stage of stalemate. Then Essex left England and Cobham, as has been shown earlier in this discussion, quickly moved into a position at Court in which he was justified in hoping for speedy preferment to high governmental office. Meanwhile Essex, entrusted with the suppression of the Irish rebellion, was being given his supreme chance of proving his indispensability to the queen: if he acquitted himself well, his power in England would be immeasurably increased. By June, however, while Cobham appeared to be nearing his goal of office, Essex was seen from the reports reaching England to be only marking time in Ireland, and his was a situation in which to do nothing was to do very badly indeed. He was losing face, and, what was worse, by his absence overseas he was losing the strength which his mere presence at Court usually gave to him. By the time he returned in September he had stripped himself of every real chance of success either in politics or in war, while Cobham had gained much through having had six months' respite from his private and public quarrel with his now fallen enemy. It is not hard to envisage Shakespeare setting out to keep his promise of writing a Henry V with Sir John in it in the late winter or early spring of 1599. The political situation involving Cobham was quiet, uneasy perhaps, but not at all likely to change markedly except to the baron's disadvantage. Either things would remain calm enough to permit Falstaff to return to the stage without causing Cobham undue annoyance, or else Essex would (as the fifth chorus in Henry V seems to anticipate) come back from Ireland so powerful that Cobham would be incapable of injuring the playing company which had unintentionally provided the earl with a

weapon of ridicule against his enemy. It is, on the other hand, hard indeed to believe that Shakespeare would have risked offending Cobham at any time after reports of Essex's shame reached England early in the summer. It was Cobham who then seemed about to become extremely powerful, and Essex, if defender of the baron's detractors he could ever have been depended upon to be, looked like becoming utterly useless. Moreover, if Shakespeare knew that Falstaff had been twisted by Essex to suit his own purposes when the earl's position was comparatively secure, the dramatist must have had to consider how much more trouble Essex might cause by misusing the stage when he was desperately afraid for his very political life. Shakespeare cannot have thought that he could afford to provide Essex with added fuel for his war of slander against Cobham.

Thus Shakespeare may have been deciding, at about the time when Lady Southampton was writing her secret news to her husband about Sir John Falstaff on 8 July, that the new chapter which he had written in the notorious knight's biography could never be published. If he had already been worrying about whom he would find to take on the rôle in place of the defected actor Kemp, and if he had found himself unable quite to bring his character to life again after having effectually killed him by means of the king's rejection in 2 Henry IV, Shakespeare may even have been relieved to find so cogent an excuse for cutting out the troublesome part. The magnificence of his substitute for it must soon have convinced him that his decision was the right one. One cannot know what really happened. To the theorist it appears, once again, just as plausible to attribute to Shakespeare's foresight and good sense the lack of all evidence of the revival of the Oldcastle scandal in 1599 in which the Master of the Revels had to intervene, as to postulate official censorship of which there is no record.

There is further reason for supposing that a new Falstaff play was projected in 1599 but that those who paid attention to the rumours which may have circulated in the theatre world about it had eventually to return to Henry IV to satisfy their interest in the scandalous character. Certainly something provoked the writing in 1599 of a retort to the travesty which Falstaff embodied, and yet that retort, the play of Sir John Oldcastle, was designed overtly to answer, not its

coeval and rival, Henry V, but the two parts of Shakespeare's earlier work. It is with an examination of Sir John Oldcastle that, after parting company with the theorists about Falstaff and the house of Cobham, one may conclude the discussion of the possibility that the Brookes were connected with the stage Oldcastle.

It is with some regret that one makes the obvious indictment of the theory which has carried one through so much material. For, fragile as it is, the theoretical framework enables one to show how, if only there were a little more definite information, one might reconstruct what really happened to make Falstaff's early history so controversial. No amount of elaboration of points seemingly related to one another, however, can substitute for the essential links which would prove that a protracted engagement did in fact take place in the 1590s between the Brookes and the Falstaff which the Essexians turned to their political advantage. These links have not been discovered. Without them one can only say, with James, that the house of Cobham objected to Falstaff's original name; that Shakespeare had rechristened his character, at least for the purposes of publication, by February 1598; that for more than forty years the rejected name continued to be preferred to the new one by some writers and theatre men; and, finally, that the younger Lord Cobham's political enemies seem to have associated Falstaff with the baron. Theories about the connection of the Brookes with the drama which go beyond these facts have only a curiosity value as contributions to the study of sixteenth-century stage history.

One's approach to the work which remains to be discussed must differ from that which one has taken to the Falstaff plays. Without an enormous canon of specious theory to consider, one may become a little more constructive and try to place the new piece in its historical context. In doing so one runs the risk of incurring the stigma which one has placed upon others, but by restricting oneself to one factually unwarranted assumption only, one can perhaps do something to elucidate a neglected play without losing it in a complex of conjecture. Only The first part Of the true and honorable historie of the life of Sir John Old-castle, the good Lord Cobham, "As it hath been lately acted by the right honorable the Earle of

Notingham Lord high Admirall of England his seruants," now exists, and it is clearly incomplete without its sequel, "the second pte of S<sup>r</sup> Iohn ould Casell" for which Michael Drayton was paid £ 4 in December 1599.<sup>143</sup> The first part was apparently finished by 16 October 1599, when the following entry was made in the diary of Philip Henslowe, financier of the Lord Admiral's company:

Receved by me Thomas downton of phillipp Henschlow to pay m<sup>r</sup> monday m<sup>r</sup> drayton & m<sup>r</sup> willson & haythway for the first pte of the lyfe of S<sup>r</sup> Iohn Ouldcastell & in earnest of the Second pte for the vse of the company ten pownd I say receved . . . 1011

That Anthony Munday was the chief collaborator in the writing of the first part is suggested by the payment in the first week of November of 10s. to "M<sup>r</sup> Mundaye & the Reste of the poets at the playnge of S<sup>r</sup> Iohn oldcastell the ferste tyme as a gefte". It was Drayton who received payment for the second part, whether as sole author or as representative of Munday, Robert Wilson, Thomas Hathway and himself cannot be established. On 12 March 1599/1600 Henslowe paid out 30s. for costumes for the second part, and on 17 August and on 7 September 1602, when the Admiral's Men had parted with their rights in the play to Worcester's company, it was Thomas Dekker who was paid "for new a dicyons in owldcastelle". Thomas Pavier on 11 August 1600 entered both parts in the Stationers' Register,

viz.

The first parte of the history of the life of Sir John oldcastell lord Cobham.

Item the second and last parte of the history of Sir John oldcastell lord Cobham with his martyrdom.

In the same year he published the first part, but the second apparently never reached the press, nor did what Percy Simpson thinks may have been Dekker's "amalgamation of the two parts into a single play".<sup>144</sup> No author is named in Pavier's 1600 publication, and the contention on the title-page of his fraudulently dated second quarto of the first part of the play, that it was "Written by William Shakespeare", is no longer taken seriously. As Mrs. Tillotson says, "Pavier was making use of the confusion in the popular mind between ... [the] two rival interpretations of Oldcastle."<sup>145</sup>

Such then is the ascertained compositional and bibliographical history of Sir John Oldcastle. Several features of the surviving play show that the whole was

intended to rival Henry IV. There is the fact that it was composed in two parts, the first breaking off as abruptly as does Henry IV and with less artistic success.<sup>146</sup> There is the encounter between the disguised Henry V and the thieving Sir John, parson of Wrotham, in which direct allusion is made to Falstaff's exploits:

sir Iohn Sirra no more adoe, come, come, giue me the mony you haue, dispatch, I cannot stand all day.

King Wel, if thou wilt needs haue it, there tis: iust the prouerb, one thiefe robs another, where the diuel are all my old theeues, that were wont to keepe this walke? Falstaffe the villaine is so fat, he cannot get on's horse, but me thinkes Paines and Peto should be stirring here abouts.

. . .

sir Iohn Me thinks the King should be good to theeues, because he has bin a thiefe himselfe, though I thinke now he be turned true-man.

King Faith I haue heard indeed he has had an il name that way in his youth, but how canst thou tell he has beene a thiefe?

sir Iohn How? because he once robde me before I fell to the trade my selfe, when that foule villainons [sic] guts, that led him to all that rogerie, was in's company there, that Falstaffe.<sup>147</sup>

There is, most significantly, the prologue to the play, which gives one the clue to what Sir John Oldcastle is all about:

The doubtful Title (Gentlemen) prefixt  
Vpon the Argument we haue in hand,  
May breede suspence, and wrongfully disturbe  
The peacefull quiet of your settled thoughts:  
To stop which scruple, let this briefe suffice.  
It is no pamperd glutton we present,  
Nor aged Councillor to youthfull sinne,  
But one, whose vertue shone aboue the rest,  
A valiant Martyr, and a vertuous peere,  
In whose true faith and loyaltie exprest  
Vnto his soueraigne, and his countries weale:  
We striue to pay that tribute of our Loue  
Your fauours merite, let faire Truth be grac'te,  
Since forg'de inuention former time defac'te.

Evidently the writers of Sir John Oldcastle knew that their audience would have preconceived notions about their hero, and that those notions had been largely shaped by Shakespeare's work. Evidently, too, they wished to warn their hearers that it was the Protestant canonists who had provided the stuff of their play. By the time that the first performance was over, the audience must have agreed that there was a side to Oldcastle which they would not have known if their knowledge of his story had been restricted to the Falstaffian version of him alone.

Had they been treated early in the play to the dialogue between the king and the parson which has just been quoted, they would no doubt have found it distracting, for in it Falstaff is spoken of as one who is not in the present cast of characters, despite the fact that Oldcastle had been mentioned in the very first scene and introduced in the third, and that the audience would have thought of him merely as Falstaff restored to his true name and deprived of those characteristics with which he had brought disgrace upon himself. By the end of the third act, however, when king and parson meet, the new Oldcastle had asserted his own character so forcefully upon the audience that they would have been able to hear the absent Falstaff discussed without confusing him with the present hero. They would the more easily have kept the two characters separate because they had not been made to feel that they were missing all the Falstaffian elements which they had come to expect of plays about the reign of Henry V. A very real part of the genius of Sir John Oldcastle is its method of coping with Shakespeare's vast character not by refusing to recognize his existence but by economical dismemberment of him. From Falstaff and all that he had come to represent the four dramatists took the original Oldcastlian elements, cleansed them of the impurities accumulated in the process of travestyng the Lollard, and put them back together again, with liberal additions from Foxe, to form a paragon. Then, knowing that an audience used to the immensity of Falstaff would find the pious Oldcastle alone a very poor substitute for him, they took the vital parts of which the martyr had been deprived and assembled them into a complementary figure, the infamous parson of Wrotham. How delightfully ribald a figure this was can be gauged from the outcry which Jeremy Collier made against him nearly a century after his creation. Collier thought that Shakespeare had written Sir John Oldcastle, and therefore said,

Shakespear takes the Freedom to represent the Clergy in several of his Plays: But for the most part he holds up the Function, and makes them neither Act, nor Suffer any thing unhandson. In one Play or two He is much bolder with the Order.... In the History of Sr. John Oldcastle, Sr. John, Parson of Wrotham Swears, Games, Wenches, Pads, Tilts, and Drinks: This is extreamly bad, and like the Author of the Relapse, &c. Only with this difference; Shakespears Sr. John has some Advantage in his Character. He appears Loyal, and Stout; He brings in Sr. John [sic: Roger] Acton, and other Rebels Prisoners. He is rewarded by the King, and the Judge uses him Civilly and with Respect. In short He is represented Lewd, but not Little. 148

To a Puritan, the parson is indeed 'extreamly bad', but to a critic he must also appear 'not Little', for what Collier describes is a not unsuccessful depiction of a Falstaff in a cassock.

The distinction which the Admiral's play drew between the Shakespearian rogue and Oldcastle 'the good Lord Cobham' is thus not so much made at the expense of Shakespeare as at that of Falstaff, who was resolved into two Sir Johns and effectively rebutted by them. Shakespeare was clearly admired by the writers of Sir John Oldcastle, who show throughout their play that they recognized the unassailable popularity of Henry IV and Henry V. The compliment paid by the parson of Wrotham to the double character of Henry V as prince and king has a wider significance than the obvious one created by a situation in which a professional thief regrets the failure of his king's early promise to make "theeuing the best trade in England". For when the playwrights make Sir John say that "it's pittie that ere he should haue bin a King, he was so braue a thiefe,"<sup>149</sup> they are also showing at least a partial awareness of Shakespeare's achievement in Henry V. Certain scenes parallel, as Walter is the most recent critic to point out,<sup>150</sup> those in Henry V, and indicate how closely the authors had studied their rival's latest success. Edgar I. Fripp indeed thinks that the syndicate which wrote Sir John Oldcastle paid Shakespeare the "compliment of imitation in every scene",<sup>151</sup> and, although he unworthily insults the writers by calling that compliment 'doubtful', Fripp makes a valid point. For Munday, Drayton, Wilson and Hathway produced a viable Elizabethan drama mainly because they unabashedly took advantage of another man's genius. Their borrowings and echoings of plays currently being performed by their rivals in the Chamberlain's company are too blatant to deserve the label of plagiarism, with its connotations of furtiveness. It is, rather, as though the Admiral's Men sought to give the world some idea of what Oldcastle might have been had Shakespeare taken him out of the Actes and Monuments and allowed him his august and proper place in the Henry plays, not derived him from the profane sources of stage and Catholic chronicles, and then forced him to sustain the crippling comic weight of Falstaff.

One must now ask whether the Admiral's Men can have expected to compete commer-

cially with the Chamberlain's by producing a play which offered at second hand so much of what audiences could see better presented in the originals being staged by the rival company. The reasonable reply is no. One must then consider why Sir John Oldcastle was written at all. Here one would seem to be concerned with four things. The first is the obvious fact that the play was designed to rehabilitate the martyr decanonized in the popular mind by Shakespeare's Falstaff. The second is the possibility that the idea for such a means of rehabilitating Oldcastle first came, not to one of its four authors, who then asked the other three men to assist him, but to a person or to persons unknown, who hired a syndicate to write the play. What Halliday calls the "unwonted largesse"<sup>152</sup> of the 10s. which the authors were given as a gift on the occasion of the first performance may have come from the same source as the commission to write the play: Henslowe himself was not in the habit of giving his playwrights bonuses. The third relevant circumstance is the patronage given to the players of Sir John Oldcastle by the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Nottingham. The fourth is the long pursuit of Henry Lord Cobham, the man who probably suffered most through his enemies' misuse of Falstaff, by Frances Howard, Lady Kildare, who was the Lord Admiral's daughter. It is in assuming that Cobham and the play are connected that one makes one's basic conjecture.

Lady Kildare had been widowed in 1597 and at once returned from Ireland to England. By 17 January 1598/9 a marriage between her and Cobham had been rumoured, but it was not until June 1600 that it seems to have been consummated, and May 1601 before the formal contract was drawn up.<sup>153</sup> The first ten months of this prolonged delay was almost certainly caused by the existence of Margaret Ratcliffe, whom Cobham had courted before Lady Kildare began to interest herself in her seriously, and whom, as the queen's favourite Maid of Honour, it would have been to his political advantage to marry. Margaret died on 11 November 1599, and the contemporary feeling was that, "Now that Mrs. Ratcliffe is dead, the Lady Kildare will hopes that my Lord Cobham <sup>will</sup> proceed on his Suite to her."<sup>154</sup> The late favourite appears to have dallied with Cobham, expressing her contempt for his politics (her

beloved brother Alexander, whose death was supposed to have caused hers, was Essex's friend),<sup>155</sup> and yet locking herself up in her chamber "at my Lady Kildares<sup>156</sup> vnkynd vsing of her, which is thought to proceed from her Loue to my Lord Cobham." The determined countess had never allowed herself to give up hope of winning Cobham, despite Margaret's superior eligibility, and had in fact risked both royal displeasure and social ostracism by crossing the girl when queen and Court were combined in cosseting her by keeping from her the news of her brother's violent death. When, therefore, her rival was removed, Lady Kildare showed no hesitation in claiming the matrimonial prize: on 6 December, less than a fortnight after Cobham had walked in the late favourite's funeral procession at Westminster, it was reported from Whitehall that

Yt is verely beleued that her Majestie will assure 400 [Cobham] to the Lady Kildare, vpon the Remoue from this House, which wilbe to Morrow.

The match delighted the countess's father, who had both her and another widowed daughter on his hands. Rowland Whyte, using the same cipher with which he had told of the queen's meaning to give Lady Kildare the husband whom she had so long sought, wrote on 8 December that Nottingham

is full of his own Buisnes, for 400 [Cobham] makes hym beleue he will haue one, and 200 [Sir Robert Cecil] will haue his other Daughter.<sup>157</sup>

Whyte saw "no Likelihood in either" match, and he was soon proved right, for the Cobham marriage took many months longer to arrange and Cecil never married Lady Kildare's sister. At the end of 1599, however, the Lord Admiral could hardly have foreseen this; both he and the countess no doubt thought that they had Cobham at least within their family circle at last.

Lady Kildare, then, fought long and hard for Cobham, publicly defying popular sentiment at Court in August 1599 by abusing her rival for him, claiming him of the queen in December. Between these dates her father's players did their best to rescue the prospective bridegroom from the ridicule which Falstaff had been distorted in order to heap upon him. The means used to restore to Oldcastle his dignity, and thus to clear of aspersions the Cobham name which the countess hoped soon to share, was Sir John Oldcastle, a play which seems to have been commissioned by

someone unknown. Leslie Hotson, although he uses terms which one cannot wholly endorse, draws what seems to be a reasonable conclusion from these facts. "The Countess of Kildare," he says,

was determined to marry Lord Cobham, and cannot have relished the public ridicule of her intended. Might not something be done about it? Her father, the Lord Admiral, had a troupe of players, chief rivals of the Shakespeare company. Could not they procure and put on a play to rehabilitate the memory of the martyred Oldcastle, the 'good Lord Cobham'? Such an effort might possibly lay the mischievous ghost of Oldcastle-Falstaff. The galled jade Cobham may have suggested the idea himself; or the Countess may have thought of it, and to please Cobham persuaded her father to give an order to his players.

Hotson has a low opinion of Sir John Oldcastle; he therefore says, in fitting the last piece of evidence into his theory,

when we are told by the manager Henslowe that on the occasion of its first performance, November 1599, the company gave the playwrights ten shillings 'as a gefte,' I suspect this was rather a share of a gratuity from the Countess of Kildare than any symptom of large gate-receipts.<sup>158</sup>

One would like to be more definite than Hotson is in running to ground the source of the idea for writing Sir John Oldcastle. His general theory, and one's acceptance of it, is of course at best only plausible, and one therefore hesitates to suppose much more about it. Yet there seem to be indications in the play that the few suggestions which may have been given to the playwrights by their employer could better have come from Cobham himself than from Lady Kildare. There is for instance the name of Clun, the character who comes to Cooling to summon Oldcastle to appear before the Bishop of Rochester's ecclesiastical court, and who is forced by Oldcastle's steward to eat his parchment summons as Pistol eats the leek in Henry V. Clun's first words are:

I haue the law to warrant what I do, and though the Lord Cobham be a noble man, that dispenses not with law, I dare serue processe were a [i.e., he] fiue noble men.<sup>159</sup>

It would be curious if this little piece of bravado were not connected with the fact that on 26 April 1597 an Edward Clunne had acted for a Peter Savage in acknowledging by receipt the payment by Henry Lord Cobham

of £ 40 due by the obligation of the said Lord Cobham to the said Peter Savage, 'whereupon there is a judgment depending in the court of Common Pleas at Westminster against the said Henry Brooke.'<sup>160</sup>

The discomfiture on stage of Clun the summoner looks very much like an oblique hit at a man who may have annoyed Cobham by taking part in litigation against him. The episode in the play cannot seriously have embarrassed Edward Clunne, for the summoner's brazenness is represented, and his consequent ordeal with the parchment takes place, at the opening of the second act, and it is not until the middle of the third that Clun is addressed by name (l. 1952). By a few in the audience, however, the comparative topicality of the summoner's entrance would probably have been appreciated.

Another whole set of probable allusions to Cobham's quarrel with Essex may be present in Sir John Oldcastle, and these are again more likely to have been suggested by Cobham himself than by the countess, for she, despite her desire to marry the baron, was not on unfriendly terms with his enemies in 1599.<sup>161</sup> It is of course possible that the playwrights, if they were writing to please Cobham, would have known that a few anti-Essexian references would not go amiss. One of these is what Mary Grace Muse Adkins, in her analysis of puritanism in the play, calls the unsympathetic treatment accorded throughout to the militant Lollards led by Sir Roger Acton. One of these rebels is William Murley, "meal-man, maultman, miller, corne-master and all ... halfe a brewer too, and the diuell and all for wealth".<sup>162</sup> Murley's valuable service Acton buys with the promise of a knighthood for which, in blood and occupation, the Dunstable merchant is patently unfit, and which Acton is of course guilty of derogation of his sovereign's dignity in offering. The deluded Morley has a part in the historical account of the Lollard uprising of 1414, but the playwrights treat him with none of the respect to which, as a Protestant, even a rebellious one, he is entitled by their allocation of blame to Roman Catholics and praise to the opponents of Rome. As Miss Adkins says, while confessing her inability to explain why this should be so, "Murley raises a mildly contemptuous laugh at his expense every time he says anything."<sup>163</sup> The fact that one of the most disgraceful features of Essex's generalship in Ireland had been his courting of popularity and support by an indiscriminate bestowal of knighthoods, and that the queen was later to press the charge against him that by so doing he had abused her prerogative, may suggest

the explanation which eluded Miss Adkins.

There may be another hit at Essex, or, rather, a compliment to one of his opponents, in the praise given to Harpoole, Oldcastle's faithful steward. Harpoole was an historical figure, and in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries he had a descendant, described by Richard James as "one Sr William Harpole that lives in Ireland".<sup>164</sup> Sharpe, identifying this Harpoole with the Constable of Carlo Castle who proved his loyalty to the queen by informing in 1601 against the Essexian Earl of Ormonde, may well be right in thinking that the steward in Sir John Oldcastle may thus "have had contemporary significance".<sup>165</sup> One must, however, remember that Sharpe was able to find no proof that the Constable's activities had begun by 1599.

More important than any of these particular suggestions of Cobham's opposition to Essex is the impression given by Sir John Oldcastle as a whole, for its hero emerges as one who is even more a loyal servant of his king than a critic of the Church of Rome. Authority for this attitude toward Oldcastle is of course to be found in Foxe, who maintained that his martyr never rebelled against Henry V. Yet Foxe concentrated most of his efforts upon making Oldcastle a proto-Protestant, and avoided so far as he could the vexed question of the knight's part in the Lollard uprisings; he covered under a storm of abuse of the Catholic chroniclers the embarrassment which he felt when finally he was forced to consider it.<sup>166</sup> The four authors of Sir John Oldcastle do far otherwise. They assume from the outset that their audience knows that Oldcastle was a harbinger of the Reformation, and early introduce the question of whether his opposition to Rome led him into rebellion against the state. Their play opens with a brawl between retainers of two lords who differ with each other over matters of religion, and includes in its first scene an exposition of Oldcastle's part in the dispute:

Lord Powesse detracted from the power of Rome,  
Affirming Wickliffes doctrine to be true,  
And Romes erroneous: hot reply was made  
By the lord Herbert, they were traytors all  
That would maintaine it: Powesse answered,  
They were as true, as noble, and as wise  
As he, that would defend it with their liues,  
He namde for instance sir Iohn Old-castle  
The Lord Cobham: Herbert replide againe,  
He, thou, and all are traitors that so hold.<sup>167</sup>

Indeed, in the second scene of the play, there is succinctly expressed the whole point which Foxe considered only when he was forced to do so by Catholic objections to his account of Oldcastle's career. The parson of Wrotham, whose amusing anachronism of speech Collier notes,<sup>168</sup> rhetorically asks the Bishop of Rochester,

Was euer heard (my Lord) the like til now?  
That theeues and rebels, s'bloud heretikes,  
Playne heretikes, Ile stand toote to their teeth,  
Should haue to colour, their vile practises,  
A title of such worth, as Protestant?<sup>169</sup>

Having thus broached the subject of Oldcastle's possible civil offences, the playwrights proceed to link their hero with both the great conspiracies of the reign of Henry V. Not only are Acton's Lollards made to believe that Oldcastle will lead them, but Cambridge, Scrope and Grey, the projectors of the Southampton treason as delineated by Shakespeare, are also shown to desire Oldcastle's complicity in their design. As Scrope says,

We lacke but now Lord Cobhams fellowship,  
And then our plot were absolute indeede.<sup>170</sup>

They reveal their plans to Oldcastle, who allows them to think that he will assist them. Not even the Catholic opponents of Foxe went so far as to make Oldcastle privy to the attempted assassination of Henry V at Southampton;<sup>171</sup> they were content to charge him with the leadership of the great Lollard assembly which met under Acton in St. Giles's Fields in 1414 and threatened to topple the Henrican state.<sup>172</sup> This other attempt at unseating the king is also given prominence in Sir John Oldcastle, the four dramatists rejecting Foxe's version of it. The martyrologist had called it a

meruellous matter, that such a great multitude of 20000. specified  
in storie should rise against the king, and yet but 3. persons  
only knowne and named.

Even these three named Lollards ("Sir Roger Acton ye saie, maister Browne and J. Beuerley", all characters in the play) were given a legitimate excuse by Foxe for having been in the supposed place of insurrection. As he asked his leading Catholic questioner,

Might they not come to those thicketts neare to the fieldes of S.  
Giles, hauing Beuerley their Preacher with them (as ye say, yourselfe)  
as well to praie and to preach in that wooddy place, as to fight?<sup>173</sup>

In the play Acton boasts that there are coming to London to support him

Fortie odde thousands into Ficket field,  
Where we appoynt our speciall randeuous;<sup>174</sup>

their intention is made clear to the king by the Earl of Huntington, who says that

Sir Roger Acton, and a cue, my Lord,  
Of bold seditious rebels, are in Armes,  
Intending reformation of Religion.  
And with their Army they intend to pitch,  
In Ficket field, vnlesse they be repulst.

Of Oldcastle's part in the insurrection there is no doubt in the public mind:

But tis reported Sir Iohn Old-castle  
Is the chiefe man, on whom they do depend.<sup>175</sup>

It is clear that the authors of Sir John Oldcastle, as Mrs. Tillotson says, "out-Foxed Foxe in the zeal of their defence"<sup>176</sup> of the martyr principally by ignoring the scholarship contained in the Actes and Monuments. They not only confronted the accusations of treason made against Oldcastle, but confronted them eagerly, even exaggerated them, until the question of the hero's secular stand became so important that it more than rivalled in interest the professed theme of his religious position. The result is, that while the praise of Oldcastle's piety becomes a monotonous constant in the play, his innocence of two distinct designs against Henry's life and Throne can be dramatically revealed. Thus, when Acton and the other rebels are defeated and brought before the king, their contention that Oldcastle was to lead their insurrection is exposed as baseless. Acton courageously acknowledges that,

To cleere my conscience ere I die my lord,  
I must confesse, we haue no other ground  
But only Rumor, to accuse this lord,  
Which now I see was merely fabulous.

Henry reproves the rebel for defaming a man so lightly. Then Oldcastle, already once exonerated, approaches Henry with the details of the Cambridge plot which he had cleverly acquired from the earl, Scrope and Grey. The king is overcome with remorse for ever having doubted his friend and servant, and speaks a fine speech:

Oh neuer heard of base ingratitude?  
Euen those I hugge within my bosome most,  
Are readiest euermore to sting my heart.  
Pardon me Cobham, I haue done thee wrong,  
Heereafter I will liue to make amends.

Is then their time of meeting so neere hand?  
 Weele meete with them, but little for their ease,  
 If God permit: goe take these rebells hence,  
 Let them haue martiall law: but as for thee,  
 Friend to thy king and country, still be free.<sup>177</sup>

"Cobham ... Friend to thy king and country": 'valiant martyr of Jesus Christ'  
 Oldcastle may well have become in the lost second part of the play, but in the first he is pre-eminently a secular, not a religious hero. In the year when Essex had unjustly accused Lord Cobham to the queen herself of being unfaithful to her, or at least of sabotaging the faithful service of others,<sup>178</sup> the player king's words to the other Lord Cobham must have had a special significance. So too must Oldcastle's own have had when, in speaking of the treacherous Cambridge, Scrope and Grey, he said,

You are (my lords) such men as liue in Court,  
 And highly haue beene fauour'd of the king.<sup>179</sup>

There is also something dramatically unnecessary about the inclusion of the wise and temperate Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports in the combined civil and ecclesiastical commission which serves summons on Oldcastle after Clun's abortive attempt to do so. The whole play, to anyone who chose to regard it as such, must in fact have been interpretable as a plea for the recognition of Henry Lord Cobham's worth, and of the disinterestedness of his desire to serve Elizabeth when Essex, her greatest favourite, was deceiving her. Had Shakespeare and not his imitators written Sir John Oldcastle, Cobham would have had the means of turning his enemies' use of Falstaff back upon themselves.

What Oldcastle's posthumous career on the stage may have been is manifestly difficult to decide. It is perhaps safe to say that he was at first virtually ignored, if he did in fact appear in The Famous Victories before 1598. Almost certainly he became suddenly famous in the hands of Shakespeare. Then notorious and at last a figure to be revered, the resurrected Lollard must have played a part in the political career of his remote successor in the barony of Cobham. About him raged a controversy in which, with varying intentions, religious writers and dramatists and their audiences, politicians and courtiers and the public seem to have taken part. Among the last of these was John Weever, who in 1601 concluded

his poetic biography of the martyr with a little bow of acknowledgement to all those who kept Oldcastle alive:

Wit, spend thy vigour, Poets, wits quintessence,  
Hermes make great the worlds eies with teares;  
 Actors make sighes a burden for each sentence:  
 That he may sob which reades, he swound which heares.  
 Mean time, till life in death you doe renew,  
Wit, Poets, Hermes, Actors, all adew.

Yet, topical as the Oldcastle-Falstaff question seems incontestably to have been, one is today forced to conclude that one can only guess at the form which it took. One knows almost nothing. The canon of criticism about it is a pyramid of conjecture set upon its apex of fact.

\* \* \*

### Chapter III

While incomparably less well known for their other connections with the drama than for that with Falstaff, the Brookes are yet associated with three plays written by contemporaries of Shakespeare. These are the anonymous Nobody and Somebody, and two works quite unrelated to it, George Wilkins's Miseries of Enforced Marriage and the apocryphally Shakespearian Yorkshire Tragedy. Of the reflection upon Henry Lord Cobham which has been seen in Nobody and Somebody not much can be said, and the importance of Philippa Brooke's story to the other plays has been so ably demonstrated that the subject hardly warrants further treatment.<sup>1</sup> Since, however, the biographical study conducted in the foregoing work has turned up a few facts which are likely to be overlooked in specifically theatrical research, there is a small contribution yet to be made to the background material relating to the three plays.

Richard Simpson, in his reprint of Nobody and Somebody, cited Sir Henry Wotton's story that the Earl of Essex used to call Henry Lord Cobham 'the Sycophant'. Simpson then referred to one of the figures in the play, and concluded that,

On the character of the Lord Sycophant it may be noted that possibly it was aimed at Lord Cobham.... Remembering how generally the dramatists were in the interest of Essex, this allusion must be considered probable.<sup>2</sup>

Simpson thought that one scene in particular, that in which a nobleman relates how

he and another worthy candidate for an office have been passed over and the post been given to a fool,

seems distinctly to allude to Cobham's appointment in 1596 [sic] to the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports, in spite of the warm endeavours of Essex in favour of Sir Robert Sidney.<sup>3</sup>

His suggestion was quickly taken up. F.J. Furnivall, in introducing The School of Shakspeare when it appeared after Simpson's own death, stated emphatically that

the character of Lord Sycophant, contained therein, is a stinging satire on Essex's (Shakspeare's hero and patron) great enemy, Lord Cobham.<sup>4</sup>

The supposed reference to Cobham also affects the problem of dating the play. Simpson saw Nobody and Somebody as a Jacobean revision of a play of about 1592, noting particularly the allusion to wholesale knighthoods. F.G. Fleay, Chambers and A.M. Clark followed him in attempting to assign to the play a Jacobean date, and used the Sycophant argument as support for their contention. As Chambers says,

the use of Essex's nickname for Cobham, Sycophant, as the name of a courtier, must be later than Cobham's disgrace in 1603.<sup>5</sup>

No one has, however, been able to date Nobody and Somebody more definitely than to the period 1603-06, that is, after the death of Elizabeth and before the entry to John Trundle in the Stationers' Register on 8 January 1605/6 of "The picture of No bodye", followed by the entry to him on 12 March of "A Booke called no bodie and somme bodie &c." How soon after this time Trundle published the play is not known: there is no date on the title-page of No-body, and Some-body, With the true Chronicle Historie of Elydure, who was fortunately three seuerall times crowned King of England. The true Coppy thereof, as it hath beene acted by the Queenes Maiesties Seruants, Printed for Iohn Trundle and are to be sold at his shop in Barbican, at the signe of No-body. The reference to the Queen's Men is not helpful, for these were the Earl of Worcester's players, who were put under the patronage of Anne of Denmark before the end of 1603.<sup>6</sup> Nor is Shakespeare's Tempest, with its allusion to "the picture of Nobody" (III.ii.136), early enough to assist one in dating the appearance in print of the famous illustrations of the play's two eponymous protagonists. Cobham's arrest in July 1603, his subsequent trial and his sentence in December to life imprisonment, are thus of no more use in dating

Nobody and Somebody than is the king's bestowal of knighthoods upon hundreds of his subjects in the first months of 1603, or the transfer of Worcester's company to the queen at the end of that year. The play could have been written (or, if Simpson is correct, brought up to date) at any time between 1603 and 1606.

It must now be considered whether Cobham is likely to have been publicly satirized by the players in the reign of James. The character in Nobody and Somebody who is named Lord Sycophant is an archetypal time-server, one who fawns upon those presently in power, who informs upon his enemies ("Ile goe tell the King/ That they speake treason"),<sup>7</sup> and who indulges in intrigue to assure himself of being on the victorious side whenever there is a contest for the Crown. One of the two competing queens in the play sums him up well when, replying to his offer of service, she says,

We doe commaund what we well know youle doe,  
Follow the stronger part, and cleaue thereto.<sup>8</sup>

Elsewhere this lady calls Sycophant "my Lord weather-cocke",<sup>9</sup> and a lord addresses him as "an old exchecker of all flatterie".<sup>10</sup> The other queen once spurns him as a "base spaniell", exclaiming,

Of God, that one borne noble should be so base,  
His generous blood to scandall all his race.<sup>11</sup>

Later she accepts his allegiance, but does so sardonically:

Sico. Madam.  
Queene. You are welcome, what new flatteries  
Are a coyning in the mint of that smoth face?<sup>12</sup>

It is in fact the two royal consorts who most damn Sycophant, and when he is at last brought to justice for his double-dealing it is she who had so succinctly estimated his worth who ordains his punishment. She does so with relish, piling on the epithets by which he has become known: "Let me doome him," says the lady,

smoth spaniel, soothing grome,  
Slicke Oyly knaue, egregious parasite,  
Thou turning vane, and changing Weather-cocke,  
My sentence is thou shalt be naked stript,  
And by the city beadles soundly whipt.<sup>13</sup>

There can be little doubt that Essex would have enjoyed seeing Cobham depicted as Lord Sycophant, and approved the end to which that character comes. Essex, however, had been dead for two years when James came to the Throne, and, while

neither the earl nor his quarrel with Cobham had been forgotten, it is extremely difficult to see who would have benefited from such a portrayal of his enemy. One indeed wonders how many people in a Jacobean audience would have recognized Cobham in the Sycophant. It is almost certainly wrong to suppose that the name alone would have suggested the identification to them. The only proof of Essex's having a specific nickname for Cobham is the statement published by Sir Henry Wotton, one of Essex's secretaries, in 1641:

Onely against one man, he had forsworne all patience, namely Henry Lord Cobham, and would call him (per Excellentiam) the Sycophant (as if it had been an Embleme of his name) even to the Queene her selfe, though of no small insinuation with her and one Lady likewise (that I may civillie spare to nominate) [sic] for her sex sake) whom he used to terme the spyder of the Court.<sup>14</sup>

The Spider one assumes to have been Lady Kildare. Wotton implies that with this lady alone, whom he so courteously and so annoyingly leaves anonymous, was Cobham's standing high, and there is corroboration of his words, if they apply to the countess, in those of Lord Henry Howard, who in 1602 referred to Lady Kildare's affection for Cobham, "whom never woman loved, or will love, beside herself".<sup>15</sup> Yet, among all the insults which were heaped upon Cobham, and all the epithets which her enemies bestowed upon his wife, the words 'Sycophant' and 'Spider' never occur in connection with them outside Wotton's statement of 1641. One must seriously doubt whether these names ever came to be associated with the baron and the countess except in Essex's own private circle, and whether any audience would have appreciated their significance.

One may also doubt whether critics, did they not have the preconceived notion that Cobham was the prototype of Lord Sycophant, would be so sure that the passage in which Simpson saw a resuscitation of the quarrel over the Cinque Ports actually refers to a specific event. The passage is very brief. One of the rival queens, at this point in the play a princess only, is talking with Sycophant when four courtiers enter. They are all malcontents, dissatisfied with the government of King Archigallo and desirous of replacing him with the princess's husband. To her they therefore pour out their griefs, the patriotic Lord of Cornwall first greeting her as his queen, and the Lords Martianus, Morgan and Malgo then entering into a

criticism of the present régime. Says Martianus,

I had a sute vnto the King with this Lord  
For the great office of high Seneschall,  
Because of our good seruice to the state,  
But he in scorne, as he doth euery thing,  
Hath tane it from vs both, and gin't a foole.

Morg. To a Sicophant, a courtly parasite.

Sicoph. Beare witnes, Madam, Ile goe tell the King  
That they speake treason.

Malgo Passe vpon our swords,  
You old exchecker of all flatterie,  
I tell thee Archigallo shall be deposd,  
And thou disroab'd of all thy dignitie.  
Sicoph. I hope not so.<sup>16</sup>

Advocates of the identification of Cobham with the Sycophant would say that Martianus and Morgan are Essex and his protégé, Sir Robert Sidney, that the office of High Seneschal is the Lord Wardenship of the Cinque Ports, and that the arbitrary and unpopular act of the sovereign referred to was the granting by Elizabeth in 1597 of the Lord Wardenship to Cobham, despite the strictures which the other candidates had made upon his eligibility for the post. Had Nobody and Somebody been written nearer 1597 than it can have been, one might reservedly accept this gloss on the passage, attributing to intentional obscuration the discrepancies between it and the events to which it supposedly refers. A play of 1603 or later, however, written when there was no need for such caution, presents certain difficulties to anyone wishing to accept such an interpretation. Much had happened in the last six years of the reign of Elizabeth, and Essex's Irish disgrace, his tragically inept rebellion and his execution had effectively taken the place in the popular memory of the comparatively minor reverse which he had suffered over the Cinque Ports. A Jacobean audience, if they were meant to be reminded of that matter, would have needed something to jog their memories, and the play can have given them no such mnemonic. Martianus himself is not at all prominent enough to stand for so splenetically splendid a figure as Essex. He and Morgan are merely two of the four named lords who speak for the nobility throughout the play, and, far from suffering an Essexian end, Martianus is last seen in triumph among his friends and colleagues. Another difficulty is presented by the specifically courtly and domestic nature of the office in dispute. Essex's claim

in 1597 was that Cobham was not sufficiently martial a man to fill the strategic military post of the Cinque Ports; none of the earl's public pronouncements at that time can have been recalled by an audience asked to consider a Court quarrel over the seneschalship, an archaic office rather more comparable with the Lord Chamberlainship than with any other. Again one must conclude that a dispute between Cobham and Essex is hardly likely to have been suggested by the speech of Martianus. His words, like most of the play, are better taken as a part of a general indictment of governmental abuses than as a topical reference.

It seems, in fact, that Sycophant's name and everything else about him ought to be regarded generically, not particularly. For it should not be forgotten that the character is not merely a flatterer, but an intriguer as well, one who tries to direct events as well as to ingratiate himself with the potentates whom those events put into power. Both his name and a recurrent epithet for him support this more sinister interpretation of his two-sided rôle. Originally, and until the end of the sixteenth century at least, a sycophant was an informer, a prier into secrets, just as much as he was what he is now: so was a spaniel: the fawning connotations of the two words had not then monopolized their meanings. A beagle was an informer too, a prier, and might therefore have been identified with a man who was also called a sycophant and a spaniel. The minister who was almost absolute in the years when Nobody and Somebody was written was habitually called 'my little beagle' by his king, James even addressing one of his royal letters to Cecil "To the King's best beagle if he hunt well in the hard ways".<sup>17</sup> One imagines that it would have been unwise in the early seventeenth century to try to put a specific name to Lord Sycophant; without far more evidence than has been advanced in support of his identification with Cobham, one would be unwise to attempt it even now.

If it appears that critics have been somewhat unjustified in their connecting of Henry Lord Cobham with Nobody and Somebody, it is quite otherwise with the association of the baron's cousin with The Miseries of Enforced Marriage and A Yorkshire Tragedy. Mario Prax has made succinct expression of Eliot's comments on the Tragedy in saying that it is one of those plays which

cannot be traced to a foreign or classical influence, but are the direct outcome of a native interest in the police-court horrors of the time.<sup>18</sup>

There can be no doubt that it was the marriage of Philippa Brooke with Walter Calverley which created one of those horrors, and that it gave rise to the two plays with which critics link her name. Until recently much correction was required by the various treatments which her story had received at the hands of editors and commentators on those plays, but in Baldwin Maxwell's excellent study of A Yorkshire Tragedy the errors of previous critics and antiquaries have been set right.<sup>19</sup> One can only refer students of the two plays, the Tragedy an account of the horrible culmination of the Calverleys' married life, and the Miseries a tragi-comic variant of it combined with a largely unhistorical account of the husband's earlier years, to Maxwell. His tentative conclusions on the relationship of the two plays to each other, and on the question of their authorship, may not entirely satisfy either himself or others, but they are incomparably sounder than those to which his predecessors had come. They cannot be challenged by anything which has resulted from the kind of research and thought which have produced the present study of the house of Cobham.

Here, as a supplement and, occasionally, on minor points, as a corrective to Maxwell's work, one may only record the biographical facts about Philippa Brooke which have been discovered in the course of studying her family. The account will serve to put the prototype of a Jacobean dramatic heroine into more exact historical perspective than can usually be established in such cases.

Philippa Brooke was born about 1579, the fifth and youngest child of Sir Henry Cobham and Anne Sutton, the widow of the learned Dr. Walter Haddon.<sup>20</sup> Her father, a younger brother of William Lord Cobham, seems invariably to have used the title rather than the proper name of his family as his own surname; his children, however, were always called Brooke. Sir Henry reached the peak of his diplomatic career on 17 November 1579, when he presented to Henry III his letters of credence as ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Court of France.<sup>21</sup> It is possible that Philippa was born abroad, although unlikely: in February 1580 the youngest of her three brothers was said to be the only one of the ambassador's children to be with

him in Paris. Lady Cobham was unwell for several months after reaching France late in 1579, perhaps because she had had to leave England rather too soon after Philippa's birth there.<sup>22</sup> No record of the child's christening has been found, so that one cannot know whether her unusual Christian name was given by a godparent. It had not been borne by any of her family before her. Considering the exotic name which her parents gave to their eldest son, Calisthenes, one may suppose that Philippa's may have represented her father's fanciful way of commemorating his many embassies to Philip of Spain.

Both the Christian name and the paternity of Philippa Brooke have been often stated erroneously. In The Miseries of Enforced Marriage, in which she appears as the wife of William Scarborough, she is called 'Katherine'; Maxwell is no doubt right in thinking that these names are not dramatic camouflage so much as the result of the playwright's confusion of her and her husband with her real husband's parents, William and Catherine Calverley.<sup>23</sup> The same confusion may have persisted into the nineteenth century, when Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland called Philippa 'Catherine'.<sup>24</sup> More significant than this misnaming of her is the persistent failure of critics and genealogists to place Philippa correctly in the Brooke family tree. One may ignore the contradictory statements in Burke's Commoners that she was "the daughter of Sir Edward Cobham, knt."<sup>25</sup> and, again, the daughter of "Sir Henry Brooke".<sup>25</sup> Nor need attention be given to Clark's unfathomable assertion that she was "the granddaughter of the actor's old enemy, Lord Cobham ... attainted in 1603".<sup>26</sup> It is with a tradition apparently begun by Thomas Dunham Whitaker that one must contend. Whitaker stated that Philippa's father was one "Sir John Brooke, son of George Lord Cobham";<sup>27</sup> he was followed by Charles Henry and Thompson Cooper,<sup>28</sup> by Sir Sidney Lee in his biography of Walter Calverley in the Dictionary of National Biography, and, most significantly, by Marc Friedlaender.<sup>29</sup> Joseph Foster's proper description of Philippa as the "sister of John Brooke, Lord Cobham", so created in 1645,<sup>30</sup> did little to combat Whitaker's mis-statement, nor did the substantially correct Complete Baronetage have much influence when it recorded that she was the "da. of Sir Henry Brooke, otherwise Cobham, yst. [sic] s. of George, 4th Lord

Cobham".<sup>31</sup> Accuracy in this matter no doubt suffered through Whitaker's publication of a document dating from 1602, which showed that certain of the lands of Philippa's husband "were vested in trust on Sir John Brooke and others".<sup>32</sup> Brooke was Philippa's brother, not her father, but for him there was thus suggested a paternal rôle as guardian of the interests of Calverley's wife and children. Maxwell has not erred with those whom he calls the "historians of the drama [who] have continued to follow Whitaker," although his explanation of how he arrived at the truth is curiously inconsequent.<sup>33</sup>

Philippa's parents returned to England in 1583 and presumably took their four-year-old daughter from whatever family it was with which she had been left at nurse. They settled at Sutton-at-Hone, in Kent, where Sir Henry died in 1592. He left little provision for his widow and children, having suffered financially through the long and unrewarding years of his service to the queen, and soon after his death his sons, Callisthenes, John and Maximilian, sold the family home and went off to Ireland and to the Netherlands.<sup>34</sup> Fighting for the queen, the two elder brothers won knighthoods and were praised for their heroism by the poet Tofte;<sup>35</sup> Maximilian, however, was killed. Lady Cobham and her daughters, Anne and Philippa, had moved to London when the men of the family went off to war; there they lived in Holborn and apparently, after the death of the widow's brother-in-law Lord Cobham in 1597, received some protection from her nephews by blood and marriage, Henry Lord Cobham and Sir Robert Cecil. It was to these prominent courtiers and ministers of the queen that Lady Cobham looked for assistance when she arranged matches for her daughters. Anne in 1598 she married to Edward Heron of Lincolnshire, the eldest son of an ambitious lawyer who had got for himself the Lord Chief Barony of the Exchequer and who wished to assure his posterity of gentility by marrying his heir to a daughter of a noble house. Baron Heron did not hesitate to threaten Lady Cobham's grandchildren with penury unless the dowager helped her new son-in-law up the social ladder, and in 1603 Cecil was prevailed upon to arrange for young Heron to become a Knight of the Bath. Thereafter, on the estates which his father left them in Lincolnshire, Sir Edward and Lady Heron raised a large family, and also received recognition from Robert Tofte for their

generosity to him. 36

By 1599 Philippa was the only one of her mother's children to remain at home. Nothing is heard of her until then, when, with her sister married and her surviving brothers on the way to making successes of their military careers, the girl became the object of her mother's closest attention. She was then twenty (Anne had been married at about the age of twenty-one); one can hardly rely upon the conventional description of her in The Miseries as "both faire and chast",<sup>37</sup> but, since there seems to be more than convention behind Tofte's praise of the beauty both of her sister and her elder brother, one may consider the possibility that she was not unattractive. Something other than a valuable dowry led young Walter Calverley to consider taking her as his wife, for that she did not have.

Calverley was a Yorkshireman of ancient family, whose father had died in September 1596 and left him heir to <sup>a</sup> large estate near Leeds. The young man, when one first hears of him, was in wardship until April 1600; he must therefore have been born in April 1579, and been eighteen when his father died. A reflection of the popular knowledge that Calverley was yet in wardship when he married is contained in The Miseries, where Sir William Scarborough and Lord Faulconbridge hold the following colloquy concerning him. Asks the lord,

Sir William,  
How old say you is your kinsman Scarborough.  
Will. Eighteene my Lord, next Pentecost.  
Lord. Bethinke you good Sir William,  
I reckon thereabout my selfe, so by that account  
Theres full three Winters yet he must attend,  
Vnder our awe, before he sue his Liuery:  
Ist not so?  
Wills. [sic] Not a daie lesse my Lord.<sup>38</sup>

Calverley most probably did not go to college. The traces of him which Sir Sidney Lee, the Venns and the Coopers thought that they had found in the registers of Cambridge for 1579 can hardly refer to him because of the discrepancy in date. In agreeing with both Whitaker and Maxwell, who conclude that Calverley was never a student at either university, however, one must be cautious about accepting their argument that the Roman Catholic recusancy of the Calverley family would have prohibited the young man's matriculation. All contemporary works dealing with his story assert that he had a brother who was a scholar; this man seems to have been

the William Calverley who, as Maxwell rather inconsistently points out, was at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1604.<sup>39</sup> William was apparently able to get round the difficulties presented by his father's religion; one must not assume that Walter would have found them insuperable.

In 1599, then, Walter Calverley was a rich young man of twenty, waiting for his majority. His guardians had been at one time his mother and her brother-in-law, but since 23 June 1598 he had been ward to "Anne lady gargraue late wief of Sir Cotton gargraue knight deceased & to Richard gargraue esquier her sonne".<sup>40</sup> Misled by The Miseries, and the Tragedy, in which Calverley's guardian is his wife's uncle, critics have long supposed that a relative of Lord Cobham held the young man's wardship. Maxwell has corrected this misconception of the case. As he quite reasonably suggests, "it would appear not unlikely" that it was the appointment already mentioned

of Sir John Brooke as a trustee of the Calverley lands, shortly after Walter became of age and more than two years after his marriage, that led to the belief that a kinsman of his wife had been Calverley's guardian during his minority.<sup>41</sup>

What the fact that Philippa's brother was a trustee of her husband's lands does not explain, however, is how Sir John Brooke can ever have come to be thought of as a lord by the time that his sister's marriage ended in disaster. His elevation to the peerage was then not to be effected for forty years. Yet the noble status of Calverley's guardian is insisted upon in the two plays about him, despite the statement, in the contemporary pamphlet from which the dramatists derived most of their information, that Calverley "was Warde to a most noble & worthy gentleman in this land".<sup>42</sup> In The Miseries this 'gentleman' has become Lord Faulconbridge, and in the Tragedy, where the principal characters are nameless, the wife is "Nobly discended" and "right honourably allied", "her honorable vnkle" being a person who can prefer her husband "to some office,/ And place at Court, A good and sure reliefe/ To al his stooping fortunes."<sup>43</sup>

Further to complicate the matter of the guardian's identity in the plays there is the fact that in the 1607 quarto of The Miseries appear two curious speech-headings, in which the character of Lord Faulconbridge is described as "Hunsd."

and "Huns."<sup>44</sup> Glenn H. Blayney, writing specifically about the problem presented by these apparent abbreviations of the name 'Hunsdon', notes that Henry Lord Cobham was, by marriage, a nephew of George Lord Hunsdon. Assuming that these prefixes represent George Wilkins's original name for Faulconbridge, and stressing Wilkins's dependence upon the prose account of the Calverley tragedy which appeared before The Miseries was written, Blayney concludes:

The names of Hunsdon and [Sir Thomas] Gargrave [the father-in-law and grandfather of the lady and her son who were Calverley's guardians] appear together in an account of their criticism of the spoliation of the North by some of the Queen's forces. The names of Hunsdon and Gargrave were both familiar in the North. It is perhaps not impossible to suppose that the name of Gargrave (not of Thomas, of course, but of Richard) had been lost in a vague rumour of Calverley's guardian as a great man of the North. Wilkins might then have had not only the reason of Hunsdon's nearness to the Queen and his connection with the Cobhams to support the guardian's identity as it is described in the pamphlet, but his reputation in the North, which in popular estimate could have been associated with the name of Gargrave.<sup>45</sup>

Blayney's theory appeared in print after the text of Maxwell's work had been written, but it had not been entirely unforeseen. Thus Maxwell expresses doubts about assuming that the King's Men, who acted The Miseries, would ever have thought of bringing their old patron upon the stage in so unfavourable a guise as that of Lord Faulconbridge.<sup>46</sup> One shares his misgivings, and one may also point out that, of all noble houses, the Careys of Hunsdon, providers of two Lords Chamberlain to the theatre world and constant maintainers of playing companies, were least likely to be confused by a playwright with any other family. One can offer no alternative suggestion to Blayney's, but one must not accept it for that reason.

Of the noble rank of Calverley's guardian one can only say that Philippa Brooke's noble and powerful connections, until 1603 her cousin Lord Cobham and after that presumably her late cousin Elizabeth's husband, Robert Cecil, must have suggested to the public that the trustee of her husband's lands, since he came from her family, must have been of the highest social standing. The influence of Lady Gargrave and her son over Walter Calverley ended in 1600, five years before the young man became notorious; their connection with him was later recalled, but most imperfectly, for only their desire to have him marry a daughter of their

house was remembered. After 1602 it was largely in the hands of Sir John Brooke that the administration of the Calverley estate rested. Brooke, like the rest of his family, looked almost exclusively to Cecil for guidance, advancement and protection after 1603. In 1605, in fact if not in name, Cecil had long been director of the Brooke family fortunes, and it may well have seemed to observers of the Calverley tragedy that it can have been no one less than a great lord and a powerful minister who had always been Calverley's guardian.

In 1599, however, when few people were aware of the existence of a Walter Calverley, it was the Gargraves with whom Lady Cobham had to contend when she first decided that she wanted the rich young Yorkshireman for her son-in-law. Lady Gargrave had several daughters, and one of them she hoped would become the wife of her ward. She offered Calverley tempting monetary bait to agree to the match. Lady Cobham had other means: she had what was evidently Philippa's charm, and she had also powerful connections which none but the most unworldly gentleman would have despised. Thus, on 30 May 1599, the dowager wrote to her nephew Cecil:

There is a marriage intended between my daughter Phillipe and Mr. Coverley, of Coverley; and for that I am loth to deal in so weighty a cause without my Lord Cobham's advce and yours, I have thought good to send Mr. Lyly to you, who can declare all his estate to you. Likewise I have sent another gentleman unto my Lord Cobham to desire him to impart it unto you. I beseech you (who hath been always a father to my children) that you will so deal with Mr. Lyly that if you find it fit it may be brought to pass (which gentleman is kin to Mr. Lyly's wife,<sup>47</sup> who is the first well-wisher of this match towards my daughter). I understand by Mr. Lyly that he is in wardship till April next to the Lady Gargrave, of Yorkshire, who tendered unto him her daughter, and is willing to give £ 1,500 in marriage with her. But he hath taken some liking to my daughter, that he is content to take her with a lesser portion.<sup>48</sup>

Years later, when Calverley's marriage with Philippa Brooke had turned out so sensationally, the young Gargrave girl seems to have been remembered, and turned into a martyr to love. Her story is most awkwardly intruded into A Yorkshire Tragedy, where the first scene shows servants discussing a girl's desperate love for the character who represents Calverley. She is reputed to be pining away for him, even as his man callously reports his master's marriage to another woman. In The Miseries the wretched girl is actually brought on stage; named Clare Harcop and made the only daughter and heir of a wealthy Yorkshire knight, she is seen

being betrothed to the Calverley figure, and then given a tragic scene in which she commits suicide upon hearing of his unfaithfulness. It is unlikely that the daughter of Lady Gargrave took her loss of Calverley quite so much to heart. If Maxwell is right in suggesting that she was Mary Gargrave,<sup>49</sup> it is possible that she lived to see the two plays about her lost husband, and to be thankful that she had not won him after all. For Mary was referred to by Philip Gawdy on 24 October 1604 as "my cosin Gargraue the mayde of Honor",<sup>50</sup> and so may well have been among the courtiers who could have seen The Miseries and the Tragedy in 1605-06.

In 1599 the future could not have been forecast, and Lady Gargrave, if not Mary, must have resented the loss of Calverley. If, as his guardian, she allowed the disappointed mother-in-law in her to oppose the match with Philippa Brooke, she would not, however, have been able to hold out against the wishes of Cecil. On 20 April 1600, apparently just before Calverley reached his majority, Lady Cobham wrote again to Cecil in terms which show that the marriage had taken place. "I pray you pardon my presumption," wrote the dowager,

and peruse this enclosed petition preferred in behalf of one Mr. Calverley (an 'unstayed' young man) her Majesty's ward, who hath married my daughter. According to the petition, I desire your favour and furtherance therein.<sup>51</sup>

As Joel Hurstfield says, Lady Cobham's description of her son-in-law as an "unstayed young man [is] a masterly understatement;"<sup>52</sup> her next letter about him was written only two months later, on 20 June, and shows that Calverley was well embarked on his downward course. "She married her daughter to Walter Calverley," the harassed mother wrote,

who by reason of minority was unable to make her any jointure. He is now imprisoned in the Fleet on an execution, and his life is much doubted. If he should die, prays that the wardship of his brother may be bestowed on her daughter.<sup>53</sup>

The most interesting feature of this letter is Lady Cobham's determination to get something worthwhile out of her daughter's marriage: as Maxwell says, apparently in reproof, "she shows clearly that her interest in the marriage had been solely and coldly financial." Hurstfield also cites the letter as an indication of the practice whereby "the ward's sister-in-law would finance her widowhood by becoming

his guardian," and, from Cecil's endorsement of Lady Cobham's request, it would appear that it was indeed agreed between them that Philippa should be given the lucrative post of guardian of her husband's brother and heir.

Calverley, however, did not die in prison in 1600. He was released, and went north, taking his wife to his estates near Leeds. It is at this point in his story that the pamphlet which was written after Calverley had committed his crimes in 1605 becomes relevant. This work was the anonymous Two most unnaturall and bloodie Murthers, entered in the Stationers' Register on 12 June 1605. It was one of at least three non-dramatic accounts of Calverley's career that were produced to answer popular demand for information about him after he had become a celebrity; the other two, which do not survive, were A ballad of Lametable Murther Donne in Yorkshire by a gent vppon 2 of his owne Children sore woundinge his Wife and Nurse, entered on 3 July, and The Arraignement Condemnacon and Execucon of Master Caverly at Yorke in August 1605, entered on 24 August, less than three weeks after Calverley's execution. The Two most unnaturall and bloodie Murthers was the principal source of The Miseries and the Tragedy, and still remains the best account of the events immortalized in the two plays.

According to the Murthers, Philippa's young husband detested her, just as the protagonist of the Tragedy hates his wife, although not quite as Scarborough resents his in The Miseries. When, according to the Murthers, Philippa tried to oppose Calverley's desire to have the value of her dowry realized immediately, in order to finance the drinking and gambling into which he had fallen in his efforts to escape the boredom of life in the provinces, he told her:

I proteste by heauen I will euer hereafter lothe thee and neuer  
lie with thee, til thou giue thy consent thy dowrie shall be solde,  
to maintaine my pleasure, and leaue thy selfe and children destitute  
of maintenance.<sup>54</sup>

Although the accuracy of the Murthers cannot always be relied upon, and although Calverley can hardly have expressed himself quite so baldly as this supposed quotation would have one believe, the young man does indeed seem to have made some such demand upon his wife. For, in the early summer of 1602 (Trinity term, 44 Elizabeth),

the manors of Calverley and Pudsey, with the appurtenances in Calverley, Eccleshall, Farsley, Woodhall, and Pudsey, were vested in trust on Sir John Brooke and others for and during the joint natural lives of Walter Calverley, Esq. and Philippa his wife, and after their decease to the use and behoof of William Calverley, son and heir apparent, and his heirs male.<sup>55</sup>

Maxwell shows that this action, preserving Calverley's estate from the effects of his own folly, had been obtained in consequence of a complaint brought against him and his wife for debt by Philippa's brother and brother-in-law, Sir John Brooke and Edward Heron.<sup>56</sup> The trusteeship thus established was the most effective means which Philippa's family could have found to protect her rights and her children's patrimony; presumably it was brought about with her consent.

Relegated to a position of impotence almost as absolute as that which he had occupied as a minor, the twenty-three-year-old Calverley continued his riotous course as well as he could. He now felt, probably with reason, that he had Philippa to blame for his humiliation. The author of the Murthers relates how

he fel into a hatred of his wife, and ... to such a loathing of his children, that in what company soeuer he had happened, he could not containe his rage, but would openly proclaime his wife was a strumpet, his children were bastardes. And although their marriage was made by honourable personages, her selfe nobly descended, from the first houre hee embraced her, to that very minute he didde loathe her.

Their county neighbours attempted to defend Philippa, and, "knowing her vertuous life, didde vtterly condemne" Calverley, but

hee continued this publication in all places where he came and at one ... there happened a Gentleman to be, who hauing knowne the discreetenesse of his wife from her very cradle ... prepared himselfe confidently to correct him.

It would be interesting to know who this family friend of the Brookes was: Philippa, so far as one can discover, had no relatives in Yorkshire, so that her defender, unless an invention of the pamphleteer, must have been a man who had known her parents. Whatever his right to interfere in the matter, the well-meaning man was brought up short by Calverley's response. The maniacal young man accused him of being Philippa's lover, whereupon a duel was fought. Calverley was bested, but the benevolent victor did not pursue his advantage. He sent Calverley home to reconsider his attitude.<sup>57</sup>

The duel over her honour was apparently fought while Philippa was absent in

London, having been sent for "by that honorable friend whose neece she was, and whose ward he [her husband] had beene".<sup>58</sup> If the altercation took place in the spring of 1605, as it seems it did, then the 'honorable friend' was probably her brother John, who was in London in the spring of 1605 seeking a seat in the forthcoming 'Gunpowder' Parliament.<sup>59</sup> Whatever her reasons for leaving Yorkshire at this time, Philippa returned to Calverley Hall unaware of what had happened while she was away. She was confronted by her husband before his "wounds were thoroughly cured," and found him raging against her, her friends, and in particular the defender of her honour. Inopportune though the time evidently was, Philippa attempted to placate Calverley by giving him the good news of what she had achieved in London. Her 'uncle', she reported, had instructed her to urge her husband

that he hasten vp to Court; nor let the feare of his Creditors abridge his coming vp, for I will protect him, both from them, and also prouide some place in Court for him, wherein he shall finde I am his honourable kinsman.<sup>60</sup>

Calverley received the suggestion as Philippa ought to have known he would: "Shal I being a Cauerley of Cauerley," he stormed, "stoope my thoughts so low to attend on the countenance of your aliance ...?"

Although highly coloured, the account given in the Murthers need not be distrusted in its essentials. If Philippa had indeed gone up to London in April 1605 to visit her mother and her brother, Sir John may well have gone to Cecil with her problems, and been assured that if Calverley could be persuaded to come to town, some employment would be given him. Rather less credible, because more difficult to corroborate in probability, is the pamphleteer's next statement. According to him, Calverley was about to follow up his proud outburst with physical violence, when the master of a college in "one of the Vniuersities" appeared at his door on business concerning Calverley's younger brother.

Maister Cauerley had a second brother, who at this present was of good standing in the Vniuersitie, who ... had passed his bond with his brother for a thousand pound: this bond was by Master Cauerly forfeited: and this young Gentleman ... at this instant prisoner.<sup>61</sup>

The don, anxious to save the student from suffering ~~for~~ for his elder brother's faults, pleaded with Calverley to pay the debt which was the cause of the trouble. Calverley was strangely agreeable. "If you please but to walke downe and see the

grounds about my house," he told his visitor, "at your returne I wil giue so sufficient answer, that my brother by you shal be satisfied, and he a prisoner but few howres."<sup>62</sup> The man obligingly did as he was asked; Calverley, left alone, saw the wretchedness of his situation, and "being ouerwhelmed by the violence of his passion, all naturall loue was forgot in his remembrance." He went berserk and dashed off to kill as many of his family as he could in the short time left to him before the visitor returned from his stroll; perhaps, as Maxwell suggests, he thought that if he could wipe out his own children, he could leave the brother whom he had wronged sole heir to the estate.<sup>63</sup>

The trouble with this theory that it was the arrival of a scholar which precipitated the Calverley tragedy is two-fold. For one thing, there is no proof that Walter Calverley had a brother who was a student: it is only a possibility that the William Calverley of Trinity College, Cambridge, was of the Calverley Hall branch of that extensive northern family. The other peculiarity about the story is that it conflicts directly with Calverley's own account of what happened on St. George's Day 1605. He did indeed have a visitor on that day, he told the magistrates who examined him later, but it was no academic, only a local man who may have been his own servant, and who enraged him by refusing to carry out an order.<sup>64</sup> Whitaker doubted that there was any foundation for this part of the story at all.<sup>65</sup>

Once past the difficulties presented by the episode of Calverley's conversation with the don, one is again in the realm of ascertainable fact. By 1605 Walter and Philippa Calverley, for all their domestic differences, had had three sons. William, the eldest, is said by the author of the Murthers to have been four years old in April of that year;<sup>66</sup> he would thus have been born in 1601, which would account for his not being considered in June 1600, when Lady Cobham, in asking that Philippa should be given the wardship of her brother-in-law should her husband die, obviously expected that Walter Calverley would be succeeded in his estates by his brother. The little boy was certainly alive in the early summer of 1602, when Sir John Brooke was made a trustee of his patrimony. Whitaker thought that

he had perhaps been born before his parents left London, there being no entry of his christening in the parish registers of Calverley.<sup>67</sup> Walter, the second son, was christened at Calverley on 4 October 1603.<sup>68</sup> Henry, the youngest son, was in his tenth month on 5 August 1605, according to his father's inquisition post mortem, and so must have been born in November 1604. It was against these three sons that Walter Calverley turned in madness on 23 April 1605.

Calverley himself later said that he had been planning for two years to kill his wife's children, thinking them to be the results of her infidelity to him. The Murthers suggests that the impulse which drove him on was slightly more creditable, reporting him to have told the magistrates,

I brought them to beggery, and am resolved I could not haue pleased God better, then by freeing them from it.<sup>69</sup>

Maxwell, as it has already been noted, thinks that he hoped to make amends to his brother by assuring to him the estate which would otherwise have passed to his eldest son. The two plays corroborate to some extent all three of the explanations of his actions. A Yorkshire Tragedy makes the murderer say,

In my seede fiue are made miserable besides my selfe, my ryot is now my brothers iaylor, my wiues sighing, my three boyes penurie, and mine own confusion,<sup>70</sup>

In that play, too, the murderer seizes little William and cries:

My eldest beggar: thou shalt not liue to aske an vsurer bread, to crie at a great mans gate, or followe good your honour by a Couch, no, nor your brother tis charity to braine you.<sup>71</sup>

The Miseries, while of course showing no scene of murder, reflects what seems to have been the contemporary feeling that Calverley was obsessed with guilt, that he was not able to think of his wife and her children as legitimately his because he regarded himself as having been pre-contracted to a woman whom he had betrayed. In the play the young man confesses that he cannot marry his guardian's niece because he has given his promise to another. Asked how far he has committed himself, he replies:

I haue done so much, that if I wed not her,  
My marriage makes me an Adulterer,  
In which blacke sheets, I wallow all my life,  
My babes being Bastards, and a whore my wife.<sup>72</sup>

It is conceivable that Calverley harboured some scruple about the legality of his

marriage with Philippa Brooke. If he did, then his disavowal of her and her children may rather have resulted from his feeling that he had sworn himself to Mary Gargrave, or to someone whose history is not known, than from any suspicion that Philippa had been unfaithful to him. He never said so: his confession to the magistrates put all the blame squarely upon Philippa: but it would be strange if the persistent tradition regarding the pre-contract were utterly without foundation.

Whatever the motive, Calverley was certainly sustained by a desperate strength when he set about carrying out the atrocities which he thought would put an end to his misery. According to the Murthers, as soon as the university visitor left the house, young William "came into the gallery, to scourge his toppe" (a touch not wasted in A Yorkshire Tragedy, where the child makes his entrance "with a top and a scourge").<sup>73</sup> Calverley, coming to the decision at that moment to rid the world of his folly,

caught his childe vp by the necke, and striking at him with his dagger ... he strook the louely infant into the head, & holding the bleedinge childe at his armes length, that the blood might not sprinkle his cloths, which had stained his hart & honor, hee so carried it into a neere Chamber, where his wife lay asleepe.

Also in the room was a nurse dressing little Walter in front of the fire. She attempted to interuene between her master and his children, but Calverley, dispatching William, turned his murderous attentions upon his wife. Philippa awoke, and her husband lunged at her. She, however,

hauing a paire of Whale-bone bodies on, it pleased God his dagger so glanced on them, that she had yet but one wound in the shoulder: but hee ... caught fast holde vpon the childe [Walter having apparently run to his mother], and in the mothers armes stabd it to the heart: and after giuing his wife two or three mortall wounds, shee fel backwarde and the child at her feete.<sup>74</sup>

Calverley then ran from the house and rode off toward Norton, a village nearby, where the woman lived who was nursing his surviving child, the five-month-old Henry. His horse stumbled, however, as he was approaching the village, and Calverley fell. He was by this time being chased, and his pursuers now caught up with him. They took him to Sir John Savile's house at Howley Hall, and from there to a new "gaile" outside Wakefield.<sup>75</sup> Philippa, despite her wounds, had not died; the

author of the Murthers (which appeared before Calverley's trial and which therefore left him in prison) tells a touching story of how, on his way to Wakefield, Calverley passed his house and was greeted by his wife, who ran out and embraced him, "which strange kindnes ... strook to his heart."<sup>76</sup> The unlikelihood of this occurrence, however, is suggested not only by Calverley's subsequent expression of hatred for his wife, but also by the fact that Calverley Hall was not on the way from Howley to Wakefield.<sup>77</sup>

Next day, while his two sons were being buried,<sup>78</sup> Calverley made a statement to Sir John Savile and Sir Thomas Blande, Justices of the Peace. Calverley,

Being examined whether he did kill two of his own children, the name of the one thereof was William and the other Walter, saith, that he did kill them both at his owne house at Calverley yesterday, being the 23d day of April aforesaid. Being further examined what moved him to wound his wife yesterday, to that he saide, that one Carver coming into the chamber where he was with his said wife, he commanded her to will the said Carver to goe and fetch another son of his, whose name is Henry Calverley, who was nursed by the said Carver's wife, which she accordingly did; whereupon the said Carver went downe into the court, and stayed there about a quarter of an houre, and returned again, but brought not the said child with him; and being commanded to go downe again, he refused so to doe, and that therefore he did wound his wife, if she be wounded. And being further examined, what he wold have don to the said childe if Carver had brought him, to that he said he wold have killed him also. And being likewise examined whether at any time he had any intention to kill his said children, to that he said, that he hath had an intention to kill them for the whole space of two years past, and the reasons that moved him thereunto was [sic], for that his said wife had many times theretofore uttered speeches and given signes and tokens unto him, whereby he mighte easily percieve [sic] and conjecture, that the said children were not by him begotten, and that he hath found himself to be in danger of his life sundry times by his wife.<sup>79</sup>

Having confessed his guilt, accused his wife of provocation of which there is nowhere any corroboration, and generally given the impression that he was either a madman or a brute or both, Calverley had to wait for more than three months to be brought to trial. His conviction was inevitable, and so it seemed was the automatic loss to his heir of all his personal property: only the entailed estates, saved from forfeiture by the action of 1602, could not be confiscated by the Crown. There was, however, a way by which Calverley could cheat the law, and to what must have been the immense surprise of the spectators in the court room he took it. He refused to plead. Thereby he evaded conviction, and the infant whom he had tried so desperately to murder was assured of receiving his patrimony undiminished. But

thereby, too, Calverley brought upon himself death by the most excruciating torture. As Stow records his fate,

at his triall in Yorke, hee stood mute, & was iudged to bee prest to death, according to which iudgment hee was executed at the castell of Yorke the 5. of August.<sup>80</sup>

Whitaker spoke as a priest when he approved Calverley's decision: "I make no scruple of avowing, that, had I been his confessor, I would have urged him to it."<sup>81</sup> Few men could be so sure. Death under the stone and iron press was a high price to pay for expiation or for assurance that the Calverley inheritance would remain intact. Evidently the murderer's descendants doubted that he had found peace in the end which he chose for himself, for as late as this century they were saying that he haunted what remained of his old house at Calverley Hall.<sup>82</sup> He had not enjoyed it long in life; Walter Calverley was only twenty-six when he died.

Philippa did not give herself over to grief. On 21 October 1605 her husband's inquisition post mortem was taken and her surviving son was found to be his father's heir in the usual manner.<sup>83</sup> Thereafter the young widow exerted herself in Henry's interests, obtaining the discharge of the debts which were still owed out of his estate because of the recusancy fines which had been imposed upon his grandfather,<sup>84</sup> and probably, although no record of it seems to survive, acquiring his wardship. Thus, while Walter Calverley's "facinerous act ... [was] licensed to be acted on the publicke Stage,"<sup>85</sup> his son was given the opportunity to grow up as little affected by it as possible. Apparently raised as a Protestant, Henry Calverley matriculated at Lincoln College, Oxford, on 16 November 1621,<sup>86</sup> married, and left a substantially increased estate to his own heirs.<sup>87</sup> He died in 1661, a Royalist rich and prosperous, and in 1711 his descendants entered the ranks of the baronetage. Ironically, by thus becoming entitled to bear the honourable charge of the Red Hand of Ulster in their arms, the Calverleys were thereafter thought to be required to remind themselves of their ancestor's 'bloody hand'.<sup>88</sup>

Neither Maxwell nor any other modern writer records what happened to Philippa Calverley after she had started her son off in life, and it might therefore be

thought that she sank into a kind of obscurity. On the contrary, at about the age of twenty-eight, she married again and moved to Stockerston, in Leicestershire. Her second husband was a young man of her own age, Thomas Burton, who had been knighted at Dublin in 1605,<sup>89</sup> and by him she had three daughters: Anne, born in 1608, Elizabeth, born in 1611, and Frances, whose birth in 1613 probably caused her mother's death.<sup>90</sup> Old Lady Cobham, who appears to have been dissatisfied with her elder daughter's social-climbing husband, and who must have been tortured by thoughts of the man whom she first procured for Philippa, seems to have approved of Burton. She died in 1612, and in her will, while leaving little to Sir Edward Heron, she bequeathed "The lease of my house which I nowe dwell in ... to my sonne Borton", as well as most of her plate and furniture, and "the Greene velvet Cosen [cushion]".<sup>91</sup>

Philippa was buried at Stockerston on 28 September 1613.<sup>92</sup> Her husband married again, twice, and in 1622 he became a baronet.<sup>93</sup> Although it might be thought from the way in which he entered his first wife's name in the visitation records of 1619 that Burton preferred to forget her early history, he and his third wife appear to have done nothing to keep Philippa's daughters from acknowledging Henry Calverley as their brother. The heralds recorded that the first Lady Burton was the daughter of Henry Cobham, or Brooke, of Kent ("fil. Henrici Cobham al's Brooke de Com' Cantij"),<sup>94</sup> and made no allusion to her first marriage. Anne Burton, however, and Abel Barker her husband, left behind them letters in which the Calverleys figure prominently, and in such a way as leaves no doubt of their inclusion in Philippa's second family.

Abel Barker was a gentleman seated at Hambleton in Rutland, who became a baronet in 1665.<sup>95</sup> Among the Field Manuscripts are several letters from Anne Burton which show that she became his wife, at the comparatively late age of thirty-eight, between 25 June and 15 August 1646.<sup>96</sup> On the latter date "Mistress Anne Barker" wrote to her father's wife, "the much honoured lady the Lady Frances Burton", signing herself "Your dutiful & obedient daughter"; at about the same time the bride wrote to her late mother's nephew, "her noble Cousin Henry Heron, esq."<sup>92</sup>

There is little of interest in these letters, but in another, addressed to her half-sister Jane (who had been only half a year old when the heralds visited Stockerston in 1619), the new Mistress Barker wrote delightfully of many members of her large family. Among them were her uncle John, recently created Lord Cobham,<sup>98</sup> and her young nephew Walter, the son of her half-brother Henry Calverley. "Swete Sister," Anne wrote,

I thanke you for your paines in buying my things, but I rather wished you had danced with me in the dyneing roome then about the streetes, who infinitely wanted your company. I would intreate you to buy bone lace & satten for a gowne & kirtle, and a laced handkerchief & cuffs made & starched, & a loue hooide [obviously, in the context, not for mourning], & I pray good sister doe me the favour to buy for my father & my lady my Lord Cobham & my lady & your selfe & my cosen H. Heron & Walter Caluerly the best fashioned gloues you can gett. I pray doe you present my fathers & my mothers & W. Caluerlyes, and get Wat to present the rest together with Mr. Barkers seruice & my owne.<sup>99</sup>

If 'Wat' was Walter Calverley, and if, as has been supposed, it was Sir John Brooke who in his younger days had been regarded as the guardian of the other Walter Calverley, it would seem that the aging baron and his great-nephew were on far more congenial terms than Brooke and the youth's grandfather had ever been.

Anne Barker does not refer to Henry Calverley himself in her letters. Her husband, however, wrote from Hambleton on 20 January 1646/7 to "his worthy brother, Henry Caluerly Esqr.", and on 17 January 1647/8 he wrote again. This second letter from Abel Barker is a sad one, for it announces the birth of Anne's son and her own death; its companion, which the widower wrote to Sir Thomas Burton nine days later, simply and affectingly attributes his wife's death "to 'her owne feares and the too much haste of a hard-hearted midwife'".<sup>100</sup>

There is pathos in the news of Anne Barker's failure to survive the rather belated birth of her only child. Yet in it, and in the gaiety of the bride she was two years before her death, there is a glimpse of the everyday life of the seventeenth century which does something to counterbalance the impression of horror left by the sufferings of her mother a generation earlier. The letters of Philippa Burton's family are in a sense a postscript to A Yorkshire Tragedy.

Footnotes to Book Six

(pp. 911-20)

## Chapter I

<sup>1</sup> See J.G. Waller, "The Lords of Cobham," Archaeologia Cantiana, XI-XII (1877-78), Pt. 2, p. 155, where are listed three of the works dedicated to Cobham; C.F., III, 349 n.; Hertfordshire Families, ed. Duncan Warrand (1907), p. 113; Esme Wingfield-Stratford, The Lords of Cobham Hall (1959), pp. 69-70.

<sup>2</sup> The Professional Writer in Elizabethan England. A Study of Nondramatic Literature (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1959), p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 12, 157-58.

<sup>4</sup> See the biography by A.F. Pollard in D.N.B. It is noteworthy that Pollard, while listing among Tymme's various patrons several to whom only one or two books were dedicated, does not mention Cobham's name, although the baron was presented with four.

<sup>5</sup> See Paul Freher, Theatrum Virorum Eruditione Clarorum. In quo Vitae & Scripta Theologorum, Jureconsultorum, Medicorum & Philosophorum ... (Nuremberg, 1688), p. 220.

<sup>6</sup> Leicester: Patron of Letters (New York, 1955), p. 217.

<sup>7</sup> See Freher, p. 191.

<sup>8</sup> The dedication is printed in italics in the original.

<sup>9</sup> A Catholike and Ecclesiasticall exposition of the holy Gospell after S. Iohn Gathered out of all the singuler and approued Deuines (which the Lorde hath giuen vnto his Church) by Augustine Marlorate. And translated out of Latin into Englishe by Thomas Timme Minister (1575), dedication.

<sup>10</sup> Compare the use of this phrase by Cobham's own household chaplain, William Harrison, below, p. 923.

<sup>11</sup> The Ten English Lepers is the only work known to have been dedicated to Cobham which is omitted from Franklin B. Williams's Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books before 1641 (The Bibliographical Society, 1962).

<sup>12</sup> In the quotations the contrast of types used by Peter Short has been reversed, so that what here reads as italic is Roman in the original, and vice versa.

<sup>13</sup> See the biography by J.P. Earwaker in D.N.B.

<sup>14</sup> See Freher, p. 1245. Lemnius's son, also a physician, was the faithful attendant of King Eric of Sweden, the brother of King John; John was the prince who danced at Lady Cobham's wedding, and his sister Cecilia was the princess whom the baroness had welcomed to England on behalf of the queen in 1565 (see above, pp. 204, 221-23). For his fidelity to his master the younger Lemnius was strangled by order of King John in 1568.

<sup>15</sup> A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640, comp. A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave (1926) lists four editions of The Touchstone (1565, 1576, 1581 and 1633), but the first edition so listed is said by Williams to be a 'ghost'. The dedication of the 1576 edition, dated 21 September 1576 (22 September 1576 in the 1581 edition) supports Williams's contention. W.B. Rye (England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James the First ... (1865), p. 77) gives the impression that the 1581 edition was the first, but he is certainly wrong, since the title-pages of the earliest extant copies bear the date 1576.

Because of the accessibility of what was apparently the second edition, that of 1581, the dedication quoted in the text has been copied from it. The only significant variation of it from the text of the dedication of the edition of 1576 is the phrase relating to Lord Cobham's wife. In the first edition she was called "the Right honourable Lady Francis, your Lordships vertuous and louing wife"; in the second edition she became "that Right honourable Lady, your Lordships vertuous and louing Wyfe". Apart from what seems to have been the printer's error in dating the dedication 22 September, rather than 21 September 1576, all other variants in the 1581 dedication are simple spelling changes.

The dedication was printed in italic, proper names only being put in Roman type; here it has been transcribed in Roman, the names only being italicized.

16 See the reasonably accurate text, collated with that of the 1587 edition, in Harrison's Description of England in Shakspeare's Youth, Being the Second and Third Books of his Description of Britaine and England, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall (The New Shakspeare Society, 1877), I, 2, cix-cxii. The text of the dedication is in italic in the original.

17 See above, p. 325.

18 An Abstract Containing the Substance of the Rules and Ordinances of the New-Colledge of Cobham in the County of Kent; Of the Foundation of the Right Honorable the Late Lord William Baron Cobham. Reprinted in the Year 1687 ..., sig. A2.

19 "William Harrison (1535-1593)," Studies in the Renaissance, IX (1962), 263. Edelen's short study is the best biography of Harrison yet to be written, and quite supersedes Furnivall's careless compilation of the facts of his life.

20 Cecil Paper 24/9; abstracted in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IV, 412-13, where the phrase "hee dyd continuallye", &c., is incorrectly transcribed "that did continually". In the original the word 'that' has been emended by the writer to 'hee'. Edelen is the first scholar to note the connection of this letter with William Harrison (cf. p. 263 and n.). He relies upon the version in the published calendar, quoting only from the words "that thereby Harrison's son", &c., and is thus led to say that Cobham "refused his request to prefer a 'Mr. Ketredge' to some unnamed position, since it had already been promised to Edmund Harrison".

21 See Alumni Cantabrigienses ..., comp. John Venn and J.A. Venn (Cambridge, 1922-27), I, II, 314.

22 Harrison, ed. 1587, p. 210. See above, pp. 564-65.

23 Harrison, ed. 1587, p. 160. See above, pp. 117, n. 3, and 104.

24 Harrison, ed. 1587, p. 162.

25 See the Duke of Norfolck's letter to the queen, 23 January 1571/2 (A Collection of State Papers Relating to Affairs In the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, From the Year 1571 to 1596 ..., ed. William Murdin (1759), p. 170).

26 See Ahasverus Allinga to the Duke of Wurtemberg, 30 January 1563/4 (Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners, Being a series of hitherto unpublished letters from the archives of the Hapsburg family, ed. Victor von Klarwill, trans. T.H. Nash (1928), p. 195).

27 See above, pp. 192-93.

28 See the biography of William Thynne by Lee, and that of Francis Thynne by Thompson Cooper, in D.N.B., and Beriah Botfield's Stemmata Botevilliana: Memorials of the Families of De Boteville, Thynne, and Botfield, in the Counties of Salop and

Wilts ... (1858).

- 29 Apart from the references to the success of Cobham's embassy, the most interesting thing about the dedication is its implication that the Thynnes were on friendly terms with the baron, some of them even accompanying him to the Continent. Since no close relationship between Longleat and Cobham Hall is suggested by the extant correspondence of the period, this information is all there is by which the presence at Longleat of the Brooke family portrait of 1567 may even tentatively be explained. See above, p. 272.
- 30 Holinshed, unabridged ed. 1587, III, 1434-35.
- 31 Holinshed, unabridged ed. 1587, III, 1499.
- 32 Holinshed, unabridged ed. 1587, III, 1509.
- 33 See MS. Cotton Faustina E. viii, ff. 39-56b, which is a collection of rough notes by Thynne (captioned, on f. 39, "Cobhame", and again, on f. 40, "The Loordes of Cobhame"). Thynne at one point annotated a few records of the family with the words, "all these things are taken oute of shorne churche in Kent 27 Julij 1582. fras thynne".
- 34 Holinshed, unabridged ed. 1587, III, 1512.
- 35 A.P.C., 1586-87, pp. 311-12.
- 36 See Cooper's account of Thynne in D.N.B.
- 37 Holinshed, unabridged ed. 1587, III, 1491.
- 38 MS. Egerton 2124, f. 69, as it is printed in The Bardon Papers, Documents Relating to the Imprisonment & Trial of Mary Queen of Scots, ed. Conyers Read (Camden Society, 1909), pp. 97-98.
- 39 A former ambassador from his master to Elizabeth, Vitelli had been subjected to indignity upon his arrival at Dover in the troubled autumn of 1569, when a relative of Lord Cobham's, an unidentified Captain Leighton, was sent to escort him alone to Court, his train being held up at Dover (see two letters of 23 October 1569, one from Guerau de Spes to Philip II, the other from Vitelli to Alba, in S.P., Span., Eliz., II, 2201).
- 40 MS. Lansdowne 76, f. 161.
- 41 See Henry Lord Cobham to Sir Robert Cecil, 31 October 1597 (S.P., Dom., 1595-97, p. 525); Cobham to Cecil, 1, 2 November 1597 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 460, 461); Ive to Cecil, Middelburgh, 28 July 1600 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 247-48).
- 42 See above, pp. 575-76.
- 43 Dedicating to Lord Burghley on 1 November 1596 his Historie of Philip de Commines Knight, Lord of Argenton (1596), Danett referred to an earlier translation of Commines which he had made thirty years before, but to no more recent work. The modesty which he expressed in his Continuation of the Historie of France, from the death of Charles the eight where Commines endeth, till the death of Henry the second (1600) also makes one doubt that he had written anything else on French history. Although urged to attempt such a work as the Continuation, he told Lord Buckhurst in the dedicatory epistle, he had long been reluctant even to try to continue on his own a story so eminently begun by Commines; then, he said, "I called to mynde that others before mee had attempted this that they required at my

hands, and withall not being able to withstand the importunitie of my friendes I beganne though somewhat timorously to take penne in hand." Had he written the Historie five years before, Danett would hardly have assumed this attitude in 1600. Nor was Danett a protégé of the Sidneys, which, to judge from the comment on Lady Sidney in the dedication of the anonymous work, that writer was.

44 The dedication is in italic in the original, the proper names in Roman; here the opposite arrangement of type has been indicated.

45 See Louis Thorn Golding, An Elizabethan Puritan: Arthur Golding the Translator of Ovid's Metamorphoses and also of John Calvin's Sermons (New York, 1937).

46 L.T. Golding, pp. vii-viii.

47 See Miller, p. 103.

48 L.T. Golding, p. 120.

49 See L.T. Golding, pp. 103-06.

50 L.T. Golding, throughout his work, erroneously takes this date to be new style.

51 See Conyers Read, Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth (1960), p. 484.

52 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IV, 518; see also pp. 527-28, 523-24, and V, 14.

53 Miller, p. 120.

54 Ecclesiastes, sig. V viij.

55 Ecclesiastes, sig. Y iijv.

56 The Three Parnassus Plays (1598-1601), ed. J.B. Leishman (1949), p. 241 (2 Return from Parnassus I.ii.260-64). The square brackets are the editor's.

57 See above, p. 925, and below, p. 975.

58 Sir Thomas Wilson to King James I, 2 November 1618 (P.R.O., S.P. 14/103/67; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1611-18, pp. 589-90).

59 The epigram is printed from MS. Add. 12049 ("Epigrams and Poems by Sir John Harington Knt. The author's own MS"), p. 178, by Norman Egbert McClure in his edition of The Letters and Epigrams of Sir John Harington together with The Prayse of Private Life (Philadelphia, 1930), pp. 285-86. McClure's notes to it are on p. 424, and his collation of the unpublished version with those in the 1615, 1618, 1625 and 1633 printings of the epigrams are on pp. 285-86. The variants are minor, the most significant being those in stanza 4 (where line 1 reads 'Now lost', &c., in all but the 1633 edition), and in stanza 8 (where line 2 usually has a comma after 'dores' and in the 1633 edition reads 'doores, wals, windowes tuch'; and line 4, had 'place' for 'grace' in all editions).

60 McClure, p. 316. This second epigram, unlike the other, was not published in Lady Kildare's lifetime.

61 The complete title of Darcie's work is more than 300 words long; it is transcribed above, pp. 763, along with several biographical facts about Lady Kildare which Darcie alone records.

62 Vertues due, sig. C2v. The peculiar use of 'prostitution' in the first stanza is evidently derived from a meaning of 'prostitute' which is given in Q.E.D.: that

is, to be laid low before someone in a reverent, not a sexual sense. The second stanza is readily understood if one realizes that Powell professes to find the whole gamut of virtues in the life of the late Countess of Nottingham, and that he insists that any quality possessed by the late woman's daughter will also have its natural place in such a scale of perfections.

63 See above, p. 832.

64 The Passionate Poet . . . . Printed by Valentine Simmes, dwelling on Adling hill at the signe of the white Swanne. 1601, sig. [A2]. The word 'immensiuenes' is not recorded in O.E.D.; 'immensive' is there first noted as occurring in 1604.

65 See Pollard's article on Powell in D.N.B.

66 See below, p. 1065, n. 1.

67 The Passionate Poet, sig. E4v.

68 Holinshed, unabridged ed. 1587, III, 1512.

69 See MS. Add. 37666, f. 43b.

70 See Cobbett's Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and other Crimes and Misdemeanors from the earliest Period to the present Time, II (1809), 63.

71 Charles Henry Cooper and Thompson Cooper (Athenae Cantabrigienses (1858-1913), II, 360), and Britiffe Constable Skottowe in D.N.B. attribute to George Brooke two poems which are preserved in the Bodleian Library. William Henry Black, however, in his Descriptive, Analytical, and Critical Catalogue of Manuscripts Bequeathed unto the University of Oxford, by Elias Ashmole . . . (Oxford, 1845), distinguishes in the index to his work between "George Brooke, brother to Henry Lord Cobham", and the "George Brooke, gent.", who signed these poems, and it appears that he had good reason to do so. The poems (MS. Ashmol. 1445, vii, 11, 12) are these:

George Brooke Gent<sup>l</sup>: in praye of the Author:

Sol never dived into faire Thetis bedd  
 Yeelding Luna his ingendring shine  
 Twice-seaven moones, but in my hammering head  
 Still haue I sought this triple-worke of thine  
 Seene much, heard more, turnd on many a Lyne  
 Till Mercury in me such fury bredd  
 As wth the Planetts [<sup>and</sup>: crossed out] wholly overspredd.

I though my earthlie pts transformed, devine  
 but overweake in understanding power  
 I found my glorious Gold provd copp dust  
 And had I not in a propitious hower  
 Perus'd this worke of nature-measure just  
Hermes I had abjur'd and all his crew  
 Whose Workes in thy plaine writeing liue anew;

and

G.B. Gent: in prayse of the Authour.

I will not praise that workeman whose due Art  
 Doth more then praise itt selfe, thy happy peine  
 Deare freind, by me admired, amongst many men  
 Wherein thou dost a misticque world impte  
 Giues silence to my braine, my eye, my hearte.  
 Once did I knowe a time & houre when  
 In Gebers kitchen my Amalgames blen [blent, blended?]  
 I could and didst formes to formes conuerte  
 But all too Weake thy secretts to attaine  
 I onely write and sing wth all my might  
 My maker God him that inspires thy braine  
 To ope the worlds blinde Eye at thy faire light  
 Of natures lower worke in letters plaine  
 By thee sett downe in Colours orient bright.

The Geber referred to by the poetaster was Abou Moussah Djafar al Sofi, an Arabian scholar of the eighth century whose works were published in Latin, as those of Johannes Geber, in Switzerland in the mid-sixteenth century. Two of them, De fornacibus construendis (Berne, 1545), and De investigatione perfectionis metallorum (Basle, 1562), formed part of the alchemical canon. Calling the alchemist's laboratory 'Geber's kitchen' was thus probably a commonplace: Thomas Fuller quotes a poem by Edward Kelly, the notorious Elizabethan quack (although, puns Fuller, "I confess myself not to understand the Geberish of his language"), which reads:

All you that fain Philosophers would be,  
 And night and day in Geber's kitchin broyle,  
 Wasting the chips of ancient Hermes' Tree;  
 Weening to turn them to a precious Oyle;  
 The more you work, the more you lose and spoil.  
 To you I say, how learn'd so e'er you be,  
 Go burn your Books, and come and learn of me

(The History of the Worthies of England, ed. John Nichols (1811); II, 473).

Merely agreeing with Fuller's opinion that this kind of stuff is gibberish, however, is not sufficient reason for disallowing the attribution of the Ashmolean poems to George Brooke of Cobham. A baron's son and an intelligent man might in the age of Elizabeth well have written them; Charles Montgomery Hathaway has shown in his excellent introduction to The Alchemist by Ben Jonson (Yale Studies in English Number XVII, New York, 1903), that no one was immune from the charm of alchemy at a time when the queen herself was "a patron of its professors". "Even Burghley succumbed on occasion to the alluring promise of the alchemists," writes Conyers Read (Lord Burghley, p. 145), and among the Cecil Papers is a list of books dated August 1545 in which the first work is "The books of Alchamyste of Geber the Arabyn" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XIII, 14).

There is, however, proof that there was in London in the 1590s a young man called George Brooke who was definitely not Lord Cobham's son or brother, and who was a dabbler in the occult. The famous Dr. John Dee (to whom the Ashmolean poems may well have been addressed), whose wide reputation included a claim to the discovery of the philosophers' stone, recorded a visit paid to his house at Mortlake on 25 June 1595 by "my cosen, Mr. George Broke", who gave Dee "£ 50 in gold, hora tertia a meridie", no doubt to buy materials with which to attempt the transmutation of less precious metals into gold. A later entry in Dee's diary shows clearly that this Brooke was the son of a country gentleman, not of William Lord Cobham (see The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee . . ., ed. James Orchard Halliwell (Camden Society, 1842), pp. 52, 60). Lacking any evidence such as this to indicate that any of the Brookes of Cobham had an interest in alchemy, and noting that a baron's son would have styled himself 'esquire', not 'gentleman', one must conclude that it was probably Dee's gullible young friend from the provinces who wrote the breathless and breath-taking verses quoted above.

72 See above, p. 456.

73 Whitney, sig. I3.

74 Meres, Sig. Oo8<sup>v</sup>.

75 See above, p. 667; Venn, I, iii, 225; the biography of Mudde by Lydia Miller Middleton in D.N.B.

76 See above, pp. 448-49.

77 See the notes to the family tree, p. 1202, n. 78.

78 See above, pp. 70-71.

79 On 28 March 1568 Sir William Cecil wrote to Sir Ralph Sadler that the French ambassador had reported the conclusion of what is loosely described as the second French civil war, one of the protracted conflicts between the house of Guise and its opponents (see S.P., Dom., 1547-80, p. 309); by 31 August an informant of Lord Cobham's was reporting from Dieppe that hostilities were breaking out again (see S.P., Dom., 1547-80, p. 315). Conyers Read calls Longjumeau "a peace which left the major issue still undecided and the leaders of both parties still under arms" (Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth (1955), p. 417).

80 On 24 April 1568 Guzman de Silva, the Spanish ambassador, reported to Philip II:

The Portuguese ambassador had his second interview with the Queen today, when his business was discussed.

... He was met by order of the Queen some distance outside the palace gates by Henry Cobham (who went to Germany with the earl of Sussex), a brother of his, and another gentleman of the chamber called Kyngesmyll. They led him to the presence chamber, where they entertained him until the lord chamberlain came out and took him to the Queen ...

(S.P., Span., Eliz., II, 26).

81 Rogers MS., f. 100. It is especially dubious whether the penultimate stanza ought to read as it does in the transcription made above. Even taking into consideration the extreme difficulty of reading Rogers's words exactly, however, it seems clear that the epigram may be very freely translated in prose as: 'To Henry Cobham upon the conclusion of a bad peace following a second disturbance in France. At last the shores of France are rid of the fearful blasts of trouble, and the stormy winter which Cobham has undergone has come to a close. Spring returns. Yet there is no sign of the sunny freedom from care which one associates with spring, for Jove, that dark god, holds the heavens rigid in tense expectancy. Although it is not yet long since Mars stood fiercely armed, the peace which has been restored does not bring with it its accustomed tranquillity. No, the situation hangs upon nothing more reliable than the treacherous winds from the North, and this spring promises to be more baleful than the ruthless winter ever was. Against all the laws of Nature, that fierce hour is already upon us when we must look for the commencement of things far graver than the advent of triumphant Phoebus. For the sad truth is, that this ill-starred peace, contracted as it was with the most noble and sacred vows, is sworn to its own destruction, and now takes up those arms which the god of war laid down.'

82 Cobham to Burghley, 22 September 1583 (S.P., For., 1583-84, p. 113). For Sir Henry's part in keeping watch on the trade in recusant books during his stay in France, see the notes to the family tree, pp. 1138-41, n. 55.

83 MS. Harl. 2134, f. 133.

84 See the notes to the family tree, p. 1172, n. 60. Alexander B. Grosart, in his edition of Alba (Privately printed, Manchester, 1880), p. 147, identifies Sir Calisthenes Brooke as Anne Heron's father, although he admits to ignorance of the Brooke family (Anne Heron "must have been a Brooke -- albeit I have failed to get any particulars of this family:" p. xlv). For the circumstances in which the Brooke brothers were when Tofte addressed them, see the notes to the family tree, pp. 1159, 1167, nn. 57-58.

85 Tofte, Alba, sig. G5.

86 J.O. Halliwell, Some Account of Tofte's Alba, 1598. An Extremely Rare Poem, containing the Earliest Extrinsic Notice of Shakespeare's Comedy of Love's Labour's Lost (1865), p. 21.

87 Tofte, Alba, sig. B6v.

88 See the notes to the family tree, p. 1171, n. 59.

89 See the notes to the family tree, p. 1172, n. 60.

90 See the notes to the family tree, pp. 1180-85, n. 69.

91 Miller, pp. 241, 272.

92 William Tymme was the "son of John Tymme of Kemberton, Gloucester, yeoman", according to A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640, gen. ed. R.B. McKerrow (1910), p. 270; A.F. Pollard, in his D.N.B. article on Thomas Tymme, says that William was possibly the minister's brother.

93 See "Some English Mock-Prognostications," The Library, 4th ser., XIX (1939), 28.

94 Nixon, sig. C2v.

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## Chapter II

1 "Some Account of the Life, &c. of Mr. William Shakespear," p. ix, in The Works of Mr. William Shakespear, ed. Nicholas Rowe (1709).

2 The First Part of King Henry IV, ed. A.R. Humphreys (The Arden Edition of the Works of William Shakespeare, 1960), p. xv. All line references in the present work are to the Globe edition of 1864.

3 See Frederick Gard Fleay, A Chronicle History of the Life and Works of William Shakespeare, Player, Poet, and Playmaker (1886), pp. 130-31, where the "rich rubies and incomparable carbuncles of Sir John Oldcastle's nose" mentioned in Hey for Honesty (printed in 1651) are convincingly associated with the physiognomy of the priest of Enfield in The Merry Devil, who "carries fire in his face eternally". Sir Edmund Chambers, in his William Shakespeare, A Study of Facts and Problems (Oxford (1930), I, 382), took this allusion to be to Falstaff. In his own 1932 re-issue of The Shakspeare Allusion-Book: A Collection of Allusions to Shakspeare from 1591 to 1700, however, Chambers would have found reason for doubting his attribution of the fiery nose to Falstaff in Miss Toulmin Smith's reservations about the allusion (see II, 20).

(pp. 963-68)

4 Malone Society Reprint, prepared by Percy Simpson under the general editorship of W.W. Greg (1908), sig. A2.

5 The Meeting of Gallants is tentatively attributed to Dekker by F.P. Wilson in his edition of The Plague Pamphlets of Thomas Dekker (Oxford, 1925), and there reprinted. Wilson, while noting the allusion to Elstaff's original (pp. 240-41), does not point out the inconsistency between Dekker the supposed mocker of Oldcastle and Dekker the collaborator in a play designed to rescue the Lollard from ignominy (see below, p. 1012).

6 The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine: Presenting an Exact Geography of the Kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Iles adioyning ... (1611), p. 637.

7 The Plays of Nathan Field, ed. William Peery (Austin, Texas, 1950), p. 216 (Amends for Ladies IV.ii.23-25).

8 The Shakspeare Allusion-Book, I, 446.

9 See Chambers, William Shakespeare, II, 353; The First Part of King Henry IV, ed. Humphreys, p. xvi.

10 See above, p. 1055, n. 3.

11 The Letters of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia, ed. L.M. Baker (1953), p. 316, where the square brackets are the editor's. This allusion has not been included in The Shakspeare Allusion-Book.

12 The Shakspeare Allusion-Book, I, 507.

13 Edited by James Nichols (3rd ed., 1842), I, 489.

14 Edited by John Nichols (1811), II, 131-32.

15 "The Lollards," Studies in English History (Edinburgh, 1881), pp. 16-17.

16 See Richard James, Iter Lancastrense: A Poem, written A.D. 1636, ed. Thomas Corser (Chetham Society, 1845), pp. lxiv-lxv. Seymour Pitcher takes James's phrase "Shakespeare's first shewe of Harrie ye fift" to mean that the poet wrote two plays about that king, Henry V and The Famous Victories (see The Case for Shakespeare's Authorship of The Famous Victories (1962), p. 179). Since it was in Henry IV that Falstaff appeared first as Oldcastle, and since that two-part drama is the first in which Hal appears, one cannot see why it is necessary to go outside the accepted Shakespeare canon to find James's "first shewe".

17 For the supposition of an Oldcastle-Norris family connection, see the notes to the family tree, p. 1080, n. 3.

18 See the biography of James by Charles Lethbridge Kingsford in D.N.B.

19 See above, p. 3.

20 Fleay, p. 130.

21 A Life of William Shakespeare (1923), p. 228.

22 A Life of William Shakespeare (4th ed., 1925), p. 241.

23 The Real War of the Theaters: Shakespeare's Fellows in Rivalry with the Admirals' Men, 1594-1603: Repertories, Devices, and Types (Boston, 1935), p. 68.

- 24 Shakespeare of London (1951), p. 152.
- 25 William Shakespeare (1930), I, 381.
- 26 "The Naming of Falstaff," The Emory University Quarterly, X (1954), 6.
- 27 The Annotator: The Pursuit of an Elizabethan Reader of Halle's Chronicle Involving some Surmises About the Early Life of William Shakespeare (1954), p. 62.
- 28 Printed from the published Council registers by Sir Edmund Chambers in The Elizabethan Stage (Oxford, 1923), IV, 332.
- 29 Les Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata 1593 to 1609 from the original MS. of John Hawarde of the Inner Temple, Esquire, Barrister-at-Law, ed. William Paley Baildon (Privately printed, 1894), p. 48. This passage is quoted (with some verbal inaccuracy) as an instance of "the fanciful rather than the painful" predominating in the sentences of the Star Chamber by Edward P. Cheyney (A History of England From the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth ... (New York, 1914-26), I, 103).
- 30 Virginia Crocheron Gildersleeve, Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama (New York, 1961), p. 108.
- 31 See above, pp. 751-52, 761-62.
- 32 P.R.O., S.P. 78/41, f. 191; quoted in Hotson's Shakespeare's Sonnets Dated and other Essays (1949), p. 154.
- 33 See Burke's Commoners, IV (1838), 402.
- 34 Cecil Paper 101/16; quoted in H.M.C., Report 3, Appendix, p. 148, and in Mrs. Stopes's Life of Henry, Third Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's Patron (Cambridge, 1922), p. 160. It is transcribed in modern spelling in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XV, 176, where it is incorrectly dated 1603, two years after Essex's death, because of the endorsement '1603'. This endorsement, probably made by Cecil's clerk, is virtually inexplicable, although one might, with the greatest caution, suggest that the letter came to Cecil's attention during the investigation of Cobham's conspiracy in 1603. Mrs. Stopes (p. 158) thinks that the whole Southampton correspondence was confiscated by Cecil at the time of the earl's attainder in 1601.
- 35 William Shakespeare, II, 198.
- 36 Shakespeare in His Age (1956), p. 216.
- 37 Hotson, p. 156.
- 38 Gildersleeve, p. 96.
- 39 See The First Part of King Henry IV, ed. Humphreys, p. xiv.
- 40 "Falstaff and Cobham," A Christmas Book from the Department of English, Hunter College of the City of New York (1937), p. 55.
- 41 See above, pp. 759 ff.
- 42 Sharpe may have wished to compare the figure of William Lord Cobham with that of Falstaff. Sharpe (p. 71) refers, as though in disappointment, to "the only clue I have been able to find to the physical proportions of the elder Cobham", that is, to Rowland Whyte's statement that the baron was "much fallen away" at the time of his last illness (see above, p. 647).

- 43 Hotson, p. 157.
- 44 Keen and Lubbock, p. 62.
- 45 P.R.O., S.P. 12/273/57; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 363.
- 46 See above, pp. 791 ff.
- 47 Sharpe, p. 70.
- 48 The extremes to which critics will go in attributing anti-Brooke sentiments to Shakespeare are indicated in Anthony G. Petti's article on "Beasts and Politics in Elizabethan Literature" (Essays and Studies 1963, ed. S. Gorley Putt (1963), pp. 68-90). Petti sees Pandarus as "a Cobham-like figure" and interprets the epilogue to Troilus and Cressida as a statement on the political situation in September 1603. The little rhyme which Pandarus there speaks is described as a poignant reference to Essex's downfall, and the rest of the speech is seen as Henry Lord Cobham's expression of fear that his fate will be the same as that of the earl. "My fear is this, / Some galled goose of Winchester would hiss," Petti takes to mean that Cobham expected Raleigh to give evidence against him at their forthcoming trials at Winchester. The impossibility of dating Troilus with any precision, as well as the perfectly adequate interpretation of Pandarus's words as a reference to brothels and venereal disease, militate against Petti's argument; admiration for its ingenuity cannot justify one's acceptance of yet another unsubstantiated conjecture about Shakespeare and the Brookes.
- 49 See above, pp. 578-79.
- 50 Stopes, p. 128. For the letter itself, see above, p. 755.
- 51 See J. Dover Wilson, "The Origins and Development of Shakespeare's Henry IV," The Library, 4th ser., XXVI (1945), 13-14.
- 52 Sharpe, p. 72.
- 53 Sharpe, p. 72.
- 54 See above, pp. 325-26.
- 55 Elizabethan Stage, I, 268.
- 56 Lee, p. 338.
- 57 Dramatic Publication in England, 1580-1640. A Study of Conditions Affecting Content and Form of Drama (New York, 1927), p. 173.
- 58 J. Dover Wilson, The Fortunes of Falstaff (Cambridge, 1943), p. 16.
- 59 "The Origins and Development of Shakespeare's Henry IV," pp. 13, 14.
- 60 Leslie Hotson, Shakespeare versus Shallow (1931), p. 15.
- 61 Shakespeare's Sonnets Dated, p. 150.
- 62 William Bracy, The Merry Wives of Windsor: The History and Transmission of Shakespeare's Text (Columbia, Missouri, 1952), pp. 105, 107.
- 63 Gildersleeve, p. 184.
- 64 The First Part of King Henry IV, ed. Humphreys, p. xiv.

- 65 Halliday, p. 182.
- 66 Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor (Princeton, New Jersey, 1962), p. 113.
- 67 See above, pp. 633 ff.
- 68 See above, pp. 635-37. W.W. Greg, in his edition of Menslowe's Diary (1904-08), II, 89 n.) had also noted the unreasonableness of being "asked to believe that their Lordships waited to take action till 28 July, more than four months after the death of the man to whose influence their action is ascribed".
- 69 See above, pp. 187-89.  
 There is one writer who would even attribute to Cobham the patronage of Shakespeare and his fellows. Marion Ansel Taylor, evidently believing that the Lord Chamberlain's Men were attached to the office and not to the person of Henry Lord Hunsdon, says that Cobham, in succeeding him, "was Lord Chamberlain, and therefore patron of the Shakespeare company" ("Lord Cobham and Shakespeare's Duchess of Gloucester," Shakespeare Association Bulletin, IX (1934), 152). This statement fairly indicates how qualified is Mrs. Taylor to argue, without adducing any evidence whatsoever, that Christopher Middleton's Legend of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Day and Chettle's Blind Beggar of Bednal Green appeared in 1600 as parts of Henry Lord Cobham's campaign to acquit his 'ancestress' Eleanor Cobham of the charges laid against her in The Mirror for Magistrates and the Contention betwixt the Two Famous Houses of York and Lancaster. That William Lord Cobham had found these two latter works offensive had previously been suggested by Mrs. Taylor in her "Lord Cobham and the Mirror for Magistrates" (Shakespeare Association Bulletin, VIII (1933), 154-60). None of her arguments concerning Eleanor Cobham and her "sensitive descendant" [sic] merits serious consideration, and to the theory that Henry Lord Cobham commissioned the play of Sir John Oldcastle she adds nothing.
- 70 Green, p. 114.
- 71 Fleay, pp. 130-32.
- 72 Adams, pp. 228-33.
- 73 Lee, pp. 241-45.
- 74 The First Part of King Henry IV, ed. Humphreys, pp. xi-xv; Green, pp. 177-92.
- 75 Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare, IV (1962), 171.
- 76 See Dover Wilson, "The Origins and Development of Shakespeare's Henry IV," pp. 15-16. The case put by Dover Wilson for the recasting in 1597 of a largely metrical play in one part into the present Henry IV had been ably argued by A.E. Morgan in Some Problems in Shakespeare's Henry IV (1924).
- 77 See "The Date of 'Henry IV'," Neophilologus, XXXVIII (1954), 42-44, where William Lord Cobham is said to have censored the play before his death on 6 March 1596 [sic].
- 78 Adams, p. 229.
- 79 Green, p. 114.
- 80 See The Case for Shakespeare's Authorship, pp. 177-78, where Pitcher thinks that it is likely that the publisher Thomas Creede, when he came to prepare the old play for the press in 1598, took advantage of the notoriety of Falstaff by making "room for Oldcastle in The Famous Victories to enhance its attractiveness

to the public". Pitcher's detection of "makeshift awkwardnesses" in the scenes in the printed play in which Oldcastle, or Jockey, appears, is not convincing, but the possibility that that character is a late addition cannot be discounted.

81 Herbert, p. 5.

82 "The Origins and Development of Shakespeare's Henry IV," p. 14.

83 The Fortunes of Falstaff; p. 16.

84 Bullough, p. 171.

85 See The First Part of King Henry IV, ed. Humphreys, pp. xxxii, xxxv.

86 See The First Part of King Henry IV, ed. Humphreys, pp. xxxiv-v, and n.

87 Wilhelm Baeske's Oldcastle-Falstaff in der englischen Literatur bis zu Shakespeare (Berlin, 1905), which is excerpted at length in Samuel Burdett Hemingway's Variorum edition of 1 Henry IV (Philadelphia, 1936), pp. 453-55, ably traces the development of Oldcastle's religious reputation in the Roman Catholic writings of Thomas Elmham, Thomas Walsingham, Titus Livius, John Capgrave, Robert Redmayne and Polydore Vergil, in the chronicles of the Brut, of Gregory and of Fabyan, and in the later Tudor chroniclers who relied upon their fifteenth-century predecessors.

88 See "Historical Memoranda in Early Handwritings ... Part V. Books prohibited, 1531. #25. A boke of Thorpe, or of John Oldecastell," in James Gairdner's Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles ... (Camden Society, 1880), p. 90.

89 Bale, sig. Giii.

90 Oldcastle died in December 1417 (see above, p. 5). Foxe's calendar gives the date as 1418, the day as 6 February in the 1563 edition and as 5 February in the 1596 edition (which Parsons was concerned to attack). Parsons said of the feast days that "neyther in yeare, day, nor moneth do they agree [with historical fact]; and this is very ordinary in Fox" (The Third Part of a Treatise, Intituled: of three Conversions of England: conteyninge, An examen of the Calendar or Catalogue of Protestant Saints .... The First Six Monethes ... (1604), p. 246).

91 A Treatise of three conversions of England from Paganisme to Christian Religion ... (1603), p. 491.

92 Foxe, ed. 1563, p. 261.

93 Foxe, ed. 1596, p. 523.

94 Foxe, ed. 1563, p. 174.

95 Foxe, ed. 1596, p. 591.

96 See above, pp. 937-38.

97 Cecil Paper 225/1.

98 Bale, sig. Aiiii. Froissart commends Lord Cobham of Sterborough, the first cousin and prominent contemporary of the great-grandfather of Oldcastle's wife (see The fyrst volum of Syr Johan Froysaart of the Cronycles ..., trans. John Burchier, Lord Berners (1545), sig. lxxv ff.).

99 Foxe, ed. 1563, p. 261; ed. 1596, p. 514.

- 100 Holinshed, unabridged ed. 1587, III, 544.
- 101 Parsons, A Treatise of three conversions, pp. 490-91: "Syr Iohn Oldcastle (by his wife called L. Kobham) [sic: the catch-word reads "L. Cobham"]".
- 102 Weever, sig. A4. Weever's debt to Bale is perhaps also reflected in his use verbatim as one of the stanzas of the Mirror of the poetic challenge to mediaeval England which Bale attributed to Oldcastle, "Bewayle maye Englande" (see above, p. 986). Leslie Mahon Oliver discusses Weever's poem in his article, "Sir John Oldcastle: Legend or Literature?" The Library, 5th ser., I (1947), 179-83.
- 103 Weever, sig. A7<sup>v</sup>. See the notes to the family tree, p. 1079, n. 1.
- 104 Foxe, ed. 1596, p. 523.
- 105 James Gairdner, "On the Historical Element in Shakespeare's Falstaff," Studies in English History (Edinburgh, 1881), p. 58.
- 106 See Thompson Cooper's biography of Covell in D.N.B.
- 107 Weever, sig. E2. Weever's awareness of Shakespeare, and his admiration for him, are expressed in the sonnet, "Ad Gulielmum Shakespeare" of 1595 (see The Shakspeare Allusion-Book, I, 24).
- 108 See above, p. 964. There might also be a reflection of Cobham's explanation of his relationship to Oldcastle in the more moderate statement in the Meeting of Gallants at an Ordinarie, "if you chaunce to talke of fatte Sir Iohn Old-castle, he wil tel you, he was his great Grand-father ..." (see above, p. 963).
- 109 See Chambers, William Shakespeare, I, 382.
- 110 See Sharpe, p. 96.
- 111 "The Origins and Development of Shakespeare's Henry IV," p. 14.
- 112 Green, p. 115.
- 113 Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, II, 196.
- 114 Green, p. 53.
- 115 See above, pp. 639-40.)
- 116 Green, pp. 21-50.
- 117 The First Part of King Henry IV, ed. Humphreys, p. xiv.
- 118 Green, pp. 116-17.
- 119 See above, p. 718.
- 120 See above, p. 724.
- 121 See above, p. 725.
- 122 Green, p. 120 n.
- 123 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, V, 407. The original letter (Cecil Paper 35/57) contains nothing of interest that has not been published in the printed calendar.

(pp. 999-1007)

The only other Broome encountered in the 1590s is "a very base and lewd fellow ... indicted of felony for robbing of a church", whom a servant of Lady Danvers mentioned in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil on 23 July 1595 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, V, 288).

124 Green, p. 119.

125 Green, p. 119; the square brackets are his. An indication of how lowly was at least one Elizabethan who shared both his Christian and his family name with William Lord Cobham, and also of how even sheer coincidence contrives to associate the Brookes with Falstaff, traditionally the denizen of the Boar's Head Tavern (cf. 2 Henry IV II.ii.159-60), is given in the ensuing note. "On the removal of a mound of rubbish at Whitechapel, brought there after the Great Fire," writes W.R. Morfill, "a carved boxwood bas-relief boar's head was found, set in a circular frame formed by two boar's tusks, mounted and united with silver. An inscription to the following effect was pricked at the back: 'Wm. Brooke, Landlord of the Bore's Hedde, Estchepe, 1566'" (Ballads Relating Chiefly to the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (Printed for the Ballad Society, Hertford, 1873), p. 147 n.). The relic is now, according to Hemingway (Variorum 1 Henry IV, p. 125), at the Guildhall.

126 Chambers, William Shakespeare, I, 429. See also W.W. Greg, The Shakespeare First Folio, Its Bibliographical and Textual History (Oxford, 1955), p. 335.

127 See Chambers, William Shakespeare, I, 433; Greg, p. 337. The only prominent courtier named Brooke in 1623 was Fulke Greville, created Lord Brooke of Beauchamp's Court in 1621; since he had had no previous connection with Falstaff, it is hard to see how the use of so common a surname could have offended the new Lord Brooke.

128 Green, p. 120.

129 See Chambers, William Shakespeare, I, 381, where it is shown on the evidence of the first quarto of 2 Henry IV that the prayer for the queen, which concluded a performance, originally came after the first half of the printed epilogue.

130 See The Second Part of the History of Henry IV, ed. John Dover Wilson (Cambridge, 1946), p. 215.

131 A third quarto came out in 1599, and in 1600 2 Henry IV, again under a title which included the name of Falstaff, was entered in the Stationers' Register and printed. The printing of The Merry Wives in 1602 completed the process of recording Falstaff's new name.

132 See Pitcher, p. 169.

133 See above, p. 799.

134 Letters and Memorials of State ..., ed. Arthur Collins (1746), II, 175.

135 See especially The First Part of King Henry IV, ed. Humphreys, p. xvi, and the discussion in The Shakspeare Allusion-Book, I, 79.

136 The Second Part of the History of Henry IV, ed. Dover Wilson, p. 215.

137 See Greg, pp. 284-85.

138 King Henry V, ed. J.H. Walter (The Arden Edition of the Works of William Shakespeare, 1954), p. xliii. See also Walter's "With Sir John in It," Modern Language Review, XII (1946), 237-45.

- 139 King Henry V, ed. Walter, pp. xliii-iv.
- 140 Sharpe, p. 126 n.
- 141 See above, pp. 595, 660.
- 142 See below, p. 1012.
- 143 This and the other excerpts from Henslowe's diary which relate to the play are transcribed in Simpson's Malone Society Reprint of the first quarto of Sir John Oldcastle, pp. v-vi.
- 144 Sir John Oldcastle, ed. Simpson, p. vi.
- 145 The Works of Michael Drayton, ed. J. William Hebel, V (edd. Kathleen Tillotson and Bernard H. Newdigate, Oxford, 1941), 47.
- 146 One knows, from the entry in the Stationers' Register, that Oldcastle suffered martyrdom in the second part of the play. He must have been delivered up to his persecutors by Lord Powis, the second character to come on stage in the first part, since the historical Lord Cherleton of Powys's part in the capture of Oldcastle in 1417 had been emphasized by Foxe. The martyrologist went so far as to ask Elizabethan Protestants to believe that Powys, "this brother of Iudas", most probably suffered damnation (see above, pp. 5, 988). There must thus have been a highly dramatic scene of betrayal in the second part of the play, for Powis throughout the first part is Oldcastle's staunch friend and co-religionist. The dramatists never there suggest that this show of friendship is treachery, but in the second part they may well have suddenly exposed it as such: Foxe, their guide, says that the ecclesiastical authorities "confedered wyth the Lord Powis (which was at that time a great gouernor in Wales) feding him with Lordlye giftes and promises to accomplish their desire. He at the last thus monied with Iudas, and outwardlye pretending him [Oldcastle] great amity and fauor, most cowardly and wretchedly toke him, and in cōclusion ... sent him vp to London" (Actes and Monuments, ed. 1563, p. 276). Wales was, to Foxe, Oldcastle's Gethsemane, and it may have been in preparation for the great scene of betrayal that the first part of Sir John Oldcastle concludes with Powis's words to Oldcastle,
- Then let vs hence, you shall be straight prouided  
Of lusty geldings, and once entred Wales,  
Well may the Bishop hunt, but spight his face,  
He neuer more shall haue the game in chace.
- 147 Sir John Oldcastle, ed. Simpson, sig. F2 (ll. 1380-86, 1410-19).
- 148 The Shakspeare Allusion-Book, II, 408.
- 149 Sir John Oldcastle, ed. Simpson, sigg. F2<sup>v</sup>, F3 (ll. 1426, 1429-30).
- 150 King Henry V, ed. Walter, p. xi. Walter might also have included among the echoes of Henry V in Sir John Oldcastle the king's reference to his stroll incognito through the camp at Agincourt,
- I thank ye Lords, but you do know of old,  
That I haue bin a perfect night-walker  
(Sir John Oldcastle, ed. Simpson, sig. F3<sup>v</sup>, ll. 1476-77).
- 151 Shakespeare, Man and Artist (1938), p. 524.
- 152 Halliday, p. 208.
- 153 See above, pp. 767, 832 especially.

- 154 See above, p. 782.
- 155 See above, pp. 761-62.
- 156 See above, p. 781.
- 157 See above, p. 782.
- 158 Hotson, pp. 156-58.
- 159 Sir John Oldcastle, ed. Simpson, sig. C2 (ll. 516-18).
- 160 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 174-75. Sharpe, while himself preferring to see in Clun's name an allusion to a Howard lordship in Shropshire, notes the reference to Edward Clunne (p. 145, n.).
- 161 See above, pp. 765, 781.
- 162 Sir John Oldcastle, ed. Simpson, sig. E4 (ll. 1245-48).
- 163 "Sixteenth-Century Religious and Political Implications in Sir John Oldcastle," University of Texas Studies in English, XXII (1942), 102.
- 164 The Poems, etc. of Richard James, ed. A.B. Grosart (1880), p. 187.
- 165 See Sharpe, p. 145. Sharpe is sometimes led into absurdity by his hypothesis that Sir John Oldcastle is a pièce à clef. He thinks, for instance, that while historically it was the Archbishop of Canterbury who led the prosecution against Oldcastle, the playwrights of 1599 dared not offend Archbishop Whitgift by maintaining accuracy in this respect. They "chose instead as their villain John Young, Bishop of Rochester, who in 1594 had refused the See of Norwich on the ground that Bishop Scambler had spoiled its possessions.... We know Young also a patron of Edmund Spenser, whose enmity to Burghley was far from a secret." Rochester was historically Oldcastle's diocesan, and his presence in Kent throughout much of the play is therefore expected and in no way as unconvincing as the archbishop's would be. That is all that one, without evidence of conflict between Bishop Young and Henry Lord Cobham or the Admiral's Men, can say of the playwrights' making Rochester the villain of their piece.
- 166 See above, p. 987.
- 167 Sir John Oldcastle, ed. Simpson, sig. A4<sup>v</sup> (ll. 103-12).
- 168 See The Shakspeare Allusion-Book, II, 409.
- 169 Sir John Oldcastle, ed. Simpson, sig. B1<sup>v</sup> (ll. 168-72).
- 170 Sir John Oldcastle, ed. Simpson, sig. E (ll. 1028-29).
- 171 Tait and Trevelyan among historians exonerate Oldcastle of all collusion with Cambridge, Scrope and Grey; W.F.P. Stockley, whose thesis is that "under Oldcastle the Lollards allied themselves to all, indeed, who were opposed to Henry V." (King Henry the Fifth's Poet Historical (1925), p. 109), was unable to adduce any evidence to prove an Oldcastle-Cambridge alliance.
- 172 See above, pp. 4-5.
- 173 Foxe, ed. 1596, p. 531.
- 174 Sir John Oldcastle, ed. Simpson, sig. D2 (ll. 782-83).

- 175 Sir John Oldcastle, ed. Simpson, sig. D4 (ll. 932-36, 946-47).  
 176 The Works of Michael Drayton, V, 46.  
 177 Sir John Oldcastle, ed. Simpson, sig. G3<sup>v</sup> (ll. 1755-58, 1770-79).  
 178 See above, p. 776.  
 179 Sir John Oldcastle, ed. Simpson, sig. E2<sup>v</sup> (ll. 1120-21).

\* \* \*

### Chapter III

<sup>1</sup> The only other work in which the Brookes almost certainly figure is a poem, Drayton's Owl. Its editor, Mrs Tillotson, in remarking upon the difficulty of identifying the Court personages allegorized in it as birds, has expressed the hope that her tentative suggestions may one day be supplemented (see The Works of Michael Drayton, V, xiv). Since The Owl is an account of the political situation in the first two or three weeks of the reign of King James, any student of a nobleman prominent at the time is bound to think that he can assist in making this identification, for he will see what he is sure is his subject in that tantalizing aviary. Yet, misled by enthusiasm though one may possibly be, one cannot help feeling that Mrs. Tillotson would have been better advised to stress her thought that Henry Lord Cobham is the Goldfinch, than to give most prominence to her suggestion that that bird and its mate are Lord and Lady Howard de Walden. Howard did not become really prominent politically until after James had established himself in his kingdom, and Lady Howard could hardly have been described as "powerfull in the State" when Elizabeth died. Lady Kildare, on the other hand, Cobham's "Courtly Mate", was then at the height of her influence. Combined with Cobham's part in the affair of Dr. Bennett and the Bishopric of Hereford (see above, p. 862), which Mrs. Tillotson notes, the importance of the baron and the countess at the time of the king's accession to the Throne would seem to qualify them for identification with the unpleasant birds who "Quickly agreed, and but at little sticke,/ To share a thousand for a Bishopricke." There may even be a suggestion in 'agreed' that the opportunists were not a married couple used to working in harmony, but a pair of courtiers who had to reach an agreement before acting together. Cobham and his wife were so independent of each other that their collusion could never be taken for granted.

If it may remain a matter of opinion whether Lord Cobham and Lady Kildare ought to replace the Howards in the notes to The Owl, it can be asserted more positively that Mrs. Tillotson is wrong in offering Cobham as an alternative to Sir Edward Coke for identification with the parvenu characterized as the Buzzard (V, 178). The pun which she sees in the line, "At his command his Betters brooke his checke," does not warrant her neglect of other lines such as, "That but of late did clothe his needy Backe" and "But, O my Liege, the Birds of noble Race/ Know whence He is, and who affords him grace,/ And inly grieve to see a servile Mate,/ Crept up by favour, to out-brave a State." Even Cobham's most bitter enemies could not accuse him of being an upstart.

It can, finally, be said with confidence that there is a much stronger case to be made out for the Bat's identification with George Brooke than with Bacon, Mrs. Tillotson's choice for the rôle of informer and agent provocateur depicted allegorically as that nocturnal creature. It would, however, require a full presentation of the likelihood that Brooke had entered into a plot with Sir Robert Cecil against Cobham and Raleigh long before the treasons of the Main and the Bye were actually discovered, to substantiate this theory. Nothing, therefore, can be done with it against the background of the present work; one could only advance it after examining the conspiracy of 1603, in which Brooke seems to have betrayed himself, his brother and their house.

- 2 The School of Shakspeare, ed. J.W.M. Gibbs (1878), I, 274.
- 3 Simpson, p. 274. One assumes that the reference to "p. 293" is a misprint for 'p. 299', which is that on which the scene in question is printed.
- 4 Simpson, p. x.
- 5 The Elizabethan Stage, IV, 37. See Fleay's Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559-1642 (1891), I, 293, and Clark's Thomas Heywood Playwright and Miscellanist (Oxford, 1931), p. 27.
- 6 See Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, II, 229.
- 7 Nobody and Somebody, sig. C4.
- 8 Nobody and Somebody, sig. E4v.
- 9 Nobody and Somebody, sig. H2.
- 10 Nobody and Somebody, sig. C4.
- 11 Nobody and Somebody, sig. E2v.
- 12 Nobody and Somebody, sig. Hv.
- 13 Nobody and Somebody, sig. I2v.
- 14 A Parallell betweene Robert late Earle of Essex, and George late Duke of Buckingham (1641), p. 9.
- 15 See above, p. 860.
- 16 Nobody and Somebody, sig. C4.
- 17 James I to Cecil, 7 October 1604 (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVI, 327).
- 18 "Shakespeare's Italy," Shakespeare Survey 7 (1954), p. 95; see T.S. Eliot, "Seneca in Elizabethan Translation" (1927), in Essays on Elizabethan Drama (New York, 1956), pp. 24-25.
- 19 In Studies in the Shakespeare Apocrypha (New York, 1956).
- 20 Philippa is described in MS. Harl. 2134, f. 133b, as "Phillip 2 daſ 13 years [of age in] 1592".
- 21 See above, p. 432.
- 22 See the notes to the family tree, p. 1153, n. 56.
- 23 See Maxwell, pp. 168-69.
- 24 Commoners, I (1836), 674.
- 25 Commoners, IV (1838), 703; I, 674.
- 26 Clark, p. 311.
- 27 Loidis and Elmete; or, an Attempt to Illustrate the Districts Described in those Words by Bede; and Supposed to Embrace the Lower Portions of Aredale and Wharfedale, together with the Entire Vale of Calder, in the County of York (1816), p. 218.

- 28 Athenae Cantabrigienses, III, 11.
- 29 "Some Problems of A Yorkshire Tragedy," Studies in Philology, XXXV (1938), 247.
- 30 Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire ... (1874).
- 31 C.B., I (1900), 204.
- 32 Whitaker, p. 221 n.
- 33 Maxwell, pp. 218-19, where it is said that the "confusion is explained, of course, by the title's being in abeyance [sic] from 1603 (when Henry Lord Cobham was attainted) until 1645 when Sir John Brooke, the son of Sir Henry Cobham and the brother of Philippa, was created Baron Cobham by Charles I." It is hard to see why Maxwell should think that Brooke's elevation to the peerage in 1645 should account for Philippa's being made his daughter.
- 34 See the notes to the family tree, p. 1157 , n. 57.
- 35 See above, pp. 955-56.
- 36 See the notes to the family tree, p. 1172 , n. 60; see also above, p. 957.
- 37 The Miseries of Inforst Mariage. As it is now playd by his Maiesties Seruants. Qui Alios, (seipsum) docet. By George Wilkins. London Printed for George Vincent, and are to be sold at his shop in Woodstreet. 1607, sig. B3v.
- 38 The Miseries, sig. B2.
- 39 See Maxwell, p. 158; Whitaker, p. 226 n.
- 40 MS. Add. 27411, f. 8; quoted in Maxwell, p. 161.
- 41 Maxwell, p. 164.
- 42 Two most unnaturall and bloodie Murthers: The one by Maister Cauerley, a Yorkshire Gentleman, practised vpon his wife, and committed vpon his two Children, the three and twentie of Aprill 1605.... Printed at London by V[alentine], S[immes]. for Nathanael Butter dwelling in Paules church-yard neere Saint Austens gate. 1605, sig. A2.
- 43 A Yorkshire Tragedy. Not so New as Lamentable and true. Acted by his Maiesties Players at the Globe. Written by W. Shakspeare. At London Printed by R.B. for Thomas Pauier and are to bee sold at his shop on Cornhill, neere to the exchange. 1608, sigg. Bv, B2, B3.
- 44 The Miseries, sigg. B2, B4.
- 45 "G. Wilkins and the Identity of W. Calverley's Guardian," Notes and Queries, CXCVIII (1953), 330.
- 46 See Maxwell, pp. 175, 219, 223.
- 47 Maxwell, p. 219, records Professor Sisson's suggestion that this Mr. Lyly may have been John, the dramatist, "whose wife was from the north of England".
- 48 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 186; quoted in Maxwell, p. 160.
- 49 See Maxwell, pp. 220-21.

(pp. 1037-43)

- 50 Letters of Philip Gawdy of West Harling, Norfolk, and of London to Various Members of his Family 1579-1616, ed. Isaac Herbert Jeayes (1906), p. 150.
- 51 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 117; quoted in Maxwell, p. 162.
- 52 The Queen's Wards: Wardship and Marriage under Elizabeth I (1958), p. 65.
- 53 H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 190; quoted in Maxwell, pp. 162-63.
- 54 Murthers, sig. A4<sup>v</sup>.
- 55 Whitaker, p. 220, translating from the inquisition post mortem of Walter Calverley (P.R.O., C142/287/55).
- 56 Maxwell, p. 163, citing The Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association Record Series, VIII, Pt. 4.
- 57 Murthers, sig. B<sup>v</sup>.
- 58 Murthers, sig. A4<sup>v</sup>.
- 59 See the notes to the family tree, p. 1169, n. 58.
- 60 Murthers, sig. B.
- 61 Murthers, sig. B3.
- 62 Murthers, sig. B3<sup>v</sup>.
- 63 See Maxwell, p. 166.
- 64 See below, p. 1044.
- 65 See Whitaker, p. 226. It is interesting to note that, while A Yorkshire Tragedy follows the Murthers closely on this point, The Miseries, in which there is no comparable scene, introduces with no good reason a "Doctor Baxter, Chansellor of Oxford" (sig. B2<sup>v</sup>). In that play, too, the Calverley figure has two brothers who are fairly important to the plot, and one of them, John, explains at one point what his occupation is by saying, "From Oxford am I drawne, from serious studies" (sig. C3).
- 66 Murthers, sig. B4.
- 67 See Whitaker, p. 219.
- 68 See Whitaker, p. 219. It is curious that in The Miseries a servant reports that Calverley "hath two sons borne at a birth in Yorkshire" (sig. E3<sup>v</sup>).
- 69 Murthers, sig. C2.
- 70 A Yorkshire Tragedy, sig. C2.
- 71 A Yorkshire Tragedy, sig. C2<sup>v</sup>. The word 'Couch', which might mean a sedan-chair such as a beggar would run after, crying for alms, is rendered 'Coach' in the second printing of the play.
- 72 The Miseries, sig. B3<sup>v</sup>.
- 73 A Yorkshire Tragedy, sig. C2<sup>v</sup>.

- 74 Murthers, sig. B4.
- 75 Murthers, sig. B4<sup>v</sup>. For the location of the nurse's house at Norton, see a note by Walter Calverley Trevelyan in Notes and Queries, 4th ser., IV (1869), 343.
- 76 Murthers, sig. C2. Louis B. Wright incorrectly describes Calverley as the man who, "by slaying his wife, had provided the theme for The Yorkshire Tragedy" (Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Cornell University Press, 1958 re-issue), p. 632).
- 77 Whitaker, p. 229, uses this example of the anonymous pamphleteer's ignorance of West Riding topography to prove that the account was written by someone unfamiliar with the neighbourhood and therefore, perhaps, with the exact circumstances of the event.
- 78 See Notes and Queries, 4th ser., IV (1869), 343.
- 79 Whitaker, pp. 228-29, n.; quoted in Maxwell, pp. 164-65.
- 80 The Annales, or Generall chronicle of England, begun first by maister Iohn Stow, and after him continued and augmented with matters forreyne, and domestique, auncient and moderne, vnto the ende of this present yeere 1614. by Edmond Howes, gentleman (1615), pp. 870-71. The 1615 edition of Stow has been quoted here, because it represents the final version of the account given in that chronicle of the Calverley sensation. Having begun properly in the 1607 edition by calling Calverley 'Walter', the chronicler's continuator in 1611 had called him 'William'. See Maxwell, pp. 168, 221, for an attempt to explain how the murderer's name might have been confounded with that of his father.
- 81 Whitaker, p. 220.
- 82 See John H. Ingram, The Haunted Homes and Family Traditions of Great Britain (1905), pp. 394-400.
- 83 See P.R.O., C142/287/55.
- 84 See S.P., Dom., 1603-10, p. 275; An Index to Bills of Privy Signet ..., ed. W.P.W. Phillimore (1890), p. 75; Maxwell, p. 168.
- 85 Thomas Heywood, Philocothonista (1635), p. 87; quoted in Clark, p. 328.
- 86 Andrew Clark, Register of the University of Oxford, Volume II (1571-1622) (Oxford, 1887-89), II, 401.
- 87 For the bequest of Sir Hugh Calveley of Cheshire of all his property to Henry Calverley, not a kinsman but merely a gentleman bearing a name similar to his own, see Notes and Queries, 4th ser., IV (1869), 343.
- 88 For Henry Calverley's family, see Burke's Commoners, I, 674; for the erroneous tradition regarding the Red Hand of Ulster, see Notes and Queries, 5th ser., IX (1878), 205-06.
- 89 See the Complete Baronetage, I, 204.
- 90 The Complete Baronetage is incorrect in saying that Sir Thomas Burton had no children by Philippa Brooke. According to The Visitation of the County of Leicester In the Year 1619 ..., ed. John Fetherston (Harleian Society Volume II, 1870), p. 160, their daughters were aged eleven, eight and six years old in 1619. Of these children, Frances is not heard of again after 1619, and Elizabeth, who died on 29 July 1699, married the Reverend Hugh Burnaby, Fellow of St. John's College,

Cambridge (see Burke's Commoners, IV, 703).

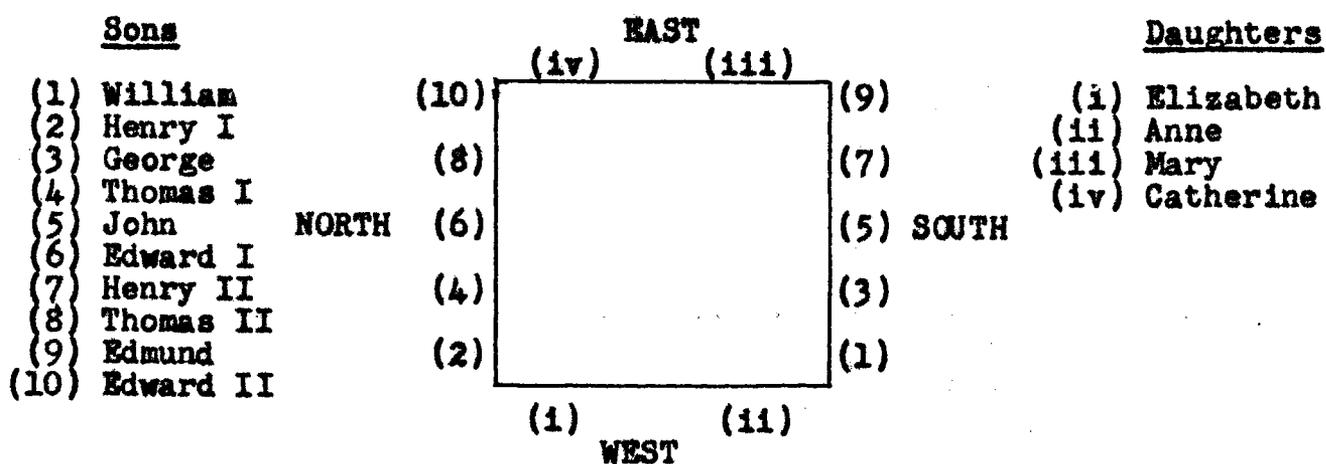
- 91 P.C.C. Fenner 1. See also the notes to the family tree, pp. 1155-56, n. 56.
- 92 The Complete Baronetage, I, 204.
- 93 The Complete Baronetage, I, 204.
- 94 The Visitation of Leicester, ed. Fetherston, p. 160.
- 95 The Complete Baronetage, IV, 23.
- 96 See H.M.C., Report 5, p. 389. The Complete Baronetage is wrong in dating the Barker marriage in or about 1648 (IV, 23).
- 97 H.M.C., Report 5, p. 389.
- 98 See the notes to the family tree, p. 1171, n. 58.
- 99 H.M.C., Report 5, p. 389.
- 100 H.M.C., Report 5, pp. 390-91.

## APPENDIX

## The Children of George Lord Cobham

Throughout the foregoing work the order accepted for the births of the fourteen children of George Lord Cobham is that in which the figures of the children are placed on the tomb of their parents in the Church of St. Mary Magdalen at Cobham. This is also the order given in a Brooke pedigree found among the Cecil Papers at Hatfield House.

On the tomb, at the west end, are the figures of Elizabeth, the eldest of the four daughters, and her sister Anne; at the east end, before the altar, are Mary, the third daughter, and Catherine, the youngest. Along either side kneel five sons, in a row facing the altar. William, the eldest son, is at the west end of the south side, with Henry, the second son, opposite him, at the west end of the north side; George, the third son, is in front of William, and Thomas, the fourth, in front of Henry; and so forth, with Edmund and Edward, the youngest sons, at the east end on either side, nearest the altar. These positions are indicated in the following chart; see also the photographs on pp. 101-03.



This order must have been approved by William Lord Cobham when the tomb was set up in 1561 (the date shown at the base of each end). It, and the pedigree at Hatfield House, may therefore be regarded as the most reliable catalogues of the Brooke children which exist.

All other primary sources of material relating to George Lord Cobham's children differ from the evidence of the tomb and of the pedigree in one particular: that is, they make the elder Henry the fifth son, whereas he is shown on the tomb to

have been the second and described as such in the pedigree. This down-grading of Henry changes the position in the family of George, the elder Thomas, and John, making them, respectively, the second, third and fourth sons, but generally it does not affect the positions of the other five younger sons. Certain pedigrees, however, upset the order completely. In the following analysis, the Brooke pedigree at Hatfield, drawn up by Robert Glover (Cecil Paper 225/1, containing dates as late as 1571 although listed under the year 1565 in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XIII, 70), is referred to as authority A. Below is a list of other sixteenth-century authorities in which the Brooke children are named, all fourteen of them being named in authorities B-D, while Mary is omitted from E.

- B. Holinshed, unabridged ed. 1587, III, 1509: the account written by Francis Thynne.
- C. MS. Harl. 6157, ff. 9b-10: a tabular pedigree dated 1589 (f. 7), probably compiled by Francis Thynne (see the notes to the family tree, p. 1082, n. 10).
- D. MS. Add. 37666, f. 35: the account in Holinshed brought up to date by Thynne and presented as a gift to Henry Lord Cobham on 20 December 1598 (f. 2).
- E. MS. Harl. 2134, ff. 129b-133b: a tabular pedigree dated 16 February 1592/3 (f. 129b), principally of the Brookes of Aspell, Suffolk, but with complete entries for the issue of George and William Lords Cobham, and purporting to be derived from a pedigree in the possession of Robert Brooke, alderman of London.

The following table demonstrates the positions assigned to the ten sons in the four authorities, B-E; the four daughters are always shown in the order in which they are placed on the tomb and in A.

|           | B & D    | C        | E         |
|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| William   | 1st son  | 1st son  | 1st son   |
| Henry I   | 5th son  | 6th son* | 6th son** |
| George    | 2nd son  | 2nd son  | 2nd son   |
| Thomas I  | 3rd son  | 3rd son  | 3rd son   |
| John      | 4th son  | 4th son  | 4th son   |
| Edward I  | 6th son  | 7th son  | 7th son   |
| Henry II  | 7th son  | 5th son* | 5th son** |
| Thomas II | 8th son  | 8th son  | 8th son   |
| Edmund    | 9th son  | 9th son  | 10th son  |
| Edward II | 10th son | 10th son | 9th son   |

\* In authority C, Henry I is called "Henry senior" and numbered "6", although Henry II ("Henry iunior") is put in fifth place.

\*\* In authority E, Henry I is listed first among the five youngest sons; Henry II is called "5 sonne", the '5' replacing a '4' which has been crossed out.

This table makes it clear that the heralds soon forgot the elder Henry's seniority over all of his brothers except William, and that they thought of him and the sixth son, Edward the elder, as equally unimportant, mere middle sons who died in their father's lifetime and left no children. On the tomb both Henry and Edward are depicted as men, but one cannot assume from this that they were already grown up when they died, for Mary, who is known to have died before she was nine years old (see below), is shown as a woman.

Only one list of the children of George Lord Cobham survives from the seventeenth century. It is that which was drawn up by Henry Oxenden of Barham, Kent, whose notebook is dated by its editor, Keith W. Murray, at a period between 1638 and 1668. Oxenden (The Genealogist, XXXIII (1917), 62) wrote

M<sup>d</sup> also that George Lo: [sic] Brooke Lo: Cobham deputy of Callice had farther issue besides S<sup>r</sup> William Brook K<sup>t</sup> Lo: Cobham & Lord Chamberlaine &c. Henry 2 sonne. George 3 son. Tho: 4 son. Ed: 5 son. Hen: 6 son. Thom: 7 son. Edw: 8 son. John 9 son. which John ma: the da: & heire of John Cobb relict of S<sup>r</sup> John Norton K<sup>t</sup>; and hee [George Lord Cobham] had daughters Elizabeth ma: Willm Parr Lo: Marquess of North ton; Katherine ma: John Jerninghā son of George; Anne & Marie.

It will be noted that Oxenden, while not forgetting the first Henry's seniority over eight of his brothers, forgot that there was an Edmund, and inexplicably made John the youngest of the baron's sons whose names he recorded. The placing of Anne and Mary after their younger sister one may probably attribute to the practice of giving married women seniority over those of their sisters who died young and unmarried.

A continuation of the list of authorities may now be compiled, to reveal what is known of the dates at which the children of George Lord Cobham were born, as well as those at which the less important of them died. Beginning the lettering of these further authorities at F, they are:

- F. The will which George Lord Cobham made on 31 March 1551 (Harl. Chart. 57. H.7), superseded by that of 13 January 1557/8 (G).
- G. The last will of George Lord Cobham, made on 13 January 1557/8 (P.C.C. Mellershe 58).
- H. The last will of Anne Lady Cobham, made on 7 October 1558 (Cecil Paper 198/110).

J. MS. Philipot E.1, f. 95, in the College of Arms: a list of the birthdates of some of the children of George and William Lords Cobham, compiled by Robert Glover (1544-88), Somerset Herald, transcribed by John Philipot (c.1598-1645), Somerset Herald from 1624. The list dates from the 1570s, since the birth in 1568 or 1569 of George, the youngest child of William Lord Cobham, is noted, but the marriage in 1580 of Frances, his second daughter by his second wife, is not. It was probably compiled from A (c.1571), both because of its date and because the two sources have several errors in common.

The following notes incorporate the information contained in these authorities; the ten sons are treated first, then the four daughters.

- (1) William was born on Friday, 1 November 1527 (A; "in die veneris p<sup>mo</sup> Novembria. 1527": J)
- (2) Henry I was "borne at Coolinge in September anno dn̄i 1529" (A); he is not mentioned in J. He was dead by 31 March 1551, since his name is not in F, but not necessarily by 1537, when his younger brother and namesake was given his name (see the discussion below, under the heading of Thomas II). Henry I died unmarried, according to his figure on his parents' tomb; A says that he "dyed sans yssue", as do all the pedigrees.
- (3) George was born on Monday, 27 January 1532/3 (A; "in die Lunae. 27 Januarij. 1532": J). He died about 1570 (see the notes to the family tree, p. 1120, n. 41), although his death is not noted in A (c.1571).
- (4) Thomas I was born on Tuesday, 30 December 1533 (A; "in die Martis. 30. Decembris 1533": J), less than a year later than George. In his father's first will (F), he is preceded in the entail of the Cobham estates by his younger brother John, and John's heirs male, conceivably because his licentious manner of living had seriously offended Lord Cobham (see above, pp. 20-21), but, when the second will was made (G), Thomas was given his rightful place in the entail, immediately following George and his heirs male. Thomas I is described as "Thomas broke my eldest sonne of that name and who ys my thirde sonne" in G. He is not mentioned in his mother's will (H). He died about 1578 (see above, p. 381).
- (5) John was probably born on Thursday, 22 April 1535. He is said to have been born "on Thursday 22 April 1534" in A ("in die Jouis. 22. Aprilis. 1534": J), but 22 April 1534 was less than four months after the date of Thomas's birth and was, moreover, Wednesday, not Thursday. It therefore seems likely that the date should be 1535, when 22 April was, in fact, Thursday. John was preferred to his elder brother Thomas in the entail in F, but relegated to his proper, primogenitural place in G (see preceding note). He died on 25 September 1594; see the notes to the family tree, pp. 1127-34, n. 52, for his career.
- (6) Edward I was born "in September 1536" (A); he is not mentioned in J. He was dead by 31 March 1551, since his name is omitted from the entail in F, and died unmarried, as is shown by his figure on his parents' tomb, and "sans yssue", according to A and to all the other pedigrees. Like his brother Henry, he need not have been dead when his namesake was born.
- (7) Henry II (the celebrated Sir Henry Cobham) was probably born on Monday, 5 February 1536/7. It is said in A that he was born "on Monday 5<sup>th</sup> February 1537" ("in die Lunae 5. Februarij. 1537": J), that is, modernizing the old-style date, on Monday, 5 February 1537/8. In 1538, however, 5 February was Tuesday, not Monday. Moreover, Sir Henry himself, writing on 23 May 1580 to Sir Francis Walsingham, said that he was then forty-three years old (S.P., For., 1579-80,

p. 272): that is, accepting 5 February as his birthday, that he was born on 5 February 1536/7. Since 5 February did in fact fall on Monday in 1537, it seems safe to assume that the date in A and J should be the old-style 1536, not 1537. Sir Henry is shown to have been his father's fifth surviving son in F, and is described as such in G. He died on 13 January 1591/2; see the notes to the family tree, pp. 1135-50, n. 55, for his career.

- (8) Thomas II was born on Tuesday, 22 April 1539 (A; "in die martis. 22 Aprilis 1539": J), thus sharing a birthday anniversary with his brother John, and was educated at Cambridge (see above, p. 22). He is the sixth son in the entail in F, and is described as "Thomas Broke the yonger of that name who ys my sixte sonne" in G. As "my sonne Thomas Cobham thonger" he is left £ 40 by his mother in H.

He and Thomas the elder were the only sons of Lord Cobham bearing the same Christian name who both are known to have reached manhood. The practice, common enough in the sixteenth century, of naming a child after his brother, was apparently meant to ensure the perpetuation of the name should the elder die. When both children lived, the practice led to difficulty, as in the case of the two Thomases, and necessitated the use of the qualifying phrases 'the elder' and 'the younger' to distinguish them in pedigrees, wills and other documents. The Brooke case was by no means exceptional. An instance similar to it is seen in The Visitation of Warwickshire ... 1619, (ed. John Fetherston Harleian Society Volume XII, 1877), p. 235, where two Rutter brothers, third and fifth sons, are named Thomas, and are both shown to have lived long enough to marry and to have families. (The elder Thomas Rutter was Shakespeare's exact contemporary and fellow-townsmen, being a burgess of Stratford-upon-Avon who was born in 1564.) These two cases invalidate any attempt to fix the date of a child's death by making it occur before the birth of a younger brother to whom the same name was given; one cannot suggest that the elder Henry Brooke died before 1537, when the younger Henry was given his name, nor that the elder Edward died before the younger Edward's christening.

Thomas II is last mentioned for certain on 7 October 1558 (H), although he may have been the Thomas Brooke who attended the funeral of Dorothy Lady Cobham on 4 October 1559 (see above, p. 197), and is almost sure to have been he who is mentioned in three documents of 1571 (see above, pp. 347-48, 367). The "Thomas Cobham, gentleman," who was buried at St. Dunstan's-in-the-West on 6 November 1563 seems to have been his first cousin (see the notes to the family tree, p. 1094, n. 30). The documents of 1571 show that Brooke served with the Earl of Sussex as a captain in 1570-71, and that he was unsuccessfully recommended to the Captaincy of Sandgate Castle shortly afterwards. Nothing further is heard of him. A, dating like the documents from 1571, does not mention his death, and all that is certain about the rest of his life is that he died before the appearance of Holinshed in 1587 (B).

Thomas II is depicted as unmarried on his parents' tomb, erected in 1561, and all pedigrees of the family show that he died childless, apparently never having taken a wife. An "Anne Cobham, wife of Thomas Cobham, gent.", was buried at Cliffe, in Hoo, Kent, on 26 December 1592 (see Archaeologia Cantiana, XI (1877), 157); apart, however, from the failure to identify her as anyone else's wife, there is nothing to make one think that she was his widow.

- (9) Edmund was probably born either on Saturday, 30 October, or on Sunday, 31 October 1540. It is said in A that he was born on "Saturday 31 October 1540" ("in die Sabbath 31. Octobris 1540": J), but, since the last day of October 1540 was Sunday, the entry is obviously incorrect. The only year other than 1540 in which Edmund could have been born to come between Thomas II and Mary, as he did, was 1541, when 31 October was Monday. It is probable that Glover, in A and J, either wrote 'Saturday' for 'Sunday', or '31' for '30', and that the year is itself correct. Edmund is the seventh son in the entail in F, is described as "my sonne Edmonde broke my seventh sonne" in G, and is mentioned on 7 October 1558, when he was left £ 40 in his mother's will (H). He attended the funeral of his sister-in-law on 4 October 1559 (see above, p. 197). He was not married when his parents' tomb was erected in 1561, and is shown in all

pedigrees of the family to have died childless, apparently single. When he died it is impossible to say, except that his death probably had not occurred by 1571, since it is not mentioned in A, and that he was dead by 1587 (B).

- (10) The birth of Edward II is not entered in A or J, and there seems to be no way of ascertaining when he was born. Catherine, the youngest daughter but not necessarily the youngest child of the family, was born in 1544; Edward may have been either slightly older or not much younger than she (see below, under the heading of Catherine Brooke). There is, however, the possibility that there was a large gap between his birth and those of his brothers and sisters, that it came nearer the end of what were probably his mother's childbearing years than one might expect from the regularity with which the other children were born. The fact which suggests this possibility is his late matriculation at Cambridge, which did not take place until 1563 (see above, p. 22). Since his four brothers for whom the dates of matriculation are known were either ten or thirteen years old at the time of their admission to the university, it is reasonable to assume that Edward was also under the age of puberty when he went up to Cambridge. He would, then, have been born no earlier than 1549 or 1550. (That he was alive in 1551 is shown by his inclusion in the entail in F.) The omission of Edward's name from A and J is curious, for he reached manhood, married, and did not die until some<sup>time</sup> in the 1580s (see the notes to the family tree, pp. 1173-74, nn. 64, 65). In E even his wife's name is not registered: the entry for Edward reads simply: "Edward tenth sonne married --."
- (1) Elizabeth, the eldest daughter, was probably born on Tuesday, 12 June 1526 (the date accepted by all modern genealogical authorities), although the inaccurate entry in A, "borne on Monday the 12 of June 1526" ("in die [sic] Lunae 12 Junij. 1526": J), might be interpreted either as an erroneous description of that date or as a mistake for 12 June 1525, which was, in fact, Monday. There is no way of resolving whether the word 'Monday' is wrong, or the figure '1526'. For Elizabeth's marriage to the Marquess of Northampton, see above, pp. 31-34; for her death on 2 April 1565, see above, p. 167.
- (2) Anne was born either in the last week of March 1531 or at some time in March 1531/2: the entry in A, "born in Marche 1531," could mean either. Her birth is not recorded in J. She was dead by 31 March 1551, when the estates entailed in F were to pass from Elizabeth and her heirs male to Catherine and hers. Anne did not marry.
- (3) Mary was probably born on Friday, 6 October 1542 ("in die veneris sexto Octobris 1542": J); A's entry, which says that she was born on "Friday 3 October 1542", is an obvious error, since 3 October 1542 was Tuesday. She died unmarried before 31 March 1551, when she was omitted from the entail in her father's will (F); see preceding note. Although Mary can have been no more than eight years old when she died, she is depicted as a young woman on her parents' tomb.
- (4) Catherine was born on Monday, 7 April 1544 (A; "in die lunae 7. die Aprilis. 1544": J). Whether she was older or younger than Edward II it is impossible to decide. A pedigree other than A among the papers at Hatfield (Cecil Paper 225/3, tentatively dated 1558 and listed in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, I, 150), which gives no dates and only a skeletal family tree, shows Edward as the youngest child, but, since it makes Catherine older than Edmund (born in 1540), its reliability must be doubted. For Catherine's marriage with John Jerningham, her children, her remarriage, and her death in 1617, see the notes to the family tree, pp. 1174-77, n. 68.

The foregoing analysis of the available basic information concerning the children of George Lord Cobham may be reduced, in conclusion, to the following summary,

in which both sons and daughters are recorded in the order of their births. A is the only authority which alone provides enough birthdates to enable one to figure out where Anne and Mary stood in relationship to both brothers and sisters.

- (1) Elizabeth Marchioness of Northampton (born in 1526, or, possibly, in 1525; died in 1565)
  - (2) William Lord Cobham (1527-1596/7)
  - (3) Henry I (born in 1529; died unmarried before 1551)
  - (4) Anne (born in 1531 or 1531/2; died unmarried before 1551)
  - (5) George (1532/3-c.1570)
  - (6) Thomas I (1533-1578?)
  - (7) John (1535?-1594)
  - (8) Edward I (born in 1536; died unmarried before 1551)
  - (9) Henry II (Sir Henry Cobham) (1536/7?-1591/2)
  - (10) Thomas II (born in 1539; died between 1558 and 1587, probably after 1571)
  - (11) Edmund (born in 1540; died between 1559 and 1587, probably after 1571)
  - (12) Mary (born in 1542; died unmarried before 1551)
- Catherine (Mrs. John Jerningham, Mrs. Bellamy) (1544-1617)
- Edward II (born between 1541 and 1551; died between 1579 and 1587)

**ANNOTATED FAMILY TREE**

Joan LADY COBHAM d.1434- (2) Sir Robt. Hemendale d.139

John William

Edward L. COBHAM d.1464- (5) Elizabeth d. of Jas. L. Audeley-Joan -- (6) (6)

John L. COBHAM d.1512- (9)

Thomas L. COBHAM d.1529- (12) Dorothy d. of Sir Henry Heydon-Dorothy or Elizabeth Lady Southwell d. of Sir Philip Calthorpe d.15 (13) (14)

John (23) George L. COBHAM d.1558- (24) Anne d. of Edmund L. Braye d.1558 (25) Thomas d.1547-Mrs. Susan Clark William Margaret-Sir J (26) (27) (32)

Cranmer-Abigail d. of Sir John Fogge Sir Edward B. d.1593? Thomas d.1563? (28) (29) (30)

William d.1630-31-Jane Tenacre (31) Mary-Neville Hall

WILLIAM - Dorothy d. of L. COBHAM Geo. L. Abergavenny d.1559 (38) - Frances d. of Sir John Newton d.1592 (39)

Frances- (9) Thomas Coppinger d.1580 -Edward Beecher Maximilian d.1583 (70) HENRY L. COBHAM d.1619 -Frances C. of Kildare d.1628 (71) Sir William B. d.1597 (72) George- d.1603 (73) Elizabeth d. of Thos. L. Burgh d.1637? (74) Elizabeth- d.1597 (77) Robert E. of Salisbury d.1612 Frances- (78) John L. Stourton d.1588 Sir Edw. More d.1623 Margaret- d.1621 (79) Sir Thos. Sondes d.1593

Sir William E. d.1643 (75) -Pembroke d. of Henry L. Dacre -Penelope d. of Sir M. Hill d.1694 Frances-? (76) William Carre Elizabeth (76)

Pembroke- Matthew Tomlinson d.1683 Hill -Sir Wm. Boothby d.1707 Margaret- d.1667 Sir John Denham d.1669 Frances- d.1690 Sir Thos. Whitmore d.1682 -Matthew Harvey d.1693

John de Cobham L. COBHAM d.1408-Lady Margaret Courtenay d. of Hugh E. of Devon d.1385 (1)

Joan d.c.1388-Sir John de la Pole

ale d.1391-Sir Reynold Braybrooke d.1405-Sir Nich. Hawberk d.1407-Sir John Oldcastle 'L. COBHAM d.1417-Sir John Harpeden d.1458 (2) (3)

Reynold Robert Joan de iure LADY COBHAM-Sir Thos. Brooke d.1439 John or Joan (4) (2)

r-Joan -- Thomas John Robert Reginald Peter Henry Hugh Morgan Christopher Elizabeth-John St. Maure Joan or Isabel-John Carrant Margaret Christina (6) (7) (8)

AM d.1512-Margaret d. of Edw. L. Abergavenny d.1506-Eleanor Anstie Elizabeth-Sir Robert Tanfield (10) (10) (11)

horpe d.1517-Elizabeth Hart George-Elizabeth Pecche Hart d.1544 Sir Edward B. Leonardus Mary - Robert Blagge d.1523 Dorothy-Wm. Isaac Faith d.1508Thos. Alden 11 other children: 4 (15) (16) (17) (18) (19) (20) (21) (22)

aret-Sir John Fogge d.1564 Faith d.1574-William Okendon Elizabeth d.1560-Sir Thomas Wyatt d.1542-Sir Edw. Warner d.1565 Mary-Geo. L. Abergavenny d.1535 5 other children: 3 sons 2 daught (33) (34) (35) (36) (37)

3?

Henry (40)

George -Christina Duke d.1570? d.1608 (41) (42)

Thomas -Catherine d. d.1578? of Sir Wm. Cavendish (48) (49)

John -Alice Lady Norton d.1594 d.1580 (52) (53)

Edward (54)

Sir Henry-Cobham d.1592 (55)

Mrs. Anne Haddon d. of (Sir) Henry Sutton d.1612 (56)

Thomas (2)

Edmund (63)

Edward- (64)

Mary Hornebie d.1600 (66)

Elizabeth d.15 (66)

-Sir Thos. Sondes d.1593

Duke -Margaret d. of Sir Maurice Berkeley d.1642 (43) (44)

Peter (45)

Charles- Mary Baskerville Gunston d.1610 (46)

Elizabeth (47)

Anne (47)

Thomas Frances-

Arthur Mills (50)

Dudley-Daniel Gyrton (51)

Sir Calisthenes B.-Mrs. Anne -- d.1611 (57)

Anne d.1633 -- -- Hyett Joan

Sir John B. -Anne -- Mrs. Frances L. Cobham bur. 1625 d. of Sir field, b (58)

George

Duke d.1587

on d.1385

ldcastle \*L. COBHAM d.1417-Sir John Harpeden d.1458

(3)

John or Joan (2)

Elizabeth-John St. Maure Joan or Isabel-John Carrant Margaret Christina

Sir Robert Tanfield

Leonardus Mary - Robert Blagge d.1523 Dorothy-Wm. Isaac Faith d.1508 Thos. Alden 11 other children: 4 sons 7 daughters (18) (19) (20) (21) (22)

Thomas Wyatt d.1542 - Sir Edw. Warner d.1565 Mary - Geo. L. Abergavenny d.1535 5 other children: 3 sons 2 daughters (36) (37)

Marine d. Sir Wm. English d.1594 (49) John d.1594 (52) Alice Lady Norton d.1580 (53) Edward (54) Sir Henry Cobham d.1592 (55) Mrs. Anne Haddon d. of (Sir) Henry Sutton d.1612 (56) Thomas (52) Edmund (63) Edward (64) Mary Hornebie d.1600 Elizabeth d.1565 (66) Wm. Marq. of Northampton d.1570 Anne (67) Mary (67) Catherine d.1617 (68) John Jerningham Bellamy

Frances-Arthur Mills (50) Dudley-Daniel Gyrton (51)

Sir Calisthenes B. d.1611 (57) Mrs. Anne -- Anne d.1633 -- -- Hyett Joan

Sir John B. c. L. Cobham bur. 1625 (58) Anne -- Mrs. Frances Redman d. of Sir Wm. Bamfield, bur. 1676

George

Maximilian d.1598 (59) Anne-Sir Edw. Heron (60) Philippa d.1613 (61) Walter Calverley d.1605 Sir Thomas Burton, Bt. d.1655



Another manuscript in the Bodleian relating to the Lords Cobham is MS. Gough Gen. Top. 30, f. 72 of which is a pedigree of the family transcribed by the great eighteenth-century antiquary, Richard Gough, from a source described in the manuscript only as "MS. Thynne" (no doubt one of Francis Thynne's, the Lancaster Herald who wrote the account of the Lords Cobham in Holinshed). MS. Gough Gen. Top. 30, f. 72, agrees on all points with Rogers's pedigree of the early generations of the family, except in giving Joan Lady Cobham another son by Sir Robert Hemendale (Rogers mentions only William). This other son, John, also died young.

Ernest R. Suffling's English Church Brasses From the 13th to the 17th Century (1910) reproduces the brasses in Cobham Church of Joan Lady Cobham (fig. 79) and of her second husband (f. 16). Sir Reynold is shown flanked by his sons, Reynold and Robert, who are named; Suffling, commenting on this brass, says that "the little figures on pedestals ... form one of the earliest instances of children being shown on a brass" (p. 50).

(3) A sketch pedigree, with notes, of the Oldcastle family is given between pp. 48 and 49 of the Complete Peerage, Volume X. It shows Sir John's issue by his first wife, Catherine, the daughter of Richard ap Jevan, and traces his heirs to Edmund Norreys, his last known descendant, who was living in 1508. MS. Bodl. Wood, F.21, f. 21 (see the previous note), provides an extension of the pedigree in the Complete Peerage, showing the issue of a daughter of Sir John whose paternity the Peerage says is uncertain. The descendants of this daughter, Catherine, according to the manuscript, were also of the family of Norreys, eventually becoming members of the families of Harry, Swain and Elliott. Unfortunately the manuscript gives no dates or topographical clues as to which branches of these families the descendants of Catherine Norreys belonged. The extensive pedigree of the Lords Norris of Rycote in The Four Visitations of Berkshire ... (ed. W. Harry Rylands, Harleian Society Volumes LVI, LVII, 1907-08), II, 184-86, mentions none of the people whose names are listed by Wood (or James), although it traces the family back to the ninth year of Henry V (that is, to 1421-22, only four years after Oldcastle's execution). Nor does W.A.J. Archbold, in his well documented investigations into the antecedents of the Tudor courtier, Henry Norris (the father of the first Lord Norris of Rycote) which introduce his article on Norris in D.N.B., show any link with the supposed descendants of Oldcastle. If the information contained in MS. Bodl. Wood, F. 21, is correct, it must refer to members of the Norreys family and others who have sunk into obscurity, so that one cannot now discover who, if any, were Oldcastle's heirs after 1508.

(4) The antecedents of Sir Thomas Brooke are given in Rogers, Pt. 1, pp. 13-20. His father's will (P.C.C. Marche 40), made at his "Manour" of Holdech, on Setrysday in y<sup>e</sup> vygyle of y<sup>e</sup> Holy Trynty, the yere of grace ... M<sup>c</sup> CCC<sup>mo</sup> xv<sup>o</sup>" [25 May 1415] and proved on 5 February 1417/8, is printed in Frederick J. Furnivall's The Fifty Earliest English Wills ... (1882), pp. 26-28. In it the testator describes himself simply as Thomas Brooke of Holditch, Thorncombe, Devon; he mentions his lands in "Holdych, Hotham, Cherd, Cotteleygh, & Wycrofte"; and concludes with the charmingly naive assertion that "Thys twey Lynis I wrete almeste with myn' owne Hond'." Rogers (Pt. 1, p. 13) is wrong in saying that Sir Thomas the elder died in 1419.

For the career of Sir Thomas the younger, see above, p. 6.

(5) For Edward Lord Cobham, see above, pp. 6-7.

(6) Elizabeth Touchet predeceased Lord Cobham and he married again. "The seconde wyfe," says Francis Thynne (MS. Add. 37666, f. 24b, corrected to f. 26b), "was Joane but whose daughter I knowe not although she outelyued her husbände." Thynne's information is derived from Cobham's inquisition post mortem (P.R.O., Cl40/13/26), in which it is clearly stated that Elizabeth died before the baron ("Et postea p'dicta Elizabeth obiit & p'dict' Edwardus supuixit") and that Joan, a second wife, survived him ("Et postea p'dict' Edwardus obiit & p'dicta Johanna uxor ... supuixit"). The inquisition post mortem is so badly discoloured, and the writing in it so faded, that it is impossible to learn more than this from the

section in which these statements are made. Vicary Gibbs, writing in the Complete Peerage (III, 346), was apparently unaware of Lord Cobham's second marriage, for, citing a patent roll of 8 November 1464, he says that the baron died before that date, "when his widow Joan (sic) had pardon for having m. without licence Christopher Worsley, 'the King's servant.'" Gibbs's querying of the Christian name 'Joan' indicates that he thought that it ought to be 'Elizabeth', and that he considered Elizabeth Touchet to have been Cobham's only wife, to have outlived him, and to have been the lady who married Worsley.

(7) Reginald (Reynold, Reignold) Brooke was his parents' fifth son: in MS. Harl. 2134, f. 132, it is said that he "became aft' by the death of his brethern the second". Reginald, all of whis brothers except Christopher, and his four sisters are shown in MSS. Harl. 2134, f. 132, and 6157, ff. 9b-10, Christopher must have been the ninth son, since the pedigree in Harl. 6157 calls Hugh "filius octauus" and Morgan "filius iunior", while Harl. 2134 explicitly calls Morgan "the yongest sonne". MS. Gough Gen. Top. 30, f. 72, alone of the primary sources, names Christopher, while omitting the seventh son, Henry, and the fourth daughter, Christiana. Rogers (Pt. 1, p. 20) names all fourteen of the children, although not in order.

The issue of Reginald is given in a good pedigree in the 1882 edition of Burke's Landed Gentry, under the heading of Brooke of Ufford Place. See also above, pp. 106-07, n. 27, and the notes to the family tree, p. 117, n. 58.

(8) The issue of Hugh Brooke, the eighth son (see preceding note), is given in MS. Harl. 2134, ff. 132-133b, and by Rogers (Pt. 1, p. 20) and Alfred S. Ellis, "On the Manorial History of Clifton," Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society for 1878-9, III, 231. One of Hugh's descendants was Sir David Brooke, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer under Queen Mary, and, by his first wife, brother-in-law of the first Lord Chandos. He died without issue in 1558, leaving his second wife to marry again and become Lady North of Kirtling.

(9) John Lord Cobham, having succeeded to his father's title on 6 June 1464, was in his eighteenth year when the inquisition post mortem on Edward Lord Cobham's Somerset estates was taken on 10 October 1464, and in his twenty-first when another inquisition, that for Berkshire, was taken on 13 June 1466 (P.R.O., C140/13/26). He was knighted by Edward IV "in the field of Grafton besydes Tewksbury" on 3 May 1471 (Walter C. Metcalfe, A Book of Knights Banneret, Knights of the Bath, and Knights Bachelor ... (1885), p. 3). On 19 August 1472 the first known writ summoning him to Parliament was issued (Dugdale, Summons, p. 471). In 1475 he served as a commander in the expedition against Calais (Sir James H. Ramsay, Lancaster and York ... (1892), II, 407), and in 1483 he entertained lavishly at Canterbury when Richard III made his ceremonial entry into that city (see H.M.C., Report 9, Part 1, pp. 145, 177). Through marriage with Margaret Neville he was associated with John Howard, Richard's Jockey of Norfolk, who was his wife's uncle; unlike Norfolk, however, Cobham played no very prominent part in the events of 1485, and, emerging soon afterward as a staunch supporter of the new dynasty, was associated by Henry VII in the command of the army which defeated the Cornish uprising at Blackheath in 1497. This appears to have been a signal act of trust on the part of the king, for the leader of the rebels was James Touchet, Lord Audeley, the nephew of Elizabeth Lady Cobham and thus John Lord Cobham's first cousin.

Lord Cobham died at Cobham Hall on 9 March 1511/2, according to his inquisition post mortem (P.R.O., C142/79/208; E150/470/5), but historians have been led by a peculiar circumstance into difficulty in establishing this date. This confusion is, in a way, attributable to Cobham himself. When his first wife died in 1506 and was buried in Cobham church, the baron had a brass laid down with a monumental inscription upon it relating both to her and to himself. He had the date of her death recorded in the inscription, and left blank spaces in which his executors were to insert the date of his. The executors, however, neglected to do so, so that the inscription still reads that John Lord Cobham died on the -- day of the month of -- in the year 15---. Francis Thynne read this inscription, took it to mean that the

baron had died on an unspecified day in 1500, and stated in his account of the Brooke family in Holinshed (III, 1507) that 1500 was the year of his death. Another misreading of Lord Cobham's monumental inscription is to be found among the biographical collections of Bishop Kennett in the Lansdowne manuscripts in the British Museum. In two places in MS. Lansdowne 978 (ff. 62, 85b) the inscription is transcribed; in both cases the date of Margaret Lady Cobham's death ("... die mensis Septembris Anno Dni 1506") is assumed to be that on which the baron died.

(10) Eleanor Lady Cobham's maiden name is variously spelled. In Holinshed it is 'Anstie', Rogers has 'Anstell' and in the Complete Peerage it is Austell. It may even be the same as that of the "Lyonell Awstie gentilman myne assured Sarvaunte" to whom George Lord Cobham left an annuity in his will of 31 March 1551 (Harl. Chart. 57.H.7).

Eleanor is said by Holinshed (III, 1507), by Rogers (Pt. 2, p. 7) and by the Complete Peerage (III, 346-47) to have been Lord Cobham's first wife. It is obvious, however, that she was the second, since she married again after Cobham's death, her second husband being the Giles Ravenshaw, Constable of Clitherow Castle, who calls his wife "Lady Elenor Cobham" in the will which he made in 1534 (see Leland L. Duncan, Testamenta Cantiana (1906): West Kent, p. 4). The error in Holinshed, repeated by all other authorities except two, was no doubt caused by Francis Thynne's mistaking the date of Lord Cobham's death (see preceding note). The baron actually died in 1512, more than five years after Margaret Neville's death on 30 September 1506 (the date given on her monumental brass at Cobham), but Thynne, by assuming that he died in 1500, left no time in which he could have made a marriage after Margaret died. Eleanor Anstie, who was known to have been his wife as well as Margaret, thus had to be made his first wife.

Thynne's error in Holinshed probably gave rise to the other occurrences of the error in the sixteenth century. In MS. Harl. 6157, f. 9b, it is said that Eleanor 'Ansty' "fuit uxor prima," and in MS. Harl. 2134, f. 132b, is the assertion that "SR John Brooke knight Baron of Cobham married to his second wife Margaret daughter of Edward neville Baron of Abergaveny." The only explanation of this repetition of the error in two separate places is that Thynne must have been the authority for the two manuscript pedigrees. Harl. 6157 is almost certainly his own genealogical guide to the Brooke family, drawn up in 1589 (f. 7) when he would have been about to begin the revision of the published article in Holinshed in order to present it as a gift to William Lord Cobham. The pedigree concurs at almost every point with the account given in MS. Add. 37666 (the presentation copy of the revision, not completed until 1598, when William Lord Cobham was dead, and therefore dedicated to William's son, Henry), even to the omission of information similarly omitted from Holinshed and from Add. 37666 but which is to be found in sources independent of them. Harl. 2134 is less easily connected with Thynne. It is the pedigree which was drawn up for George Brooke of Aspall in 1593 (see above, p. 107, n. 27), and is said (f. 129b) to have been taken from a family tree "The True Copie wherof Brooke Alderman of London hath." Although the alderman (who was, like the Brookes of Aspall, a descendant of Reginald, the younger brother of Edward Lord Cobham) can hardly have employed Thynne to draw up his pedigree, there being errors in Harl. 2134 which the author of the Holinshed account could hardly have committed, it is possible that the herald whom he did employ accepted Thynne's date for the death of John Lord Cobham and was led into the resulting error concerning the order of John's wives.

There are two early sources which disagree with Thynne. In MS. Harl. 1174, f. 59b, it is stated that "The L Cobham's 1<sup>st</sup> wyfe was Anstyes daughter of Suffolke but by his fyrst wyfe m'garet Nevell he had issue ...." Harl. 1174 is a collection of pedigrees, most of which are attributed by the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum to William Winchell of Little Waldingfield, Essex. When these pedigrees were drawn up it is hard to say: that of Losse (f. 57) mentions the date 1635, and the last recorded generation in many of the other pedigrees also suggests that Winchell was working in the first half of the seventeenth century. The pedigrees in what has been identified as Winchell's hand seem to be very carefully worked out. They are usually set forth in tabular form, although sometimes the information is recorded in short notes, written in a very small hand; f. 58, with

its notes on the Nevilles of Abergavenny (see below, p. 1095, n. 38), and f. 59b, on the Brookes of Cobham, consist of these cramped jottings. Other pedigrees, in a very different hand, are apparently of later date than Winchell's; they seem often to be careless transcriptions made from old sources by someone who could not read the earlier scripts. For instance, on f. 49, there is a family tree of Brooke in which John Lord Cobham is shown to have had his son and heir by "Ellinor da to Thomas Rusby [obviously a misreading of 'Ansty'] of Suff."; George Brooke (executed in 1603) as having been the son of his brother and sister-in-law, Henry Lord Cobham and the Countess of Kildare; and George Brooke's father-in-law as "Tho: Lord Borough of Scarborough [for 'Gainsborough']". Apart from these later pedigrees, however, those which may be called Winchell's are valuable; the correct stating of the order of John Lord Cobham's wives indicates that Winchell's researches were original, and not dependent upon the older, often erroneous authorities such as Thynne.

Contemporaneous with Winchell's pedigrees is a notebook in the handwriting of Henry Oxenden of Barham, Kent, which has been edited for the Genealogist by Keith W. Murray, who dates the book 1638-1668. Oxenden says that "Sr John Brooke Lo: Cobham (son of Ed:) ma: first Margaret da: of Edw: Lord of Abergavenny who dyed Septem the last 1506, & is buried (as likewise is her husband) at Cobham. Hee 2ly ma: Ellenor da: of Anstrie who dyed without issue" (The Genealogist, XXXIII (1917), 61).

The only modern authority which rejects the statement in Holinshed is Burke's Peerage, which, in its 1956 and 1959 editions, calls Lord Cobham's second wife Eleanor 'Austell', and says that she died in 1532, having taken as her second husband Giles Ravenshaw. Burke's had previously, like the other authorities, made Margaret Neville the second wife (see the 1929 edition).

(11) Elizabeth Lady Tanfield was the only daughter of Edward Lord Cobham, according to Holinshed and to MSS. Harl. 6157, ff. 9b-10, and Gough Gen. Top. 30, f. 72. Edward Hasted, in his History ... of Kent ... (1778), I, 492, gives her a sister, a Mrs. Aylmer, but MS. Harl. 2134, f. 132, shows that it was a "daughter of Reig-nald Brook' esquire [who] was married vnto Aylmer of Todington [Bedfordshire]".

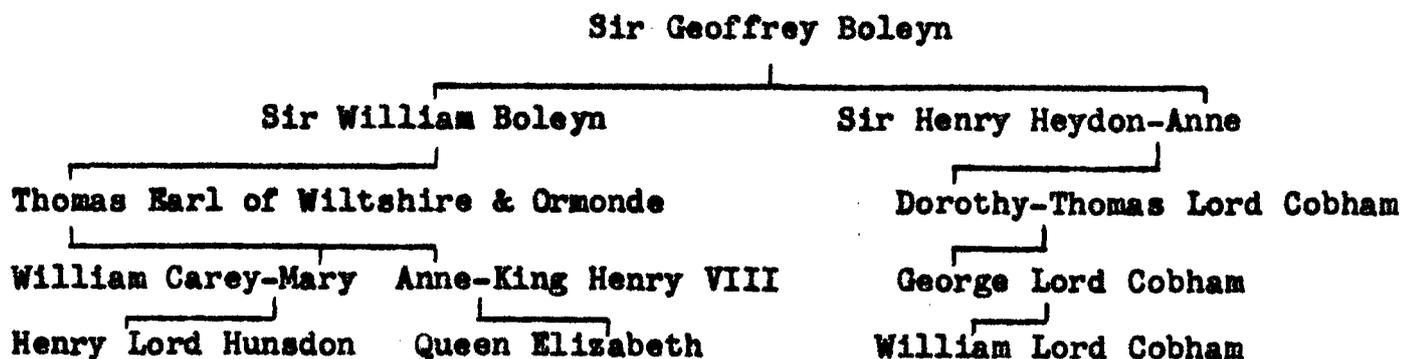
Lady Tanfield was the mother of another Sir Robert Tanfield, who married Catherine Neville, sister-in-law of John Lord Cobham, his uncle. The Tanfield pedigree is given in The Visitations of Essex ..., ed. Walter C. Metcalfe (Harleian Society Volumes XIII, XIV, 1878), pp. 294-96. It shows the descent of Sir Lawrence Tanfield, the prominent Jacobean jurist and Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who died in 1625. Francis W. Steer's article, "The Tanfield Monument at Margaretting," Essex Review, LIII (1944), 105-09, rehearses much of the information contained in the visitation pedigrees.

(12) Thomas Lord Cobham succeeded his father on 9 March 1511/2 and is first listed by Dugdale (Summons, p. 493) among the Lords of Parliament on 15 April 1523. He must, however, have taken his seat long before that time, since the Lord Cobham whom Dugdale (p. 492) calls 'John' and who was sitting on 22 November 1515 must have been he. Cobham accompanied Henry VIII to France in 1513, was at the 'Battle of Spurs' and the siege of Tournai, and was knighted after the latter event, probably on 25 September 1513. (MS. Harl. 6063, f. 11, includes "The Lord Cobham" among the "Knights made at Tourraine in y<sup>e</sup> church after the kinge came from masse vnder his banner in the church 25<sup>o</sup> Decemb' in the 5th year of his reigne [1513]," and Metcalfe's Knights, p. 47, accepts the manuscript's date. Since, however, Tournai capitulated in the week following 15 September, and it is known that the king departed for England before Christmas (see the detailed account of the Tournai campaign in A.F. Pollard's Henry VIII (illus. ed. 1951), pp. 50-52), it seems likely that the 'Decemb'' of the manuscript note is an error for 'Septemb''. Thomas Lord Cobham's knighthood would then date from 25 September 1513.) He took part in the pageantry of the wedding of the King of France with Mary Tudor in 1514 and in that of the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520, and in 1521 sat among his peers for the trial of Buckingham (whose grand-daughter, Dorothy Neville, was later to marry Cobham's grandson, William Lord Cobham). Thomas Lord Cobham died, according

to his monumental brass at Cobham, on 19 July 1529. Dugdale, after correctly listing George Lord Cobham, Thomas's successor, as sitting in Parliament on 3 November 1529, reverts to calling the Lord Cobham who sat on 5 January 1533/4 and on 8 June 1536 'Thomas' (Summons, pp. 498-99).

Lord Cobham's will (P.C.C. Jankyn 24), made on 7 July 1529, was apparently never proved. It is a curious document, in that the testator does not make his eldest son its executor but says, rather, "I ordeyn and make the same Dame Elizabeth my wief Executrice And the saide Thomas Brooke my yonger soone And Xp'of'er Hales Esquier Atto'ney generall to the Kinges grace Executores of this my present Testament and laste will." The will itself is otherwise unremarkable: Lord Cobham makes provision for his widow and Thomas, his younger son and her step-son; remembers his brother, Sir Edward Brooke (see note 17); and bequeaths the bulk of his estate to George, his heir. Appended to it, however, is an unusual item to be found among the registers of the Court of Probate. It is a list, drawn up eleven days before the baron died, of "Debtt'es due by my lorde Cobham To diuerse personnes. The viij<sup>th</sup> daye of July Anno vicesimo primo as foloweth." The debts include one of £ 80 to Sir Richard Waldon, but are generally small, and seem often to be for wages owing to servants: "Item to John Weste seventeen shillings six pence and his lyvery" is a typical entry. Mention of £ 6 owed "to Audeley for debtes of my olde Lorde" suggests that Thomas, who left to his successor a debt to the Crown (which is not mentioned in the list, and for which see above, p. 13), had himself been left to discharge his father's creditors.

(13) Sir Henry Heydon, Dorothy Lady Cobham's father, was of Baconsthorpe, Norfolk; his wife was Anne, the daughter of Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, Lord Mayor of London in 1457 (see The Visitations of Norfolk ..., ed. Walter Rye (Harleian Society Volume XXXII, 1891), p. 152). Anne Lady Heydon was the sister of Sir William Boleyn, whose son was Sir Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormonde, the father of Queen Anne Boleyn and of Mary Carey, the mother of the first Lord Hunsdon (see Thomas Milles, The Catalogue of Honor ... (1610), p. 967). The queen and Dorothy Lady Cobham's son, George Lord Cobham, were thus second cousins. The Brooke-Boleyn connections are shown in the following table:



To this table might be added the names of three other prominent Elizabethans with whom the Brookes shared Boleyn blood. The great Thomas Sackville, dramatist, and Lord Treasurer in succession to Burghley, who was created Lord Buckhurst in 1567 and Earl of Dorset in 1604, was the son of Sir Richard Sackville, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was the son of Anne Boleyn, the Earl of Wiltshire's sister (see Milles, p. 967, and the well documented article on the Dukes of Dorset, especially pp. 106-07, in Collins's Peerage of England ..., ed. Sir [Samuel] Egerton Brydges (1812), Volume II). Dorset was thus of the same generation of the descendants of Sir Geoffrey Boleyn as were Queen Elizabeth, Henry Lord Hunsdon and William Lord Cobham, being second cousin to the queen and Hunsdon and third cousin to Cobham. Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor of the Exchequer and of the Duchy of Lancaster, was the son of Sir Adrian Fortescue, who was the son of Alice Boleyn, second daughter of Sir Geoffrey Boleyn. The chancellor's sister, Elizabeth, was the wife of Sir Thomas Bromley, Lord Chancellor of England (see The Visitations of the County of Sussex ..., ed. W. Bruce Bannerman (Harleian Society Volume XIX, 1884), pp. 35-36).

Sir John and his sister, the wife of the Lord Chancellor, were thus second cousins to George Lord Cobham.

(14) There is an apparently insoluble difficulty in the way of establishing the Christian name of Thomas Lord Cobham's second wife, since she is called by different names in two sources which one would ordinarily consider to be reliable. On the monumental brass of Lord Cobham it is said of his second marriage that the "praedictus Thomas coepit in uxorem Dorotheam Southwel viduam, quae obiit sine exitu." Holinshed, apparently on the authority of this inscription, says (III, 1507) that the baron's second wife "was also Dorothea the daughter of Sir Philip Calthrope of Norwich knight". MSS. Harl. 6157, f. 9b, and 1174, f. 59b, and Gough Gen. Top. 30, f. 72, also make this assertion. In the inquisition taken after Lady Cobham's death (P.R.O., C142/79/249; E150/303/10), however, she is described as "Elizabeth Cobham ... vx'is Rob'ti Sowthwelle milit' defuncti Ac postea vx' Thomae Cobbehm milit' d'ni de Cobbehm". To add to the confusion created by this conflict of primary sources, there is the statement in The Visitations of Norfolk, ed. Rye, p. 259, that Sir Robert Southwell, Lady Cobham's first husband, married as his second last wife "Ursula, da. of Sir Philip Calthorp". The misnaming of Dorothy or Elizabeth in the visitation records, however, is not so inexplicable as it is in one of the two primary sources; Southwell's first wife was called Ursula, so that the herald probably made the simple mistake of repeating that name when he meant to record the second wife's. Dorothy, or Elizabeth, is unfortunately omitted from the visitation records of her own family (see the Calthorpe pedigree in The Visitations of Norfolk, ed. Rye, p. 64), so that one cannot discover what the head of her family called her.

According to the inquisition post mortem, Elizabeth (or Dorothy) Lady Cobham died on 10 June 1517; she could not have been long married to Cobham, for the inquisition, necessitated by her widow's interest in the Southwell property, states that her first husband died in May 1514.

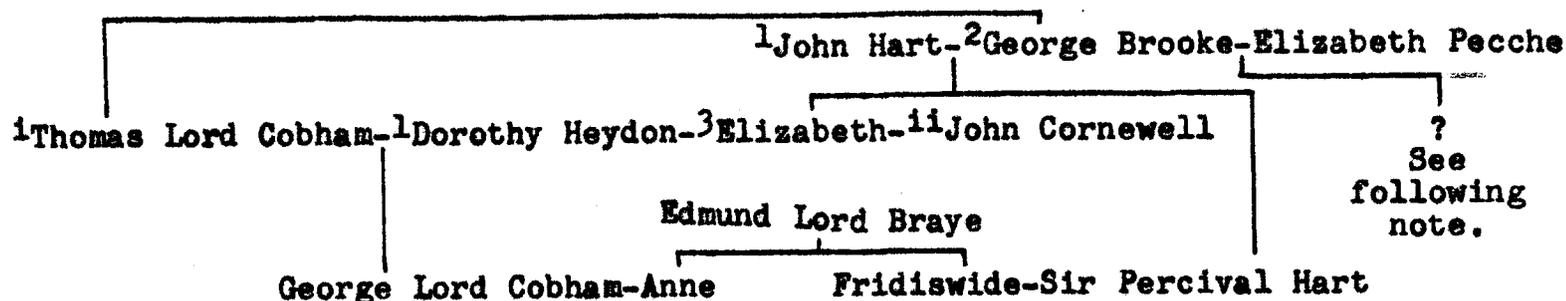
As a Calthorpe, Lady Cobham may have served, like her husband's first wife, to connect the Brookes with the Boleyns (see preceding note), for the Sir Philip Calthorpe who married Avis, or Amy, the daughter of Sir William Boleyn (Milles, p. 967), was most probably her brother. (That Lady Cobham was not the daughter of Avis Boleyn is evidenced by the entry in the visitation records, in which Elizabeth Lady Woodhouse, the widow of Sir Henry Parker, is called the only daughter and heir of the Sir Philip Calthorpe who married the queen's aunt.)

(15) Elizabeth Lady Cobham was the daughter of John Hart of Orpington, Kent, by Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir William and the sister of Sir John Pecche. (Hart is called 'John' in MSS. Add. 37666, f. 29, corrected to f. 31, and 39184, f. 78, as well as in the inscription on his wife's tomb (see following note), but he is 'Thomas' in MSS. Harl. 6157, f. 9b, and 1174, f. 59b (see following note), and in Hasted's Kent, I, 492. In MS. Gough Gen. Top. 30, f. 72, he is 'Robert'. Drake, in his corrective edition of Hasted (1886), p. 192, calls him 'John'.) The other child of John Hart by his wife, Elizabeth Pecche, was Sir Percival Hart of Lullingstone, Kent, who married Fridiswide Braye, the sister-in-law of George Lord Cobham (see below, p. 1090, n. 25). W.A. Scott-Robertson comments on the peculiar fact that Elizabeth Pecche, Mrs. Hart, married George Brooke, her daughter's brother-in-law ("Church of St. Botolph, Lullingstone," Archaeologia Cantiana, XVI (1886), 99-113). (Scott-Robertson, p. 104, makes an erroneous identification of Elizabeth's brother, Sir John Pecche, with the baron of that name who was Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports in the time of Edward III.) See at the end of this note a table setting forth these relationships.

After the death of Thomas Lord Cobham, his widow Elizabeth married John Cornewell of Haverell, Essex, and had a son and a daughter by him, both of whom died without issue (see The Visitation of Essex, ed. Metcalfe, p. 7). Her second marriage is not recorded in any of the pedigrees of the Brooke family in the Harleian manuscripts. Three acquittances, issued in 1534 and 1535 by John Cornewelle, gentleman, and Dame Elizabeth his wife, Lady Cobham, each for £ 33.6.8 received by them of George Lord Cobham in part payment of her jointure of 100 marks

a year, are in MS. Harl. 99, ff. 148, 150, 151. Elizabeth Lady Cobham was still alive when her stepson George Lord Cobham made his first will, on 31 March 1551 (Harl. Chart. 57.H.7), but she is not mentioned in that which he made on 13 January 1557/8 (P.C.C. Mellershe 58).

## John Lord Cobham



(16) It is this George whom Holinshed supposes to have been the Sir George Brooke who took part in the last Lancastrian attempt to defy Edward IV, the abortive plot of 1471 to seize the Tower. The identification is impossible to make; in 1471 George's father was only twenty-seven years old (see above, p. 1081, n. 9), so that George himself can have been only a child, if born at all, at the time of the plot. Furthermore, it should be noted that George Brooke is not described as a knight on his wife's monumental brass (see below).

George married Elizabeth Pecche, the widow of John Hart and the mother-in-law of Brooke's brother, Thomas Lord Cobham (see preceding note). She died on 16 July 1544; her monumental brass in the floor of the chancel of St. Botolph's, Lullingstone, reads: "Of yo<sup>r</sup> charyte pray for the soull of Elizabeth Cobham late the wyfe of George Cobham brother to the ryght honorable lord Cobham, and for the soule of her fyrst husband John Hart gentylman father and mother to the ryght worsshippfull Syr Percyvall Hart knyght wyche Elizabeth decesed the xvj day of July, in the yer of o<sup>r</sup> lord god MCCCCxliiii, on whose soules Jh<sup>u</sup> haue m<sup>cy</sup>" (Scott-Robertson, "Church of St. Botolph," p. 104).

In only one pedigree is George Brooke given issue. MS. Harl. 1174, f. 59b (see above, p. 1082, n. 10), says that "leonard [see below, p. 1087, n. 18] or george wedd Elizabeth daughter [& heyre: crossed out] to Sr W<sup>m</sup> Peche & suster & heyre to Sr John late wydowe of Thom's harte parents to sir pcyvall & Elizabeth after lady cobham & the sayd leonard or george had Issue John broke a<sup>is</sup> cobham & Elizabeth wyf to Roydon of Sussex w<sup>ch</sup> had Issue thom's Roydon." There is unfortunately no pedigree of Roydon in the visitations of Sussex by which to check the accuracy of at least a part of this rather uncertainly expressed entry in Harl. 1174. There is, however, some confirmation of the statement that the Brookes and the Roydons were connected, in the notebook of Henry Oxenden (ed. Murray): there it is said that "George ... had issue John Brooke Kther of Elizabeth who was married to Roydon of Sussex" (The Genealogist, XXXIII (1917), 61).

(17) According to Holinshed (III, 1507), Edward was knighted by Lord Admiral Howard in 1512, married an unnamed Irishwoman, and died without issue (although surely not on 1 June 1612, as is stated in Hasted, I, 492). In MS. Harl. 6157, f. 9b, he is described as Edward Brooke of Denton, "miles, sine liberis". He was with Henry VIII when the king invaded France in 1513 (The Chronicle of Calais, ed. John Gough Nichols (Camden Society, 1846), p. 13). Thomas Lord Cobham, in his will of 7 July 1529 (P.C.C. Jankyn 24), instructed his heir "vppon godes blessing and myne that he paye to my broother sir Edwarde Brooke knight and his assignes euery yere yerely duringe his liefe Twenty markes [£ 13.6.8]". George Lord Cobham appears to have obeyed his father to the extent of paying his uncle an annuity, but, from a receipt signed by Sir Edward on 7 April 1538 (MS. Harl. 99, f. 147, formerly f. 139), it would appear that he made it less than he should have, for the receipt is for half a £ 10 annuity.

Rogers (Pt. 2, p. 10) states that among the sons of Thomas Lord Cobham there was an Edward; this man is included neither in Holinshed's account of the family nor in MS. Add. 37666, nor again in the pedigrees in MSS. Harl. 6157, ff. 9b-10, and 1174, f. 59b, and Gough Gen. Top. 30, f. 72. Nor does Oxenden mention him. Rogers was perhaps led to conclude that Thomas had a son so named by the erroneous entry in the Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum ... (1808), I, 30, where the receipt in MS. Harl. 99 is abstracted as from Sir Edward for a semi-annuity "paid to him by his Brother Sir George Broke, Lord Cobham". The actual receipt makes no mention of George Lord Cobham's relationship to Sir Edward.

(18) Leonardus is omitted from the list of children in Holinshed and from the pedigree in MS. Harl. 6157, ff. 9b-10; he is mentioned by Oxenden, in MS. Harl. 1174, f. 59b (where there is obvious difficulty in distinguishing him from his brother George: see above, p. 1086, n. 16), and in MSS. Add. 37666, f. 29 (corrected to f. 31) and Gough Gen. Top. 30, f. 72.

(19) Mary Brooke was married to Robert Blagge (or Blage) of Broke Montague, Somerset, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, on 21 September 1506 (see MS. Harl. 6157, f. 10, and John Gage, The History and Antiquities of Suffolk, Thingoe Hundred (1838), p. 520). There is a biography of Blagge in D.N.B. Mary's son, Sir George Blagge (1512-51) was a friend of the poet Wyatt, his first cousin's husband; it is his manuscript (now MS. D.2.7, Trinity College, Dublin) in which are contained the Wyatt poems edited by Kenneth Muir as Sir Thomas Wyatt and his circle: Unpublished Poems (Liverpool, 1961).

In The Visitations of Norfolk, ed. Rye, p. 188, is the descent of the family of le Grys. Charles le Grys married Hester, Sir George Blagge's daughter, and had a son who was given the name 'Cobham' as his Christian name.

(20) The marriage of Dorothy Brooke and William Isaac, a Kentish gentleman, is recorded in MS. Harl. 6157, f. 10, and in Holinshed (III, 1507), as well as in MS. Gough Gen. Top. 30, f. 72. In the Harleian manuscript Dorothy Isaac is described as "sine ple mortua"; the pedigree in Cecil Paper 225/1 (c.1571) also says that she died without issue; in the notebook of Henry Oxenden, ed. Murray, however, it is said that "John Isaack of Beakesborne in Kent ma: Jane da: of Ralfe Tooke, by whom hee had James Isaack who was Father of Willm Isaack, which Willm ma: Jane [sic] da: of John, Lord Cobham, by whom hee had issue Ed: Isaack ..." (The Gemalogist, XXXIV (1918), 81).

(21) Faith died on 21 September 1508 and was buried in Cooling Church; her epitaph, as transcribed in the eighteenth century by John Thorpe, is in MS. Harl. 6587, p. 78, and reads: "Pray for y<sup>e</sup> soule of Feyth Brooke late y<sup>e</sup> dought<sup>r</sup> of Syr John Brook lord of Cobham whiche Feythe decessed the xxj day of Septēb<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> yer of o<sup>r</sup> lord M<sup>v</sup>C<sup>viii</sup> o whose soule Jh<sup>r</sup> haue M<sup>c</sup>cy." There is no mention of her having been married in the epitaph or in Holinshed, but in MS. Harl. 6157, f. 10, there is a note (in a hand different from that in which most of the pedigree is written) to the effect that she "nupta Tho: Alden de Here<sup>d</sup>".

(22) It is stated on his brass in Cobham Church that John Lord Cobham had in all eight sons and ten daughters.

(23) John, described in MS. Harl. 6157, f. 9b, as "p<sup>r</sup>mogenitus, obiit sine exitu," and said in Holinshed (III, 1507) to have been the eldest son and to have died without issue in his father's lifetime, is nowhere called a knight. He can hardly, then, have been the "ser John Cobham" whose knighthood is dated 1 July 1522 in The Chronicle of Calais, p. 31. For the probability that "ser John Cobham" is a mistake for "ser George Cobham", see above, pp. 107-08, n. 5.

(24) For a detailed account of the life of George Lord Cobham, see Book I above.

(25) Anne Lady Cobham was the eldest of the six daughters of Edmund Braye, Lord Braye, who died on 18 October 1539, by Jane, the daughter and heir of Sir Richard

Halighwell (see the pedigrees in William Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire ... (Coventry, 1765), p. 759; The Visitation of Cheshire ..., ed. John Paul Rylands (Harleian Society Volume XVIII, 1882), p. 56; The Visitations of Bedfordshire ..., ed. Frederic Augustus Blaydes (Harleian Society Volume XIX, 1884), p. 163; The Visitations of Sussex, ed. Bannerman, p. 20). Lady Halighwell, the mother of Jane Lady Braye, was Anne, the daughter and heir of Sir John Norbury, lord of the manor of Wellesbourne ("Wellesburne-Mountfort"), Warwickshire; from Norbury the manor passed to his grand-daughter and only descendant, Lady Braye (Dugdale, Warwickshire, p. 410b). Lady Braye married, after her first husband's death, Sir Urian Brereton of Hanford, Cheshire (The Visitations of Bedfordshire, ed. Blaydes, p. 163. In the pedigree of Brereton in The Visitations of Cheshire, ed. Rylands, Jane Lady Braye is never shown as Brereton's wife; she must have been his third, since he married and had children by Margaret Hanford, Lady Stanley, and Alice, the daughter of Sir Edmund Trafford. Reference is made to Lady Braye's second marriage in the last will of her son-in-law George Lord Cobham (P.C.C. Mellershe 58), where "master Bruorton and ... Dame Jane late Ladie braye now his Wief" are said to be in possession on 13 January 1557/8 of the lands of the dissolved monastery of Newnham in Bedfordshire.) By Brereton, Lady Braye apparently had no children, and when she died on 24 October 1558 her appreciable estates in Cornwall, Devon, Warwickshire and Worcestershire passed to her heirs by Lord Braye.

Lord and Lady Braye had had seven children, of whom five survived their mother. The only son, John, succeeded to his father's title, married the Lady Anne Talbot, daughter of Francis Earl of Shrewsbury, and died childless at his house in the Blackfriars on 18 November 1557, of wounds received at the Battle of St. Quintin in the previous year (MS. Harl. 874, f. 79). He had almost lost his life in June 1556 for participating in a Protestant plot against Mary (see above, p. 84), being saved only by the queen's sympathy with his wife, "she being a virtuous woman, and evilly used by him". Mary herself, who was to know marital neglect, is supposed to have told the young Lady Braye "that God sent oftentimes to good women bad husbands", and then told the baroness that by her pleading she had saved Braye's life (see John Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials ..., 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1820-40), III, 1, 549-50). Strype's source is a letter from Robert Swift to the Earl of Shrewsbury of 22 June 1556, which is printed in Edmund Lodge, Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners, in the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, & James I ..., (2nd ed. (1838), I, 265-68.) John Lord Braye's splendid funeral is recorded in The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, From A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563, ed. John Gough Nichols (Camden Society, 1848), pp. 158-59; his body "was cared from Blakefreres to Temes syd ... and so by water to Gelsey, to be bereyd by ys father". His widow married Thomas Lord Wharton.

The title of Lord Braye fell into abeyance at John's death among his six sisters and their heirs. Of these Anne Lady Cobham was the eldest; her death on 1 November 1558 (see above, p. 95) occurred only eight days after her mother's, so that no inquest was taken of the elder Lady Braye's property in time to include Anne as the eldest of the co-heirs. Thus, when the first of the inquisitions post mortem of Jane Lady Braye was taken in the spring of 1559, the six principal heirs to her property were found to be her grandson, William Lord Cobham, to whom his mother's rights had passed, and her five younger daughters, Cobham's aunts. The location of Lady Braye's possessions in several counties necessitated separate inquisitions for Cornwall, Devon, Warwickshire and Worcestershire. These are in the Public Record Office; they are, respectively, C142/118/12 (that taken at Launceston on 4 April 1559), C142/118/24 (taken at Esher Castle, 5 October 1559), C142/124/207 (taken at Warwick, 5 April 1559) and C142/165/192 (taken at Worcester, 26 May 1559). These documents are similar in form; they name the six co-heirs and give their ages at the time of Lady Braye's death ("die obiit dcā Jane dnā braye"). Quotation is here made from that for Warwickshire (C142/124/207). William Lord Cobham, it is inexplicably stated in all of the inquisitions, "fuit aetate viginti Sex Annor<sup>u</sup> et Amplius" on 24 October 1558: that is, he is said to have been in his twenty-seventh year when his grandmother died, whereas he was actually in his thirty-first. The ages of the five Braye heiresses, his aunts,

since there is no other evidence concerning them, must be accepted as they are given in the inquisitions. Elizabeth, the second daughter and the eldest surviving, said to be the widow of Sir Richard Catesby and the wife of William Clarke, esquire, was in her forty-seventh year when her mother died; she was born, therefore, in 1511 or 1512. The inquisition does not record her first husband's name; he was Sir Ralph Verney of Penley, Hertfordshire (see The Visitations of Bedfordshire, ed. Blaydes, p. 163; The Visitations of Sussex, ed. Bannerman, p. 20; and below). Fridiswide ("ffrideswida"), the wife of Sir Percival Hart, was in her forty-fourth year, born in 1514 or 1515. Mary, the wife of Sir Robert Peckham ("Pechm"), was in her forty-second year, born in 1516 or 1517. Dorothy, the wife of Edmund Brydges, Lord Chandos of Sudeley, was in her thirtieth year, born in 1528 or 1529. Frances, the youngest daughter, the wife of Thomas Lifield, esquire, was in her twenty-fifth year, born in 1533 or 1534.

Several years after the original inquisitions were taken, on 17 March 1572/3, another inquisition of the Warwickshire property was taken at Nuneaton (P.R.O., C142/165/195). It repeats the information contained in that of 1559 for the same county, and also shows changes in the marital status of two of the co-heirs. Elizabeth had married again, this time with William Philipps, esquire, and Mary Lady Peckham had become the wife of Geoffrey Palmer, esquire, who is not shown as her husband in any of the Braye pedigrees.

The inquisition of 1573, as well as another of 1575 (P.R.O., C142/175/110), both taken on property whose last clear owner had been Lady Braye, indicate how difficult it was to arrange a satisfactory settlement of the Warwickshire property among her many heirs. The Brookes of Cobham apparently got the chief estate, the Norbury manor at Wellesbourne, for in the inquisition post mortem taken at Exeter Castle on 21 September 1574 (P.R.O., C142/169/40) after the death of Elizabeth, the eldest of the daughters who long survived their mother, it is shown that in 1561 the manor of "Wellesborne Mounteforte" was assigned to William Lord Cobham. Probably Cobham, once he had a clear title to it, realized the value of a property so remote from his other holdings by selling it to one of his Warwickshire cousins; Wellesbourne is not among the possessions listed in the inquisition taken after his own death in 1597 (P.R.O., C142/248/24). (There is an account of the descent of the manor in The Victoria County History of the County of Warwick, V (1949), 194-95, but it is confused and incomplete, and demonstrates the difficulty of establishing who were the owners of Wellesbourne in the sixteenth century.)

Of Lady Cobham's sisters (none of whom was remembered in her will, made only seventeen days before their mother died, although in it Sir Percival Hart was appointed overseer of its execution), Elizabeth was still known at her death in 1573 as Lady Catesby, and is so styled in her inquisition post mortem. She had had surviving children only by her first husband, Sir Ralph Verney; they are shown (along with a daughter, Joan Catesby, and another son, Edmund Clarke, both of whom died young) in the pedigree of Clarke of Dundon Court in The Visitation of Buckinghamshire ..., ed. W. Harry Rylands (Harleian Society Volume LVIII, 1909), p. 155, as well as in the Verney pedigree in The Visitations of Hertfordshire ..., ed. Walter C. Metcalfe (Harleian Society Volume XXII, 1886), p. 23. Only one of Elizabeth's sons, Sir Edmund Verney of Penley, had children (see the article in D.N.B. on his sons, Sir Edmund and Sir Francis); of the others practically nothing is known, except that one of them, Francis, with his brother Edmund, was suspected of complicity in the plot of 1555-56 against Mary (see above, p. 84), and that the youngest, Richard, accompanied Sir Henry Cobham to Spain in 1575 and died there. Sir Henry laments the death "of his dearest cousin, Richard Verney, who died of a double tertian at Buzegillias" in a letter to Lord Burghley of 15 October 1575 (S.P., For., 1575-77, p. 157). (Richard Verney had held "the Office of Marshalsea", which Sir Henry tried to get for himself after his cousin's death: see Sir Henry's letter to Secretary Wilson of December 1580 in A Collection of Letters ..., ed. Leonard Howard (1753), p. 353.) As well as seven sons, Elizabeth Braye had by Sir Ralph Verney two daughters, Jane Lady Hynde and Anne Lady Pointz; Anne's husband, Sir Nicholas Pointz of Iron Acton, was the first cousin of Frances Newton, Lady Cobham (see the notes to the family tree, p. 1101, n. 39). It was a descendant of Sir Edmund Verney, Elizabeth's son, in whose favour the abeyance into which the Barony of Braye fell in 1557 was terminated by an arbitrary act of 1839. At that

time Sarah Otway-Cave became Lady Braye. (After her death the title went through another seventeen years of abeyance among female co-heirs, until, in 1879, the baroness's surviving daughter succeeded to it, less than a year before she herself died. Her heirs at once took the surname Verney-Cave, and have retained the title ever since.) See the article on Braye in the Complete Peerage.

Fridiswide\* Lady Hart lived at Lullingstone in Kent, where her husband was associated with the Lords Cobham, and had a place at Court. (See the notes to the family tree, pp. 1085-86, n.15, for the Hart-Brooke connections.) The Harts were commanded on 27 October 1551 "to accompanie the Quene Dowagier of Scotland in to the North Partes" (A.P.C., 1550-52, p. 399), and, on 4 December 1560, Lady Hart was among the ladies who formed Queen Elizabeth's retinue at the christening of the lady's grand-nephew, Maximilian Brooke (see above, p. 209). Sir Percival held "certain offices, as the usher of the Receipts, and keeping of the Star Chamber", which, at the time of his death, were in reversion to his nephew, Sir Henry Cobham; Sir Henry's letter to Lord Burghley asking for "his Lordship's favour therein, so that he may enjoy them with some comfort," dated 14 June 1580, is abstracted in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XIII, 178. Sir Percival died on 21 May 1580; his will, dated 16 February 1577/8 and proved 1 June 1580, is P.C.C. Arundell 19. That his wife was living when he made the will is shown by the frequent and rather curious references to her in it. She was left, ordinarily enough, a dower house, the "manner house called Barkhart in Orpington", with all its "implements vtensills bedding and houshold stuff", besides "the vse and occupacon of so much of my plate as shall amount to the value of one hundreth poundes . . ., one yron chest and two hundreth poundes." She was also left, however, "all such her apparrell and Jewells as apperteyneth to her body" on condition that she "shall not uniuistly vexe disquiet or trowble my said executor [their son, George] or my heire or heires in demaunding or clayming any of my Jewells plate goodes or cattells ether moueable or immoueable whatsoever they be, other then for such as shall hereafter by this my p<sup>n</sup>te testament to her be willed . . ." Perhaps Sir Percival's words are merely formulistic. Yet, even in an age in which sentiment seldom interfered with precision in documents having the force of law, the stringency with which Lady Hart's prospective conduct as a widow is circumscribed seems rather unusual. It is possible that the widow married again: in Henry Oxenden's notebook, as edited by Murray, it is said that "Sr Percivall Hart of Lullingston . . . ma: Friswolde da: [sic] & coheire of John Lo: Bray, renupt . . . Lounde" (The Genealogist, XXXI (1915), 193). The principal, overseer of Sir Percival's will was appointed to be "the right honorable my very good Lord William Lord Cobham now Lord Warden of the Cinque Portes", who was to receive for his pains "one Cupp guilt of the value of five pounds". Mentioned in the will are two sons, George and Francis, and three daughters, "Katheryn the wief of Thomas Willowebye Esquier", Mrs. Jane Clovell and Mrs. Anne Dyke. Willoughby was no doubt the man of that name whom William Lord Cobham called his cousin and whom he employed in the examination of recusants in Kent in 1585 (see S.P., Dom., 1581-90, pp. 267-69). (There is a pedigree of Willoughby which shows the Hart marriage in The Visitations of Kent, Taken in the Years 1530-1 . . . And 1574 . . ., ed. W. Bruce Bannerman (Harleian Society Volumes LXXIV, LXXV, 1923-24), Pt. 2, p. 49.) The sons named in Sir Percival's will do not include Henry, the eldest, who married Cecily, the daughter of Sir Martin Bowes, Lord Mayor of London in 1545, but who died childless before 1578. George, the second son (1532-87) and the executor of the will, was thus Sir Percival's heir; he was knighted, also married a Bowes, and left children, who did not die out in the male line until 1671. Francis, the second surviving son, was married by 1578, since his wife is remembered in her father-in-law's will, but he had no issue (see the Complete Peerage, II, 288, and Drake's 1886 edition of Hasted's Kent, p. 192). There is no good pedigree of Hart in any of the visitations of Kent,

\* The name is spelled "ffrediswide" once in Sir Percival's will, but otherwise always "ffridiswide". In the inquisitions taken after Lady Braye's death it is spelled "ffrideswida".

so that it is difficult to establish how many children Sir Percival had who died in his lifetime. At least two of his sons, perhaps Henry and George, were involved in providing entertainment at Court, for there is an entry dated 18 February 1564/5 among the records of the Office of the Revels for £ 57.10.0d. for "wages or dieats of the officers and Tayllors paynttars workinge vppon diuers Cities and Townes and the Emperours pallace & other devisses carvars mercers for Sarsnett and other Stuf & lynen drappars ffor canvas to couer the Townes with all and other provicions for A play maid by Sir percivall hartts Sones with a maske of huntars and diuers devisses and a Rocke, or hill ffor the IX musses to Singe vppone with a wayne of Sarsnett Dravven vpp and downe before them &c." (Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels in the Time of Queen Elizabeth, ed. Albert Feuillerat (1908), p. 117).\*

Mary Lady Peckham was left a widow in 1569; her husband made his will at Rome on 11 September of that year, and there died later in the month. A Privy Counsellor to Queen Mary from the beginning of her reign, loyal to her despite her execution of his brother Henry in 1555-56 (see above, p. 84), he went into voluntary exile after the accession of Elizabeth, where the only English bishop who attended the 1562 Council of Trent, Thomas Goldwell of St. Asaph, and another Englishman, Thomas Kirton, were the foreign executors of his will in 1569. They erected a splendid monument to him in the cloister of the Quadriporticus before the Chiesa di San Gregorio at Rome; the epitaph which they inscribed upon it was transcribed in 1848 and printed in Notes and Queries, 3rd ser., I, 259. It is an eulogy of his defence of the Catholic faith. Lodge, I, 342 n., says that, sometime before 1792 (when the first edition of the Illustrations appeared), Peckham's head, which had been "deposited in a leaden box in the family vault at Denham [Buckinghamshire] . . ., upon a late examination, . . . was found in a dry and withered state, but perfectly whole." Lodge's opinion, founded in his anti-Catholicism, was that the preserved head was discovered, "unfortunately for the memory of the late owner, in an age when canonization is rather out of fashion". Peckham's will (P.C.C. Sheffelde 25), which was proved before Dr. Walter Haddon (the first husband of Sir Henry Cobham's wife) on 17 December 1569, is written in Latin; in it Peckham describes himself as "Robertus Peckham de Betlesden in com' Buckingham eques auratus Anglus", and leaves his estates to his surviving brother and his rings and jewels ("añulos . . . et gemmas") to his wife, "cõiuge mee carissime Marie Peckham". Mary thus obviously outlived her first husband (although the Complete Peerage, II, 288, refers to Sir Robert's will as if it were hers, and deduces from its date of probate (which is incorrectly transcribed) that she died between 11 September and 17 September 1569). Before 17 March 1572/3 she married again, her second husband being Geoffrey Palmer (see above, p. 1089). Her descendants, if any, were presumed to be dead by 1839, when Sarah Otway-Cave was granted the Barony of Braye.

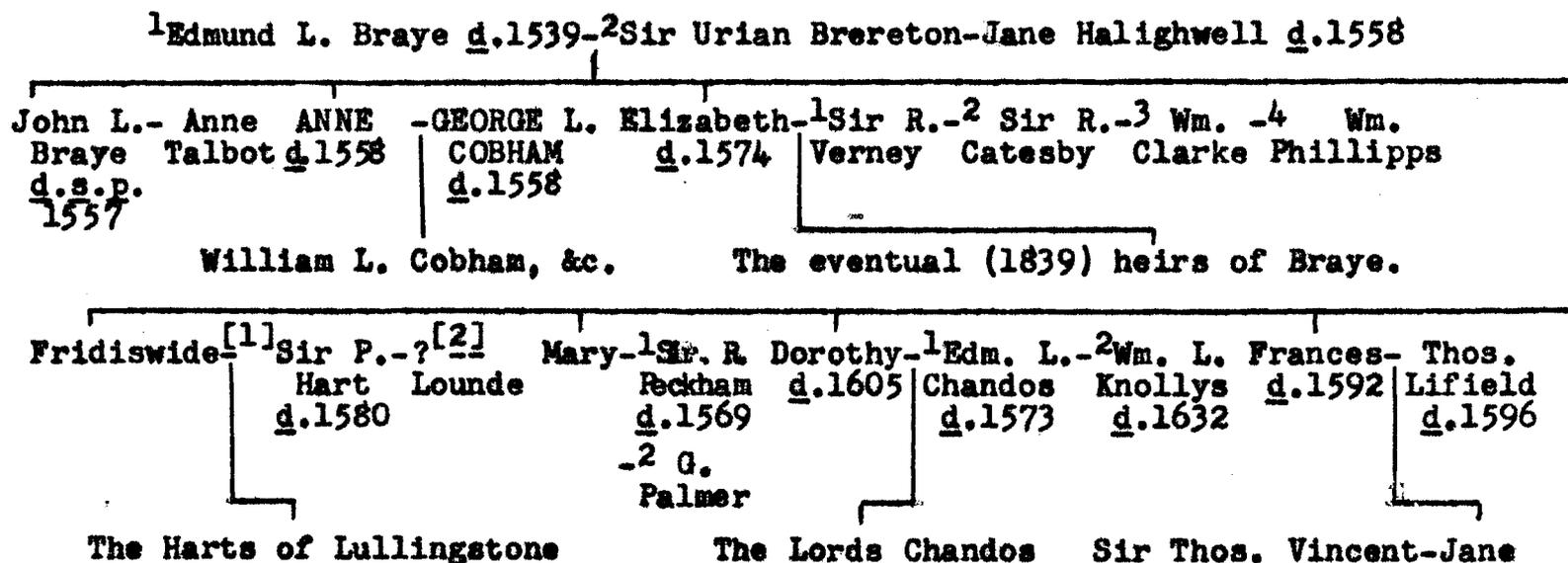
Dorothy Lady Chandos lived into old age. Lord Chandos, her first husband, died on 11 September 1573, and she married again, her second husband being the queen's cousin, Sir William Knollys, whom King James made a baron and then Viscount Wallingford, and who was finally created Earl of Banbury by Charles I. His wife, however, died before he received the two latter honours, on 31 October 1605; a letter from her to Secretary Sir Robert Cecil on behalf of a Knollys connection is Cecil Paper 55/76 (abstracted in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 403), and shows that she continued to style herself Lady Chandos. See the extensive and reliable articles on Chandos and Banbury in the Complete Peerage. By Lord Chandos she had had two sons, Giles and William Brydges, who succeeded in turn to the title of Lord Chandos. Giles's daughters were Elizabeth Lady Kennedy, who was rumoured in May 1601 to have become Sir Robert Cecil's second wife at the same time as the Secretary's brother-in-law Henry Lord Cobham married the Countess of Kildare (see above, p. 832); and Catherine Countess of Bedford. William's son and successor, Grey Lord Chandos, was implicated by George Brooke, his second cousin, in the con-

\* It would appear that Hart had a company of travelling players; in John Tucker Murray's English Dramatic Companies 1558-1642 (1910), II, 382, is an entry from the Receivers' Account Books of Plymouth dated 1561-62, "Itm geven to Sr Parcyvall harts plaiers vi<sup>s</sup> viiid."

spiracies of 1603, but no action was taken against him (see S.P., Dom., 1603-10, p. 21). Besides her two sons, Dorothy Braye had also a daughter, Eleanor; on 22 March 1580/1 Sir Henry Cobham wrote from Blois to Secretary of State Wilson that "my cousin Elianor Bridges' affection, or some manner of the 'passage' of the same, has offended her Majesty; wherein I beseech you to bestow your favourable speeches for the recovery of her favour towards her and to lessen her fault" (S.P., For., 1581-82, pp. 90-91). Nothing further is known of this Eleanor Brydges.

Frances Lifield, the youngest and least distinguished socially of the sisters, is described in the inquisition taken on 20 July 1596 following the death of her husband (P.R.O., Cl42/247/99), as "ffranciscae ... vna Soror' et Coheredū Joh'is nup Dñi Bray defuncti". She had predeceased her husband, dying at Stoke D'Abernon ("Stoke Dabbernoun") in Surrey, where Lifield's estates were, on 27 May 1592, leaving an only daughter and heir, Jane. Jane married Sir Thomas Vincent of Barnack, Northamptonshire, bringing to him the Lifield manor and lands at Stoke D'Abernon; their issue was the Vincents of Sussex, baronets (see The Visitations of the County of Surrey, ed. W. Bruce Bannerman (Harleian Society Volume XLIII, 1899), p. 221).

The following table sets forth simply the members of Anne Lady Cobham's family:



(26) Thomas, described in MS. Harl. 6157 and in MS. Add. 37666, and by Holinshed (III, 1507), Rogers (Pt. 2, p. 10) and John Green Waller ("The Lords of Cobham," Archaeologia Cantiana, XXI-XII (1877-88), Pt. 1, p. 112), as the third son of Thomas Lord Cobham, is said by R.H. D'Elboux ("Coats of Arms in Queenborough Castle," Archaeologia Cantiana, LVIII (1946), 23) to have been the second son of John Lord Cobham. Curiously, D'Elboux cites in support of his disagreement with Waller and the others (of whose works he shows himself to be aware) the Brooke pedigree in The Visitation of Kent, Taken in the Years 1619-21 ..., ed. Robert Hovenden (Harleian Society Volume XLII, 1898), p. 116, which says that Thomas was the second (surviving) son of Thomas Lord Cobham, the son of John Lord Cobham.

Thomas, as "Thomas Brooke my yonger son", was appointed by Thomas Lord Cobham to be one of the executors of his will of 1529 (see above, p. 1084, n. 12). His own will, dated 5 January 1544/5 and proved 17 January 1547/8 (P.C.C. Alen 39), is printed by Arthur Hussey in "Reculver and Hoath Wills" (Archaeologia Cantiana, XXXII (1917), pp. 92-93). It shows that Thomas was resident in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West when he made it, mentions this brother George Lord Cobham and two of his own children (Holinshed is wrong in saying that he died without issue), and requires that his body be buried "in the qwere of the chapel of Hothe".

(27) Susan is wrongly described in Hasted's Kent, I, 492, as the "daughter of Abp. Cranmer"; she was the only child by his first wife of the archbishop's brother,

John Cranmer of Aslerton, Nottinghamshire (see The Visitation of the County of Nottingham . . . , ed. George William Marshall (Harleian Society Volume IV, 1871), p. 71). In MS. Harl. 6157, f. 9b, she is called "neptis Thomae Cranmer Archi' Cantuarij", 'neptis' (grandchild) being improperly substituted for 'nepos' (grandchild, but also nephew or niece). Thomas Brooke was probably her second husband; she is described in The Visitation of Kent, ed. Hovenden, p. 16, as "Susanna filia . . . Cranmer [sic] vidua Glearke". If 'Glearke' may be taken to mean 'Clark', the "Joan clerke my kinswoman" to whom Thomas Brooke in his will left an annuity may have been his wife's connection by her first marriage. Susan's marriage to a Clark is noted in a muddled entry in MS. Harl. 1174, f. 59b (see above, pp. 1082-83, n. 10): "Thos broke hadd ij wyfs -- late wyl to Clerke & had Cranemer & thother was -- doughter to Cranemer nep' of the Archebyshopp & had thom's." A similar error occurs in Cecil Paper 225/1, drawn up about 1571. One would have thought that the knowledge that Thomas Brooke the elder married a Cranmer would have prevented the compilers of the pedigrees in Harl. 1174 and the Cecil Paper from giving Brooke's son of that Christian name a different mother. Jasper Ridley's Thomas Cranmer (Oxford, 1962), p. 96, notes the archbishop's relationship to Thomas Brooke, mentioning Cranmer's favour to Brooke in helping him to "the house of the Grey Friars" in Canterbury because Brooke "was in Cranmer's service and had married his niece". Susan Brooke's aunt, the archbishop's sister, Anne Cartwright, was the mother-in-law of one of the sisters of Frances Newton, the wife of William Lord Cobham (see The Visitation of the County of Nottingham, ed. Marshall, p. 109, and below, pp. 1110-11, n. 39).

After the death of Thomas Brooke, Susan married again. Her third husband was Anthony, the son of Sir Hugh Vaughan of Littleton, Middlesex (Middlesex Pedigrees as Collected by Richard Mundy in Harleian MS. No. 1551, ed. Sir George John Armytage (Harleian Society Volume LXV, 1914), p. 65). By Vaughan (who was perhaps one of several illegitimate children of Sir Hugh, since his younger brother is said explicitly in the pedigree to have been "natus post nuptias"), Susan had a son, Hugh, and a daughter.

(28) Cranmer Brooke is described in his father's will as "my eldest son"; his care was entrusted to John Seth, the overseer of the will, who was "to receive . . . £ 5 towards the education of Cranmer until he is eighteen years of age". The Visitation of Kent, ed. Hovenden, p. 16, describes him in 1619 as "Crammer [sic] Brooke de Ashford Ar." and shows his wife to have been "Abell filia Joh'is Fogg Militis": she may have been the daughter of Margaret Brooke, Lady Fogg, in which case she and Cranmer were first cousins (see below, p. 1094, n. 33).

Cranmer Brooke and his issue male, his brothers and their issue male, are preferred to the female issue of the children of George Lord Cobham in the entail of the Cobham estates drawn up in the will of the baron on 13 January 1557/8 (P.C.C. Mellershe 58).

(29) Sir Edward Brooke is not mentioned in his father's will, where only his brothers, Cranmer and Thomas, are named; in MS. Harl. 6157, ff. 9b-10, only Cranmer's name was originally entered, and, although Thomas's name has been added in a different hand, there is no mention of Edward. Waller ("Lords of Cobham," Pt. 1, p. 112) calls him third son, and he is shown in The Visitation of Kent, ed. Hovenden, p. 16, where he is described as "Edwardus Brooke miles occisus in praelio". William A. Shaw's Knights of England . . . (1906), II, 98, lists an Edward Brooke as one of the knights made in 1591, on the occasion of the English expedition into France, or in 1599; the earlier date is more probably correct, since Brooke is described as "Edward Brooke, gentleman", in September 1588 (A.P.C., 1588 p. 270), while, from 20 March 1592/3 at least, he is "Sir Edward Brooke" (see H.M.C., Report 5, p. 267; Thomas Birch, An Historical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France and Brussels, from the Year 1592 to 1617 . . . (1749), p. 11). The assertion in the visitation records that he fell in battle perhaps explains the last of all the references to him, for on 4 November 1593, after a strenuous tour of duty near Ostend, he was reported by Lord Howard of Effingham to be "dangerously sick", probably of wounds of which he was soon to die (see S.P., Dom., 1591-94, pp. 382-83).

D'Elboux ("Coats of Arms in Queenborough Castle," p. 23) gives Sir Edward's arms as "Gules, on a chevron argent, a lion rampant sable, in dexter chief a crescent or for difference," the same as those assigned by D'Elboux to Sir William Brooke, the second surviving son of William Lord Cobham (p. 32, where no observation on the identity of the arms of Sir William with Sir Edward's is made). This bearing of the same arms by two members of the same family at the same time is no doubt due to Sir Edward's using his father's arms, which were those of the second surviving son of a Lord Cobham, as, of course, were Sir William's. The cadency mark of the crescent, however, which differenced the arms of a second son, ought to have been further differenced in the case of Sir Edward's achievement by a secondary crescent or mullet (depending upon whether he was his father's second or third son). See a discussion of the Elizabethan use of the six principal marks of cadency as "Sixe sundrie differences in Armes for brethren" in John Bossewell's Workes of Armorie ... (1572), sig. Biiiv. For the system of differencing the arms of grandchildren of armigers by superimposing the same marks upon the already differenced arms of their fathers, the sons of armigers, see the illustrations in John Guillim's A Display of Heraldrie ... (1611; colophon: 1610), p. 25.

(30) Thomas is omitted from The Visitation of Kent, ed. Hovenden, p. 16, but he is mentioned in his father's will as "my youngest son"; he was to have the lease of Chislett Park after his mother's death. The "Mr. Thomas Broke" who bore the "Banner of St Thomas" at the funeral of George Lord Cobham on 2 October 1558 was probably he, since the two sons of that name of the deceased baron are otherwise identified in the account of the service (MS. Ashmol. 1109, f. 49). It is possible that he was the "Thomas Cobham gentleman" who was buried at St. Dunstan's-in-the-West on 6 November 1563 (MS. 10343, sect. 3, f. 15b, of the parish registers; the entry is also to be seen in Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica, IV (1837), 117), St. Dunstan's having been his father's parish church.

(31) The Visitation of Kent, ed. Hovenden, p. 16, describes William as of Hartlipp, Kent, and states that he was escheator for Kent in 1619 ("tr. hodiernus [1619] escanter [sic: escaeter] comit' Cantii"); it gives his wife as Jane, the daughter and co-heir of John Tenacre of Boughton-under-Blene, and shows their only child to have been a daughter, Mary.

William may have been the person mentioned by John Brooke, fifth son of George Lord Cobham, in his will made on 8 February 1593/4, to which a "Will'm Brooke" was a witness (see below, p. 1133, n. 52).

William's inquisition post mortem (P.R.O., C142/479/84) was taken at East Greenwich on 22 March 1630/1; his will, cited in this document, was made on 25 October 1630. He bequeathed a part of his estate to Richard Brooke, apparently a distant relative (see above, p. 134, n. 5), while the bulk of it went to his only child, Mary, then aged twenty-one and the wife of "Nevill hall de Kennington in ... Com' Kancie Armig.", by virtue of an indenture drawn up between Brooke and his son-in-law at the time of Mary's marriage.

(32) Holinshed and MS. Harl. 6157, f. 9b, say that William died without issue. He was probably dead by the time that his father made his will in 1529, for he is not mentioned in it (see above, p. 1084, n. 12).

In MS. Harl. 1174, f. 59b (see above, pp. 11082-83, n. 10), alone, is William made the elder brother of George Lord Cobham.

(33) Margaret was her father's eldest daughter; by Fogge, the Marshal of Calais, she had one son, Edward, his heir (MS. Harl. 6157, f. 10). Sir John married twice after Margaret's death, and died in 1564; his son by her died childless in 1577 (Hasted's Kent, III, 260-61, where the pedigree does not include Abigail, the wife of Cranmer Brooke). There are fragmentary pedigrees of Fogge, an important and an extensive family descended of an aunt of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, in Drake's edition of Hasted (1886), pp. xvii, xxv, and in Josiah C. Wedgewood's History of Parliament: Biographies of the Members of the Commons House 1439-1509 (1936), under the headings of Fogge and Haute.

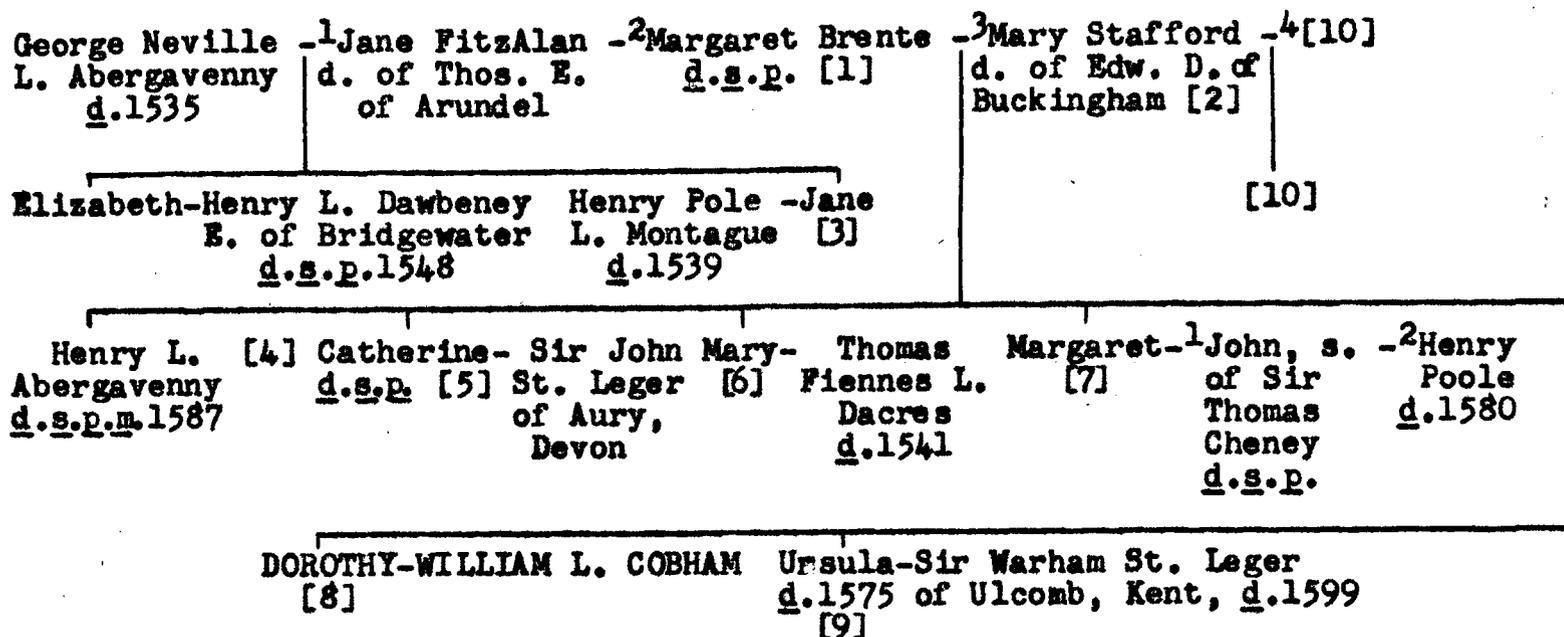
(34) William Okendon was perhaps the 'William Oxenden', esquire, who was associated with George Lord Cobham in the Marian commission against heretics of 26 April 1556 (Styrye, Ecclesiastical Memorials, III, 1, 476-77). A "Mr Okenton & his wyfe" are mentioned in the will of Faith's sister-in-law, Anne Lady Cobham, which was drawn up on 7 October 1558 (see above, p. 92); they were left £ 6.13.4. The Okendons were present at the funeral of Dorothy Lady Cobham on 4 October 1559 (see above, pp. 197-98). Faith Okendon died a widow on 1 December 1574 and was buried at Hoo in Kent; her funeral certificate, drawn up by Robert Glover, Somerset Herald, is MS. Ashmol. 836, f. 365.

(35) Elizabeth died on 8 August 1560 (MS. Harl. 897, f. 19, cited in Machyn, p. 382) and was buried in the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula, her husband being Lieutenant of the Tower, on 10 August (Machyn, p. 241, where the entry reads: "The x day of August was bered within the Towre without a offeser of armes, and (with) master Alley the nuw byshope of Excetur, and the chyrch hangyd with blake and armes, my lade Warner, the wyff of ser Edward Warner"). She had led a troubled life, first with the brilliant Wyatt (for their marital differences, see above, pp. 10-11), and then with Warner, who joined his wife's son and nephews in rebelling against Queen Mary. By Wyatt she had a son, the Sir Thomas Wyatt who was executed for treason on 11 April 1554 (see above, pp. 68-69), leaving issue by his wife Jane, the daughter of Sir William Haute of Bourne (see The Visitation of Kent, ed. Hovenden, p. 142). Elizabeth may also have had a daughter by Wyatt, a girl named Elizabeth, whom Albert McHarg Hayes ("Wyatt's Letters to His Son," Modern Language Notes, XLIX (1934), 447) tentatively identifies with a nun who was at Barking when the house was dissolved in 1539. Professor Muir doubts the identification. By Warner Elizabeth Brooke had three sons, of whom Edward is the only one mentioned in MS. Harl. 897, f. 19, while Thomas and Henry are given in the Warner pedigree in Walter Rye's Norfolk Families (Norwich, 1913), p. 1002.

(36) For the possibility that Mary Brooke, alias Cobham, the fourth wife of George Lord Abergavenny, was a daughter of Thomas Lord Cobham, see below, p. 1098, n. 38.

(37) It is stated on the monumental brass of Thomas Lord Cobham and his wives that he and Dorothy Heydon "habuerunt exitum inter eos septem filios & sex filias." One of the five children whose names are not known was she who received the attentions of Henry VIII at the time of Queen Catherine Howard's execution (see above, p. 11). For Rogers's unwarranted inclusion of Sir Edward among Cobham's sons, see above, p. 1087, n. 17.

(38) There is some difficulty in the way of establishing precisely who were the members of Dorothy Neville's family at the time when she married William Brooke (see above, pp. 28-30). The pedigree of the family in The Visitations of Kent ... 1530-1. ... And 1574 ..., ed. Bannerman, Pt. 1, p. 15, is apparently correct, but it has been generally ignored by genealogists, and one of its statements is disputed even by the herald who made the 1619 visitation of the county. The only other accurate account of the Nevilles at this period seems to be that contained in the rough jottings attributed to William Winchell in MS. Harl. 1174, f. 58 (see above, pp. 1082-83, n. 10). The persons named in the following tabular pedigree are those shown in the visitation of 1530-31, with dates added; the accompanying notes demonstrate the accuracy of the pedigree and recount the errors committed by the authorities who depart from it.



[1] The Visitation of Kent, ... 1619-21, ed. Hovenden, p. 212, contains a pedigree in which Margaret is said to have "had a dau. Jane" by George Lord Abergavenny. Nothing further is known of this Jane; if she did, in fact, exist, despite the omission of her name from the Neville pedigree in 1530-31, and the assertion in the visitation records of those years that her mother died childless, she probably died young and was remembered only by her mother's people. There is some suggestion that Margaret Brente did have a child in the entry concerning her marriage in MS. Harl. 1174, f. 58 (which says that Lord Abergavenny's "i<sup>jd</sup> wyf was m'garet brent & had --"), but, since the space left for the child's name has not been filled in, it seems likely that no one but the Brentes was able to recall what it was.

[2] The Lady Mary Stafford, daughter to Edward Duke of Buckingham, died at some time between 24 January 1529/30, when her husband referred to her as still living in the will which he made at that time, and 4 June 1535, when he made his last will and referred to her in it as dead. Both wills are registered as P.C.C. Hogen 35.

[3] There is no doubt that Lady Montague was the daughter of George Lord Abergavenny. In his will of 4 June 1535 (P.C.C. Hogen 35), the baron mentions "sir Henry poole knight Lord Mountague and Jane wife to the saide Henry daughter to me the said George". She may even have been the eldest daughter, unless Elizabeth Lady Dawbeney had died childless by 1535, since the entail of the Neville estates as set out in the will prefers Lady Montague's heirs male to her sisters and their sons. Yet genealogical authorities are unanimous in making Jane Lady Montague the sister, not the daughter of George Lord Abergavenny (see Collins's Peerage, 5th ed. (1779), VI, 291; Sir Egerton Brydges's 1812 edition of Collins, V, 161-62; Daniel Rowland, An Historical and Genealogical Account of the Noble Family of Nevill, Particularly of the House of Abergavenny ... (1830), p. 135; C.P., IX, 96).

Lord Montague, who was executed in 1539, was the grandson of George Duke of Clarence, the eldest son of Margaret Countess of Salisbury, the last Plantagenet (executed in 1541); and the father, by Jane Neville, of two children who are particularly important to the dynastic history of England. Their son Henry, rightfully Lord Montague after his father's execution, was one of the two Englishmen whom it was thought that Princess Mary might be persuaded to marry in the 1530s (see a letter of 8 July 1536 from the Spanish ambassador to the Secretary of State in Flanders, S.P., Span., V (Pt. 2), 199). He died in confinement about 1542 (see C.P., IX, 96). The other child was Jane Neville and Lord Montague was Catherine Countess of Huntingdon, who passed to her descendants the senior Plantagenet claim to the Throne.

[4] There is a reliable article on Henry Lord Abergavenny in the Complete Peerage. When he died without sons (his brothers, John and Thomas, having died without issue at some time after 1535, since they are mentioned in their father's will), the male representation of the Nevilles fell to a first cousin, with the main line of the family continuing in Mary Lady Fane, Baroness Le Despenser, the only child of Henry Lord Abergavenny.

[5] The marriage of Catherine Neville with Sir John St. Leger had been contracted but not consummated by 4 June 1535, when George Lord Abergavenny made his will (P.C.C. Hogen 35). In the will, St. Leger is described as still in his nonage. The St. Legers had no children; see the pedigree in The Visitations of Kent, ed. Bannerman, Pt. 2, p. 69.

[6] Collins's Peerage, VI, 294, says that Mary Lady Dacres was born in 1535 and was the daughter of Lord Abergavenny's fourth and last marriage, made after the time of the visitation of 1530-31 (see below, n. [10]). Collins probably followed Joseph Edmondson's edition of Baronagium Genealogicum . . . . Originally Compiled . . . by S<sup>r</sup> William Segar . . . [c.1765], p. 351, in making this assertion. B. Longmate's corrective Supplement to Collins (1784), by showing that Mary Lady Dacres must have been born far earlier than 1535 to give birth to the children of a man who died in 1541, points out Collins's error. Further proof that Mary was born before her father made his will in 1535 is contained in a reference in the will to her contract of marriage with Lord Dacres, and in Lord Abergavenny's giving to his executors "the Rule guyding and custodye of Thomas ffenys lorde Dacre during all the noneage of the foresaide lorde Dacre" (P.C.C. Hogen 35). Lord and Lady Dacres's sons were Thomas and Gregory, the latter of whom was Lord Dacres's heir when, in 1541, the baron was executed for his part in the accidental death in a fray of a gamekeeper. Although the title was forfeited when Lord Dacres was sentenced to death, it was restored for Gregory, who died childless in 1594, and who was succeeded by his only sister, Margaret Lennard; although her title was not confirmed until 1604, seven years before she died, Margaret was always known as Baroness Dacres, and her descendants bore the title. See the article on Dacres, or Dacre of the South, in the Complete Peerage.

[7] Margaret had already been affianced to "John Chayney sonne and heire apparaunte of sir Thomas Chayny Knight" when her father made his will in 1535. Thus the note in the visitation records of 1530-31 to the effect that Cheney died without issue and that his widow married Henry Poole must have been added after the original visitation was made, since Cheney was certainly still alive in 1535. Margaret's second husband made his will on 28 January 1579/80 as "Henry Poole of Dychling [Ditchling] in the county of Sussex Esquier" (P.C.C. Arundell 15). He left a widow, "Margarett my wyffe", who proved his will on 5 May 1580, and at least four sons, and made bequests to his brother-in-law, "my good lord the right honorable Henry Lord Aburgavenny". Poole's will thus corroborates the statement in the visitation records that Margaret Neville married Henry Poole. Collins's Peerage, VI, 294, however, gives Margaret only one husband, Cheney, and invents another Jane Neville, who is made out to be the Lady Mary Stafford's daughter and the "wife of Sir Henry Poole, Knt.". Collins's invention (which is accepted by Brydges, V, 164) was obviously made to explain the reference in Lord Abergavenny's will to Sir Henry and Lady Jane Pole, Lord and Lady Montague (see above, n. [3]), whom Collins had made Abergavenny's brother-in-law and sister, not son-in-law and daughter. The description of Pole or Poole as 'Lord Mountague', however, Collins left unexplained.

[8] See above, p. 28, for the reference in Lord Abergavenny's will to the marriage of Dorothy with William Lord Cobham, and pp. 195-99 for her death and burial.

[9] "Vrsula my yongest daughter" is referred to as yet unmarried and unaffianced in Lord Abergavenny's will of 1535. By Sir Warham St. Leger she had a large family, of whom, as descendants of royalty through their mother's mother, an extensive pedigree is given in the Marquis of Ruvigny and Raineval's The Plantagenet Roll of the Blood Royal, Being a Complete Table of All the Descendants Now Living of Edward III., King of England (The Mortimer-Percy Volume (1911), Pt. 1, Table 28, and pp. 501-03). A less complete pedigree is given in The Visitations of Kent, ed. Bannerman, Pt. 2, p. 69.

[10] George Lord Abergavenny is said by all genealogical authorities to have married as his fourth and last wife Mary Brooke, or Cobham, who had been his 'concubine' (Collins's Peerage, VI, 294). No one has established the parentage of this Mary, nor has anyone discovered what became of the child whom she was carrying when Abergavenny made his last will on 4 June 1535 (P.C.C. Hogen 35). (Collins's statement that this child became Mary Lady Dacres is erroneous: see above, n. [6].) In the will Abergavenny says, rather elliptically, "I will that mary Broke otherwise called Marye Cobhm in consideracion that she hath been my seruaunte and so I did accept her seruice that she hath seamed vnto me by suche love and fauor [sic] as I haue borne to her to haue taken her my bedfellowe in marriage and she being greates w<sup>t</sup> childe in the latter dayes of my life I hauing respecte aswell to the lyving of th<sup>t</sup> childe as for the lyving and profite of the said Mary during her life and the childe haue geuen and graunted by my deade of feoffament and the graunte and Reuercions together sealed w<sup>t</sup> the seale of myn armes and signed w<sup>t</sup> myn propre hande aswell as the desease of the pawlyce will suffer me to doo it of and in the Maunoures of Walesbeche Beu'ynngton Randeviles and grymers in the Countie of Sussex." There seems to have been some doubt in Abergavenny's mind that his son and heir, the son of the Lady Mary Stafford and thus the child of the 'wronged wife' during Mary Brooke's time of 'concubinage', would honour the terms of the will providing for Mary Brooke in her widowhood. Thus, at the end of the bequest, Abergavenny says that he wills "that my sonne Henry or enny other th<sup>t</sup> shal happen to be myn next heire doo not in enny maner of waye evicte or put oute the same Mary or her childe during their naturall lifes and the longest liuer of them as he or they that be myn heires woolde haue the grace of good fortune in this life with my blissing and the blissing of our Lorde in hevin."

There is no other mention of Mary Brooke. Her husband's will was not proved until 4 July 1536, thirteen months after he made it, so that, since the exact date of the baron's death is not known, it is possible that her child was born before its father died. The obscurity of Mary's career makes it impossible to say more about her than that she was obviously of the family of the Brookes of Cobham, and was perhaps even a younger daughter of Thomas Lord Cobham, or even of John Lord Cobham. Her status as a servant in Abergavenny's household, however, suggests that she was of lower rank than that of a baron's acknowledged daughter. She may have been illegitimate, but, since none of the Lords Cobham is known to have begot bastard children, this supposition is of no use in tracing her paternity. Rowland, writing the official history of the Lords Abergavenny under the auspices of the head of the family in 1830, omits her entirely from his account of her husband's wives and children; probably her marriage was a left-handed one, which the baron's successors chose to ignore. Mary has always been a mysterious figure and probably will never be anything more than that.

(39) Frances Lady Cobham came from a large and distinguished family, one of the branches of which produced Sir Isaac Newton. The family, however, has not been thoroughly studied, except in so far as the great scientist's connection with it has seemed to justify (see the extensive pedigree in Misc. Gen. et Her., I (1874), 169-75, and the correspondence among William John Lord Monson, H.T. Ellacombe, C.S. Greaves, J.J. Cradock Newton and others in N. & Q., 2nd ser., XII, 351, 399, and 3rd ser., I, 97, 190-91). Of Lady Cobham's own line there has been only one notable student, H.T. Ellacombe, whose article on "Barre's Court, or Hannam, in the Parish of Bitton, co. Gloucester, and the Family of Newton, alias Cradock," first published in the Herald and Genealogist, IV (1868), 435 ff., was printed as a book of the same name in 1869; and whose History of the Parish of Bitton, in the County of Gloucester (Exeter, 1881-83) contains a section (pp. 99-109) devoted to the family. Ellacombe gives copious details of the antecedents of Sir John Newton, Lady Cobham's father, showing that the proper surname of the family was Caradoc (hence the frequent allusions to Sir John as 'Newton, alias Cradock') and that it

was allied to much of the mediaeval nobility and higher gentry.\* He relies, however, largely upon John Leland, the great Henrican antiquary, and so repeats much of what may be read in Holinshed, III, 1510-11. Perhaps the most interesting item among Ellacombe's published researches is the confirmation of Sir John's arms (MS. Ashm. 334, p. 34), granted to the knight in 1567, seven years after Lady Cobham's marriage; it permitted him to bear "twelve several coates' or quarterings, viz. Cradock alias Newton, Sherborne, Angle, Piroc, Harvie, Chedder, Hampton, Bitton, Furneaulx, Caudecot, Corney alias Gourney, and Harterie or Harptree", all important names in the West Country (Herald and Genealogist, IV, 438-39). The confirmation of arms is printed in full in N. & Q., 1st ser., II, 428-29.) The usefulness of Ellacombe's work to a study of the immediate family of Sir John Newton, however, is vitiated by two serious errors. One is the statement that Sir John married twice, and the other the assertion that his tomb shows him to have been the father of twenty-five children (see Herald and Genealogist, IV, 437, for the undocumented pedigree showing that "Joan, a second wife, survived him," and that by his first wife he had thirteen daughters and six sons; and the History of Bitton, pp. 100, 104, for the repetition of these statements and the additional misinformation that his tomb bears the kneeling figures of ten sons and fifteen daughters). Since Sir John's only wife survived him, and was called Margaret, not 'Joan', and since his tomb shows eight sons and twelve daughters, it seems wise to ignore Ellacombe, and to return to more primary authorities than those which he seems to have used, for the following account of Lady Cobham's family.

In the south porch of the church at East Harptree, Bristol (formerly in Somerset), is the restored tomb of Sir John Newton. According to the present rector of East Harptree, the Rev. John Ainger (in a letter of 3 January 1962), "Originally the tomb occupied the whole of the East End of the Church until the people became restive at having their church turned into a kind of mortuary chapel and broke up the tomb and scattered the fragments of it about the churchyard. These pieces were eventually collected together by relatives and friends of the family and assembled in the porch about 80 years ago." This account agrees with the inscription now to be seen on the tomb: "Hunc tumulum, primo ad orientalem partem cancellae, in loco altaris, pro pudor: exstructum: deinde multis post annis partim dejectum et dispersum: colligendum, et hoc in situ denuo erigendum curaverunt consanguinei quidam et affines. A.D. MDCCCLXXXIII." How long the tomb had stood before being desecrated one cannot say: on the south end of it is an inscription to the effect that it was erected in 1605 by the widowed Catherine Paston, Lady Newton, Sir John's daughter-in-law, but the only clue to the date of its unceremonious removal from the chancel is the Latin statement that it was dismantled many years ('multis ... annis') before 1883. It was probably standing in its original position at least as late as the years just before 1791, for John Collinson, in his History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset, Collected from Authentick Records, and an Actual Survey made by the late Mr. Edmund Rack ... (Bath, 1791), III, 588, made no comment upon anything untoward which had happened to it when he wrote of it then. Collinson said that it bore the figures of eight sons and twelve daughters, as it does today, following the reconstruction; the twenty children are shown kneeling in rows on either sides of an open prayer book, and their figures, undoubtedly the originals, form too complete a frieze to make one suspect that any have been lost. Ellacombe's assertion that the tomb bore, in the last century, twenty-five figures is thus inexplicable, especially since the pieces had not been reassembled when he published his parish history.\*\*\*

\* MS. Rawlinson B.66, f. 91, in the Bodleian Library, shows that among these mediaeval connections of the Newtons was one which gave William Lord Cobham and Frances Newton, his wife, a common ancestor in the person of Joan Lady Brooke, the mother of the Sir Thomas Brooke who married Joan Braybrooke and founded the line of the Brooke Lords Cobham. The manuscript shows that Lady Brooke, before her marriage to Sir Thomas Brooke the elder, had been married to Robert Chedder, Mayor of Bristol, and had had by him Thomas Chedder. One of Thomas Chedder's two daughters and co-heirs was Joan Viscountess Lisle, the great-grandmother of the Duke of Northumberland who ruled England under Edward VI. The other daughter was Isabel, who mar-

On the top of the tomb lies Sir John in armour, above this inscription:

Here Lieth y<sup>e</sup> Body of S<sup>r</sup> John Newton Knight who Married Margaret  
Daughter of S<sup>r</sup> Anthony Pointz Knight By Whome he Had Issue Eight  
Sons and Twelve Daughters And Departed this Life the 10<sup>th</sup> of April 1568  
In Assured Hope of A joyfull Resurrection.

What merit Honour brings and all Worlds Pride  
When fatall stroke Rents thread of Mortal wight  
If Sacred Vertue Have not been the Guid<sup>e</sup> [sic]  
That manag'd all with Gifts of matchless might  
Which well hee knew that Here interred is  
Whose Vertues rare Proclaime his endless Bliss.

The eulogized Sir John had apparently had an estate at East Harptree (he is described in the Newton pedigree in MS. Harl. 1559, f. 83b, as "of hartre" and his son and heir as of "Esthartre"). The confirmation of arms printed by Ellacombe (see above) calls him "Sir John Newton, of Richmond Castell, in the countie of Somerset", but even in 1542, according to Leland, "of Richmond Castell by Mendep, fiue miles from Wels ... all the building ... [was] cleane downe" (Holinshed, III, 1511). Leland found Sir John seated at 'Barmecourte' (Barrs Court) in Hannam, Gloucestershde, a house on the edge of the forest of Kingswood.\*\*\* Sir John appears to have stayed close to these West Country estates; his names never crops up in connection with national affairs. He died, as the inscription on his tomb states and the inquisition post mortem taken on 11 June 1568 confirms (P.R.O., Cl42/148/30, formerly -/31, copied as E150/952/4), on 10 April 1568; his will (P.C.C. Babington 22), made on 23 August 1561, shows his preoccupation with the responsibility of marrying off his many daughters: "Item I gyve and bequeath to eu'y eche of my daughters as shall happen to be vnmarried at the tyme of my death to every of them one hundreth Poundes of good and lawfull money of england. Item my wyll is that if it shall happen any of my daughters to be married or contracted in my life tyme and before that they shall happen to be paied of their said legacy, it shall happen me to dye, then I will they shall haue eu'y of them One hundreth Poundes. And for that there may A doubtte or question be of my daughters who they be that shall receave this my bequest and legacy I therefore thinke it good by this my present testament to explane and openly name my said daughters the wch shall by this my present testament haue and perceyve [sic: receive] eu'y of them one hundreth poundes as is aforsaid I will that Jane Newton, Bridget Newton, Grace Newton, Theophil Newton and Nazareth Newton my daughters being now vnmarried shall haue the same." Sir John constituted "Dame Margaret my wife and Henry Newton my

ried Sir John Newton and was the grandmother of the Sir John Newton who was Lady Cobham's father. Joan Lady Brooke was thus, by her first husband, ancestress of Frances Newton, and, by her second, ancestress of William Lord Cobham. The provenance of MS. Rawlinson B.66 is discussed below, pp. 1103-04.

\*\* Ellacombe says (History of Bitton, p. 104): "The ecclesiastical taste of the present generation has suggested the removal of this monument. The canopy with its Ionic columns has been destroyed, and the tomb alone remains. It sustains on its summit a very indifferent figure of the knight in armour, bareheaded, and his hands raised in prayer. In front, in bas-relief, are kneeling figures of ten sons and fifteen daughters." The tomb is reproduced in a photograph above, p. 201.

\*\*\* Barrs Court is sometimes said by modern writers to have been located in Somerset (see C.P., VI, 184), perhaps because Sir John, having had a house at East Harptree, was occasionally said in his own lifetime to have been a Somerset man.

The house, located in what is now the Kingswood area of Bristol, has completely vanished, although in 1868 Ellacombe was able to write that "the site is still marked by a moat: and over the door of the present farm-house remain the Newton arms, beautifully wrought in stone, though much mutilated" (Herald and Genealogist, IV, 435). Generally called Barrs Court or Barrscourt, the name of the house was

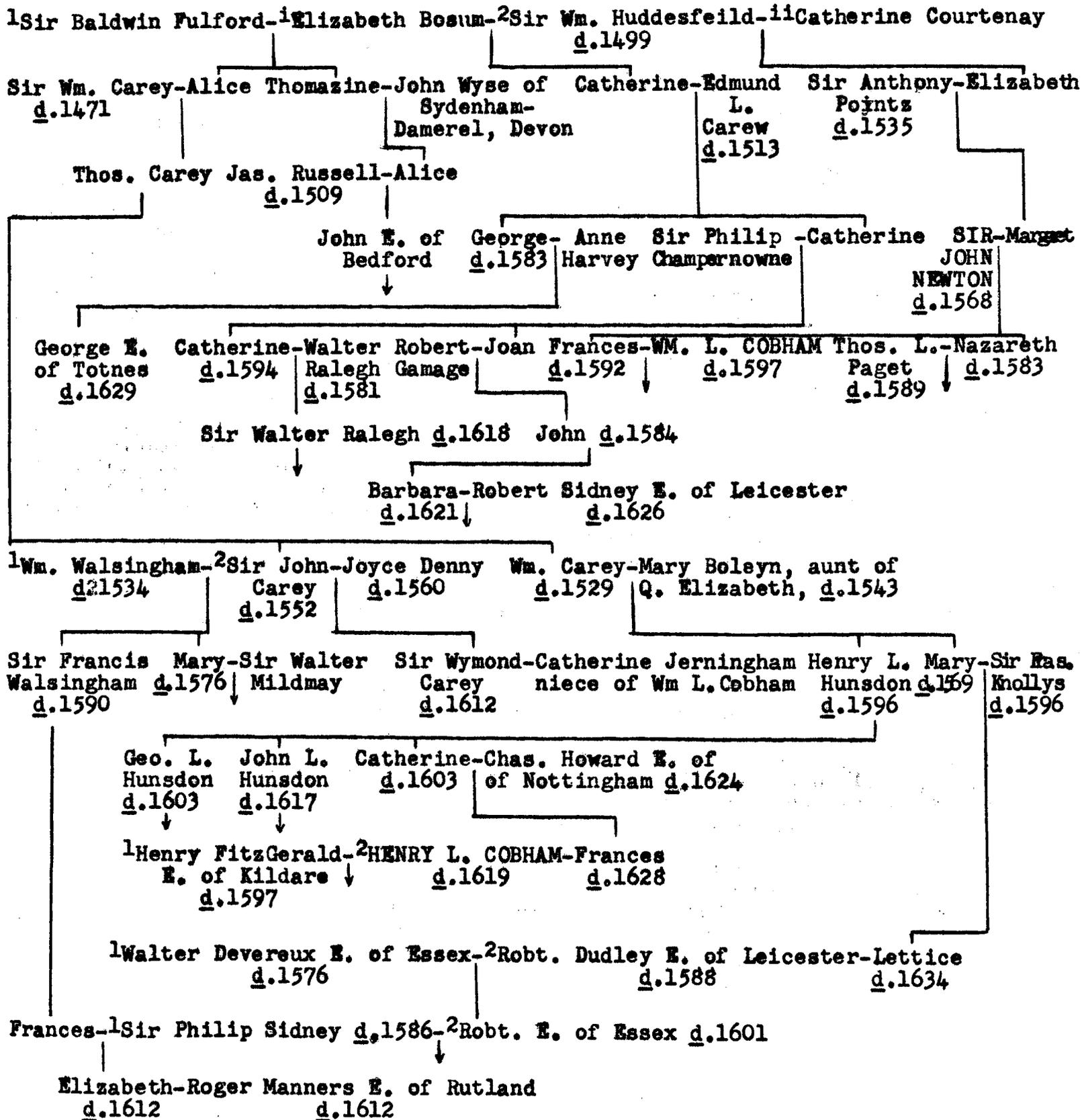
sonne and heire apparaunte my sole and hole Executors". That this same wife out-lived him, despite Ellacombe's assertion that his widow's name was Joan, is proved by the probate, which on 17 November 1568 gave the administration of the will to "Henrici Newton, Executor" and "Dñe Margarete Newton Relic' et executric". Eric Mercer, mentioning Sir John's tomb (English Art 1553-1625 (Oxford, 1962), p. 224), says incorrectly that the knight died in 1560.

One of the overseers of the will was "Sir Nicholas Poyntes", whose name indicates the circles into which Sir John Newton's marriage brought him.\*\*\*\* For Margaret, his wife, was the daughter of Sir Anthony Pointz of Iron Acton, Gloucestershire, the head of a family whose ramifications extended throughout the whole knightly class and even into the aristocracy: as Fuller says, "Remarkable the Antiquity of this Name and Family" (The History of the Worthies of England ..., ed. John Nichols (1811), I, 391). The pedigree in Sir John Maclean's Historical and Genealogical Memoir of the Family of Poyntz, or Eight Centuries of an English House (Exeter, 1886) (also printed in the Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society for 1887-88, XII (Bristol, 1888), 150-55) shows how extensive the Pointz connections were. It shows, for instance, that Margaret Lady Newton was a sort of cousin of the Tudors themselves: her grandmother Margaret, the wife of Sir Robert Pointz, was the illegitimate daughter of Anthony Earl Rivers, brother of Queen Elizabeth Woodville. (In 1584 Sir Nicholas Pointz, Lady Newton's nephew and the overseer of her husband's will, sought to prove that the Pointz-Tudor connection was not a base one. Printed in The Stradling Correspondence ..., ed. John Montgomery Traherne (1840), pp. 284-85, is his letter to Sir Edward Stradling, the head of the family to which Rivers's mistress had belonged, seeking to establish that his ancestress actually was born of a properly solemnized marriage between the earl and Gwentlian Stradling, "whereas the haroulds would pswade me the same Margrett to be a bastarde". The 'haroulds' were persistent: in 1610 Thomas Milles was still saying (p. 1118) that Margaret was Rivers's "Issue by a Concubine".) Maclean's pedigree also shows that Lady Newton's mother was Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir William Huddesfeild and Catherine Courtenay, and thus a relative of the Raleghs, the Carews and the Careys, and, eventually, through the latter, of the Knollyses and the Earls of Essex: significant connections, which are set out in the following tabular pedigree which shows the relationship of Frances Lady Cobham's children to the leaders of Elizabethan Court society. The table is based upon the articles on Carey, Fulford and Huddesfeild in John Prince's Danmonii Orientales Illustres: or, The Worthies of Devon ... (ed. 1810); the pedigrees of Carew (p. 36), Champernowne (p. 47) and Wyse (p. 221) in The Visitation of the County of Devon In the Year 1564, With Additions from the Earlier Visitation of

variously spelled. In Sir John's will it is "Barres courte in the Countie of Gloucest'"; in the will of his eldest son it is written "Barrzcorte"; in the inscription on the tomb of this same eldest son in Bristol Cathedral it is "Barrs Court"; in the parish registers of Bitton it is occasionally "Barouscourt" (see The Registers of Bitton, co. Gloucester. Baptisms, 1572-1674. Burials, 1572-1668. Marriages, 1571-1674, transcribed by P.W.P. Carlyon-Britton (1900), p. 11); and in the patent of 16 August 1660 conferring a baronetcy upon Sir John's great-grandson it is "Barscote" (the Complete Baronetage, III, 109).

\*\*\*\* The other overseer was Gilbert Berkeley, the staunchly Protestant Bishop of Bath and Wells, whose exact relationship with the noble Berkeleys is not known but whose arms were a variant of theirs (see the biography in D.N.B.). His connection with them is perhaps further indicated by the fact that Joan, the daughter of Thomas Lord Berkeley, was the mother of the Sir Nicholas Pointz who acted with the bishop in supervising the execution of Newton's will.

1531, ed. Thomas Frederic Colby (Exeter, 1881); Maclean's Memoir of Poyntz; the pedigree of Raleigh in Edward Edwards's The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh... (1868), I, 8; the information concerning the Gamage (who were also closely related to the Earl of Nottingham, Henry Lord Cobham's father-in-law, the earl's mother having been the sister of the Robert Gamage shown in the pedigree) in The Stradling Correspondence, ed. Traherne, pp. 5 n., 22; and the articles on the Carey family by C.J. Robinson, "Carey: Viscounts Falkland," and "Carey, Barons Hunsdon, &c.," in the Herald and Genealogist, III (1866), 33-54, 129-46, and IV (1867), 33-48. An abstract of the table has been published in N. & Q., new ser., X (1963), 54.



The foregoing pedigree, showing the connections of the Brookes of Cobham with enough of the rest of the Elizabethan nobility and higher gentry to suggest how they might have been linked with all of the great houses, answers the question which was raised in the last century by Sir John Maclean and which has not previously been satisfactorily solved. (See Maclean's statement in his edition of the Letters from Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew (Camden Society, 1864), p. 78, that the "relationship between [George] Carew [Lord Totnes] and the Brookes is not traced," which followed his attempts made in 1863 in N. & Q., 3rd ser., IV, 228, to discover what the connection was. Drake, in his edition of Hasted's Kent, p. xxii, after observing that Maclean had sought unsuccessfully for the link, states that "the connection was through the Newtons," but then goes on to posit as proof of his assertion an unsubstantiated and remote descent of both Sir John Newton's great-grandmother, Emma (Harvey) Lady Newton, and Anne Carew (née Harvey), the mother of the Earl of Totnes, from a common ancestor.)

Of alliances made after the time of Margaret Pointz's marriage with Sir John Newton, Maclean's pedigree includes those of Margaret's father with his second wife, a sister of the first Lord Vaux; of Margaret's brother with a daughter of Lord Berkeley; of her sister with Sir Edward Gorges (see below, p. 1118); of her nephew with a daughter of the Earl of Derby; of one of her nieces with a bastard brother of the Lord Protector Somerset, and of another with Sir Thomas Heneage, Queen Elizabeth's Vice-Chamberlain. Such a list could be continued almost indefinitely. Nor is it one of merely genealogical interest: many of the Pointz connections which the Brookes made by the marriage of William Lord Cobham with Frances Newton were recognized in the sixteenth century, as is indicated by the number of Pointzes and Pointz descendants who referred to the Brookes as cousins and kinsmen.

There is no single authority which names all the individuals in whom the heritages of Newton and Pointz were combined. It is not even known how many of them there were. Discounting Ellacombe's unsubstantiated assertion that Sir John Newton had twenty-five children, one is still faced with two conflicting statements: it is said on Sir John's tomb that he and Margaret Pointz had eight sons and twelve daughters, while on the tomb of one of these children, Jane Lady Fitz-James, it is said that they had seventeen daughters (the sons are not mentioned).<sup>\*</sup> Further complicating the matter is the allusion in the will of the eldest son to a bastard brother and sister. In default of any one source of information about these many children, one must take as one's starting point in any study of them a pedigree in the Bodleian Library, contained in MS. Rawlinson B.66, ff. 91b-92. This pedigree seems, for the following reasons, to have been drawn up by Sir John's eldest son, Sir Henry Newton. (1) The notes which precede the pedigree are introduced, on f. 89b, by the words: "Note this pedegree of my Ladye Newton my grand greate grandmother." The first item under this heading is a transcription (marginally annotated: "taken out of an old paper writinge") of a letter which may be presumed, from internal references, to have been written between 1483 and 1491 and addressed to one Richard Trevelyan. The writer of the letter was obviously a very old person who had been asked by his young relative, Trevelyan, for information about their family and connections; the letter accordingly begins, "Richard as to the kindred that y<sup>e</sup> and your brethren be vnto my Ladie it [it: crossed out] Newton", and goes on to show Trevelyan how he and various members of the nobility and gentry are descended of "a gentleman in Glocestersheire that his name was Hanham soo farr forth as I beare in mynde ...." In the course of the letter, and in the tabular pedigree deduced from it and set down on ff. 90b-91 (which contains a continuation of the lines brought down only to about 1490 in the letter), Sir Henry Newton and Frances Lady Cobham are shown to be the great-grandchildren of an Isabel Chedder, Lady Newton. The curious phrase on f. 89b, "my grand greate grandmother", could thus have been written by Sir Henry Newton if, having started to describe Isabel Chedder as his grandmother, he realized that she was one genera-

<sup>\*</sup> The statement in the Complete Peerage, X, 282, that Sir John and Lady Newton had six daughters is based upon a misconstruction of the knight's will, in which are named only the six daughters who were yet unmarried in 1561. The statement in The

tion further removed from him that at first he had thought, and therefore, forgetting to delete the mistaken word 'grand', corrected himself and wrote "greate grandmother". (2) The only dates actually set down in the pedigree are attached to Sir Henry's own name, to his daughter's, or to those of his sisters. Thus, on f. 91, he is described as "Henry nowe [living] 1586"; on f. 91b (where the Newton line, which is merely outlined in the old letter, is given in detail), Sir Henry's only child at this time is entered precisely as "ffraunces a da: aetatis. 15. annorū 1579", and his youngest sister is described as the wife of "Thomas Lo: Paget that nowe is 1579". (3) Whereas many families, including the Newtons, are shown somewhat sketchily in the pedigree deduced from the letter and continued up to 1586 on ff. 90b-91, only that of Newton is worked out in detail: ff. 91b-92 show its descent from a Norman (?) knight, "Stephanus de Angle", down to the generation of the children of Sir Henry, his brothers and sisters, and on f. 91b there is a drawing of the complete, twelve-quartered coat of arms of Newton of Barrs Court. These three circumstances were evidently those which led Thomas B. Allen to describe the table on ff. 91b-92 as "an authentic pedigree in the Bodleian Library, dated 1579 and drawn by Henry, eldest son of Sir John Newton" (Misc. Gen. et Her., I (1868), 78). They justify one in referring to the work as Sir Henry's pedigree, and in accepting it as the most important single piece of evidence relating to the children of Sir John Newton. Fragmentary pedigrees are found elsewhere: Sir Henry and Lady Cobham are shown in MS. Harl. 1559, f. 83b; they, a brother of theirs and four sisters are given in MS. Harl. 1041, f. 57, in a pedigree also to be seen in The Visitation of the County of Gloucester, Taken in the Year 1623 . . . , edd. Sir John Maclean and W.C. Hearne (Harleian Society Volume XXI, 1885), p. 115; and six brothers and seven sisters (Lady Cobham being among those omitted) are given in a table obviously derived from Sir Henry's pedigree (although purporting to be from Collinson's Somerset, III, 588, where no such table is given) in The Visitations of the County of Somerset, In the Years 1531 and 1575, Together with Additional Pedigrees, Chiefly from the Visitation of 1591, ed. Frederic William Weaver (Exeter, 1885), p. 55. None of these authorities, however, has any information which is not to be found in Sir Henry's pedigree. Yet, since even Sir Henry's work names only six of the eight sons whom Sir John is shown on his tomb to have fathered, and since it names thirteen daughters, one more than the number shown on the same tomb but four fewer than that stated on Lady FitzJames's tomb, one must supplement this pedigree with material derived from other sources. Following is a note on each of the children of whom anything is known. The notes are given in the order in which Sir Henry entered his brothers and sisters in his pedigree, with those relating to the children whom he omitted (because of their illegitimacy or for other reasons) set down with the others. Since it is futile even to attempt to place the children, male and female, in the order of their births, they are here listed as men first, women after.

[1] Sir Henry Newton, described in his own pedigree as "of Richmond Castle in Com<sup>t</sup> Somerset mar. Katherine da: of S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Paston knighte", was born about 1529 or 1530: in his father's inquisition post mortem (P.R.O., C142/148/30), he is described as having been of the age of "trigint<sup>o</sup> septem Annor<sup>o</sup> et Amplius" at the time of his father's death on 10 April 1568. He was probably his parents' seventh child (see below, under the heading of the Newtons' fifth daughter). He was knighted in 1592 (Shaw, II, 90), and, like his father, seems never to have taken any significant part in national affairs. His only recorded contact with his sister Frances's family, the Brookes, suggests contention between him and his nephew George, over the will of Jane Lady FitzJames (see below, under the heading of the Newtons' fifth daughter). Sir Henry made his will (P.C.C. Kidd 49) on 15 January 1598/9; it mentions his wife, his children, and several nephews and nieces, but none of the Brookes, and was proved by his widow on 11 June 1599. He

Visitation of Nottinghamshire, ed. Marshall, p. 109, that Jane Lady FitzJames was one of seventeen children is undoubtedly based upon a misreading of the inscription on the lady's tomb.

had died on 2 May 1599 and was buried in Bristol Cathedral two days later (The Parish Registers of Bitton, p. 83). On his splendid tomb is the inscription:

Here lyeth Sr Henry Newton of Barrs Court in the County of Gloucester Knight, who Married Katherine the Daughter of Sr Tho<sup>s</sup> Paston of Norfolk Knight, by whom He had 2 Sons, & 4 Daughters, and when He had Lived Full 70 Years Religiously towards God, Loyally towards his Prince, And Virtuously towards Men, ended his life in the Year of Grace 1599, In assured hope of a Glorious Resurrection.

Gurney, Hampton, Cradock Newton, last  
Held on the measure of that antient line  
Of Barons Blood, full Seventy Years he past,  
And did in Peace his Sacred Soul Resign:  
His Christ he Lov'd, he Lov'd to feed the Poor,  
Such Love assures a Life, that Dies no more.

As he and his brothers and sisters are depicted on the tomb which his widow raised in 1605 to her father-in-law (see above, pp. 1099-1100), so on Sir Henry's own monument are his six children shown, sculptured in alabaster and kneeling in profile along the front of the slab upon which their father's effigy lies. The figure of Frances, the eldest child, is remarkably executed, and sports a most elegant drop earring; Canon A.R. Millbourn, commenting upon the more interesting of the minor features of the cathedral, says that "among all the minutiae there is surely none to compare with the earring" (The Friends of Bristol Cathedral, Report & Notes, 1961-1962, p. 9). The whole tomb is described in detail in Ida M. Roper's Monumental Effigies of Gloucestershire and Bristol (Gloucester, 1931), pp. 24-30.

Of the six children commemorated in the inscription on Sir Henry's tomb, and the other daughter who is known to have existed, one son and two daughters died before their father made his will, for in it Sir Henry says that "it hath pleased God to blesse me w<sup>th</sup> Children, that is to say, One sonne, and Three daughters (of which ffrances my daughter hath bin maryed)." One of the daughters who died young was perhaps "Nazareth the daughter of henry newton knight" who was buried on 14 January 1597/8 or 1600/1, there being identical entries in The Parish Registers of Bitton, pp. 82, 109, for each of these years. Who the son was who predeceased his father is not known. The surviving four children, and the other daughter who died before Sir Henry, alone are mentioned in the pedigrees in MSS. Harl. 1559 and 1041; they were Sir Theodore Newton, his father's heir, born on 1 April 1584 (The Parish Registers of Bitton, p. 7); Frances, born, according to Sir Henry's pedigree, about 1564, and married before 1599 to Giles Strangways, a grandson of Sir John Thynne of Longleat (see The Visitation of the County of Dorset ..., ed. John Paul Rylands (Harleian Society Volume XX, 1885), p. 87); Elizabeth, married to John Judcott; Anne; and Margaret, who died unmarried, apparently before 14 June 1600, when her mother, brother and sisters but not she contested the will of Frances Lady Pointz (P.C.C. Wallop 49; see below).

Sir Henry's wife had been to Spain in her youth, in attendance upon the English Duchess of Feria (see Gustav Ungerer, Anglo-Spanish Relations in Tudor Literature (Berne, 1956), p. 78). The only record of Lady Newton's activities during her widowhood is a letter which she wrote from "Channan Rowe" (where her nephew, George Brooke, had a house: see above, p. 770) to Sir Robert Cecil on 20 April 1600: "I am given to understand that one Mr. Robert Chamberlen of Oxfordshire lies dangerously sick in Sante Bartellmes, whose son shall be her Majesty's ward. If it so fall out, I pray you let me have his wardship" (H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, X, 117). Joel Hurstfield cites her letter in illustration of the "considerable measure of skill and experience" which women brought to the pursuit of lucrative wardships (The Queen's Wards: Wardship and Marriage under Elizabeth I (1958), p. 65).

Sir Theodore's son, a great royalist in the Civil Wars, was created a baronet in 1660 but died without issue in the following year, whereupon Barrs

Court and the title passed out of the family to a remote cousin from Lincolnshire (see the Complete Baronetage, III, 109).

[2] John Newton of Bristol is shown in Sir Henry's pedigree, and in MSS. Harl. 1041, f. 57, and 1559, ff. 20b, 135b-136, to have been the second son. His wife, according to these authorities, was rather oddly named: she was Anthony (sometimes written 'Antholin' but never 'Antonia'), second of the five daughters of Henry Clarke of Wells (an Edwardian Member of Parliament and the brother of John Clarke, Bishop of Bath and Wells: see Roper, p. 141) who are named in their father's will of 3 September 1564 (P.C.C. Tyrwhitt 27, proved on 20 June 1582). Anthony's sisters apparently died without issue, because, in MS. Harl. 1559, ff. 20b, 136, she is called her father's heir. She has been identified as the subject of an effigy which was in St. Peter's, Bristol, until the church was destroyed in the last war, on which was a modern inscription: "This monument was erected to the Memory of a Maiden [sic] Lady, an ancestor of the Family of the Newtons of Barrs Court in the County of Gloucester about 250 years since" (Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society for 1904, XVII (Bristol, 1904), 91. See also the same journal, XXXII (1909), 293-94.)

The only child of John and Anthony Newton was a daughter, Frances, whose name is entered in Sir Henry's pedigree and who was therefore born before 1579. She is mentioned in Sir Henry's will of 15 January 1598/9 as "my neese ffrances the daughter of my brother John Newton". It is difficult to establish whom Frances married, because both Sir John Pointz (1560-1633) and George Upton of Wells (c.1554-1609) seem to have been her husband. As evidence of her marriage with Pointz, the son and heir of the Sir Nicholas Pointz who supervised Sir John Newton's will and who was thus Frances's second cousin, there is her nuncupative will of 28 October 1599 (P.C.C. Wallop 49), by which she made her husband her sole heir. She had been his third wife, and, according to Maclean (Memoir of Poyntz p. 110), died on 1 November 1599. The will was contested by the heirs of Sir Henry Newton ("ffranciscā Newton, als Strangewaies ... Katherinā Newton viduā, Theodorū, Elizabethā et Annā Newton"), but the administration of Frances Lady Pointz's estate was granted on 14 June 1600 to Sir John, her husband. Thus Maclean (pp. 88, 110) and the pedigree of Sydenham (the family from which Sir John's first two wives had come) in Misc. Gen. et Her., III (1890), 327, accept Sir John Pointz as Frances Newton's husband. The evidence of her marriage with Upton, however, is strong enough to make one doubt the case for the Pointz marriage. In the Newton pedigree in MS. Harl. 1559, ff. 20b, 136, Frances, as "d. & sole h. to John, s. to Sir John Newton", is shown to have married George Upton of Cornwall, and to have had by him "ffrances upton d. & sole heire"; this entry is accepted by Weaver in his Visitations of Somerset, p. 105, where, however, the territorial designation "of Cornwall" is changed to "of Wells, 1591", and the daughter, Frances Upton, is said to have died without issue. There is no mention of Frances Newton in the monumental inscription on the tomb of George Upton in the Lord Mayor's Chapel, Bristol, which reads in part:

Memoriae aeternae

Viri optimi et ornatissimi Georgii Upton Armigeri  
Qui cum .55. Años bene vixisset, placida obdormavit  
Januarii 25 natali suo An. Do. 1608[/9]

(see the transcription of the complete inscription in Roper, p. 65). Miss Roper, p. 66, discusses Upton's connections, and shows him (on the basis of an article in Somerset and Dorset Notes & Queries, I, 237: see also Weaver's Visitations of Somerset, p. 82) to have been the son of Geoffrey Upton of Worminster, near Wells, and to have married Frances, the daughter of John Newton. (The Geoffrey Upton who was George's father is mentioned with Sir John Newton's fifth son, Sampson, among the close friends of Archdeacon Rugge of Wells in the archdeacon's will of 24 April 1580 (P.C.C. Tyrwhitt 8), proved on 17 February 1580/1.)

Apart from suggesting the possibility that Frances Newton married George Upton, had a daughter by him, and was divorced from him, and that she then married Sir John Pointz and died as his wife, leaving both her first and second husbands to survive her, there seems to be no way of reconciling these conflicting pieces

of evidence. This hypothesis of divorce and remarriage may be somewhat supported by a curious letter from Sir John Pointz, written in 1599, printed in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XIV, 108. In it Pointz asks Sir Robert Cecil to bestow upon him a wardship to compensate him for that "of his wife's daughter", which he had asked for only to find that it had been promised to Henry Lord Cobham. If Pointz's wife in 1599 was Frances Newton, as it seems certain she was, the child can only have been Frances Upton. Why, however, Frances Upton should have been given in wardship while her father, even if divorced from her mother, was still alive, is hard to understand, unless Upton denied his paternity of the child.\* The matter is of no real importance to the study of the Lords Cobham, for the Brookes appear to have had no intercourse with the family of their uncle John.

[3] Thomas Newton appears only in Sir Henry's pedigree and in the table derived from it in Weaver's Visitations of Somerset. He may have been the Thomas Newton who witnessed the will of Richard Hannam on 23 August 1572 (see below, under the heading of the eighth daughter of Sir John Newton). He is not to be confused with the Cheshire man of that name who dedicated a translation of Levinus Lemnius to William Lord Cobham (see above, pp. 919-23).

[4] Francis Newton, who appears in none of the pedigrees but Sir Henry's (where he is described as "deane of Winchester") and Weaver's derivative of it, was fairly eminent in the Elizabethan Church. There is an article about him by William Arthur Shaw in D.N.B., which gives all the known facts of his career; see also Alumni Cantabrigienses . . ., comp. John Venn and J.A. Venn (Cambridge, 1922-27), III, 252, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae . . ., comp. John Le Neve (Oxford, 1854), III, 22, 204, 604, and Charles Henry Cooper and Thompson Cooper's Athenae Cantabrigienses (Cambridge, 1858-61), I, 308. The manuscript authority for most of these biographies is the collection of facts set down by Bishop Kennett in MS. Lansdowne 981, f. 101. To sketch briefly his career: Newton matriculated at Cambridge at Easter 1545, proceeded to the degrees of B.A., M.A., B.D. and D.D., became a Fellow of Trinity and of Jesus, taught divinity, and in 1562-63 served as Vice-Chancellor. A letter which he wrote to the Chancellor, Sir William Cecil, on 16 June 1563, survives in MS. Lansdowne 7, f. 2: "SR my dutye remēbered in most hūble maner thes ar to let youre honoure vnderstande that by the Deth of the Lorde paget the office off the stuarde of nowre vniuersitie is voyde to the whiche it is thought [sic] good some noble mā were entreted, and the rather bycause the duke off northfolke is stuarde to the towne of Cābrige, but the namyge off owre stuarde is referred holy to youre honoure and when it shall please you to let me knowe youre pleasur herein I will procede to the electiō acordinge to youre minde. god grante you moche healthē and honowr at Cābrige 16 June." The letter is signed "francis Newton vicecāceii". In 1560 he became a prebendary of York, and later in the same year was ordained a deacon. On 21 March 1564/5 he was admitted Dean of Winchester and installed two months later, an appointment indicative of Newton's assured Anglicanism, since Bishop Horne had written to the Privy Council in the preceding autumn that, "In the city of Winchester, which is the most noted in Hampshire, either for good example or evil, all that bear authority, except one or two are 'addicte to the olde superstition and earnest fautors thereof.'" The bishop's advice to the Council that no one be appointed "to any office or be suffered to remain therein whose religion is not approved by the whole bench of justices" must have applied even more rigorously to ecclesiastics, so that Newton's religious position can only have been unassailable (see Robert Bishop of Winchester to the Council, 13 November 1564, in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, I, 310). In 1569 there was some discussion about Dean Newton's getting a prebend at Canterbury which had been held by one of his brothers (see a letter from Robert Earl of Leicester to Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury, dated 16 January 1568/9 (MS. Parker 114, item 11), in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge),

\* The definition of a ward which was current at this time was set down by the authoritative Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State, as "a childe in base age, whose father is dead" (The Common-we lth of England, and Maner of Government Thereof (1589), p. 122). That a child could be given in wardship during her father's lifetime, however, is proved by the case of Ambrosia, the daughter of Sir Arthur Gorges

but the benefice went to a Dr. Lawes. The dean apparently never married, and died before 18 November 1572, when the administration of his estate was granted to his eldest brother, Sir Henry.

[5] Sampson Newton, named in Sir Henry's pedigree and in that given by Weaver, was the only one of his family who is known to have received any of the royal favour which one would have expected Lady Cobham's position with the queen to have brought them. On 30 September 1575, during the deanery of Dr. Valentine Dale, the diplomat, the chapter of Wells Cathedral met to consider the queen's recommendation of Sampson Newton to a canonry. The recommendation was irregular, infringing an ecclesiastical statute of Henry VIII and a lay injunction of the Earl of Bath, but the chapter was urged by Sir Francis Walsingham to admit Newton to residence immediately. The chapter, embarrassed, formed a committee of four of its members to "deliberat for his admission untill it be knowen or considered what efficaye or force the statute of Kinge Henrye the Eighte, of famouse memorye, is touchinge that matter." On 26 December it was decided that Walsingham's letters "shall be answered with as much expedition as may be, and Mr. Newton referred to the answer which they have sent to the Queen and to the Secretary". Less than a month later, on 21 January 1575/6, it was recorded that "Mr. Sampson Newton was admitted into residence in obedience to the royal mandate, or [sic: on] payment of 100 marcs caution money." Nine years later he was still in residence as a canon: "On Jan. 2 [1584/5] it is ordered that 'one brace of fatt bucks of this next season ... be delivered and divided to and amongst those Canons resident which are now present in Chapter, viz., Mr. Bisse, Mr. Austin, Mr. Jones, Mr. Newton, and Mr. Saunders" (H.M.C., Report 10, Appendix 3 (Wells Cathedral Manuscripts), pp. 242-44). Newton's admission to a canonry must indeed have been peremptorily arranged, for he appears to have had no qualifications for such a position; there is no record of him at either university. Among the members of the chapter of Wells who had expressed themselves as in favour of accepting the royal candidate at once, without considering the Henrican statute, was Archdeacon John Ruge; late in 1580 or early in 1581 Ruge died, and in his will, made on 24 April 1580 (P.C.C. Tyrwhitt 8, proved 17 February 1580/1), he left a legacy to his "good friend" Sampson Newton. This is the last recorded mention of Canon Newton.

In Sir Henry's pedigree Sampson is shown to have had two sons by 1579, of whom already the "Eldeste [had] dyed w<sup>th</sup>out yssue." In Sir Henry's will of 1599, the Newton estates were entailed upon "James Newton my nephew", failing issue of Theodore, the knight's son. James Newton's brother, George, is also mentioned in the will. These were perhaps the sons of Sampson Newton, one of them a third son, born after 1579, for Sampson is the only one of the brothers whom Sir Henry names in his pedigree who is known to have had male children.

[6] Anthony Newton is mentioned only in Sir Henry's pedigree and in Weaver's; he is shown to have died without children before 1579, and is the youngest son listed by his brobher.

[vii-viii?] Two sons remain to be identified, if the statement on Sir John's tomb that he and his wife had eight is correct. One of the two missing from Sir Henry's pedigree is supposed to have been Theodore Newton, prebendary of Canterbury. A Theodore Newton from Christchurch was a supplicant for a bachelor's degree at Oxford in 1548/9, and for a master's three years later (Register of the University of Oxford, ed. C.W. Boase (Oxford, 1855), I, 216). At some time after 1559, but before 13 January 1567/8 (when his successor was collated), this man was installed in the first prebendary's place at Canterbury (Le Neve, Fasti, I, 47). William Arthur Shaw, writing his biography of Dean Newton in D.N.B., accepts

and the heiress, through her mother, of the fortune of the Howards of Bindon, who was made a ward in 1598 while Gorges was yet alive (see Helen Estabrook Sandison's excellently documented study of "Arthur Gorges, Spenser's Alcyon and Raleigh's Friend," in P.M.L.A., XLIII (1928), 652. Ambrosia Gorges was, admittedly, not an only child, as Frances Upton was.

Theodore as the dean's brother. Although the genealogical evidence which Shaw cites (MS. Harl. 1041, in the pedigree on f. 57 of which neither Francis nor Theodore is mentioned) is without value, his identification of the prebendary seems sound, for the letter of 16 January 1568/9 recommending Dean Newton to the prebend at Canterbury (see above, under the heading of the fourth son of Sir John Newton) specifically states that the vacant benefice had been held by Theodore, the dean's brother. Shaw says that Theodore was rector of Ringwoud, near Deal in Kent, and of St. Dionis Backchurch, London, and that he died at Canterbury in 1568-69, before 16 January, when the letter recommending Dean Newton was written. The article concludes with the statement that Theodore's will, proved on 7 February 1568/9, was extant in the eighteenth century but is now missing.

Although there is no evidence in the Newton pedigrees that the prebendary was Sir John's son, there is a curious statement in the will of Sir Henry Newton which shows that the older knight did have a son named Theodore: "Item I geue to the Children of Theodore my base brother ffortye poundes to be equally divided emongst them." This son, probably because of his illegitimacy, was excluded from his half-brother's pedigree; whether, for the same reason, it would have been impossible for him to hold a benefice one can hardly establish. For the prebendary, although his ordination as a priest has been disputed (see Shaw's article), was certainly a deacon, and if he was a bastard he could only have received orders if he had been dispensed of the impediment presented by his irregular birth (see Richard Burn, Ecclesiastical Law (3rd ed., 1775), III, 30). No trace of a dispensation issued to the Theodore Newton of Canterbury has been found. One must therefore doubt that the prebendary and Sir John's bastard were the same man. Yet the prebendary and Dean Newton were brothers, and the dean was certainly the knight's son. Sir John must therefore have had two sons named Theodore, one probably legitimate (after whom Sir Henry may have named his son and heir) and the other illegitimate (as he seems to have had two daughters named Jane and two named Mary), neither of whom was included by Sir Henry in his pedigree, although the legitimate one must be considered one of the eight sons whom Sir John and Lady Newton are shown on the tomb at East Harptree to have had. One wonders whether the "natural kinsman" whom George Brooke, the grandson of Sir John Newton, recommended to his brother-in-law Sir Robert Cecil on 9 August 1601 was the illegitimate Theodore Newton. Brooke spoke of the unidentified man as a relative "very near unto" Cecil's late wife, Brooke's sister; Theodore Newton would have been Lady Cecil's uncle (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 330).

If one is unable to identify more than six or seven of the eight sons of the Newtons, one is embarrassed in a different way when one considers their daughters, for there is evidence concerning one if not two more than the twelve referred to on the tomb. Proof also exists that Sir John had a natural daughter. Some of these fourteen or fifteen daughters made extremely good marriages, so that their eldest brother, to whose charge some of the youngest were perhaps left, must have felt rather satisfied when he saw the last of them go from Barrs Court. As his kinsman, Sir Edward Stradling said: "And if I offend God in vantage of anny worldlie thinge, I will not denie it is in the hapie matchinge of my sisters; wherof I confesse I joye more then in any worldlie thinge" (The Stradling Correspondence, ed. Traherne, p. 221).

[1] The eldest daughter shown in Sir Henry's pedigree, mentioned nowhere else, is "Jane [who] dyed younge". The identity of her name with that of her younger sister makes it difficult to decide whether she was the Jane who was remembered in her father's will of 1561 and the 'Iohāna' who was depicted in the portrait of Lady Cobham's family done in 1567 (see above, p. 305, n. 11). Had she lived until 1567 she could hardly have been said to have died young, since she would then have been over ~~more~~ forty years old. The likelihood is that all references to a Jane Newton are to her sister (see below, under the heading of the fifth daughter of Sir John Newton).

[2] "Elizabeth [who died] wthout yssue" is mentioned only in Sir Henry's pedigree, and must have died before 1561, when her father made his will and did not provide for her in it.

[3] Elinor, who is said in Sir Henry's pedigree to have married "John Elliott of Hertfordsheire", is mentioned in no other account of the family than that in Weaver. In the pedigree of Eliot in The Visitation of Essex, ed. Metcalfe, p. 192, her marriage with John is confirmed, and he is described as of London, being the only son by his first wife of John Eliot of Stortford, Hertfordshire. A similar pedigree is in The Visitations of Berkshire, ed. Rylands, II, 139, where the younger Eliot is further identified as "Clarke of the navye". He died before 16 September 1588 and his widow went to live with her sister, Lady FitzJames, in Kent, for on that date Elinor made her will there (P.C.C. Leicester 4). She apparently had little property to leave. The will begins: "I Elinor Elliott of West Mallinge within the Countie of Kent widdowe sicke in bodye", and concludes with the following charming bequest: "Item I doe hartely desire the right worshipfull my Ladye and sister the Ladye Dame Jane ffitz James to be executrix of this my last will and testament vnto whom for her paines herein I doe give as a declaration and for a remembraunce of sisterly love and affection towards her a fine tike for a featherbed." Elinor must have died very soon after making her will, for on 7 November 1588 her sister proved it. She was buried beside her husband in the parish church of Town Malling, according to information contained in the will of her sister and executrix (see below, under the heading of the fifth daughter of Sir John Newton).

Although Elinor Eliot mentions no child in her will, in Sir Henry's pedigree she and her husband are said to have had two daughters and a son, Tobias, before 1579. In The Visitation of Essex they are given only one child, a son, Sir Thomas Eliot of Stanford Ryvers, Essex. This Tobias, or Thomas, and one of his sisters must have died childless, for in The Visitations of Berkshire, where they are not mentioned, the wife of Robert Harris of New Windsor is said to have been "Anne d & sole [heir] of John Elliott Clarke of y<sup>e</sup> navy". While there is no proof outside these pedigrees of the existence of two of the three children thus attributed to the Eliots, it is certain that the Harris marriage shown (on the evidence of a pedigree in MS. Harl. 1532, pp. 142-43) in The Visitations of Berkshire is correct. For when, in 1600, Robert Harris became involved in a dispute over his Under-Stewardship of Reading, he appealed to Henry Lord Cobham, and the baron, when he asked Secretary Cecil to interfere on Harris's behalf, said that he was interceding for Harris because he had "married with my kinswoman" (see a letter from Cobham to Cecil, dated at the Blackfriars on 4 April 1600, in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, I, 97).

[4] "Anne [who] dyed young" is entered in Sir Henry's pedigree; she must have died before 1561, for she is not listed among the unmarried daughters in her father's will of that year.

[5] Of Jane Newton, said by Sir Henry to have been "first married to Cartwright of Kent after to S<sup>r</sup> James ffitzJames" (the second of these marriages is also noted in MS. Harl. 1041, f. 57), a good deal is known. She was Lady Cobham's closest sister in age and the one who seems to have kept in touch with her throughout the baroness's life. Jane is said in the inscription on her tomb to have been sixty-six when she died in February 1594/5: she must therefore have been born about 1528, being probably her parents' fifth child, while Lady Cobham was the sixth and their eldest brother, Sir Henry, the seventh. In her father's will of 1561 Jane is named as the eldest of the six daughters then unmarried, each of whom was to have £ 100 toward her marriage if she married before her father's death, or £ 100 as a legacy if she was yet single when he died. As late as 1567 Jane was a spinster, although she would then have been almost forty years old, for, in the portrait of the Brookes and her executed in that year (see above, pp. 269 ff.) she is identified simply as "Iohāna Soror Dominae Cobham filia Iohānis Newton Militis, qui est Avus his Parvulis". In the painting Jane is seen to have resembled her younger sister remarkably. Soon after 1567 she must have taken a husband, for by 1574 she was marrying for the second time. Her first marriage was with Hugh Cartwright, a Kentish gentleman who opposed Wyatt during the rebellion of 1554 (see John Proctor's History of Wyatt's Rebellion ... in Tudor Tracts 1532-1588, ed. A.F. Pollard, (Westminster, 1903) and who sat for Rochester in the Parliament of January 1557/8 (Return of Members of Parliament ... (1878), I, 397). The marriage is entered in The Visitation of Nottinghamshire, ed. Marshall, p. 109, where Cartwright is described as "of Melling [Malling] in Kent & of Rowney in Com. Bedford &

of Ossington [in Nottinghamshire] ob. s.p.", and Jane as "one of the 17 children [sic] of Sr John Newton Knt renup Jacob FitzJames". (In Burke's Commoners, II (1836), 435, Hugh is incorrectly called 'George Cartwright' and is said, obviously because he was known to have had some connection through marriage with the Brookes of Cobham, to have "married first, one of the daughters of Lord Cobham, and secondly, Jane, one of the seventeen daughters of Sir John Newton.") Apart from marching with Lord Abergavenny against the rebel sons of George Lord Cobham in 1554, Hugh Cartwright is not known to have had anything to do with the Brookes. He may, however, have been the Mr. Cartwright between whom and Sir Henry Cobham in 1571 there was "a cause in controversie", committed to the "hearing and redresse" of Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was Secretary Walsingham's brother-in-law and thus a connection by marriage of the Newtons (see a letter on behalf of Cobham from Walsingham to Mildmay, dated at Boulogne on 2 January 1570/1, in Sir Dudley Digges's Compleat Ambassador ... (1655), p. 22). Cartwright died on 6 February 1571/2, according to his inquisition post mortem (P.R.O., C142/162/127). In his article, "The Cartwrights" (The Ancestor, X (1904), I-12), Oswald Barron reproduces two portraits which he identifies as those of "Hugh Cartwright of Malling" and of Jane Newton, his wife, but, since the portraits are captioned 1593, one must hesitate to accept them as authentic. That of the lady bears only a superficial resemblance to the Jane Newton of the Cobham portrait. Cartwright died without issue and "his widow, Mrs. Jane Cartwright, became entitled to all the lands that once belonged to Malling Abbey, and carried her interest to her second husband, Sir James Fitzjames" (Cecil Henry Fielding, Memories of Malling and Its Valley; with A Fauna and Flora of Kent (West Malling, 1893), p. 59). To Fitzjames, a West Country man seated at Redlinch in Somerset and a first cousin once removed of Sir John Fitzjames, Chief Justice of the King's Bench until his death in 1542 (see the pedigree in Weaver's Somerset, pp. 106-07),\* Jane Newton was married at St. Martin's, Ludgate Hill, London, on 9 December 1574 (Londinium Redivivum ..., comp. James Peller Malcolm (1802-07), IV, 357). She cannot have been married to her second husband much longer than she had been to her first; on 25 August 1579 Sir James made his will (P.C.C. Bakon 45), which was proved by his brother Richard on 14 November 1579. He and Jane had had no children, and, although he left her well provided in her widowhood (she was, for instance, to have "all the houshoule stuffe, pewter vessell and Brasse vessell at Mallinge", and "Sixe of the best beddes ... and sixe of the meaner sortes of beddes" at Redlinch, as well as all of his moveables there), his heir was his brother. (Richard Fitzjames, who died in 1595, was the father of two men and the father-in-law of a third who "were implicated in the Popish plots in the latter days of Queen Elizabeth", according to Weaver, p. 107 n.) Jane's second widowhood lasted for more than fifteen years, during which time she apparently maintained close ties with her sister's children at Cobham Hall, only about seven miles away from her house at West Malling, and it was to George, the infant whom she is shown holding on her lap in the 1569-70 revision of the family portrait painted two or three years before, that she left the bulk of her estate when she died. Her will (P.C.C. Cobham 11), of which George was appointed executor, was made on 16 February 1594/5. It is sufficiently interesting to be quoted at some length: "I Jane ffitz James widdowe late wife of Sr James ffitz James knighte of Somersetshire deceased beinge sicke of bodie ... [direct that] my bodie ... be laied in the chauncell of the parishe church of towne Malling by my brother and sister Eliat with somme little copper uppon it. I giue all my good to my nephew George Brooke my debtes and legacies paid.... Item I giue to my Ladie Sysell my neece one carpett and one cochin of silke of nedleworke. Item I giue to my Ladie Sturton my neice a halfe

\* Fitzjames was the patron of a touring company of actors which performed at Bath, Exeter and Plymouth as "Sr James ffitz James is players" in 1576 (see Murray, English Dramatic Companies 1558-1642, II, 83, 200, 270, 383).

cannapie imbrodered with golde and syluer and two cushinns one of silke nedleworke the other imbrodered with golde. Item I giue to my nephew William Cartwrighte my iron chest in the closset. Item I giue to my brother [-in-law Richard] ffitz James one bed of Crimson Satten imbrodered with golde and syluer my hangeinges in the newe chamber and the hangeinges in the chamber I lie in. Item to William Barrat that I owe him for wooden my boy xx<sup>s</sup>. Item I giue to my boye William Warde Tenne shillinges. Item I giue to Jane Newton one yellowe canapie Jane ffitz James damaske-imbrodered and the curtaines to the same one quilt of yellowe and redde Satten one imbrodered cushin one chaire and stoole and a slittle syluer tankerd." (It has been found impossible to identify the woman, probably a niece and namesake of Lady FitzJames, who is here called Jane Newton. Jane FitzJames was probably the daughter of Sir John Young of Bristol, who married Richard FitzJames's eldest son, John: see Weaver, p. 107.) Once she had settled her estate, the old lady lived only four more days, dying on 20 February 1594/5. She was buried beside her first husband and the Eliots in the parish church at West Malling, where the following inscription may yet be read:

Here resteth the body of Dame Jane Fitzjames, widow, first married to Hughe Cartwright, Esq<sup>r</sup> and afterwards to Sir James Fitzjames, Knighte, one of the 17 daughters of Sir John Newton, Knighte, and of Dame Margaret, his wife, which Dame Jane dyed the xxth of February 1594[/5], and the 37th of Quene Elizabeths reigne, and in the sixty-seventh yeare of Hir owne age.

(This inscription, which is printed in Fielding, p. 59, was kindly checked for accuracy by Anthony Cronk, Esq., of St. Leonards, West Malling, and endorsed by him in a letter of 11 March 1962.)

Jane Newton's legacy to her nephew was not at first admitted. Her brother, Sir Henry, contested the will, and it was not until 12 February 1596/7 ("secundo die Juridico post festum siue diem Sancte Scholastice virginem"... 1596") that power to execute was given to "Georgio Brooke nepoti ex sorore". Among the debts to his late aunt which Brooke was thus empowered to claim was one of £ 20 owed to Lady FitzJames by his brother Henry, who was soon to become Lord Cobham (see a letter from the Privy Council to Sir John Leveson of 30 April 1604 (MS. Add. 5755, f. 194), in which Leveson, as administrator of the attainted Lord Cobham's estates, is commanded to pay the debt to George Brooke's widow). The lease of the Malling estates seems itself to have reverted upon the expiry of Jane's life interest to the Cartwrights; although its fate is not clear (Fielding, p. 59, says that the "property appears to have then come into the hands of Humphrey Delind," and continues, erroneously, to say that "after him it passed into the hands of the Brookes of Cobham"), her first husband's nephew, William, had, at the age of fourteen, been found to be Hugh Cartwright's heir in the inquisition post mortem of 1572, and by the late 1590s was accordingly in possession of his uncle's holdings, including the lease. At Christmas 1601 Cartwright was thinking of selling the lease to a cousin, while Henry Lord Cobham had already bought the reversion of it from the Crown (see an entry in the Diary of John Manningham, of the Middle Temple, and of Bradbourne, Kent, Barrister-at-Law, 1602-1603, ed. John Bruce (Camden Society, 1868), p. 12). Less than a year later, on 15 October 1602, Lord Cobham wrote to inform Secretary Cecil that he was determined to buy it outright: "I shall now buy the lease of Matling [sic]. Cartwryght and I am [sic] almost agreed" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 442; see also above, p. 872). Whether he pursued the matter further is not known; in the year 1603 he would have had neither time nor money to make such a purchase. It is certainly not recorded that the old home of Jane Newton came into the possession of her nephew.

[6] Frances Lady Cobham is mentioned twice in Sir Henry's pedigree, once on f. 91 of the manuscript (where he himself is the only other of their parents' children to be noticed), and again on f. 92. Her children, unlike those of some of her sisters, are not there listed. She is the only child of Sir John's, other than Sir Henry his heir, whose name is entered in the Newton pedigree in MS. Harl. 1559, f. 83b, and she is also shown in MS. Harl. 1041, f. 57. Nothing need be said of Lady Cobham here, since all that is known of her life has been included in the

text; since, however, there is nowhere an explicit statement of when she was born, this is the most convenient place at which to deduce a birthdate for her. For the four reasons which follow, 1528-29 seems the most likely date. One reason is that Jane Lady FitzJames was the nearest of her older sisters to her in age, they being (according to their brother's pedigree) their parents' fifth and sixth daughters, and that Jane was born about 1528 (see above, under the heading of the fifth daughter of Sir John Newton). Another is that Sir Henry was born in 1529 or 1530 (see above, under the heading of the first son of Sir John Newton), and that Lady Cobham, to be born before 1530 (as will be shown below she was), must have come along between Jane and Henry. A third reason is that William Lord Cobham was born late in 1527, and that Lady Cobham, if she so boldly told Queen Elizabeth that she thought that the best marriages were those in which the partners were of nearly the same age (see above, pp. 310-11), cannot have been much younger than he. The fourth reason is both more complex than the others, and more conclusive; based upon the evidence of the annotated family portrait painted in 1567 (see above, pp. 272-73), it ought to require no corroboration from the other three points, but, because of the discrepancies which have been discussed in the text, the notations in the portrait cannot be completely trusted without such corroboration. The portrait must have been completed between 2 June and 31 October 1567. Lady Cobham's age is given as thirty-eight. She must therefore have been born after 2 June 1528 and before 1 November 1529. It seems impossible to find a more precise date than this.

[7] "Grissell [who] dyed young" is mentioned only in Sir Henry's pedigree; she must have died before 1561, since she is not listed among the unmarried daughters in her father's will of that year.

[8] Bridget Newton is listed in her father's will as the second of his daughters who was still unmarried in 1561; she was, according to Sir Henry's pedigree, "mar. to Thomas Hanam of Dorchester after to Charles Vaughan of Wiltshire." Sir Henry entered his brother-in-law Hannam's Christian name incorrectly, writing "Thomas" when he should have written "Richard", an error which Weaver corrected in his pedigree derived from Sir Henry's. In The Addenda to the Visitation of Dorsetshire, 1623; Together with a Collection of Dorsetshire Pedigrees; from a Manuscript in the Dorchester Museum, edd. Frederic T. Colby and John Paul Rylands (1888), p. 30, Richard Hannam of Wimborne Minster, Dorset, the husband of Bridget Newton, is said to have been the brother of Thomas Hannam, the Serjeant-at-law who died in 1593 and whose wife was Penelope, a daughter of Chief Justice Sir John Popham. The children of Richard and Bridget Hannam are named as John (1566-79) and Anne, the wife of Sir Walter Vaughan of Falstone, Wiltshire. (These notes on the Hannam family are also to be found in Misc. Gen. et Her., II (1888), 291.) Hannam made his will (P.C.C. Daper 38) as "Richard Hanam of Wimborn mynster in the Countie of Dorset gent", on 23 August 1572, and died soon afterward, since it was proved on 28 November 1572. He left to his "welbeloued wief Bridgett Hannam" his house in Wimborne Minster, and mentioned in his will his son John, a minor, and his daughter Anne, then unmarried. A witness to the will was Thomas Newton, perhaps his brother-in-law (see above, under the heading of the third son of Sir John Newton).

If Bridget Newton made a second marriage there seems to be no trace of it other than in her brother's pedigree. Charles Vaughan "of ffaleresdonne [Falstone] in the Countie of Wiltes gentleman" made his will (P.C.C. Cobham 33, proved 16 April 1597) on 23 April 1596, and in it mentions two Hannams (the Serjeant-at-law and James Hannam, of Canudell, Dorset), but no wife. He left no children. In Wiltshire Visitation Pedigrees 1623 ..., ed. G.D. Squibb (Harleian Society Volumes CV, CVI, 1954), p. 201, Charles Vaughan is shown to have had a wife who predeceased him, but her name was Jane Prediaux, Mrs. Hussey. It is probable, however, despite the omission of her name from the visitation records, that Bridget married into the same family as did her daughter; Sir Walter Vaughan of Falstone (died 1639), Anne Hannam's husband, was the grand-nephew of Charles. The knight married three times: of his first two wives, Anne Hannam was the first and her cousin Margaret Norton (see below, under the heading of the ninth daughter of Sir John Newton), the second. By Anne, Sir Walter had a son, Charles, who married a cousin of Queen Elizabeth (Frances, the daughter of Sir Robert Knollys, brother of the Earl of

Banbury who married Anne Lady Cobham's sister, the dowager Lady Chandos: see the notes to the family tree, p. 1091, n. 25), and a daughter, Bridget, who married Edward Games of Newton, Brecknockshire (Wiltshire Visitation Pedigrees, p. 202). Neither Bridget Newton nor her husbands seem to have had any contact with the Brookes of Cobham.

[9] Grace, the wife of "Samuell Norton of Somers'", is mentioned in Sir Henry's pedigree. In Weaver, Norton's Christian name is mistranscribed 'Sampson'. This Grace Norton must be the daughter of Sir John Newton who is misnamed, in MS. Harl. 1041, f. 57 (and therefore in The Visitation of Gloucester, ed. Maclean, p. 115), 'Sicilie', and made the wife of "Samuell Newton Son & heir of S<sup>r</sup> George newton knight". That Grace's husband was Samuel, the son of Sir George Norton of Legh, in Somerset, is proved by two documents which connect the Nortons with the Brookes of Cobham. On 18 May 1562 Sir George Norton paid into the Hanaper £ 15.6.8 for a licence "to alienate the manor of Lige and lands in Porteburye, Tycknam, Cleventon, Assheton and Hamgrene, co. Somerset, to William Broke, knight, lord Cobham, Henry Hennage, and William Gorge to the use of the said George, Margaret his wife and the heirs of George" (C.P.R., Elizabeth, 1560-63, p. 419). The date of this alienation connecting the families of Brooke and Norton suggests that Grace was betrothed, if not actually married, to Sir George's heir within a year of the making of her father's will of 23 August 1561, in which she is described as the third of Newton's unmarried daughters. On 21 October 1586 her husband, Samuel, wrote to his sister-in-law, asking Lady Cobham to obtain for him the post of Lieutenant-General of the Horsemen in Somerset and leader of the Earl of Pembroke's petronels. The letter (P.R.O., S.P. 12/194/56, abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1581-90, p. 364) begins: "Good madam as I have not often I hope byne troublesome vnto youre honor in requestes soe I beseche youe cast me not of in this: for I have p'sumed herein to taste the benefytt of yo<sup>r</sup> ffrendshippe." Norton tells the baroness that, "although I knowe my selfe beinge a horsman as able as Som'setshire hath anye," he suspects that, "through the envye of S<sup>r</sup> henry Barkley, or my Lord Penbrookes discourtesy", he will be kept from the post which he wants unless she assists him. He says that he has already "by rude Lynes trubled my Lorde Cobham", and that he is "veary sure that yf youre Ladyshippe move my Lady Penbrooke herein the speed wilbe the better and my Lorde of Penbrooke the easier to graunt." Norton concludes this rather formal familiar letter with the hope that "my earnest Letters shall not be offensyve to youre good La:" and with "in humble wyse my wyfes humble duetye remembred".

Grace Norton outlived those of her sisters for whom dates of death are known, for it was directed that "mris Grace Norton wiffe to Mr Samuell Norton shall haue a Ringe of the walue of Twentie six shillinges eighte pence" in the will of her friend, Anne Bridgman, which was made on 16 February 1605/6 (P.C.C. Stafford 59, proved 8 July 1606). She was most probably dead by 1 January 1615/6, when her husband made his will and did not mention her in it. As "Samell Norton of Lygh in the Countye of Somersett Esquier", he left legacies to his sons George, Samuel and Hugh, to his daughters "Elizabeth Seamar" and "Joane Courte", and to his grand-daughter Grace, George's daughter (P.C.C. Dale 16). The will was proved by George and Grace, the executors, on 8 February 1620/1. A fourth son and a third daughter, born before 1579 (since they are mentioned, although not by name, in Sir Henry's pedigree), are not referred to in the will. The daughter is known to have been Margaret, who, as "filia Samueli Norton, de Abbots Leigh in Com Somer", was the second wife of Sir Walter Vaughan of Falstone, Wiltshire (died 1639), whose first wife had been Margaret's cousin, Anne Hannam (see above, under the heading of the eighth daughter of Sir John Newton). By Vaughan, Margaret Norton had two sons, George (who married Barbara Booth of Salisbury) and Frederick, born in 1599 and 1601 respectively (Wiltshire Visitation Pedigrees, ed. Squibb, p. 202).

[10] Theophila Newton was unmarried in 1561, when she was listed as 'Theophil', the fourth of her father's spinster daughters, in the will which he made in that year. By 1579, according to Sir Henry's pedigree, she was the wife of "William Boteler sonne and heire of S<sup>r</sup> Willm Boteler of Glostersh:" and the mother of a son, Nicholas, and of two daughters. Weaver repeats this information, modernizing Boteler's name as 'Butler'. The pedigree of Butler of Badminton, Gloucestershire, in

MS. Harl. 1041, f. 85b (printed in The Visitation of Gloucestershire, p. 241), shows no Sir William Butler nor any Newton match. In Collinson, II, 135-36, however, the descent of the manors of Emborough [Emborow, five miles west of Wells], Walton, Walcombe and Penne is given; they passed from John Butler of Badminton, who died in 1524, to his grandson, Sir John Butler, who died in 1551-52, leaving "a son William, who married Theophila, daughter of Sir John Newton". By 1570-71 the manor of Emborow, if not the others, "was the property of John Hippsley". The only primary evidence of the marriage of William Butler and Theophila Newton is contained in William's will, made in 1575-76. (The day and month are not filled in in the transcript of the will at Somerset House, P.C.C. Windsor 62; it is dated merely 18 Elizabeth.) The testator describes himself as "William Boteler of greate Badmanton in the County of Glouc' Esquier", and, although he mentions no wife, shows that he was closely connected with the Newtons by alluding to an indenture existing between himself and "Henry Newton of Eastharptree in the County of Somerset Esquier", whom he makes one of the overseers of the will. The facts revealed about Butler's children (a son, Nicholas, then under twenty-one years of age, and two daughters, Frances and Elizabeth, then under eighteen) accord with those given in Sir Henry's pedigree. These circumstances strongly suggest the marriage of Theophila Newton with William Butler, and pretty well confirm the statement to that effect in the Newton pedigree. Butler died probably in 1586, since the will was proved on 29 November of that year; Theophila, since he had made no provision for her in it, must have predeceased him.

It seems to be established that Theophila Newton married a Gloucestershire gentleman, MS. Harl. 1041, however, which is a collection of pedigrees and other information entitled "Glocestriae comitatus" and apparently compiled about 1620 (see the list of "Justices in Com' Gloucester flo 1620" on f. 17), has, in the Newton pedigree on f. 57 to which reference has already been made, the statement that Theophila married "1<sup>o</sup> W<sup>m</sup> E of Worster" and "2<sup>o</sup> W<sup>m</sup> paratt of pantglas". This assertion concerning Theophila's marriages, which gives her the rank of countess and makes her a social figure taking precedence of her sister, Lady Cobham, is repeated in The Visitation of Gloucestershire, ed. Maclean, p. 115. Basing its statement upon this published visitation, upon Collinson, III, 588-89 (where there is, curiously, no reference to Worcester) and upon Maclean's Memoir of Poyntz, p. 95 (where the statement made is derived, like that in the visitation, from MS. Harl. 1041, f. 57), the Complete Peerage (XII, Pt. 2, 854) says that William Somerset, Earl of Worcester, following the death of his first wife and the mother of his children, married Theophila Newton, who married secondly William Paratt. This is almost certainly incorrect. Worcester made his will (P.C.C. Leicester 89, proved on 7 November 1589) on 1 February 1587/8. It is a most abrupt and businesslike little document, quite unlike the long and formulistic testaments of the earl's contemporaries, dispensing with the usual pious preamble with the simple words, "I comitt my sowle to the almightie god And my body to be buried in the parishe church of Ragland and there to lye alone and to have made over me a tombe of marble withe that speede that maye be," and making ample provision for his heirs. His eldest son and his daughter by Christine North, his late wife, and three of his children are mentioned, but no provision is made for any surviving wife. It is possible that the earl married a second wife in the year between the time when he made his will and 21 February 1588/9, when he died, but since no codicil providing for the new countess's widowhood was added, this possibility seems remote. The omission of a second wife's name and arms from the "Catalogus Comitum Wigorniae" of 1591 in MS. Harl. 6124, f. 36, makes such remarriage even more unlikely. The simplest explanation of the attribution to Theophila Newton of a match with the Earl of Worcester seems therefore to be that the pedigree in MS. Harl. 1041, upon which the Complete Peerage ultimately bases its assertion, is incorrect.

[1] "Theodozia mar. to S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Mannors knighte of Nottinghamsh:" is entered in Sir Henry's pedigree, and in Weaver's; in MS. Harl. 1041, f. 57, she was originally called "Theodozia wiffe to S<sup>r</sup> Tho Mannors K.", but her Christian name has been crossed out and the name 'Joyce' written over it. The Visitation of Gloucester, ed. Maclean, p. 115, therefore calls her "Joyce wiffe to S<sup>r</sup> Tho Mannors K"

Theodosia was listed in her father's will of 1561 as his fifth unmarried daughter. By 1579 she was Lady Manners, and the mother of seven children, according to her brother's pedigree. Her husband was the fourth son of Thomas Earl of Rutland and Eleanor Paston, and thus, by his mother, a relative of Theodosia's sister-in-law Catherine, the wife of Sir Henry Newton. (In Burke's Peerage, under the heading of the Duke of Rutland, Theodosia is called the daughter of Sir Thomas [sic] Newton, as she also is in the pedigree of Lee compiled by Frederick George Lee in Misc. Gen. et Her., I (1886), 103.) There seems to be no record of the deaths of Sir Thomas and Lady Manners. Their only son, Sir Charles Manners, knighted by Essex on 5 August 1599, married on 26 June 1601 Frances Goodere, the widow of Captain Francis Wenman (a younger brother of Richard Viscount Wenman). On the day of the marriage Sir Robert Cecil, Lady Cobham's son-in-law, wrote to his friend, Sir George Carew (later Earl of Totnes): "Forasmuch as at this tyme Sr Charles is determynd to be a sutor for the recovery of the ... landes and goodes in the right of his wife, belonginge to her as sole executrix to her late husband ..., I haue thought good to recommend him unto you ... as well for my wife's sake (whoe is gone) to whom he was a kynsman, and you so to, and a freind, as for my owne ..." (Letters from Sir Robert Cecil, ed. Maclean, p. 78. The editor's notes to this letter explain the Manners-Brooke connection.) Of the Mannerses' six other children, one was Anne, who married William Vavasour of Haslewood, Yorkshire. To her son, Sir Thomas Vavasour (who was made a baronet in 1628 and who was Knight Marshal of the King's Household, according to the Complete Baronetage, II, 61), was committed the escort of his mother's cousin, Henry Lord Cobham, from London to Winchester for his trial in 1603 (see S.P., Dom., 1603-10, p. 48). (In the editor's notes to The Visitation of Yorkshire ..., ed. Charles Best Norcliffe (Harleian Society Volume XVI, 1881), p. 251 n., Sir Thomas is confused with the father of another line of baronets, and made the son of Henry Vavasour and Margaret Knevet.)

[12] "Tymothea [who] dyed younge" is mentioned only in Sir Henry's pedigree; she must have died before 1561, for she is not listed among the unmarried daughters in her father's will of that year.

[13] "Nazaretha", according to Sir Henry's pedigree, was "mar: to Thomas Southwell of Norff and had by him a daughter after to Thomas Lo: Paget that nowe is. 1579." She is included in Weaver's pedigree (although there she is called 'Margaret', and her first husband is made a knight), and is omitted from MS. Harl. 1041, f. 57 (and therefore from The Visitation of Gloucester, ed. Maclean, p. 115). In Maclean's Memoir of Poyntz, p. 78 n., she is mentioned as the wife of Thomas Lord Paget, but her Christian name is distorted, perhaps by a typographical error, to 'Lazaret'. In her father's will of 1561 she is listed as the youngest of his unmarried daughters. Nazareth, as the only one of Lady Cobham's sisters to marry a peer, made some impression at Court. Her first husband was Thomas Southwell of Woodrising, Norfolk, the nephew of the Sir Robert Southwell who led the loyal resistance to Wyatt in 1554 and the grand-nephew of the Sir Robert who was the first husband of Thomas Lord Cobham's second wife. Thomas Southwell's first cousin, Richard, was the father of the famous Jesuit and poet, Robert Southwell, and the uncle of the Catholic conspirator, Anthony Copley, who played an important part in the plots of 1603, as a consequence of which the power of the Brookes of Cobham was destroyed. Nazareth was Southwell's third wife; by her he had an only daughter, Elizabeth, but he left several children by his second marriage, among them the Sir Robert Southwell who was the son-in-law of Charles Howard, Earl of Norfolk, and therefore Henry Lord Cobham's brother-in-law (see the pedigree of Southwell in The Visitation of Norfolk, ed. Rye, p. 261). Thomas Southwell made his will (P.C.C. Babington 13) on 13 March 1567/8, leaving to "Nazareth my wyfe the maners of Hoxon Hornyger and Claydone ... w<sup>th</sup>inn the Countie of Suf<sup>k</sup> ... for terme of her liefie ..., two hundred markes yearelye by and after the Decease of my mother [Margaret Neville, the first cousin of Dorothy Lady Cobham: see above, p. 123, n. 10]," and the residue of his goods, chattels, debts and leases which would remain after the other legacies had been paid, and his estates, to his son Robert, then a minor. Nazareth was appointed sole executrix of the will. Her daughter, Elizabeth, was to "haue one Thowsande poundes to be payde to her at the Daye of her maryadge" and, "yf Nazarethe my wyfe shall fortune to be with chyld at the Daye of my Deathe,"

Southwell's posthumous child was to be provided for: if a son, it was to have the manor of Hoxone, if a daughter, £ 1000. Thomas Duke of Norfolk was one of the overseers of the will, which was proved by Nazareth before Dr. Walter Haddon on 30 June 1568. (Southwell's inquisition post mortem (P.R.O., Cl42/148/58) was taken on 10 June 1568; it is unusually long, contains a complete transcript of the will, and is so badly faded in places that the date of his death is not legible.)

By 1572 Nazareth had married again, and was the wife of Thomas Lord Paget of Beaudesert, the second son and eventual heir of the statesman of Mary's reign, for in that year her only son, William, later Lord Paget, is said to have been born (C.P., X, 283, where no reference is cited. Burke's Peerage (ed. 1959), p. 65, is certainly wrong in stating that Nazareth married Lord Paget in 1565, since Southwell was then still alive. The date given in the Complete Peerage for the birth of William seems to be about right; it is perhaps a deduced date, for no wills, inquisitions post mortem, or other documents relating to the Pagets at this time are extant to provide an exact date for his birth.) Probably the Pagets were married as early as 1570, when Thomas Tusser, "Gentle man, seruant to the right honorable Lorde Paget of Beudesert", published his new edition of A hundreth good pointes of Husbandry, lately married vnto a Hundreth good poynts of Huswifery . . . . The section on husbandry is dedicated, as are almost all of Tusser's works, to the current Lord Paget; the section on housewifery is addressed "To the right honorable and my speciall good Lady and Mistres, the Lady Paget", who is asked, in the rhymed dedication on sig. Gii<sup>v</sup>, to evaluate the worth of the domestic precepts which follow; "Geue iudgement I pray you/ (for iustly so may you)." The "lately married" phrase in the title of Tusser's work may even refer to the state of the dedicatees as well as to the two sections of the book.

William was the only child of Lord and Lady Paget, and early in 1582 the couple separated. According to John Strype (Annals of the Reformation . . . (Oxford, ed. 1824), III, 1, 87-88), "A domestic jar happened between the lord Thomas Paget and his wife . . . . So that the differences between them, in fine came to that point, that this year they were parting asunder on certain conditions. Wherein this lord obtained the favour of the lord treasurer to be concerned, as a mediator, and at both their desires, the decision left chiefly to him: which that lord expressed in his letter to him . . . ." Strype then quotes freely from Paget's letter to Burghley of 21 March 1581/2; this is MS. Lansdowne 34, f. 17, and is endorsed, "21 Mart. 1581. The L. Paget to my L. wth answere to certeine articles touching the La: paget his wife they being now parting from each other." It reads: "I most Humbly thancke yo<sup>r</sup> Lordshippe, for the good desire yowe haue to be a mediator in myne vnfortunate cause & when [sic: ?] please god it may be better, But in the meane whyle this course that we haue agreed vpon is lesse yll then a worse in lyvinge together wth contynuall Jarres. These artyculatinges made not but yt it pleaseth her to vse it for a delay, for if she could tell what wold please herself this busines were sone at ende, euey day she commeth in wth one newe demande or other & resolueth vpon nothings; Yet wyll I be euer r<sup>e</sup>ddy to doe what I should. Yesternight I receaved yo<sup>r</sup> L. ires wth the artycles to the m<sup>r</sup> I haue returned answer here inclosed & so beinge very sorye y<sup>t</sup> I haue such occasion to trouble yo<sup>r</sup> Lordshippe I Humbly take my leaue." Nazareth did not long survive separation from her husband; she died at London on 16 April 1583 (The Visitation of Staffordshire . . . Anno D<sup>ni</sup> 1583, ed. H. Sydney Grazebrook (1883), p. 123; C.P., X, 283). Apparently it was more at her desire than his that they had parted, for, four days after her death, Roger Manners wrote to the Earl of Rutland of the baron's distress: "Mrs. Elizabeth Howard," he said, "is married to Mr. [later Sir Robert] Southwell, whose [step-]mother is now deceased, to the great grief of Lord Paget" (H.M.C., Rutland Papers, I, 149. Elizabeth Howard, Lady Southwell, was the sister-in-law of Henry Lord Cobham, and is often confused with his wife: see the notes to the family tree, pp. 1185-86, n. 71.) His wife's death seems to have taken from Paget his reason for remaining in England, where, as a Roman Catholic, his activities were suspect; in November 1583 he fled to France and in March 1586/7, for his supposed part in the Babington Plot, he was attainted. In his absence the administration of Nazareth's estate was granted on 15 May 1585 to her daughter, Elizabeth Southwell (P.C.C., Admon. Act Bk, 1581-1586, f. 140). Paget died abroad in 1589; William Camden, writing of his death, pays him tribute by saying that "at

Bruxels died Thomas Lord Paget, who being deeply devoted to Mary Queen of Scots, and thereof suspected, withdrew himself out of England ... leaving one onely son, William, behind him, whom he had by Nazareth Newton; but to the Commonwealth of Learning he left a sad Miss of himself" (The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, late Queen of England ... (4th ed., 1688), p. 438). To the Scottish queen, by his flight, Paget performed an unintended service. When Mary was removed to Tutbury in Staffordshire in January 1584/5, the castle was found to be so badly furnished and so lacking in means of defence that a royal order was issued to supply the defects with the "housholde stuf, plate, and naprie" and the "weapon and shott" which remained at Beaudesert. Unfortunately the baron's house had been ransacked: "dyuers bedds, and many hangings, that wer the lord Pagets ... ar in such hands as they will not well be gotten out of them:" and Sir Ralph Sadler, the queen's gaoler, reported that "My L. Pagets late household stuff not holding out so good in substance as in qualite, of so muche as was brought hither, besydes the meanesse of the more part of it causid somewhat adooe to please this company." Elizabeth's parsimonious supplies had to be eked out, however, and Mary and her train made do with what they had: "with some shift and words to supply [with speede the necessary wantes," wrote Sadler resignedly, "the better sort wer quyeted" (see The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler, Knight-Banneret, ed. Arthur Clifford (Edinburgh, 1809), II, 423, 451-52, 469, 489).

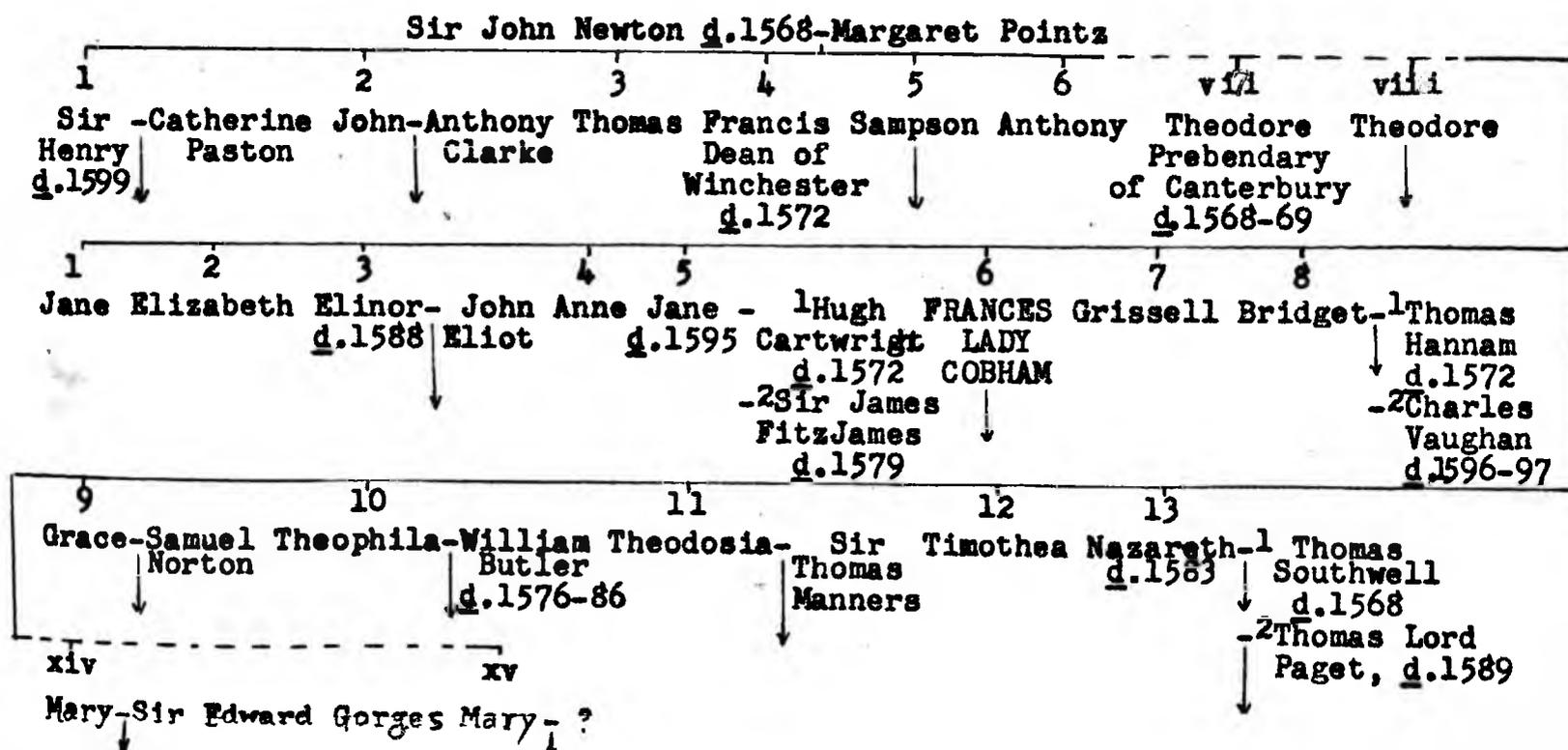
The son, William, attended the funeral of his uncle, William Lord Cobham, in 1597 (see above, p. 671); married in 1602 the queen's cousin, Lettice Knollys, niece of the Earl of Banbury; and in 1604 was restored to the Barony of Paget of Beaudesert (see C.P., X, 283). His half-sister, Elizabeth Southwell, apparently died unmarried.

[xiv-xv?] Nazareth was the last of his sisters whom Sir Henry included in his pedigree, although in his will he mentioned another, an illegitimate one who seems to have been born of the same mother as the Newton bastard, Theodore: "Item I geue to the Children of Theodore my base brother ffortye poundes to be equally divided emongst them, and the like some to the children of Mary his Sister." Nowhere other than in the will is reference made to a natural child of Sir John Newton's called Mary. Perhaps it is only by coincidence, however, that something is known of a Mary Newton whom the heralds described as Sir John's daughter. According to a pedigree in Collinson, III, 157, Sir Edward Gorges of Wraxall, in Somerset, married firstly a daughter of Sir John Newton and had by her a son and heir, Edmund, and a daughter, Anne. This information is confirmed in The Visitation of the County of Somerset In the Year 1623, ed. Frederic Thomas Colby (Harleian Society Volume XI, 1876), pp. 42, 122, where Lady Gorges's name is given as 'Mary' (and where erroneously the knight is called 'Edmund' rather than 'Edward'. That the Christian name is as Collinson gives it is shown by Edmund Spenser, who, in his dedication of Daphnaïda (1591) to one of the Gorges family, traces the descent of this Sir Edward from the Howards of Norfolk.) In Colby's edition of the visitation records, however, Mary Newton is given only one child, Edmund; no daughter Anne is mentioned. Genealogists have been troubled by this match between Gorges and Mary Newton, because Sir Edward's second wife is shown, in the authorities cited and in Maclean's Memoir of Poyntz, to have been Mary, the daughter of Sir Anthony Pointz of Iron Acton, who became the mother of Vice-Admiral Sir William Gorges (father of the poet, Sir Arthur Gorges) and of Sir Thomas Gorges (second husband of Helena Marchioness of Northampton, and father by her of the first Lord Gorges: see Charles Angell Bradford's Helena Marchioness of Northampton (1936), especially pp. 203-05). That is, if Mary Newton were the daughter of Margaret Lady Newton, Gorges's second wife was the aunt of his first wife, and the children of his second marriage were first cousins once removed to those of his first. As Thomas B. Allen says, "Sir Edward Gorges was brother-in-law to Sir J. Newton, and not likely to have married first the niece and then the aunt" (Misc. Gen. et Her., I (1868), 78). (Raymond Gorges, in whose Story of a Family Through Eleven Centuries Illustrated by Portraits and Pedigrees Being a History of the Family of Gorges (Boston, 1944) one would expect to find this problem considered, obviates all difficulty by omitting Mary Newton and her children from both pedigree charts and text.) There is, however, a simple answer to the

problem expressed by Allen. Since Mary Lady Gorges is not included in Sir Henry's pedigree, one may assume that she, if a daughter of Sir John's, was illegitimate, and that, since she had no Pointz blood, her husband did not marry within the prohibited bounds by making Lady Newton's sister his second wife.

Even if, however, Mary Lady Gorges was a bastard, one cannot regard her as the sister whose children Sir Henry mentioned in his will of 1599. Mary's son, Edmund, according to his inquisition post mortem (P.R.O., Cl42/129/38), died on 31 March 1561, leaving as his heir a son of twenty-one. (See the will of this son, Edward, dated 10 August and proved 18 September 1568 (P.C.C. Babington 17), for evidence that he was of at least eight children. He himself left young sons at the time of his death in 1568: Edward, born in 1564 and later knighted, and Ferdinand, born about 1566 and later famous as the Sir Ferdinando Gorges of the Essex rebellion.) Edmund died in possession of the Wraxall estates and must therefore have outlived his father, Sir Edward, who had himself outlived Mary for some years, since he married Mary Pointz after her death and had at least five more children by his second marriage. Mary Newton can hardly have died later than 1550, so that her daughter Anne (of whom no trace other than the mention of her in the visitation records followed by Collinson remains), must have been born no later than the 1540s, and probably much earlier. Anne could, of course, have survived until 1599 and thus have been mentioned in her uncle's will, but it is unlikely that she did so, and she could certainly not have been described as 'children'. On the whole it seems likely that Mary Newton, Lady Gorges, was a by-blow of her father's youth, fathered long before Sir John's marriage with Margaret Pointz, and that the base sister whom Sir Henry mentions in his will at the end of the century was (if not the child of Theodore Newton's mother by a man other than his own father) another illegitimate daughter of the knight's, born much later in his life.

Since the length of this note on Lady Cobham's family requires something in the way of a key to it, the following simple tabular pedigree has been abstracted from Sir Henry Newton's pedigree in MS. Rawlinson B.66, ff. 91b-92, and supplemented with the names of the two, or perhaps four children of Sir John who are not included in that source of information. The arabic numbers placed above the names are Sir Henry's, and indicate the sections of the foregoing note in which the nineteen individuals whom he names are considered; the Roman numerals denote the four persons whom he excludes, but whom one may regard as probably or possibly Sir John's children. In the text the numerals, both arabic and Roman, are placed in a single sequence.



(40) Henry, the second son of George Lord Cobham, is usually relegated in pedigrees of the family to the position of fifth or even sixth son. Born in September 1529, he died before 31 March 1551. See above, Appendix, pp. 1071-74.

(41) George Brooke, the third son of George Lord Cobham, was born on 27 January 1532/3 (see Appendix, p. 1074), and probably died in 1570. He is last mentioned in 1568 and 1569. In a list of "The booke of a benevolence of thinhabitauntes of the parysshe of St<sup>t</sup> Margarettes," Westminster, dated 1568, appears the name "George Cobham" (MS. Lansdowne 10, f. 109); on 17 November 1569 Thomas Stemp of St. Mary's College "nighe Wintō" (Winchester) informed Sir William Cecil that the chapter was forced to refuse Cecil's request of a lease of a farm belonging to the college for "George Cobham her Maiesties trusty and wellbeloued seruant" (MS. Lansdowne 11, f. 181). Soon afterward Brooke died and his wife remarried, and when the administration of her father's estate was granted to her on 13 September 1572 the letters were addressed to her under the name of Sprinte, which was that of her second husband (see following note). No posthumous references to George Brooke are found except one, which indicates that he died in debt to the Crown: in a list of 'Remembraunces' drawn up for William Lord Cobham in 1587 there is mention of "Mr. George Cobham's debt to the Queen" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XIII, 352).

(42) Christina Brooke was the daughter and heir of Richard Duke of Poerhayes, Otterton, sheriff of Devon in 1565, who died on 8 September 1572, by Elizabeth Franke of York (see Misc. Gen. et Her., III (1910), 28-29; Rogers, Pt. 1, p. 63). The Richard Duke with whom Sir Walter Raleigh dealt for the farm on which he had been born was Christina's first cousin. The Duke arms are shown on the tomb of George Lord Cobham, erected in 1561; Christina had then been married to George Brooke for at least four years, for their first child was born in July 1558. She was remembered in her mother-in-law's will of 7 October 1558 (see above, pp. 92-93), and on 4 October 1559 she attended her sister-in-law's funeral at Cobham (see above, p. 198).

Christina married again soon after George Brooke's death, for the archiepiscopal letters of administration of her father's estate were granted to her on 13 September 1572 as "Christiana Sprinte al's Duke filie naturali et l'time Rich'i Duke" (P.C.C. Admon. Act Bk 1572, f. 14a). Her second husband was Gregory Sprinte, Member of Parliament for Shaftesbury (1586) and Bridport (1589) (see Return of Members of Parliament (1878), Pt. 1, pp. 418, 423). With his wife's sons by her first marriage Sprinte entered into a dispute over the Duke estates which Sir Francis Walsingham attempted to settle by appointing Henry Willoughby, William Lambarde, Richard Hurleston and Michael Hikes to hear "the cause in controversy between Mr. Duke Brooke and Mr. Sprinte"; the arbitrators, however, were unsuccessful and on 27 May 1586 they had to ask Walsingham himself "to endeavour to effect a sound and Christian reconciliation between them" (see S.P., Dom., 1581-90, pp. 327, 329-30).

Christina survived her second husband and all of her children but one, and, dying in 1608, was described in the inquisition post mortem taken on 24 April 1609 (P.R.O., C142/311/120; copied in Wards 7/42/104) as "Cristiana Sprynt vidua", her property as that of "defunctae vx'is Gregorij Sprynt ... et filie et hered' Ric' Duke". No mention is made in the records of 1609 of George Brooke, who had then been dead for over thirty-five years.

(43) Genealogists have found difficulty in establishing the order in which George Brooke's sons were born. Holinshed (III, 1509) lists them as Duke, Charles and Peter; MS. Ufford I, 508, followed by Rogers (Pt. 2, p. 12) as Peter, Duke and Charles. The statement in the Ufford collection purports to come from "a Pedigree on Parchment in the Poss<sup>n</sup> of Rev<sup>d</sup> Cha<sup>s</sup> Brooke 1817". Yet Duke was certainly the eldest, and the date of Peter's christening, and the authenticated age of Charles at the time of his mother's death, show that Charles was younger than Peter. It seems likely, therefore, that both the list in Holinshed and the Ufford pedigree are wrong, and that the order should be: Duke, Peter and Charles. The Harleian pedigrees are not, unfortunately, complete enough to confirm this deduction, since MS. Harl. 2134, ff. 129b-133b, mentions none of George Brooke's children, and MS.

Harl. 6157, ff. 9b-10, omits Peter. Cecil Paper 225/1, while drawn up in 1571, when all three sons seem to have been alive, mentions only Duke and his sisters.

Duke Brooke was born in March 1562/3: Cecil Paper 225/1 says that he was "borne in Marche. 1562", and that by this is meant 1562/3 is proved by an entry in the christening register of St. Margaret's, Westminster, in which "Duke Cobham", the son of George, is shown to have been christened on 21 March 1562/3 (Memorials of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster: The Parish Registers, 1539-1660, ed. Arthur Meredyth Burke (1914), p. 21). The first references to him as a man are those to his acting as diplomatic courier for his uncle, Sir Henry Cobham (see above, p. 477, n. 60). In 1586 he was involved in some sort of wrangle over property with his step-father (see preceding note), and in 1597 he was present at the funeral of William Lord Cobham (see above, p. 671). Duke Brooke was friendly with the Wottons (for whose connection with the Lords Cobham see above, p. 115, n. 27); he acted as executor with the Earl of Oxford of the will of Sir John Wotton (brother of the first Lord Wotton), which was proved on 7 May 1597. With the earl, he received from Wotton "a rent-charge or annuity of 66 l. 13 s. 4 d., charged upon the lands of his father, Thomas Wotton", and Wotton was buried at his own request in the church at Templecombe, Somerset, where Duke was, with his brothers, lord of the manor (see George R. Corner, "Notices of John Lord Stanhope of Harrington," Archaeologia, XXXVIII (1855), 401).

From about 1597 Brooke was prominent at Court. On 30 May a memorandum was made of the receipt of part payment from him of a debt owed to Thomas Lake (later Principal Secretary of State) (see H.M.C., Report 5, Appendix, p. 289; Salisbury Papers, VII, 224). In the autumn he took part in the Islands Voyage with his cousin, Sir William Brooke, under Essex (see above, p. 734). Soon afterward he began to ingratiate himself with Sir Robert Cecil by means of wgifts of which the "live herons" which he sent to the Secretary in April 1603 (see H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XV, 46) are no doubt an example. The collaboration of Brooke and Cecil in buying up the estates of the attainted Lord Cobham after 1603 can only be discussed in the wider context of the story of Cobham's fate.

Duke Brooke did not long survive the collapse of the main line of his family. In the registers of the church at Templecombe is the entry: "1606. -- Duke Brooke, Esquire, Lord of this Manor, departed this life at London the 27th day of Maye, and was buried at Cobham in Kent, on xth June" (quoted in Rogers, Pt. 2, p. 12). The administration of his estates, as well as that of Peter's, was granted to his brother Charles on 12 July, his widow Margaret (his executrix and principal beneficiary under the terms of his nuncupative will of 27 May, P.C.C. Stafford 54), renouncing her rights.

Duke Brooke left no surviving issue; he had apparently had only one son, to whom an entry in the registers of Templecombe refers: "1587. -- Duke Brooke, the sonne and heir of Duke Brooke, Esqr., was buried xiij October" (quoted in Rogers, Pt. 2, p. 12).

(44) Little is known about Margaret Brooke, Duke's wife, to whom he was married as early as 1587, if it was her son who died late in that year. The extensive pedigree in MS. Harl. 6157, ff. 9b-10, does not note Duke's marriage; MS. Ufford IX, 132, calls his wife Margaret Berkeley, and Rogers (Pt. 2, p. 12), probably following this latter source, says that "she appears to have been a Berkley." Her will, however, identifies her certainly. It was drawn up on 27 December 1640 (Rogers incorrectly dates it 30 January 1641/2, which is the date of a codicil which was added to it at that time) and proved on 7 February 1641/2 (P.C.C. Cambell 13). In it are mentioned Margaret's brother, Robert Berkeley, who was to be her executor, and his sons Michael, John and Maurice, as well as her nephew, Sir Henry King, and her nieces Penelope Warnford, Margaret Randall and Elizabeth Poldene. By comparing these names with the notes on the family of Berkeley in Sir John Maclean's edition of John Smyth's Lives of the Berkeleys Lords of the Honour, Castle and Manor of Berkeley In the County of Gloucester From 1066 to 1618 ... (Gloucester, 1883), I, 266, it is apparent that Margaret Brooke was the daughter of Sir Maurice Berkeley of Bruton, Somerset, Standard-Bearer to King Henry VIII, to Edward VI and to Queen Elizabeth, and the captor of Sir Thomas Wyatt in the rebellion of February 1553/4. Sir Maurice died in 1581, having married twice.

His first wife was Catherine Blount, the daughter of William Lord Mountjoy and the widow of John Champernowne (the uncle of Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Humphrey Gilbert); by her Sir Maurice had six children, three of them the famous Berkeley brothers who were knighted in Elizabeth's wars, and the others Mrs. Gertrude Horne, Mrs. Elizabeth Persevall and Anne, the wife of Sir Nicholas Pointz, the cousin of Frances Lady Cobham (see above, pp. 1101-03, n. 39). Sir Maurice's second wife was Elizabeth, the daughter of Anthony Sondes of Throwley, in Kent (Smyth calls it 'Throughby'), and thus the sister-in-law of Margaret Lady Sondes, the daughter of William Lord Cobham. Elizabeth Sondes, whom Berkeley was rumoured to be about to marry in 1562 (see H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, I, 266), died in 1585 and was buried in the parish church of St. James, Clerkenwell. There was erected for her "a faire Tombe in the North wall of the Chancell", above which was placed a most informative epitaph; as paraphrased in 1633, it recorded that

The Lady Elizabeth Barckley of the Queenes Majesties Bed Chamber, and second wife to Sir Maurice Barckley, Knight, deceased (Standard-bearer to her Majestie, to her Father, and to her Brother) departed this life in this Parish, the 16. day of Iune, An. Dom. 1585. (being 52. yeeres old) in the faith of Jesus Christ, and was buried in the floore under this Tombe. This Lady was the daughter of Anthony Sondes, Esquire. She had children, two sonnes and one daughter, Robert, Margaret, and Iohn.

(The Survey of London: Contayning The Originall, Increase, Moderne Estate, and Government of that City, Methodically set downe . . . Begunne first by the paines and industry of Iohn Stow, in the yeere 1598. Afterwards enlarged by the care and diligence of [Anthony]. Munday, in the yeere 1618. And now completely finished by the study and labour of A.M. H.D. and others, this present yeere 1633 (1633), p. 484). Smyth, who obviously knew the epitaph, mentions no marriage for the daughter, Margaret, but it is clear that she was Duke Brooke's wife. For the sons of Sir Maurice's second marriage were Sir John Berkeley, who died childless, and Robert, the father of Michael, Maximilian, Maurice, John, Anne (the wife of Bishop King of London's eldest son, Sir Henry) and Penelope (unmarried in 1624, when Smyth made his notes on this branch of the Berkeley family). Among these people are Margaret Brooke's beneficiaries: Robert, her brother; Michael, John and Maurice, his sons (of whom the will describes Maurice as the youngest, so that Smyth's order for them must be incorrect); Sir Henry King, her nephew by marriage; and Penelope, her niece. The other two nieces mentioned were most probably the children of Margaret's half-sisters, Gertrude Horne and Elizabeth Persevall, who Smyth says had many children. (They were not the children of Anne Lady Pointz, whose daughters are all named in Maclean's Memoir of Poyntz.) It is thus unquestionable that Margaret, the daughter of Sir Maurice Berkeley, and Margaret, the widow of Duke Brooke who made her will in 1640, were the same person.

In Margaret Brooke's will there is mention of two people connected with the story of her husband's family; "Sr William Brooke his eldest daughter" was to have "the testator's "bracelet of orion pearle and . . . Ringe of five diamondes" (see below, p. 1196, n. 75), and "my cosen Haniball Baskerville", who was no doubt a relative of Mrs. Charles Brooke (see below, p. 1124, n. 46), was also given a legacy.

Although the registers of St. James's, Clerkenwell, do not contain an entry relating to her burial there, Margaret Brooke requested that she be interred in "Clarckenwell Church in London by the Tombe of my mother".

(45) In the registers of baptisms at Otterton, Devon, is the entry: "1565. 20 October. Petrus fil. Georgii Cobham aîs Brooke armig." (T.N. Brushfield, "Raleghana," Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association . . ., XXVIII (Plymouth, 1896), 277; quoted in Misc. Gen. et Her., III (1910), 29). Although, considering this entry, Peter would have been sixteen years old early in 1582, and not fourteen, it is possibly he who is listed in Joseph Foster's Alumni Oxonienses . . . (Oxford, 1891), I, 295, as "Cobham, Peter, of Devon, Arm. Brasenose Coll., matric. 9 March,

1581-2, aged 14." The matriculator may, however, have belonged to a family of which virtually nothing is known and which does not seem to have been connected except in the remotest degree with the Brookes; one member of this family was knighted at Greenwich on 22 May 1605 and became Sir William Cobham of Devon (see Shaw's Knights, II, 138). Nothing is certainly known of Peter Brooke, except the date of his christening and the fact that he was dead by 12 July 1606, when the administration of his estates, and of those of his brother Duke, was granted upon Duke's death to the surviving brother, Charles (see above, p. 1121, n. 43). Peter's name is omitted from the Brooke pedigree in MS. Harl. 6157, ff. 9b-10.

(46) Charles Brooke was probably born in 1568, since he was found to be in his forty-first year when his mother's inquisition post mortem was taken on 24 April 1609 ("Carolus Brooke Ar et filius et heres ppinquios' ... et fuit etat' quadragint' Annor' et amplius:" P.R.O., C142/311/120). With his brothers he was lord of the manor of Templecombe in Somerset, and, surviving both of them, was granted the administration of their estates on 12 July 1606; in 1609 he succeeded to his mother's property and the next year he died. The registers of Templecombe record his death and burial: "1610. -- Charles Brooke, Esquire, Lord of this Manor, dyed and was buryed 5th April" (quoted in Rogers, Pt. 2, p. 12). He no doubt died at Templecombe, since a letter which he wrote to Sir Robert Cecil on 4 April was dated there (see below).

In his will, made on 4 April and proved on 7 May 1610 (P.C.C. Wingfield 38), Charles describes himself as "Charles Brooke of Temple Combe in the Countie of Somersett Esquire sickle of bodie but of perfect mynde and memorie". He makes minor bequests to friends and servants, and then goes on: "The rest and residue of all my Money Jewells goods and Chattels personall not herein giuen or bequeathed (my plate only excepted) I giue and bequeathe unto the righte honorable Robert Earle of Salisbury Lorde highe Treasurer of England my worthie and honorable freind." Further on in the will the bequests to Cecil continue: "Item I giue and bequeathe unto the saied righte honorable Robert Earle of Salisbury ... his heires and assignes for euer the Reversion and inheritance of all my Mannors Lordshippes Ilandes ffarmes landes ten'tes and hereditamentes whatsoever and by whatsoever name or names the same be called or knownen." This wholesale gift of the accumulated possessions of the Brookes to his late cousin's husband and their children proves how close to Cecil of Salisbury Charles was, and indicates why the earl had continued his collaboration with the Somerset branch of the Brookes after the death of his original colleague, Duke Brooke. Charles had taken over his brother's rôle as suitor to the king for the estates of the attainted Lord Cobham immediately he became head of the family on 27 May 1606: An Index to Bills of Privy Signet ... (ed. W.P.W. Phillimore (1890), pp. 981, 87) contains references to grants made to him by the Crown in July 1606 and July 1607, and a letter from Sir Thomas Lake to Cecil dated 9 September 1606 notes that the king has just signed "the bill for Mr. Brooke" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVIII, 278). These grants were of lands formerly part of the estate of Lord Cobham, of Charles's interest in which there is documentary evidence besides these bills. On 3 August 1606 he was granted lands in Kent, "parcel of the lands of Lord Cobham, attainted" (S.P., Dom., 1603-10, p. 328); on 13 June of the same year he had granted some of the lands of Maidstone College to John Dacombe, later knighted and made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVIII, 165). (In executing these leases to Dacombe, Charles came into conflict with the former baron's wife, the Countess of Kildare, who, in 5 James I (1607-08), brought a recovery in Chancery of the manor of Temple Strowde, which Charles had received in 1606 and which he had regranted, at a tremendous profit and despite the countess's life interest in it: see J.F. Wadmore, "The Knights Hospitallers in Kent," Archaeologia Cantiana, XXII (1897), 254.) In these dealings Charles was closely associated with Cecil, with whom he was in familiar communication right up to the day before he died. Cecil Paper 128/111, listed in H.M.C., Report 3, Appendix, p. 177, is a letter from Charles to Cecil, dated 4 April 1610; it requests the earl to protect a clergyman whose right to a living at Lidlinche in Dorset Lord Stourton is threatening to contest. Charles says, "I thinke this wilbe the last peticion that ever I shall make unto you or

move you in being att this tyme vysited by my God with a charge correctinge sicknesse and muche wakened thereby." He adds that, "for this as for manye more highe favours I shalbe ever bounde unto your honor." Cecil's collaboration with his Brooke kinsmen had no doubt been dictated largely by policy, for none of the children of George Brooke left issue; Charles's will was the tangible reward of his assistance to them. Charles himself was so deeply in debt when he died, and his properties so heavily mortgaged, that he had to require Cecil in his will to discharge debts amounting to £ 14,000 before the earl might receive his legacy. Cecil must have expected such a conditional bequest, for he seems to have complied willingly with the stipulation and proved the will only a month after Charles died. He knew what he was about. On 14 June 1611, all "the lands lately belonging to Chas. Brooke" were officially made his (S.P., Dom., 1611-18, p. 38).

Charles Brooke married Mary, the daughter of Humphrey Baskerville (or, as he himself wrote it, 'Baskerfield'), Alderman of London. In Baskerville's will of 1 September 1563 (P.C.C. Stevenson 9, proved on 14 March 1563/4), there was left "to euery of my children aswell married as vnmarried And to the childe in my Wiefes boddy (owt of my portion) The somme of two hundrethe poundes of lawfull monney of Inglande to be payd to the same children as they and euery of them shall cum to their lawfull age or mariadges". Mary's mother, Jane Packington, married again in 1564, her second husband being Leonell Duckett, also an Alderman of London and the first Governor of the Company of Mines Royal; in 1572 he was Lord Mayor of London (see The Visitation of Salop, 1623, . . ., edd. George Grazebrook and John Paul Rylands (Harleian Society Volumes XXVIII, XXIX, 1889), II, 387; Allegations for Marriage Licences Issued by the Bishop of London, 1520 to 1610, extracted by Joseph Lemuel Chester, ed. George J. Armytage (Harleian Society Volume XXV, 1887), I, 28; M.B. Donald, Elizabethan Copper: The History of the Company of Mines Royal 1568-1605 (1955), pp. 43-46). Duckett made his will on 21 March 1585/6 (P.C.C. Rutland 9, proved on 20 February 1587 "iuxta computacoem eccl'ie Anglicanae"); he left "to my wiues dawghters and to their husbandes eache of them a mourninge goewne". Mary Baskerville's first husband was Benjamin Gunston (Gonson, or Gonstone) of Stabridge, Essex, the brother-in-law of "SR John Hawkins Kt. a famous sea capt." (see The Visitations of Essex, ed. Metcalfe, I, 361). Gunston, son of a Treasurer of the Marine Causes, was himself an admiralty official, and one of the commissioners appointed on 21 October 1571 to investigate the piracy of Thomas Brooke and others (see H.M.C., Report 13, Appendix, Part IV, pp. 8-11). Left a childless widow by Gunston's death, Mary, at some unknown date, married Charles Brooke, and, after his death, married yet again, her third husband being Sir William Bulstrode, who was a distant connection of Queen Elizabeth's cousins, the Knollyses (see Hasted's Kent, ed. Drake, p. xx). A lease among the Cecil Papers, dated 1622 (Deeds 115/19), concerns lands in Cliffe and Chalk, Kent, held by Bulstrode and his wife; she is described as the widow of Charles Brooke, indicating that the property was part of her dower. The marriage of Charles Brooke and Mary Gunston is shown in MS. Ufford IX, 132, although not in the pedigree in MS. Harl. 6157, ff. 9b-10, and in the will of Mrs. Duke Brooke, 'Haniball Baskerville' is mentioned as a cousin of the testatrix (see the notes to the family tree, p. 1122, n. 44). This was probably the famous eccentric, Hannibal Baskerville of Abingdon, antiquary and philanthropist (see D.N.B.).

(47) Elizabeth and Anne are not mentioned among George Brooke's issue in Holinshed, nor does Rogers refer to them. The Brooke pedigree in MS. Harl. 6157, ff. 9b-10, includes them, and shows that they died without issue, as do MSS. Ufford I, 508, and IX, 132. Cecil Paper 225/1 gives the dates of their births, and shows that the other pedigrees are wrong to name Anne before Elizabeth. Elizabeth was "borne at Cobham the 15. of July. 1558": in the will of Anne Lady Cobham, her grandmother, drawn up on 7 October 1558 (see above, pp. 92, 94), George Brooke's wife was left "iiijli in money to pay for the nursyng of her chyld", and "the chyld Elizabeth" was bequeathed "a pommander enclosed with gold and a litle mawndolen cup [cf. 'maudlin pot' in O.E.D.] of sylver gilt". "Anne Broke [was] borne at North fleete [? The parsonage of Southfleet, Kent, had been granted to George Brooke by King Edward: see above, p. 112, n. 16] on tuesday the 16. of July 1560." Both Elizabeth and Anne

seem to have been alive as late as 1571, when the pedigree in the Cecil Paper was drawn up; when they died one cannot ascertain.

(48) The importance to the career of his brother, William Lord Cobham, of Thomas Brooke has made it essential that all the known biographical facts about him be included in the main body of this work (see especially pp. 8 (and Appendix, p. 1074), 20-21, 50 ff., 87-89, 224 ff., 314 ff., 381). Here need only be noted the error in Collins's Peerage, I, 287, where he is said to have been "fifth son to Thomas Lord Cobham".

(49) It does not seem to have been noted by the many biographers of Bess of Hardwick that she was Thomas Brooke's step-mother-in-law, yet the Sir William Cavendish whose daughter Brooke married was certainly Bess's second husband, the father of her famous children the Cavendishes of Newcastle. In Holinshed, III, 1509, it is said simply that Thomas Brooke married Catherine, the daughter of Sir William Candish (that is, Cavendish: see a letter from Edmund Lascelles to the Earl of Shrewsbury in Lodge, III, 155-57, in which the name is so spelled). Waller, Scott-Robertson, Rogers and D'Elboux all accept this statement, while Rogers (Pt. 2, p. 13) refers to Collins's Peerage, I, 287, for the additional information that Catherine's mother was Sir William's first wife, Margaret Bostock. The source of Collins's facts was no doubt the visitation records of Derbyshire for 1569, where the second of the married daughters of Sir William Cavendish and Margaret Bostock is said to have been Catherine, the wife of Thomas Cobham (see The Genealogist, VII, 66). The Brooke pedigree in MS. Harl. 6157, f. 9b, corroborates the visitation records by describing Thomas's wife as "Catherine filia Willm̄ Cauendishe militis ex Margareta Bostocke". Collins and MS. Add. 5861, f. 384, give the inscription on Margaret Lady Cavendish's tomb in St. Botolph's, Aldgate; Collins also catalogues Sir William's other wives and children, showing his last wife to have been Elizabeth Hardwick, who became Lady St. Loe and then Countess of Shrewsbury. Bess of Hardwick's influence upon the affairs of the Brookes of Cobham has been alluded to in this work (see above, pp. 275, 305 n. 10, 509-12).

Catherine Cavendish was married to Thomas Brooke before 1559, when their son was born, and her arms are on the tomb of George Lord Cobham, which was erected in 1561, but no reference to her earlier in date than 1571 survives. In 1571 she was employed by her husband in connection with the treasons which almost destroyed the house of Cobham; two years later, on 5 April 1573, in order that she might visit Thomas during his imprisonment, the Privy Council directed the Lieutenant of the Tower "to permitte Thomas Cobham's wife to have once or twice a weke accesse unto her husbände at suche tymes as shalbe thought by him convenient, till he shall have direction to the contrarie" (A.P.C., 1571-75, p. 95). That she survived her husband is proved by the allusions to her being troubled by her son-in-law Gyrtton in 1580 (see below, pp. 1126-27, n. 51), but when she died or where she is buried is not known.

In MS. Harl. 2134, ff. 129b-133b, Thomas Brooke is given no children by Catherine Cavendish, and of the nineteenth-century antiquaries only Waller ("Lords of Cobham," R. 2, p. 139) mentions their having a child, and then only one, a daughter, Frances Mills. Yet they had a son and two daughters, of whom the son, Thomas, seems to have died young. He is named in MS. Harl. 6157, f. 9b, as "Thomas sine ple obijt;" he is omitted from Holinshed and from the pedigree in MS. Ufford I, 508, but included in that in MS. Ufford IX, 132, where he is also said to have died without issue. Cecil Paper 225/1, dating from about 1571, says imperfectly that he was "borne on tuesday anno dñi. 1559"; it does not mention his death.

(50) Holinshed, III, 1509, says that Thomas Brooke's issue was a daughter, the wife of Arthur Mills, esquire; in the revision of the same account, written in 1598 (MS. Add. 37666), mention of even this one child is omitted. In MS. Harl. 6157, f. 9b, the girl is named Frances ("Francisca"), and in MSS. Ufford I, 508, and IX, 132, she is given as Frances, the wife of Arthur Mills. Mills was most probably a Londoner, although it has been found impossible to identify his family (the Milles

pedigree in MS. Add. 33920, f. 20b, does not include him). He may have been the recipient of a letter of 20 July 1596, in which Benjamin Grove reports to "Arthur Mylles, Little St. Bartholomew's", on French movements in the Channel, and in which it is said that "My Lord should know" of the enemy's activities, "My Lord" being, most probably, William Lord Cobham (S.P., Dom., 1595-97, p. 258). In the course of the Privy Council's examination of citizens who had been in communication with Essex's rebels, on 18 February 1601/2, the Lord Treasurer examined an "Arthur Mills, senior", who had been in the Marshalsea in August 1601 and had there had a conversation with another prisoner, who had been accused of favouring the late earl. Although Henry Lord Cobham's known antipathy to Essex is mentioned in the examination, there is no indication of Mills's attitude either to the baron or to his rival (see S.P., Dom., 1601-03, pp. 152-53). The difficulty of identifying Arthur Mills among the many men referred to in the correspondence of the Lords Cobham and their circle is increased by the existence of a Christopher Milles in the employ of the two lords and by that of Thomas Milles, diplomat and herald, among their business associates.

There are occasional references to the children of Arthur Mills and Frances Brooke. On 26 January 1607/8 Rowland Whyte wrote from Whitehall to the Earl of Shrewsbury that "Mr. Arthur Mill's [sic] son, for desperately killing a man, was hanged on Friday last" (Lodge, III, 224). The young man's Christian name is not known (although, if the examinee in the Council's investigation of the Essex rebellion was his father, the young man was probably Arthur Mills the younger); his sister's name, however, which was apparently that of her mother, survives in a letter of intercession which the young lady wrote (obviously without success) to their kinsman, Cecil, for his life. It is dated only 1607, headed "Mrs Mylles to my Lord", and signed "Francis Mills". In it she says: "My good Lord. I am forced to be ann humble suter to your Lordshipp in letters. Who dare nott myself presume tooappeare before you, with outt leave. My sute is in the behalfe of my poore unfortunatt brother now in prison for the killing of a man. Wherin though the matter in itt selfe bee ill enough, yett I am afraide is made much worse too your Lordshipp then it is, but I humblie beeseche your Lordshipp that as it hath pleased you hertofore to honor mee with the title of a godfather, so you would now please to bee a father both to him and mee in geating him a repreevve. Your Lordshipp shall herin bind even all of us with our lives and best endeavors evermore too honor and serve you" (Cecil Paper 124/98, as transcribed at Hatfield by the librarian, Miss Clare Talbot; listed in H.M.C., Report 3, Appendix, p. 172). If this Frances was a sister of "the daughter of Arthur Milles" (said by Sir John Maclean to have been a Groom of the Privy Chamber) whose marriage with the son of Sir Edward More in 1602 Cecil tried to break up, considering her reputation to be tainted (see Letters from Sir Robert Cecil, ed. Maclean, pp. 111-13), it is unlikely that the young woman's plea would have had much influence upon Cecil. (This connection between one of the Milleses and one of the Mores, step-children of William Lord Cobham's daughter Frances Lady Stourton, is discussed below, pp. 1202-03, n. 78.)

(51) The second daughter of Thomas Brooke is not mentioned in Holinshed nor by any later historian or antiquary except Hasted, who says that Brooke "left issue two daughters and coheirs" (Kent, I, 493). In MS. Harl. 6157, f. 9b, her Christian name is given as "Dudleya", which is anglicized in MSS. Ufford I, 508, and IX, 132, as "Dudley". The use of the famous surname in this way is unusual (although one of Sir Arthur Gorges's daughters bore it: see his will, P.C.C. Clarke 142), and suggests that Thomas Brooke may have meant it as a compliment to the favourite, Leicester. In the Ufford manuscripts Dudley Brooke is shown to have married, although her husband is not named. The identity of this second son-in-law of Thomas Brooke is revealed by a source other than the usually informative pedigrees. On 22 August 1580 William Lord Cobham wrote to Lord Burghley that, "At his last being at the Court there came to him one Daniel Gyrtton, who married his brother Thomas' daughter, requesting Lord Cobham to procure him some letters to Lord Gray, for his favour towards him." Cobham says that he "what he could for the man, but that he also "charged Gyrtton with purloining all his sister's stores and books, which he denied, but said that he would send them to Lord Cobham's house in London,

and that among them there was an English book dedicated to the Queen of Scots. He answered that he marvelled much that Gyrton would keep any such thing, and not deliver it to some of the Council. Since then, he had sent it to Lord Cobham, and he to Burghley" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, II, 340). No doubt by Cobham's 'sister' is meant his sister-in-law, Catherine Brooke, and the gist of the letter is that Gyrton had been going through his mother-in-law's possessions, among which were compromising relics of Thomas Brooke's traitorous career.

Who Gyrton was, or what his family, one cannot say: the name is a variant of Kirton or Kerton, but in the pedigree of Kirton of Edmonton, Middlesex, no Daniel, nor anyone married to Dudley Brooke, appears (see Middlesex Pedigrees, ed. Armytage, pp. 106-07); the genealogical notes on the Kirtons in N. & Q., 6th ser., VIII, 99, are equally uninformative about such a man. The only identifiable member of the family who was connected in any way with the Brookes was Thomas Kirton, who was at Rome with Anne Lady Cobham's brother-in-law, Sir Robert Peckham, in 1569 (see above, p. 1091, n. 25).

Despite what must have been his social obscurity, Daniel Gyrton's two most prominent uncles by marriage tried to assist him in his career. Lord Cobham's obliging him with letters of recommendation to Lord Grey was followed by Sir Henry Cobham's employment of Gyrton as his courier, and his request to Secretary Walsingham on 13 June 1582 "to show gracious manner to ... my nephew Kerton, who married one of my brother Tho. Cobham's daughters, and is returned from Italy ..." (S.P., For., May-December 1582, p. 85). But Gyrton is not mentioned again after this time. Walsingham's reply to Cobham's request of favour for him was a noncommittal notification that his letter had been safely delivered "by your nephew Kerton" (p. 97), and Cobham, perhaps taking a hint, used other couriers. Thus Gyrton may be presumed to have failed in his attempts to rise by the favour of his noble in-laws. Whether he was connected with a more successful courtier, the Edward Kyrton who was to have been one of the members of the Royal Academy which James I proposed to establish, is not known (see Joseph Hunter's "Account of the Scheme for erecting a Royal Academy in England, in the Reign of King James the First," Archaeologia, XXXII (1847), 145).

(52) John Brooke, the fifth son of George Lord Cobham, was probably born on 22 April 1535 (see Appendix, p. 1074), and, after a prolonged education, took his place at home and abroad as the most trustworthy of the brothers of William Lord Cobham and Sir Henry Cobham. According to the Return of Members of Parliament, Pt. 1, pp. 404, 414, John sat for Queenborough in the Parliaments of 1572-81 and 1584-86, sharing the representation of the borough in the latter House with the traitor Parry (see the account of the official disablement of Parry to continue as a Member in Sir Simonds D'Ewes, The Journals of all the Parliaments During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth ... (1682), p. 352). He seems, however, to have taken little part in the proceedings at Westminster; the only possible allusion to him in the Parliamentary journals is to the "Mr. Brooke" who was appointed on 27 November 1584 to the committee which studied "the Bill for the better and more reverend observing of the Sabbath day" (D'Ewes, p. 333). Nor was John conspicuous at Court; the only time at which he joined his busy family in its intrigues there was when he went secretly, with all of his brothers except Lord Cobham, to plead with the Spanish ambassador for the life of Thomas Brooke in 1565 (see above, p. 232). It was in the more modest sphere of provincial life that John Brooke lived while in England. Williame Lambarde, in his Perambulation of Kent ... Collected and written (for the most part) in the yeare. 1570 ... and nowe increased by the addition of some things which the authour him selfe hath obserued since that time (1576), lists "John Cobham" among the names of the nobility and gentry of the county (p. 55). In Kent, as early as 11 February 1561/2, John was one of the Justices of the Peace (see the commission in C.P.R., Elizabeth, 1560-63, pp. 433, 438); on 17 May 1578 he was associated with his nephew Thomas Coppinger and three other men in a commission to see effected the act for the repairing of the road between Milton Regis and Kingsferry, which had been passed in the last session of Parliament (A.P.C., 1577-78, pp. 223-24). John joined his eldest brother in some of the baron's mercantile dealings, signing with Cobham on 13 June 1561 two obligations

"with respect to the payment of customs due in connection with a cargo of wool" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XIII, 58), and was something of a gentleman farmer: on 1 December 1573 the Privy Council wrote a letter "to the Commissioners for the Restrainte of Vittels within the countie of Kent to suffer John Cobham, brother to the Lord Cobham, to transporte from Milton to London xx<sup>ti</sup> quarters of wheate to sell there, being of his owne groweth, upon bandes that he shall bringe a certificat of tharrivall thereof from the Lord Mayour of London, &c." (A.P.C., 1571-75, p. 158).

Among the more important duties of John Brooke as a country gentleman was his responsibility for the musters. At Aghford on 1 October 1569, at the time of the Northern Rebellion, Lord Cobham and he, with six other Kentish knights and squires, sent a report of "the increase of harquebusiers" in the county, as well as a "Brief Certificate of all able men, armour, and weapons, within the Lathes of St. Augustine, Scray, and Shipway, and part of the Lathe of Aylesford" and an "Estimate of the expence of establishing certain places for the practice of harquebusiers in the County of Kent, and of rewards for those who shall be skilled in shooting with the harquebus" (S.P., Dom., 1547-80, p. 344; Robert Furley, A History of the Weald of Kent ... (Ashford and London, 1871-74), II, 497-98, where all the commissioners are named and their report detailed). By 12 May 1573 John was at the head of the commission which reported on the "Musters taken within the Hundreds of Milton, Teneham, Feversham, and Boughton, in the Lathe of Scray, co. Kent" (S.P., Dom., 1547-80, p. 460).

In August 1573 John Brooke was on the Continent, sending reports on enemy manoeuvres to Lord Cobham which were also meant for Burghley's eyes (see H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, II, 55) and within a couple of years was established as a Channel captain in Elizabeth's service. It was in this sea-faring capacity that John had an adventure which assumed the proportions of an international incident between England and the United Provinces. Conyers Read explains the immediate background of the affair. "Lucretia d'Affayladi [sic: Affaytadi], the daughter of a rich Italian merchant in the Low Countries ... was the fiancée of Giraldis, the Portuguese agent in England. At his request Elizabeth ... instructed John Cobham to conduct her to England, On her way, when she was within six miles of Dover, her ship, under the English flag, was intercepted by Flushingers ..." (Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth (1960), pp. 173-74). John Brooke's own narrative may be followed from this point. Writing to Burghley from Middelburg ("Middelburrowgh") on 4 March 1575/6, three days after the event, he says: "You shall understand that on thursday last at vj of the clocke in the afternon iiij<sup>or</sup> shippes of warr of Flushing and of Armewdin mett with me within vj myles of Douer and shott iiij<sup>or</sup> greate shott at me, and with one of there shott the[y] hitt ouer boat with in iiij<sup>or</sup> inches of the water so that I was forced to yeald unto them. They by force entered the boates and haue robbed and spowled us of all ouer goods and money, and I was turned into Armewy in my hoss and my dublett. The[y] toke away from us ouer swerdes and daggers; the[y] haue allso robbed the poore lady of all there [sic] chaynes and brassettes, wyche they haue. I tolld them, before the[y] came aburd, what we ware the[y] might easly deserne by ouer flagg, but they mayed no accompt of no wordes. When we spake unto them of ouer good Quene, they like varletts ansswered unreuerently. They toke ouer mayster, olde Watson, of Douer, away from us, and would haue throwen the good olde man into the seas; but, as God would haue it amongst meany ungodly persons, when [i.e., one] honest man stode up and saued him, and all to this was, as the[y] say, because I would strike my cappsayle to the Prince of Orranges shippes. Surly I know no cause why Her Magestes seruantes or subjectes shuld strike to any man, but to Her Magestes shippes, being within her Magestes streame. But, if my shipp had byne equall to his, I would haue sent him to God or to the deuill. But God hathe other wyss appoynted it, for I am brought by force to Armewy in Seland. Now I am most humbly to desyer youer good Lordshipp to be a meanes to Her Mageste for the deliueray of the poor lady and her company, who are like to be in myserabell estate, for they varletts meane to put her and her company to ransom [sic], and to make them all Spaniardes: youer good Lordship must haue care of that, for I take them all Portingalles. I most humbly desyer youer Lordshipes, seing Her Mageste hathe receaued her and<sup>her</sup> company in to her protection, that her Mageste will take order for her good deliuerance. She

hathe no other frynd to make, nor meaneth not to seke anny awayes but only suche as shall come from Her Mageste. Morouer she sayeth, if I had not come for her, [w]ho was willed so to do from my Lord Cobham and, as he told me, appoynted by Her Mageste, she would not haue auentured her one personne. Therefore I most humbly desyer your good Lordshipp to remember the credytt of a porre gentillman. And, as Your Lordshipp haue bound me to yow allreddy, so I shall be more bound unto yow, if yow now helpe me in thes necessite. The[y] haue taken away from me all thoss letters, wyche my Lord Cobham wrowght unto me abut thes afayeres, so as now I haue nothing to shew, but they say that I was an hiered man by the Imbasador of Portingall. I most humbly desyer your good Lordshipp to let me haue somewhat to shew from Her Mageste, wheroby they may perceau that I was appoynted to this seruyce by Her Mageste. Thus, hoping your good Lordship will take some good order for the deliueray of the poore lady and the restitution of ouer goods and money, I commend yow to the tuition of almyghty God" (J.M.B.C. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Relations Politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre, sous le Règne de Philippe II. Tome VIII. Gouvernement de Requesens. Seconde partie. Le Conseil d'état (26 octobre 1575-1er novembre 1576.) (Bruxelles, 1889), pp. 229-30; paraphrased in S.P., For., 1575-77, p. 259. See also above, p. 392.) In a postscript to his letter Brooke offered to do what he could for the outraged lady: "If Her Mageste will wryght in the poore lady's behallf to the Prince of Orrandg," he told Burghley, "I will endeour my seruice in it;" but Elizabeth, furious with the Dutch for their privateering tactics and with William the Silent for permitting such lawlessness among his forces, chose a man of more authority than Brooke to carry her remonstrances to Holland. From London she at once sent John Herbert, later Secretary of State, to the prince to demand apology and reparation. On 16 March William wrote to the queen from Delft, announcing the release of Lucretia d'Affaytadi and expressing his surprise that Elizabeth had taken so much to heart an incident which was, he claimed, nothing more than the result of an unfortunate mistake. "Madame," wrote the prince, "J'ay esté bien fort estonné, voyant par la lettre qu'il a pleu à Votre Majesté m'escire par Mons<sup>r</sup> Herbert qu'elle a prins tant à coeur qui est advenu à la demoiselle Lucretia de Affetadi accompagnée de Mons<sup>r</sup> Johan Cobham, pour avoir par ung de nos cappitaines de mer esté conduicts vers l'isle de Walcheren, prétextant Votre Majesté de cela comme s'il auroit esté fait au mespris et contemnement d'icelle. Mais pour y respondre je ne puis délaissier de dire à Votre Majesté que ledit capitaine ... a exécuté ce fait devant jamais avoir sceu que ladite damoiselle estrangère estoit advouée de Votre Majesté. A quoy il luy plaira avoir regard de tant plus que moy-mesmes ne suis aussy esté adverty de rien, dont ne m'a esté le moyen pour y pouvoir remédier en temps .... Ce nonobstant, puis qu'il a pleu à Votre Majesté sur ce nous escripre son intention, ne vueillans de notre part avoir tant d'esgard à nostre bon droict et à la cause générale, laquelle toutesfois à bon droict devoit estre préférée, puis mesmes qu'il y va de la gloire de Dieu, avons ce néantmoins, mieulx aymé de satisfaire au désir et bonne volonté de Votre Majesté, luy renvoyant ladite damoiselle avecq ses bagues et hardes, afin que de plus en plus Votre Majesté puisse cognoistre l'entier désir et sincère affection que nous avons de luy faire service et rendre toute très-humble obéyssance ..." (Kervyn de Lettenhove, pp. 270-71, from MS. Cotton, Nero B, vi, number 171 (f. 332). The manuscript is extremely difficult to read, but seems to be accurately transcribed by Lettenhove. Waller ("Lords of Cobham," Pt. 2, p. 139) so far misread this letter as to date it "March 16th, 1560-7" (?) and to see it as evidence of John Brooke's misconduct: he says that William of Orange wrote it to Elizabeth to inform her of Brooke's "elopement from the island of Walcheren with one Lucretia de' Affetati, a lady under the especiall protection of the Queen, who therefore was much offended ....") By the time that Daniel Rogers arrived in Middelburg on 5 April he found there "Mr Cobbham, M<sup>r</sup> Herbert and the ladie Cavagliero Gyraldi his wyfe", and on 9 April "departed M<sup>r</sup> Cobbham with the ladie in the Quenes shippe Achates, of which was cappitayne sir Thomas Cotton" (Kervyn de Lettenhove, p. 312, citing Rogers's journal).

Obviously no blame for the Affaytadi incident attached to John Brooke, for three months after his return to England, on 30 July 1576 the Privy Council sent a letter "to Mr. John Cobham advertising him that he is appointed to be Capten of

one of her Majesties shippes called the Foresight, late under the charge of Mr. Henry Palmer; he is willed to put himself in a redines to take charge of the said shippe by the xth of August, and to make his repaire to Mr. William Holstocke, being now appointed Admirall of such her Majesties shippes as are appointed to be sent to the seas, aswell to receive instructions from him of the tyme and place of their metinges as of any other thinges that shalbe thought fitte for her Majesties service, &c." (A.P.C., 1575-77, p. 175). By September Brooke was writing from the "Aforesight" to Burghley of prizes taken and of the movement of Dutch ships (see H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XIII, 138).

How long his naval career continued it is difficult to say, for the next that is heard of him concerns his part in the Dutch wars against Spain. In the Netherlands, where English intervention was being restricted in the mid-1570s to the activities of private volunteers who assisted the Estates in their struggle against Philip II's generals, Brooke agreed with William the Silent and with the newly elected Austrian governor, the future Emperor Matthias, to outfit a company to take the field. When he made this undertaking is not definitely known. Although his commission from Matthias "to raise 3 companies, each of 200 men, for the service of 'his Majesty [Philip],\* us, and the States General,' at the same rate of pay as other English troops", is dated 21 April 1578 (S.P., For., 1577-78, p. 630), by April 1579 he was said by one of the English Secretaries of State, Sir Thomas Wilson, to have been serving only six months, and by the other, Walsingham, to have "employed himself therein three months" only (see Wilson to William Davison, 14 April 1579, and Walsingham to Davison, 4 April 1579, S.P., For., 1578-79, pp. 492, 478). Three days after the archduke's commission was issued, Brooke was in "haste to be gone" to England with an account of "the troublesome estate of things" in the Netherlands (see Davison to Lord Cobham, Antwerp, 24 April 1578, S.P., For., 1577-78, pp. 631-32). A month later he was performing the duties of a country squire in carrying out the Privy Council's commission to repair roads in Kent (see above, p. 1127). By 30 June 1578 he was in London, about to leave for the Netherlands with important letters from one of the Principal Secretaries to the other (see Sir Thomas Wilson to Walsingham, 30 June 1578, S.P., For., 1578-79, p. 37). It was ten months later when the Secretaries wrote their letters about him to Davison, the queen's ambassador to the Estates; by then Brooke was in harness, and demanding his wages. The Secretaries asked the ambassador to "deal with the States and Prince of Orange for such pay as is due to him," for both ministers deplored the way in which he was being treated, Wilson "wishing that everybody have his own" and Walsingham, ever the statesman and the zealous ill-wisher of the Spanish king, fearing that his plight might "be not only to him but to others a discouragement to adventure their lives and estates in their [the Estates'] cause". In Wilson's letter is also the first mention of the quarrel between Brooke and the famous Sir John Norris which brought discredit upon the latter's career in the Netherlands. The Secretary says that some of the money which ought to have come to Brooke "has been 'taken up' by Mr John Norris, which I hope will be speedily delivered back again." Unfortunately the money was not returned, and Brooke found himself at odds with both his employers, the Estates, and his fellow mercenary. The troubles which he had with them were protracted; as late as March 1582 the Earl of Leicester was told that the suits of several 'poor gentlemen', one of them Brooke, who were soliciting the Prince of Orange for "their satisfaction in part or wholly, will prove to be in a cold state, in respect of the difficulty there is to 'address'a new army ... for the withstanding of the enemy; much more to pay old debts" (William Herle to Leicester,

\* The apparent inconsistency in this commission, Matthias's reference to Philip, himself and the Estates as united in a common cause, is resolved by the terms in which the Estates accepted Matthias as their governor. The document acknowledging his position left, as John Lothrop Motley says, "no authority ... to the King, except the nominal right to approve these revolutionary proceedings.... Such a reservation in favour of his Majesty seemed a superfluous sarcasm" (The Rise of the Dutch Republic: a History (Chandos Classics ed., c.1886), III, 296).

3 March 1581/2, S.P., For., 1581-82, p. 514). In November 1582 Walsingham learned that "Mr John Cobham has lately followed some suits of his to the States, but cannot be heard to any effect, though he had received many good words and fair promises; and now in the end demanding something towards his charges in attending here [at Antwerp], has ... been refused" (Audley Danett to Walsingham, Antwerp, 18 November 1582, S.P., For., 1582, p. 450). Meanwhile Brooke's relations with Norris, deteriorating over three years of bickering, became so bad that on 25 August 1582 Brooke informed Walsingham from Ghent that "the letter you wrote to Mr Norris in my behalf for the debt he owes me, I delivered to him presently after my coming from Dunkirk, requesting his answer, which he has from time to time deferred till this day. He now says that eight days ago he wrote to you in full answer of your letter, and that he is to answer you and not me." Brooke required the Secretary to try once more by letter to bring Norris round, "which if he shall refuse, after the receipt of your letter, so to do, I pray you give me leave to deal with him in such order that I may recover nothing but that which in equity and conscience is due to me" (S.P., For., 1582, p. 274). Walsingham, dreading trouble between two men whose relatives were so high in the queen's favour as were Lord and Lady Cobham and Lord and Lady Norris of Rycote (the latter Norris's parents), suggested that two impartial referees be chosen to settle the dispute, and Brooke, although "Mr Norris deals very hardly with me" (Brooke to Walsingham, Antwerp, 4 September 1582, S.P., For., 1582, p. 302), agreed to his proposal, consenting to "be bound to stand to your order or theirs, so that Mr Norris will enter into bond in the like sort" (Brooke to Walsingham, Antwerp, 16 September 1582, S.P., For., 1582, p. 325). By 14 October the scheme for arbitration had been set up: "Mr Norris and I," wrote Brooke, "have according to your direction, chosen two gentlemen to hear and end the matter in controversy between us." Its purpose, however, was defeated from the beginning: having agreed to the naming of referees, Norris refused "to be bound to stand to their award, and therefore they have nothing but talked of the matter, nor mean to do, so far as I can perceive." Not knowing what to do, Brooke went in person to Norris and naively offered to show him "all my writings, whereby I claim that money," but his wily opponent, obviously aware that, so far as right was concerned, it was all on Brooke's side, refused to inspect the documents, "alleging that none could decide the matter but the Prince and the Estates," there being "a prime contract, as he says, between the Prince and him". Brooke knew that this was nonsense, "because the Prince never meddles with the Estates' money". It had become an affair of spite, not of reason: as Brooke says, Norris swears "that rather than I should have the money which remains in his hands for my 'dead pays', he will deliver it back to the Estates on his account and reckoning. By this you may easily judge how he deals with me" (Brooke to Walsingham, Antwerp, 14 October 1582, S.P., For., 1582, pp. 383-84). Walsingham needed no such further evidence of Norris's determination to be troublesome; what he feared was that Brooke might resort to violence and thus precipitate a Court feud. He earnestly begged him not to lose his temper, and the tractable and, one must conclude, outmatched Brooke accepted his advice: "were I not otherwise advised by you, I would take such a course here that I would come by my own to his discredit," he wrote from Antwerp on 21 October, in his last letter referring to the dispute (S.P., For., 1582, p. 405). Perhaps Walsingham dared give a man who had already endured more than three years of taunts and flagrant injustice this last piece of stoic counsel because he had decided to bring the affair to the formal notice of the Privy Council, for in 1583 the case was at last drawn up for presentation to the lords. Mild and reasonable to the end, Brooke demanded an account from Norris of the 3,745 guilders owing him since March 1579; after presenting in evidence the 'writings whereby I claim that money' to more respectful eyes than Norris's, he concluded his petition with the words: "Mr. Cobham humbly prays your honours, upon examination thereof, to take such final order in this difference between Mr. Norris and him, as you shall think equitable and just, and offers bond to yield to whatever this may be, desiring that Mr. Norris may be bound to do the like" (S.P., For., 1583 & Addenda, p. 571). The outcome of the case is not known: P.R.O., S.P. 83/13/94b, the Council order demanding settlement of it, dated 14 July [1583?], is so badly damaged that the name of the victor cannot be read. From the laconic

comment written on Norris's brief presenting his side of the question, however, "Yt maketh nothings to the matter" (P.R.O., S.P. 83/13/94a), it would appear that Brooke's complaint was upheld. One likes to think that his forbearance paid off in the end, and that he got his money.

Whether or not he suffered financial loss, Brooke certainly won admiration for his conduct in the long altercation with Norris. The self-control and the appreciation of Walsingham's difficult and embarrassing position which he displayed contrast sharply with Norris's behaviour, and, indeed, with what one may imagine Brooke's brother Thomas's would have been in similar circumstances. It was no doubt this essential prudence in John Brooke which gained him the respect of Elizabeth's ministers: Burghley was his friend, so were the Secretaries: Sir Thomas Wilson, when he asked that favour be shown to Brooke, said that he would "esteem it as done to myself" (Wilson to William Davison, 14 April 1579, S.P., For., 1578-79, p. 492). Once, when Wilson sent Brooke off with an important letter for his colleague, he told Walsingham that he did "not write in cipher because of the faithfulness of this bearer" (Wilson to Walsingham, 30 June 1578, S.P., For., 1578-79, p. 37). Such confidence would have been a compliment to any Elizabethan; to the brother of the treacherous Thomas Brooke it was rare praise.

Secure, then, in the government's favour, and having acquitted himself well on the Continent both in military affairs and in private dealings with difficult colleagues, John Brooke returned to sit in the Parliament of 1584. Four years later, when Lord Cobham was sent in embassy to the Netherlands, John went with his brother, who used him to convey dispatches to England (see Cobham to Burghley, Ostend, 7 April 1588, S.P., For., January-June 1588, p. 272). Other activities claimed his attention in the year of the Armada. In April 1588, when "Lists of the Numbers of Men and Ships prepared for the Defence of the Kingdom" were drawn up, Brooke was one of the captains of the 7,124 men furnished by Kent (see William Murdin, A Collection of State Papers Relating to Affairs in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, From the Year 1571 to 1596 ... (1759), p. 598; "Abstracts of Certificates returned from the Lieutenants," H.M.C., Foljambe Papers, p. 37). No account survives of Brooke's part in the Armada crisis; he may have acquitted himself well in the little that the land forces had to do, but he also appears to have been guilty in the course of it of the only really disreputable action which is thought to have marked his life. His conduct, if the charge made against him were true, was, ironically, something which he might have learned from Sir John Norris, for it constituted an abuse of the system of pressing and paying soldiers (see above, pp. 544-46). Brooke was apparently not punished, and the only record of his misconduct is the essentially private letter included among Thomas Randolph's dispatches on Scottish affairs; in 1589 he was still a captain, writing to his brother at Court on the subject of the Kentish soldiery (see Brooke to Cobham, Ospringe, 22 September 1589, H.M.C., Report 5, p. 138). On 7 November 1590 a John Cobham who described himself as a Groom of the Privy Bakehouse pleaded his service in a successful petition to the queen for a lease in reversion of £ 20 (see H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IV, 75); this may well have been Brooke, whom one would expect to find holding a minor but remunerative office at Court. It was certainly John Brooke who, according to a Council letter of 24 January 1590/1, contested Fulke Greville's right to "th'office of the Clarke" of the Council of the Welsh Marches; the rival claims of the poet and Brooke forced the government to order the Lord President of Wales to "sequester the proffits of that office" until the Council should have decided which man had the right to the emolument (see A.P.C., 1590-91, pp. 233-34).

From about 1590 references to John Brooke the younger, the son of Sir Henry Cobham, begin to occur in official papers, and occasionally it is hard to decide whether he or his uncle is meant. The Captain Brooke for whom William Lord Cobham on 1 November 1591 asked for three months' leave was probably the young man, although possibly John Brooke the elder (see Cobham to Wilkes, Clerk of the Privy Council, H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IV, 157). By 1590 the elder John Brooke was a man of fifty-five, and, while never knighted (Robert Boies Sharpe (The Real War of the Theaters ... (Boston, 1935), p. 72, n. 75) is wrong to call him 'Sir John'), was no doubt practically an elder statesman among soldiers. He was by then the recipient of regular royal favour; leases to him bear dates as close to each other

as December 1591 (Phillimore, p. 23) and 14 January 1591/2 (S.P., Dom., 1591-94, p. 171). In 1592/3 he was once again returned by Queenborough to the Parliament which met on 4 January (Return of Members of Parliament, Pt. 1, p. 428; C. Eveleigh Woodruff, "Notes on the Municipal Records of Queenborough," Archaeologia Cantiana, XXII (1897), 183 n.). His long and inconspicuous career in the queen's service was almost at an end; on 8 February 1593/4, less than a year after the dissolution of the last Parliament in which he sat, he made his will (P.C.C. Dixy 62). It is an interesting will in that it is so typical of that of almost any country gentleman of the day, and may here be quoted extensively.

In the name of God Amen the Eighte daye of ffebruary in the sixe and thirtithe yere of her Maiesties raigne: I John Brooke aïs Cobham of Newington Esquire being of a good rem'braunce (thankes be to god) but sicke in bodye do make this my last will and testament in manner and forme folowinge ffirst I bequeathe my soule to the handes of Almightye god and to Jesus Xpiste by whose deathe and passion I hope to be saued and my bodie I will to be buryed in the churche of Newington aforesayed next to my good wife the Ladye Norton betwixt the wall and her in the Channcerye [chancel: cf. Q.E.D.]. And as concerning all my worldye goodes chattells and moueables whatsoever I do giue them to my Neiphue Sr William Brooke knighte whome I make my sole executor of this my last will and testament and he to paye all my debtes and Legaceys and Annuityes. I do giue to my Sister in Lawe Mary Cobham widowe late wife to my brother Edward deceased tenne poundes yerelie during her naturall life to yssue out of all my landes and tenementes and the same to be payed halfe yerelie .... Moreouer whereas my kynnesman William Brooke [see above, p. 1094, n. 31] doth occupie certeyne landes lying in the parishe of Hawsted ... for which the sayed William nowe payes ffiftie twoe poundes per Annū: My will ys that after my decease he shall enioye the said Landes for the space of Seaven Yeres payinge only therfore ffortie poundes per Annum .... I do giue allso and bequeathe to William Yeowell my servaunte fyve poundes for his paynes takinge. And as concerninge all my Landes Tenementes and hereditamentes with thappurtnances lying in the parishes of Newington Harpplite Hawstoe Raineham [all places between Gillingham and Sittingbourne] or els where in the Countie of Kent I do giue all and euery of the same to my Neiphewe Sr William Brooke and to his heires of his bodie lawfullie begotten. And for defaulte of suche yssue to John Brooke the sonne of my deceased brother Sr Henry Cobham aïs Brooke and to his heires males of his bodie lawfullie begotten. And for want of suche yssue of his bodie I do giue all my said Landes tenementes and hereditamentes to the right honourable Sr William Brooke knighte Lord Cobham and to his heires for euer. Lastlie my will ys that my house and ffamilie shalbe kept by my Executor in manner as nowe yt is one monethe after my decease. In wisse whereof I haue set to my hande and seale the daye and yere aforesaid. Sealed and signed by me John Brooke aïs Cobham:

Witnesses Thomas Langton\* Will'm Brooke: William Yowell.

The improvident Sir William Brooke seized upon the legacy which his childless uncle made to him with unseemly haste: on 25 September 1594 John died, and the next day his nephew proved the will. True to John's last wishes, Sir William

\* Langton was an eminent doctor, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians and physician to John Brooke's nephew, Henry Lord Cobham (see above, pp. 867-68); he had evidently been attending Brooke in his last illness. See William Munk, The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London ... (2nd ed., 1878), I, 82.

(assisted by his favourite brother and heir, George) erected for him at Newington a fine alabaster monument, under which his body and that of his wife were placed, and on which he was described as a man

qui in pace apud suos optima fama vixit, in praelio Belgico factus peditū equitumq<sup>ue</sup> Anglicorum archistrategus contra Hispanos fortiter faeliciterque pugnavit. Gulielmus et Georgius Brooke fratres, patruo suo charissimo monumentum posuerunt

(as transcribed by John Torpe in MS. Harl. 6587, p. 274; also in Rogers, Pt. 2, p. 13. See also Waller, "Lords of Cobham," Pt. 2, p. 140.) Although some of the queen's tenants at Milton, who had complained to Thomas Randolph of Brooke's using of them, might have challenged the statement that he enjoyed the best of reputations among his own people, and although 'archistrategus', when used otherwise than in its hagiological sense, is a rather difficult term to define (it perhaps means here that Brooke was a master strategist of the English horse and foot in the Netherlands), the eulogy was probably not undeserved.

John Brooke was the last of William Lord Cobham's brothers to die; the baron outlived him by two and a half years, and when he went, only Catherine Jerningham of all George Lord Cobham's children was left to enter the seventeenth century.

(53) Very little is recorded of John Brooke's wife, whose Christian name was Alice but who is also called Anne. (Her father's inquisition post mortem, and that of her first husband; an official document of 1577 (see A.P.C., 1575-77, p. 342); and the pedigrees of Norton in The Visitation of Kent, ed. Hovenden, p. 80, and in William Berry's Pedigrees of the Families in the County of Kent ... (1830), p. 158, give it as 'Alice', as does Rogers, Pt. 2, p. 13. Holinshed, III, 1509, calls her 'Anne', and is followed in this by W.A. Scott-Robertson, "Six Wills Relating to Cobham Hall," Archaeologia Cantiana, XI (1877), 208. In the pedigree contained in Cecil Paper 225/1 she is simply "the daughter and heire of Cobbe wydowe of Sir John Norton"; in that in MS. Harl. 2134, f. 133, she is " -- Cobbe"; and in that in MS. Harl. 6157, f. 9b, she is described only as Sir John Norton's widow.)

Alice was the daughter and heir of Edward Cobbe, or Cob, of Cobbe's Place, near Reculver, Kent; her mother was a Gatesby (Berry, p. 149; The Visitation of Kent, ed. Hovenden, p. 80). Her father, according to his inquisition post mortem (P.R.O., C142/35/4), died in November 1518. Her age must have been entered in this document, but it is now so badly damaged that this information cannot be deciphered. Alice married after 1518 Sir John Norton, of Northwood, Kent, and by him had, in January 1532/3, a son, Thomas; Thomas Norton married and had children by Eleanor, the daughter of John Shelley of Michelgrove, Sussex, and one of that intermarried circle which embraced the Catholic Shelleys, Gages, Cottons and Southwells (see The Visitation of Kent, ed. Hovenden, p. 80; Berry, p. 149; Christopher Devlin, The Life of Robert Southwell Poet and Martyr (1956), p. 129). Sir John Norton was a Member of Parliament for Rochester in 1553 (Return of Members, Pt. 1, p. 379), and, according to his inquisition post mortem (P.R.O., C142/III/84, copied as E150/506/4), died on 9 July 1557. His heir by Alice Cobbe was Thomas, who was found to be aged twenty-four years and ten months when the inquisition was taken on 8 November 1557.

Lady Norton was married to John Brooke, by 1561, when his parents' tomb was erected and showed her arms quartered with his. Even without knowing her exact age, one can deduce from the fact that her son was more than two years older than her second husband that she herself must have been a good deal John's senior. She brought him some property (which perhaps partly explains why, in his twenties, he should have married a woman who was at least in her forties); over it he had

\* Sir Henry Cobham referred to a Mr. Shelly as his cousin in a letter to Sir Thomas Chaloner of 14 May 1563 (see S.P., For., 1563, p. 338). Richard Simpson confused this letter, and makes Cobham refer to Barnadine Young the privateer as his cousin (The School of Shakspeare (1878), I, 32-33).

trouble with her relatives: on 13 May 1577 the Privy Council had to write "A letter to the Justices of Peace and Bailiffes of Romney Marshe that where there is a matter in controversie betwene John Cobham esquier, and Reynolde Scotte, gentleman, concerning the mannour of Comerstor in Romney Marshe, whereof the said John Cobham is at this presente possessed by the right of Dame Alice his wief, who hath enjoyed it since the death of her late husband by the space of 50 yeres; howbeit the said Reinold Scott leaying claime thereunto in the right of his wife, daughter of one Richard Cobbes, doth vexe the farmours of the said Cobham, they are required that untill such tymes as the matter shalbe tried by order of lawe to see the peace kepte, and to give order to the said Reynold Scotte that he do use no violence upon the same or any parte thereof" (A.P.C., 1575-77, p. 342).

Despite the difference in their ages and their childlessness, John and Alice Brooke seem to have lived harmoniously together, and when she died on 9 September 1580 he had the following charming inscription placed over her where she lay in Newington Church, waiting for him to join her fourteen years later:

The Lady Norton once she was, whose corpes is couched here,  
Iohn Cobhams late and loving wyfe, of the Country of Kent, Esqr;  
Who in her lyfe did well deserue to haue a future fame,  
For that she was vnto the poore, a good and gratius dame,  
With charitie and modesty, and all the gyfte of grace;  
Actquanted so she was to good to tarry in thys place.  
She died ye 9 daye of September 1580

(MS. Harl. 6587, p. 273; quoted in Rogers, Pt. 2, p. 13).

(54) Edward, the sixth son of George Lord Cobham and the elder of the two brothers of that name, was born in September 1536 and died before 31 March 1551. See above, Appendix, p. 1074.

(55) Sir Henry Cobham deserves to be studied separately, for he was Elizabeth's ambassador ledger at Paris during the critical years 1579-83, and her ambassador extraordinary to Spain and to the emperor on various occasions before that time. He has received rather more attention from historians than have the other children of George Lord Cobham: there is at least a biography of him in D.N.B., written by James McMullen Rigg: but the undoubted awareness which Rigg displays of Cobham's importance is so ill supported factually, so vitiated by inaccuracies, that the usefulness of the biography is doubtful. Throughout the foregoing work Cobham's career has been traced so far as it affected that of William Lord Cobham. Here will be given only the salient facts relating to his life, generally with references to the points at which they are treated in the text.

Sir Henry alone of his family may be said almost to have been surnamed 'Cobham' rather than 'Brooke'; there is a brief discussion of the Brookes' idiosyncratic nomenclature in the prefatory note above, pp. xi-xii. The second of his father's sons to bear the Christian name 'Henry', he was most probably born on Monday, 5 February 1536/7 (see above, Appendix, pp. 1074-75). Among modern authorities Waller and Rogers give this as the date of his birth; Rigg says that he was born in 1538, as does Victor von Klarwill (The Fugger News-Letters Second Series... (1926), p. 21 n.; Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners... (1928), p. 299 n.). He was his parents' seventh son, but he is called the fifth by Venn (I, 361), meaning that he was the fifth to reach manhood. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and early placed in the household of Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire (see above, pp. 21-22), he became a member of Queen Elizabeth's Court soon after her accession (see above, pp. 160-61, for an instance of his being used to greet the French ambassadors upon their arrival at Dover in May 1559, and below, p. 1142, for his statement early in 1580 that he had then been serving the queen for twenty-one years), although apparently not one of her household (see the Lord Chamberlain's list of the personnel of that establishment in January 1558/9, P.R.O., L.C. 2/4/3). His future career is indicated by the friendship which diplomats such as Sir Nicholas Throckmorton and Sir Thomas Chaloner showed him in the first years of the reign, and by 1562 he had made his first visit to Spain in the latter's embassy (see a letter from Bilbao written by Robert Moffett to Sir William

Cecil, 28 February 1561/2, S.P., For., 1561-62, p. 540). For references, many of them charming, to his association with Chaloner, see above, pp. 161-65. In January 1562/3 Cobham arrived back in England, having "escaped very dangerously the sea", but a month later he was writing to a friend in Spain that he thought that he would "shortly be despatched this way" again (see John Cuerton to Chaloner, Bilbao, 5 March 1562/3, S.P., For., 1563, p. 185). He stayed longer in England than he expected to do, however, and as late as January 1566 he was seeking unsuccessfully an office at Court (see above, p. 238). It was not until 1567 that Cobham properly took up his career in diplomacy, when he accompanied the Earl of Sussex to Vienna to present the Emperor Maximilian with the Order of the Garter, and, more importantly, to broach the matter of the queen's marriage with the Archduke Charles (see above, pp. 254-59). By this time Cobham was one of the honourable band of Gentlemen Pensioners; John Stow describes him as being in June 1567 "Henry Cobham esquire one of the pensioners", and, again, as "master Henrye Brooke alias Cobham, one of her maiesties gentlemen pensioners" (The Annales ... (ed. 1615), pp. 660-61). From Vienna Cobham sent reports to Cecil, and in November he returned, apparently secretly, to give the government a first-hand account of the progress of the marriage negotiations. The next month he went back to Vienna, bearing a letter from the queen which put an end to the project to match her with an Austrian; Cobham stopped on the way at Brussels to speak with the Spanish general, Alba. In 1568 Cobham was again serving at Court (see above, p. 259, where it may be assumed he remained for two years. His future involvement in the affairs of France was presaged by the address to him in 1568 of a Latin epigram on the French wars of religion. Written by another young diplomat, Daniel Rogers, the epigram is discussed above, p. 952). Then, in August 1570, he was sent on his first solo embassy, a tripartite one in which he represented his queen in talks with the new Queen Consort of Spain, and with the emperor; the latter showed him some coolness, and remarks were passed upon Cobham's unfitness because of youth and inexperience for such grandiose tasks. The envoy's dispatch into Spain, within three months of his return home from the imperial Court at Speyer, indicates the government's satisfaction with his conduct (see above, pp. 259-60). In his mission to Philip II Cobham won further credit (see above, pp. 311-14, 364), and by November 1572 he was being mentioned as possible successor to Sir Francis Walsingham at Paris. The ambassadorship, however, went to Dr. Valentine Dale, and in 1573, the year in which he married and in which the first of his five children was born (see following note), Cobham was sharing with his brother John the duties of Justices of the Peace in Kent (see the "Liber Pacis Anno Reginae Elizabethae Sextodecimo," MS. Egerton 2345, f. 20). Yet he continued to be a figure of some importance near the queen, not, one suspects, only because of his position as a Gentleman Pensioner: on 28 October 1574, for instance, the Council issued a letter excusing him from attendance at a court proceeding "for that by reason of his necessarye attendance upon her Majesties person he could not folowe the same sute him self" (A.P.C., 1571-1575, p. 307). In a letter written on 28 November 1574 by the Spanish agent in London to the Spanish Secretary of State is an indication of a plan to send Cobham once again to Spain; evidence of such a proposed embassy survives nowhere else, and the Spaniard's reference to it only says that the scheme had been dropped (Antonio de Guaras to Gabriel de Zayas: "se desiste del envío a España de Harry Cobham," Catálogo de la Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España by Julián Paz (Madrid, 1930-31), II, 392). If, however, he was not sent to Spain in 1574, he went there again late in the summer of the next year, having first been knighted on 18 July 1575 during the queen's extravagant holiday at Kenilworth (see above, p. 393). Sir Henry's reception in Spain was as cool as before, but, more practised than he had been then, he frightened the Spanish government into making certain concessions concerning the treatment of Englishmen by the Inquisition. Unfortunately the concessions were not endorsed by the king and so were never honoured (see above, pp. 392-404). He returned home early in the new year and was at once appointed to go to the Spanish general in the Netherlands, to urge upon him "the necessity of taking steps for the pacification of the Low Countries, and more especially of granting an abstinence from arms in the mean-

while; and in the case of his refusal, to say that the Queen ... [would] be of necessity forced to take steps for her own preservation." According to a note on Cobham's instructions, however, the general whom he was to see died before the emissary could leave England, and the threatening message was never delivered (S.P., For., 1575-77, p. 254).

For three years and a half Cobham now remained at home, spending most of his time at Court. There are frequent references to him at this time; among the more interesting records of his activities is a letter of his to the queen, which reveals his concern, typical among members of the Court, with the control of printing. Since it seems also to be the sort of thing which an ambitious courtier might produce in order to draw Elizabeth's attention even closer to his sense of responsibility and to his worthiness of further favour, it is here given in full. "may it pleas y<sup>r</sup> most excellent matie. I am bould to present y<sup>r</sup> matie, with a booke newly com forth, not presuming to mayk any censur, but refer that to y<sup>r</sup> princely iudgment, who as it deserueth can best tell how to valu it, and iugd wether it be of consiquens or noe: yeat I hould it my part to acquaint y<sup>r</sup> matie withall vpon this occation, the booke vpon y<sup>e</sup> first coming forth was presently bought of diuers, and once knowne, fearing y<sup>e</sup> suppressing of it, at extraordinary howers both early and late was bought and y<sup>e</sup> lat sayle of them cōtinues still whi[ch] to me is most straung and more I can assur y<sup>r</sup> matie: the French ambassadour haht [*sic*] bought too of them and sent them into Fraunce by a carrier dispatched this last night. If y<sup>r</sup> matie cōstrue this from me as of dutie, and not of curiositie, I hau my intent and desir for in this kind I am Jelows vntill I shalbe fred by knowlegd of y<sup>r</sup> matie gracious acceptans. God euer protect y<sup>r</sup> Royall person and increase y<sup>e</sup> lyf of y<sup>r</sup> Faythfull seruants with y<sup>e</sup> lounge continuens of y<sup>r</sup> happy days. y<sup>r</sup> matie most humble and obedient subiect Henry Cobham" (P.R.O., S.P. 12/120/3; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1547-80, p. 574).\* It is unfortunate that the letter is not dated more precisely than by the '1577' scribbled on its back, for without a date it is futile even to attempt to identify the work whose illicit dissemination Cobham so vividly describes. It is the last letter extant from Cobham's pen at this period in his career. A suggestion, otherwise unheard of, that he went to Spain again in September 1578 is contained in a letter from the Spanish agent to the Spanish Secretary of State (see don Bernardino de Mendoza to Gabriel de Zayas, London, 11 September 1578, in Paz, II, 407), but Paris, not Madrid, was to be his destination. In August 1579 he was summoned to Walsingham's chamber at Greenwich and there told by both the Principal Secretaries that he should prepare himself to serve as ambassador to France upon the recall of Sir Amias Paulet (see above, p. 432). On 17 November he presented [his letters of credence to the French king at the Louvre and thus, as "Henricus Cobham Eques ... auratus & ... serenissimae Reginae apud Christianissimum Regem Legatus residens" (Digges, p. 379), assumed the office which he held for four years. The letter-book containing the drafts of his ambassadorial dispatches, all of which have been abstracted in the printed State Papers, Foreign, is MS. Cotton Otho E.iv.

At Paris, assisted by his gracious wife, who accompanied him to France with at least one of their children, Cobham acquitted himself well. The significance of his tenure of the post has already been discussed in so far as it relates to the subjects treated in the text of the foregoing work. He performed, however, during the years of his residence in France, so assiduously his duty of keeping in touch with what the anti-English press was spewing forth that his dispatches may profitably be culled here for what they have to contribute to the study of this sixteenth-century phenomenon of illicit printing.

\* An interesting feature of this letter is its seal, which is intact. It displays, in an oval measuring about 1/2" by 3/8", Cobham's monogram, incorporating all the letters of the name HENRY COBHAM in Roman capitals:



A year before Cobham was sent to France, the English College was moved from Douai to Rheims; in 1580 it had its printer publish a Latin translation of Bishop Leslie's 1569 Defence of the honour of the right high, mightye and noble Princesse Marie Quene of Scotlande and dowager of France, with a declaration aswell of her right, title & intereste to the succession of the crowne of Englande . . . . The Latin tract appeared within months of Cobham's arrival in Paris; known as the De Titulo et Iure, it was far more virulent than its original, and contained a genealogical table which demonstrated the Scottish queen's superior claim to the English Throne (see A.C. Southern, Elizabethan Recusant Prose 1559-1582 . . . [1950], pp. 348, 438-40, 442-44). It was work in which Cobham's government could not but be interested, so, on 12 April 1580, having tried to obtain it "in print", the new ambassador sent Burghley what he called "a copy" of it, that is, a transcript of the published version. Burghley's clerk endorsed Cobham's letter: "Concerninge a Booke of the Q. of Scott's [sic] pretences to England. Extracted out of Sir Hen. Cobham's letter to the Lord Burghley from Paris" (see S.P., Scot., 1574-81, p. 394). Cobham must have heard from Burghley immediately after dispatching the copy to him, for the next day he reported to him and Sussex that he had "sought for the book of which you wrote to me, and will do my best to 'understand' the author, and keep it from printing as much as may lie in me. I heard tell of such matters 'pretended' to be translated into sundry languages, extracted out of divers books by [John Leslie] the Bishop of Ross and others; and now since the receipt of your letter Dr. Sylvio has shown me some leaves of it, but cannot detect the author." He then informed them that he had already sent them the copy of De Titulo et Iure, again stressing that "I could not obtain it in print," and went on to say: "Also I have in my hands an English book lent me, of which the title is: A Treatise of Treasons against Queen Elizabeth divided into two parts, printed A.D. 1572; a most perilous book as ever I saw for the particular touching of the course of her Majesty's state since her reign; but it has been so long printed I abstain from sending it till I receive your commands therein. Meantime I will have it copied. There are other books privily framing which I will send as they come to my hands" (S.P., For., 1579-80, pp. 229-30). Cobham's belated awareness of Bishop Leslie's famous treatise (to which he referred again on 15 April, when he asked Secretary Wilson if he or Walsingham had ever seen it: S.P., For., 1579-80, p. 238), is curious. The book had, when it first appeared, "made such a stir that it called forth, in defence of Burghley and Bacon, the Proclamation of 28 September 1573 prohibiting all Catholic 'bookes and libelles'" (Southern, p. 445). The ambassador must have been almost the only English public servant who did not know the work. His ignorance of the treatise is the more peculiar in that it came out in June 1572, when the head of his family was still in serious trouble concerning the Brookes' part in the Ridolfi Plot, and in that his brother the baron is even mentioned in it by name (see above, pp. 374-75). Another of Cobham's letters to the Secretaries written at this time is interesting for its account of how books prohibited in England were brought into the country from the Continent. Dated 15 April 1580, it reads in part: "The Bishop of Ross has made sundry books, and short notes of other books in printing, all tending to the justifying of the Queen of Scots' dealings and the justifying of her pretended title: which I 'seek to recover'. Books are sent into England, Scotland, and Ireland, very prejudicial to her Majesty's government, and those who have principal places about her. There is an Irishman named Pedgrave [Pettingall? see below, p. 1141], who is sending sundry of these books, wherein are many slanderous reports of the nobles and principal personages of England. . . . There are certain priests come from Rome and now going over who are sworn not to discover any of their company. They carry nothing with them, but will receive books and other like trash when they have landed in the realm" (S.P., For., 1579-80, pp. 234-35). April 1580 was in fact a most busy time for Cobham the searcher of libels. On the twentieth the ambassador returned to the subject of a week earlier, recapitulating his interview with 'Dr. Silvio' (most probably the William Sylvius of Antwerp, who had himself printed in the 1560s two Catholic books directed to the English reading public: see Southern, pp. 338, 417, 425), and adding that the leaves which 'Silvio' had shown him of the book in which Burghley and Sussex were interested were written in French. He then went on to say: "I have since met as I think, with the very book printed in English; but for that

the beginning and epistle dedicatory was sent out, and no mention made when it was printed, nor the author's name otherwise than G.T., I shall have no means to suppress the printing, but if the same be the book that you wrote for, may it please you I may know. I hear tell of other books made by the Bishop of Rosse which should be printed at Rheims. So soon as I receive any of them you shall be advertised" (Cobham to Burghley, 20 April 1580, H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XIII, 177-78). This letter is of particular interest because of its reference to a book by G.T., the anonymous pamphleteer (or pamphleteers) of whose identity Southern says there is no evidence (p. 317). Only two works by this writer are known, one an abridgement of Bishop Leslie's Treatise of Treasons and the other An Epistle of the Persecution of Catholicikes in Englande. The first of these was seven years old in 1580 (Southern, pp. 501-03), and the other had not yet been published (see below, p. 1140). It would appear, therefore, that if the work which Cobham saw was one of the two known to be by G.T., it was the abridged Treatise, and that he was again mistaking an old work for one of current interest. In July he sent copies to the queen, Burghley, Wilson and Leicester of a book that "the Bishop of Ross had lately caused to be printed in Latin at Rheims ... of the Succession and Title of the Crown of England and Scotland, with a Genealogy;" he told the queen in his covering letter to her that the printing of it was "a matter something touching your estate, as it seems to me.... The Bishop lately sent some to the Pope, to the Duke of Florence and to Cardinal Granvelle. It may be also that sundry of your subjects will convey some of the books to their friends, not knowing your pleasure to the contrary" (Cobham to the queen, 12 July 1580, and to Walsingham, 12 July 1580, S.P., For., 1579-80, pp. 353, 355-56). This work was simply the third book of Leslie's old Treatise concerning the Defence of the Honour of ... Marie Queene of Scotland ..., published at Rheims in 1580 as De Illustrium Foeminarum in Repub. administranda ..., and formed a whole with the De Titulo et Iure which had exercised Cobham earlier in the same year (see Southern, p. 443). The day after he wrote to the queen and her Secretary, the ambassador wrote to his friend William Waad, asking him to "bring or send me half-a-dozen of Francisco 'Puchi's' book published and printed in England, intituled Informatione della religione christiana fondata su la divina e humana ragione, etc." (S.P., For., 1579-80, p. 358). Neither this nor any other work by Francisco Pucci, the Italian humanist whose Protestant propensities led him to take a degree at Oxford in 1574 and to write several books defending the deduction of religious truths from the rational interpretation of Scripture, is listed in A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640, comp. A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave (1926). The title of the Informatione suggests its nature, and Cobham probably wanted it for distribution in Paris as a counter-agent to the productions of the Catholic presses. (That occasionally he indulged in proselytism is shown by a letter to Walsingham of 15 March 1582/3, in which he told the Secretary that he had been approached by an agent of the Duke of Lennox with a request "that I would bestow a Bible" on the duke. Lennox was a figure of importance at this time: ostensibly a convert to Protestantism, he had just been expelled from Scotland by a combination of English interference in Scottish affairs and of the machinations of the preachers of the Kirk, who distrusted the duke's sincerity (see Read, Lord Burghley, pp. 280-81). Cobham, rather smugly, informed Walsingham: "I delivered him a Testament, with another good book, and the Bible is 'in binding! I pray God he will as faithfully use it to His glory as I was contented to that end to bestow it" (S.P., For., 1583, p. 201). When Lennox died on 26 May, only three months after receiving Cobham's pious gift, he was still professing himself a Protestant, and does not seem to have made the expected death-bed return to the Roman communion.) In 1580 Cobham also investigated for Walsingham a book "intituled 'Reveille-matin for the English nation'" which was "thought to be most seditious and full of particular malicious reports. As yet I have 'recovered' none of them," he told the Secretary on 25 September (S.P., For., 1579-80, p. 424). Nothing in Southern's book nor in S.T.C. seems to be the book described by Cobham. There is no record of the ambassador's activities regarding the Catholic press in 1581, but the execution of Edmund Campion on 1 December of that year precipitated a new flurry of excitement in

the publishing world. L'Histoire de la mort que le R. P. Edmond Campion prestre de la compagnie du nom de Iesus, & autres ont souffert en Angleterre pour la foy Catholique & Romaine le premier iour de Decembre, 1581. Traduct d'Anglois en François was published in Paris in 1582 (Southern, p. 377 n.), apparently very early in the year, for on 4 January Cobham wrote to Walsingham that "I hear say that Rosse caused the book of Campion, which I send you, to be printed" (S.P., For., 1581-82, p. 440, where the italicized words denote the use of a cipher in the original). The next day he wrote again to the Secretary, this time enclosing a copy of the work and further identifying it with L'Histoire de la mort by describing it as "the book in French of Campion's and the other Jesuits' death, which is publicly sold in this town" (S.P., For., 1581-82, p. 444). On 14 January the ambassador informed Walsingham that "They have been crying these books in the streets with outcries, making them to be cruelties used by the Queen in England. Whereon I used M. Brulart's [the French Secretary of State] means to move his Majesty to give order that such untruths might be stayed and forbidden, which seemed to prejudice her Majesty's good fame. The King has now given order to his Procurer-fiscal that there shall be a prohibition of the further sale of such books, and those punished who had used such unworthy outcries; which I cause to be followed to the execution, it seeming to me that I am thereto bound in duty" (S.P., For., 1581-82, p. 454, quoted by Southern, p. 273). At the same time as he was attempting to stamp out the dissemination of the French work, Cobham seems to have come across a copy of Thomas Alfield's True report of the death and martyr-dome of M. Campion Iesuite and preiste ... (see Southern, pp. 376-77), or some similar work, for on 10 January he sent to Walsingham "a book made by an English friar, where methinks the author forgets his duty towards her Majesty and her father of most famous memory" (S.P., For., 1581-82, p. 452). Yet another work troublesome to the English government is mentioned in the ambassador's report of 22 January, in which he said that there was in Paris "a packet of small books which Dr. [later William Cardinal] Allen sent from Rheims to Dr. [Thomas] Darbyshire hither, to the entent that they may be conveyed into England; which books 'should' only contain matter concerning the burning of English Smith ... in Rome" (S.P., For., 1581-82, p. 460). The editor of the State Papers queries the name 'Smith' and suggests that of Richard Atkins, who was executed at St. Peter's on 2 August 1581, and whose death was made known to England in A copie of a double letter sent by an Englishe gentilman, to his frendes in London ..., published probably in the same year. To what work Cobham refers it is hard to say; Cardinal Allen and Dr. Darbyshire early in 1582 were indeed concerned with sending books from the presses of Rheims into England, but those publications were Gregory Martin's translation of the New Testament (see Southern, pp. 234-35). Hardly more readily identifiable is another book in connection with which the future cardinal's name is mentioned; on 28 March 1582 Cobham wrote to Walsingham that "Dr. Allen, with divers others of our wandering Englishmen ... have made a book intituled De Persecutione Anglicana Epistola etc. which I send you herewith. It is set forth, as you may perceive, with the privilege of this king, and thought to have been written by Dr. Allen" (S.P., For., 1581-82, pp. 584-85). The De Persecutione to which Cobham referred could have been any one of four versions of Robert Parsons's work: the Latin edition published at Rouen in 1581, or that published at Rome in 1582; the French translation of Matthieu de Lannoy, published at Paris in 1582; or the English translation by the unidentified G.T., which was published at Rouen, probably in 1582 (see Southern, pp. 503-04). The form of the title given by Cobham suggests that the book which he sent to Walsingham was one of the Latin editions; neither of them, however, bore the 'Cum privilegio' of Henry III, since the first purported to have been printed at Bologna, and the second was, of course, a Roman production. Nor does the English version, ostensibly the work of a Douai printer, bear the French king's imprimatur. The French version, the Epistre de la Persecution meue en Angleterre ..., would thus seem to be the only one for which Henry III could in any way have been held responsible. While Allen would no doubt have been interested in such a publication, it is hard to see how Cobham could have said that he and his fellow 'wandering Englishmen' had made it; nor can one understand why the Latin title should have been retained. From this point forward, in fact, it

is impossible to be sure what books Cobham sent to his government. On 10 April 1582 he sent one which he called only "a malicious bad printed pamphlet, which our papists have devised" (Cobham to Walsingham, S.P., For., 1581-82, p. 624); on 14 May he sent "two Italian books, which were sent from Italy to Dr. Allen, as by the letters sent herewith will appear, and two 'written books' of one Samuel Pettingall [the same man who was earlier called Pedgrave? see above, p. 1138]" (Cobham to Walsingham, S.P., For., 1582, p. 30).

May 1582 is the last date at which Cobham included in his dispatches anything pertinent to what Dr. Southern calls Elizabethan recusant prose. The last reference which he made to books in his letters from France was a more personal one than the others, although, unfortunately, just as impossible to pin down (see above, p. 953).

The private nature of another of the things which preoccupied the ambassador makes it suitable for discussion here. That concern was common to all of Elizabeth's ministers who had to suffer the double hardship of losing the perquisites which always came to a courtier who stayed at home, while being forced to maintain the dignity of England abroad on an inadequate salary. Cobham's experience is more fully recorded than that of most of his colleagues, and provides an interesting commentary on the queen's storied parsimoniousness. As early as 8 February 1579/80, less than three months after he took up his duties, Cobham is found writing to Burghley, "beseeching you not only to continue me in your good favour, but that you will be my best means to advance me in her Majesty's credit, whereby I may receive some fruit of my 21 years' service. It will be the better if you will vouchsafe to renew my suit which I left in your hands for certain farms about my poor dwelling [at Sutton at Hone, Kent], and 'that' by your favourable words Mr Secretary Wilson may be moved to deal therein for me, to whom I find myself much bound" (S.P., For., 1579-80, p. 151). Four days after writing this letter, Cobham wrote one to Secretary Wilson: "I perceive by your letter that it has pleased her Majesty hitherto to like my service. Howbeit, to my discomfort it seems she is determined to give me no allowance till Oct. 15, whereas her 'streight' command to me was delivered both by you and Sir Francis jointly in his chamber at Greenwich in August last, how that I should without excuse put myself in readiness for this service; whereon I at once entered into great charge of men and other things thereto belonging. Therefore I hope her Majesty will rather take upon her the expenses than lay them on me, who am most unable to bear them. Meantime the cross is grievous to me who hoped rather that she would now at length have begun to accompany her gracious credit with benefits, since I have left my country, my house, her presence, to serve her with all my ability in this country, and in these days, which I pray God prove not worse and worse. But what God and her Majesty will, I must submit to. And now you look that I should give intelligence hereafter; yet her Majesty by this last Privy Seal allows nothing for intelligence, without which you know what can be done" (S.P., For., 1579-80, p. 154). Nine days later the ambassador was writing to another courtier, Sir Henry Sidney: "I beseech you to hold me in your good opinion, and to favour me with your letters to some of the Court, for I assure you I have more than need thereof" (S.P., For., 1579-80, p. 165). Apparently Cobham was at this time in reversion to his uncle Hart's office of the Usher of the Receipts, for his proposed deputy's misconduct occasioned the ambassador's letter about the office to Burghley of 20 March (S.P., For., 1579-80, pp. 192-93). This emolument, however, into which Cobham did not come until May 1580, and which he resigned on Burghley's insistence in March 1581 (see Cobham to Burghley, 14 June and 7 July 1580, and 12 March 1580/1, H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XIII, 178; II, 331, 377), could have been by no means sufficient to make good the losses which Cobham was incurring by his absence in France, and he was in desperate need of further income. Such relief he was not granted, perhaps because of Leicester's dislike of him (p. 253) above). As he moaned to Walsingham on 23 May: "I receive no comfort or recompense for my 21 years' service past, being come to the years of 43, receiving no answer to my suit begun two years ago at Windsor; and am made subject to the speeches of the worst" (S.P., For., 1579-80, p. 272). Again, in despair, Cobham wrote to Walsingham on 9 September 1580: "If I thought ear would be given or consideration had, I might write something of my charges; but I fear

there is neither remembrance of my days and years spent, nor yet feeling of my case. 'Frugality, else I may die, or some quarrel picked to my service ...'" (S.P., For., 1579-80, p. 411). The burden of his complaint does not seem today to be unreasonable: he thought "that he who serves as a public minister should live on his prince and country" (Cobham to the Secretaries of State, 12 October 1580, S.P., For., 1579-80, p. 450); yet, once having dared express himself frankly in these words, Cobham wrote to Walsingham a letter of profound apology for his impertinence, asking him please "to excuse me, not only to yourself but to the Lord Treasurer, if he were made privy to my 'appassionate' words in my last letter touching my suit. I will make amends with great patience and assured service" (Cobham to Walsingham, 17 October 1580, S.P., For., 1579-80, p. 457). Before the end of his first year in Paris he wrote again, this time abjectly, begging the Secretary to help him "to some final good end" of his suit, "I would be glad it were the better, and to some purpose, for I have need of it, and God knows if I shall live to return for another suit" (Cobham to Walsingham, 3 November 1580, S.P., For., 1579-80, p. 477). It would be as tedious as it is unnecessary to record all of Cobham's pleas to the government to recognize his need, to grant him, not favours, but the just reimbursement of what he spent in the course of his duties as ambassador. Walsingham, Wilson and Burghley all appreciated his services; Walsingham even wrote to Burghley at one point that, since "the gentleman for the maintenance of himself in this service has sold a good portion of land," and since his "fidelity and 'painfulness' have not been inferior to his charges," he would "esteem part of the favour bestowed on myself" if the queen could be brought to grant Cobham the £ 100 a year in fee-farm which he estimated would reimburse him at least in part for what he had spent in France (see Walsingham to Burghley, 26 July 1581, S.P., For., 1581-82, pp. 282-83; Cobham to Burghley, 3 August 1581, H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, II, 406). All three ministers also appreciated what Burghley meant when, the queen having expressed to him the hope that a certain duty would be performed without causing the agent too much expense, he told his mistress "how hard it is to sever Service from Chardg" (see above, p. 254). Thus the ambassador continued to make his sad, futile petitions, and the queen's ministers continued to console him with hope: on 1 March 1580/1 he wrote, for instance, that he had received a message "which brought hope to me, of her Majesty's inclination to grant my suit" (Cobham to Walsingham, S.P., For., 1581-82, p. 79). Only one of Cobham's letters is really of interest at this time. It is that which he drew up, apparently in December 1580 (see above, p. 113, n. 30), when Secretary Wilson undertook to plead his case more warmly for him than had hitherto been done: "I doe conceave how it hath pleased your Honour to have some Feling of my Travailles, and Yeares spent in her Majesties Service, towarde the recompense wherof, I hope you will vouchesalf to bestowe your honourable Speeches in my behalf, and become my happye Mediator to my Sovereigne, wherein you shall doe the Good whych I and myne cannot forgett. And to the Intent you may she [sic: the] rather be encouraged to speak in my Favor unto her Highnes, I will trulie and brieflye declare my Case, and therewithall shew you the Qualitye of my Suite. Fyrste, In my tendrest Age it pleased God, that my Father did dedicate me to her Highnes, and because (during Queene Maryes Reigne) he durste not prefere me into her Highnes Housholde Service; my carefull Father sent me to the Earle of Devonshire, wherby I might be in place to her lykinge -- from thence I retourned as soone as God had blessed her with this Crowne, and was accepted into her Majesties Service, seruinge in the Roome of a Pensioner, wherin I sticked and stayed, havinge no other greater Meanes in her Highness Courte, or Common Wealth, whereby the Credite her Majestie hath bestowed on me, (by employeng me to the Emperour, to the Duke of Alva into Flaunders, to the Spanishe Kynge, and now lastelie to the French Kynge) may be susteinid and endured; havinge not onlye solde that whych her Majestie had gyven me, but allso certaine Portions of my owne livinge -- In this State I have passed, and now fynde my self. It liked her Majestie, at my laste being in Spayne, to graunt me the Office of Marshalsea, being then become voyde uppon the Death of my Cousine, Richard Verney [see above, p. 1089, n. 25], and now before my cominge, she was pleased to graunte me an Office in the Chauncellrye; the whych was allso thought fyttter for others, to my Discomforte; and since my entraunce into this Place, I have spent of myne owne,

empouerishinge my Estate, entringe into my farder Years and great charge. As for my Suyte, Fyrst, Mr. Dale moved her Majestie therin almost two Yeares passed, the Cowrte being then at Wyndsore; and since I have delt therof with her Majestie; having receaved some Hope untill my cominge awaye; wheras her Majesties will was to deferr me, I truste for my greater Good, and a more large Favor graunted at home by your Mediatione. The Farmes are in my Native Countrey [i.e., county], not farre from my House [at Sutton at Hone]. -- The firste which is the Parsonnage of Southfleete was gyven in lease to George Cobham, my Brother, by Kynge Edwarde, servinge then Mr. Cheek, whych he solde since in her Majesties Servite [sic] to one of the Exchequire, it hathe not above 20 Acres of Land belonginge to it, but standeth on the Casualties of Tythes. The seconde is the Mannor of Temple Darte-ford, within a Mile of my Dwellinge; and of longe it hath belonged to the House wher I dwell, servinge for Provisione, for the which havinge disbursed parte of my Money for the Lease, before my goinge into Spaine, (for that the rest was not in my absence paid) I went without the Lease, and another boughte it. Ther is no House nor Barne belonginge to it, nether Wood nor Underwood, and for that the one may helpe me to Bread and Drynke, and the other, some Fedinge for my Familie: I humblie besech her Majesty to bestowe on me, those two in fee Farmes, wherby ther maye remayne some Memorye and Relief to my Posteritie of her Highnes Graces; meaning to bring them up, yf it please God in sorte, as they may deserve well of her. The other two Farmes I referr to her Highnes owne Motion, to bestowe in Lease or otherwise, as she is moved in Hearte to do for me, and to settle me in my Countrey, wherby after all my Travailes, I may enjoy some Ease of my Mynde. It may be remembred that in breakinge the Enterprise of Stukelies [see above, pp. 311-14] Pretence toward Ireland, my Service therin, saved, in her Highnes Purse, 20 tymes the Value of this Demaund. What I passed in my laste Spanishe Services, it is like that her Highnes doth therby receive Honour, and her Subjects shall fynde good and Proffite, both of ther Conscience and surer Trade: I referr the rest of my Travailes to other of more Judgment, to remember, and honourable to alledge for me; ..." (A Collection of Letters ..., ed. Leonard Howard (1753), pp. 352-54). There is no reason to suppose that Cobham was exaggerating his plight, not even when driven by disappointment and shame, he told Burghley that, by the queen's continual refusal to grant his suit, "my death will be the more intolerable unto me, having already sold land, lease,\* and annuities to my great grief in these my further years, when as I should be past begging" (16 August 1581, H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, II, 415). He was forty-four years old when he wrote this last, and was thus already in Elizabethan middle age. He had a wife and five young children, and nothing but his Gentleman Pensioner's fee with which to support them when the family returned home. One of his predecessors had been paid £ 2,645 for his maintenance in Paris for a year and four months in 1574-76 (see the notes of "Ambassadors' Diets" in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, II, 126): Cobham would have spent at least that much, and he was not being regularly paid. Almost the only thing provided by his government for England's representative in France was a service of gilt and silver plate, which was passed from ambassador to ambassador and which amounted to about 1,140 ounces (see S.P., For., 1579-80, p. 94), but even over this essential trapping of his function there seems to have been some irregular business during Cobham's time (see Cobham to Burghley, 23 January 1579/80, (S.P., For., 1579-80, p. 138, where the ambassador notes that "As yet I can hear of no order for the exchange of her Majesty's plate remaining here"). The new minister had no resident staff to acquaint him with the procedure of his function: "Sir Amyas Paulet left him ... without paper, discourse or man," he was later to tell his own successor (see Sir

\* Proof of two such sales is preserved in Add. Charters 54410, 54411, in the British Museum; these are conveyances by Cobham to Edward Flowerdewe of two Norfolk properties, Stanford Hall and Wymondham Abbey. They are dated 1574.

Edward Stafford to Walsingham, 21 October 1583, S.P., For., 1583-84, pp. 166-67). It was the individual ambassador's responsibility even to find a suitable residence in which to house the embassy. Cobham took over that which his predecessor had leased from the Maréchal de Cossé, paying "1200 francs a year 'by' rent of it", yet he was constantly threatened with eviction by de Cossé's heirs after the marshal died, and had to keep an eye open for a lodging in the faubourgs (see Cobham to Walsingham, 28 March 1582, S.P., For., 1581-82, p. 587). That he had himself to equip the house with everything from linen to furniture is apparent from a letter which he wrote to Walsingham on 23 May 1580 (S.P., For., 1579-80, p. 271), in which, obviously replying to some accusation that he had abused the customs, he said: "For the bringing over with me of furniture or provision, I may truly call God to witness that I did not bring over with me anything of silk or cloth unmade, nor my wife, as she swears, any piece of linen for her own use; not so much as sufficient for daily use, so that it is openly known I have bought it since I came hither." Even with the headquarters of his mission in Paris, Cobham cannot be said to have settled down in the capital, for, like all ambassadors of the age, he had to follow the peripatetic Court in order to be ever near the king to whom he was accredited. Henry III's movements are in fact reflected by the places mentioned in the dates of Cobham's dispatches. While he moved about France, the embassy in Paris had of course to be kept open, to offer among other things asylum to any improvident young Englishman of good family who happened to find himself destitute at the end of his Continental tour and therefore in danger of becoming an embarrassment to the English community in the French capital. Dr. A.L. Rowse records how the young Arthur Throckmorton stayed three days in Paris in January 1581/2 until Cobham "provided him with money for his return journey, 20 crowns and 6 angels" (Raleigh and the Throckmortons (1962), p. 93). Certain essentials of sixteenth-century diplomacy, like financing the foreign intelligence service and maintaining a courier service between an ambassador and his government, were considered to be the responsibility of the state and not of the individual, but even in these matters Cobham had trouble. Difficulties concerning the former charge have already been mentioned ("her Majesty by this last Privy Seal allows nothing for intelligence:" see above, p. 1141), and the latter the queen endured with ill grace: once Walsingham warned Cobham that, "unless there fall out matter of importance that requires to be necessarily advertised, you will do well to forbear to send so often" (31 August 1582, S.P., For., 1582, p. 290). This last letter must have seemed the more unfair to Cobham because of an earlier one which he had received from the Secretary, in which he was criticized for not sending advertisements full enough and often enough (see his reply to Walsingham of 23 May 1580, S.P., For., 1579-80, pp. 271-72). In short, even if to be English ambassador in Paris was an honour, it was often more of a burden than an Elizabethan gentleman could well bear.

At last, worn out by the prolonged effort to move the queen, Cobham pleaded with Walsingham either to "persuade her Majesty to give me some comfort after so many years' service, in my latter days; or else to put me out of the pain of the hope I have conserved, that her will is to restore me to what I have sold of my living since my coming hither; with some recompence for my comfort, in such sort that I may not 'hang on the hedge'" (22 October 1581, S.P., For., 1581-82, p. 345). Soon afterward the ambassador reinforced his plea by sending the queen a New Year's gift of "a cage of golde, with a hope in it" (John Nichols, The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth ... (1788), II, p. 25 of the nineteenth arabically numbered section). Results seemed to be forthcoming: on 22 January 1581/2 Cobham wrote almost cheerfully to Walsingham thanking him "for the comfort I received in your last letter, awaiting the fruit of it when it pleases God to send it, and her Majesty to do that long longed-for good" (S.P., For., 1581-82, p. 461). On 14 May he wrote again: "I cannot well tell how to give you sufficient thanks for your earnest joint dealing with my Lord Treasurer about my suit to her Majesty. I find I have need of all my best friends' favours and persuasions to induce her to 'yield' to give me relief." Unless his suit was granted at once, he said, "I must presently sell such other portion of my 'living' for 500 l., which hereafter may be worth the double value to me, and great<sup>ly</sup> to my discommodity and

discomfort besides" (Cobham to Walsingham, S.P., For., 1582, pp. 31-32). Walsingham was now determined to get for the ambassador his due. He advised Cobham to present his suit in a different way, to ask, not for the often-refused fee-farms, but for £ 2,000 outright. Cobham feared that "in altering my suit it may prove to my hindrance, or discontent her Highness. I assure you," he told Walsingham, revealing the extent of the back pay which the Crown owed to him, "that when she resolves to bestow on me only a suit of £ 2,000 in value, I am to gain thereby but labour for my pain, with small comfort." He asked Walsingham, if he was determined to ask for a flat sum, "to fashion the suit to her worth to me £ 3,000 or more, whereby I may have some good cause to think my time, expenses, and service the happier employed and my obligation to you the greater." Candidly Cobham concluded his letter: "I wish her Highness had now done me good with that bountifulness that she might thereby have gladdened my heart, and not in this staggering sort have dulled my courage. Notwithstanding, I refer myself to her disposition, acknowledging how much God has power in the hearts of princes and in the works of men, to which divine ordinance I humble my desires" (S.P., For., 1582, p. 156). Yet, for all Walsingham's care and Cobham's patience, nothing really changed, and the inevitable happened. By August 1582 the ambassador had asked, probably unofficially, to be recalled, just as his predecessors, with less reason, had pleaded (see Leicester to Walsingham, 2 November 1572, regarding the latter's desire to be called home, in Digges, p. 285; Dr. Valentine Dale to Burghley, 4 January 1575/6, H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, II, 125; Sir Amias Paulet to Burghley, 29 December 1578, S.P., For., 1578-79, p. 366). On 1 August Nicholas Faunt, Walsingham's secretary, wrote to Anthony Bacon, "We hear nothing yet of any successor to Sir Henry Cobham; but some speech is of Mr. Edward Wotton, or Mr. [Henry] Middlemore" (Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth ..., ed. Thomas Birch, (1754), I, 24). On 26 September the ambassador himself required Walsingham, since nothing was being done to relieve his need, "to move her Majesty to some resolution in my behalf, being desirous to return in no worse state than I was at my departure thence, and to receive some reward ... having served out the accustomed term as other her ministers have done" (S.P., For., 1582, p. 352). The following month (having, incidentally, in the meantime seen the Continental calendar change from the Julian, which he continued to use, to the Gregorian, so that he must have awakened in Paris on the morning after Thursday, 4 October, to find it Friday the fifteenth), he wrote again "a 'litkell Kereyleyson' concerning my particular cause ... beseeching you to put me out of pain, and out of this beggar's press" (Cobham to Walsingham, 17 October 1582, S.P., For., 1582, pp. 395-96). Cobham found himself unable to concentrate on his work: "my mind," he said, "is almost smothered with the inward press:" and again, "to confess the truth, I have no more means to 'countenance' this place, nor contentment of mind to endure this trade" (Cobham to Walsingham 17 October, 25 November 1582, S.P., For., 1582, pp. 396, 463). His earnestness in demanding that his successor be appointed ("the time is overdue to have another supply this place who has more 'living' to countenance it:" Cobham to Walsingham, 1582, S.P., For., 1582, p. 535) was at first ignored: on 1 December Faunt wrote again to Bacon that at Windsor "is no speech of any to go in Sir Henry Cobham's place" (Birch, I, 27). On New Year's Day, sending the Secretary a gift of "carcanet" [sarsenet], Cobham told Walsingham: "I trust you will with the beginning of this year procure my release from hence, whereby I shall be completely bounden to you. It seems to me very long to have spent my years so fruitless without receiving any cause of joy" (S.P., For., 1583, p. 3). Then, on 20 January 1582/3, the ambassador plucked up his courage and wrote, in his "best hand", to the queen herself, "having no other refuge than to my sovereign (my God in the earth) whom only I have served with devotion in this mortal world." It was a plain letter, despite the use of extravagant epithets for Elizabeth, in which Cobham told her that he saw "you are not pleased to resolve to bestow on me in any sort recompense or relief in respect of those portions of my 'livings' which I have necessarily sold for the defraying of the charges belonging to this place, because I had not competent yearly 'living' of my own as other your ministers enjoyed. 'Nayther' do I possess any benefit by lease from you, or ward or lease of College, 'nyther' from the clergy or the office in the Chancery which you made me a lease of before my departure. As for the things

you have given me, they are sold. I beseech you to conceive the truth in my causes, and license me to return" (S.P., For., 1583, p. 57). Having written the letter, Cobham went off to Rouen for what appears to have been his only vacation during his stay in France (Cobham to Walsingham, 5 February 1582/3, S.P., For., 1583, p. 110), and when he returned to find waiting for him a letter from Walsingham "touching my revocation, which it seems she does not like to assent to," he replied with unusual vigour. Rehearsing his "almost 24 years" of service, during which he has had his "eyes evermore fixed on her person and will, and ... heart and mind inclined to serve her with all 'trawth' and sincerity," he told Walsingham plainly that it was not longer "'in my possibility' to serve her any longer in this 'room', except she will be pleased to give me present means, because my living is nothing at all sufficient to accomplish the defraying of the necessary expenses above the ordinary allowance of her Majesty." He listed his debts -- £ 500 with interest here, £ 120 with interest there, more than 700 French crowns elsewhere -- and swore that he was made ill by thinking of them. He appealed to Walsingham's personal success as a contrast with his own wretchedness, and reminded the Secretary once again that he and his colleague, Wilson, had forced him "to lay aside all my just excuses ... alleged for my insufficiency" when he had warned them of his inability to perform the function of ambassador at the splendid French Court. Only once in the letter did he sink to self-pity ("I account my hap very hard above all the others, that after many years' service I am driven to beg and importune her Majesty, the lords, and you, in this wretched manner"), and his conclusion showed he had no intention of resigning himself passively to misery, for he informed Walsingham that he thought it "convenient to let you know that I have taken this house of Marshal de Cossé's but until Easter, and my coach and other necessaries are consumed with time" (Cobham to Walsingham, 22 February 1582/3, S.P., For., 1583, pp. 143-44). The final hints were broad: Cobham was determined to come home, and he showed it. It was a pity that he had not done so earlier, for within three weeks he was writing to thank the queen for her "gracious acceptance of my services", and Walsingham for "your honourable offices [which] must indeed have 'prevailed' me" (12 March 1582/3, S.P., For., 1583, p. 189). Cobham had got his recall. On 21 April he was writing of definite matters, his requests to the queen to exchange the Marlinton estate which she had decided to bestow upon him for "the like value in 'quillites' [small holdings]", and "to assign me some 'day' for my abode here" (Cobham to Walsingham, S.P., For., 1583, p. 281). In May there was a threatened hitch: Cobham wrote again in "pain and grief", fearing that the queen would forget her promises, and pointing out that "now the time is quiet so that any may serve in this place with more satisfaction and great contentment" (Cobham to Walsingham, 24 May 1583, S.P., For., 1583, p. 363). Then Lord Cobham, who seems not to have taken any part in forwarding his brother's suit, stepped in, and, "finding her Majesty to defer her resolution," agreed with Walsingham to help out. As the Secretary told the ambassador, "he shall make suit to her that you may repair home about some very important causes of your own, and that she will make choice of a gentleman who may in the meantime supply the place in the quality of an agent; whereupon if she please to license you to come over, it will then be an easy matter to stay you here" (Walsingham to Cobham, 24 June 1583, S.P., For., 1583, p. 421). The ambassador did his bit by politely informing Walsingham on 13 July that, "after this month is passed, I trust I shall be excused if I do nothing but address myself to my return, without performing further service" (S.P., For., 1583-84, p. 20). The death of his nephew Maximilian soon afterward gave Cobham a further excuse for wishing to leave the country where the youth had died. "Since I have been deprived of my nephew Maximilian's life," he wrote on 27 July, "it seemeth to me this court is become very noisome" (Cobham to Walsingham, S.P., For., 1583-84, p. 39). At last, early in August, Edward Stafford was appointed to succeed him; Faunt told Bacon the news on 6 August (Birch, I, 40), and Cobham himself had heard it two days later, when he wrote to Walsingham of "Mr. Stafford's coming to this place, whom I shall welcome with much good will" (S.P., For., 1583-84, p. 64). By 21 September his imminent return to Court was expected by his friends: Roger Manners wrote to the Earl of Rutland on that day that "Sir Henry Cobham retourneth upon his coming thither" (H.M.C., Rutland Papers, I, 153). The retiring ambassador had yet to present Stafford to the French king,

and to take his own formal leave of him, duties which were made rather difficult by the ill humour which Stafford displayed immediately he found how unattractive was the post to which he had been assigned. The awkwardness created by Stafford's understandable dismay was increased by the new ambassador's dislike of the old; they had quarrelled years before (see a letter from Cobham, probably to Burghley, of 25 September 1580, S.P., For., 1579-80, pp. 428-29), and Stafford, even before he sailed for France, was sending poisonous letters to Burghley in which he hinted darkly at Cobham's misconduct in Paris (see Murdin, pp. 379 ff.). Despite their differences, however, the two Englishmen went together to St. Germain's on 13 October 1583, where King Henry received them and, "after reverence done, I, Henry Cobham, declared to him how, on consideration of my long abode in this service, I had received your Majesty's letters to return, and to present to him Sir Edward Stafford to reside as my successor" (see Cobham and Stafford to the queen, 21 October 1583, S.P., For., 1583-84, pp. 154-55). Freed of further responsibility, Cobham then left Paris, while Stafford, the new broom of the proverb, heralded his predecessor's return home with vituperative letters in which Walsingham and the queen were assured that, "if when I return, 'I have not more goodwill to me of honest men that serve her [Majesty] behind me than he, let her hang me when I come home" (31 October 1583, S.P., For., 1583-84, p. 184). Cobham cannot have been unaware of Stafford's machinations to discredit him, but his relief at being released from his killing charge must have outweighed his apprehension about what his successor's reports could do to his reputation. (As matters turned out, Stafford's tenure of the ambassadorship was disfigured by flagrant infidelity to the English Crown, a proceeding of which Cobham, even in his moments of deepest chagrin, was never guilty. See above, p. 525.) On 3 November the returning ambassador touched land at Sandwich (see the report of Lord Cobham's Lieutenant of Dover Castle, P.R.O., S.P. 12/162/26, endorsed "3 Nouemb. 1583. Sr Henrie Cobham landed at Sandwich," which is wrongly dated 3 September in S.P., Dom., 1581-90, p. 119). The next day he wrote, "shaken with much torment and storms on the seas", with "the landing of horse and stuff" still prevented by the weather, to Walsingham, asking eagerly when he might see the queen (S.P., For., 1583-84, p. 196). Nothing, unfortunately, is recorded of Cobham's reception at Court, but the amount of the reward which he received for his long service is known: on 20 May 1584 Walsingham wrote discouragingly to William Davison about a suit of the latter's which was then depending before the queen, saying that "the issue whereof I have cause to doubt by the example of the success that Sir Henry Cobham has had in his suit, who having at first her promise for 100 l. in fee farm, reduced afterwards to a lease of 200 marks [ $\pounds$  133.6.8] for sixty years, is now driven to content himself with a lease of the value of 100 marks [ $\pounds$  66.13.4] only for forty years" (S.P., Scot., 1584-85, pp. 141-42).

Sir Henry Cobham lived for more than eight years after his return to England. In August 1587 it was thought that he might be sent again on embassy to the Continent, this time to treat with the Prince of Parma about peace in the Netherlands (see above, p. 524). In the autumn of 1586 he had been returned to Parliament with his nephew William (later Sir William Brooke, by Rochester) as Knight of the Shire (see above, p. 514), and in 1587 he was appointed deputy to his brother William Lord Cobham, Lord Lieutenant of Kent, an office which he held in the summer of the Armada (see above, p. 539). At this time Sir Henry was in the recusant market, Lord Cobham asking Walsingham to appoint two recusants to his custody (see above, p. 546). After the defeat of the Spanish, Cobham was again returned to Parliament, this time with another of his nephews, the future Henry Lord Cobham (see above, pp. 542-43). He still enjoyed Burghley's favour, and when it seemed for a time in March 1589 that an ambassador extraordinary should go from Elizabeth to James VI of Scotland, Cobham was named for the position. The queen disagreed with her minister's choice, herself proposing Sir Edward Dyer for the mission, but her disapproval of Cobham cannot have been unyielding, for Secretary Walsingham's opinion was asked and he was most probably known to favour Cobham (see Burghley to Walsingham, 10 March 1588/9, S.P., Dom., 1581-90, p. 583; Read, Lord Burghley, pp. 452-53). In the event, no one was sent to Scotland, but in November 1589 Cobham was given a sign of royal favour in the form of a grant of land (see Phillimore, p. 15) and on 3 June 1590 his name appears in a list of recipients "of privy seals,

injunctions, commissions, dedimus potestatem, &c., granted in various suits" (S.P., Dom., 1581-90, p. 669). (Perhaps connected with one of these grants is a letter from Sir Thomas Cecil to Sir Edward Montague, dated only 27 April, in which Cecil says that he has "not as yet gone through in procuring the farm of the three hundreds, for that there is some stay made of Sir Henry Cobham's book which I think will proceed:" H.M.C., Montagu Papers, p. 26.) The two official mentions of 1589-90 are the last to be found of Cobham during his life, except for an interesting literary reference made to him in 1591, when on 7 December the new, abridged edition of Francesco Guicciardini's history of Italy was dedicated to the man who had been long "exercised in forraigne affaires, and imploied in matters of some weight for her Maiesties seruice and the estate" (see above, p. 953). Apart from the unidentified French work of 1583, and Rogers's epigram, the Guicciardini was the only literary work to be addressed to Sir Henry.

Cobham had only a month to live when the little history of Italy was dedicated to him. He died intestate, according to his inquisition post mortem (P.R.O., C142/235/89, taken at Deptford Strand on 12 April 1593; abstracted in the Genealogist, XI (new series), 120), at his house at Sutton at Hone on 13 January 1591/2.\* The place of his burial is not now known; his wife's will, in which one would expect to find some reference to her desire to be buried near her husband, is unusual in that it makes no mention of where the testator wishes to lie. It is possible that he was buried at Sutton at Hone; the burial register of that parish is missing for the year 1592. Cobham died in debt to one John Chettell, who, as his creditor, was granted the administration of his estate on 10 February 1591/2 (P.C.C., Admon. Act Bk, 1592-98, f. 5; abstracted in Leland L. Duncan's "Kentish

\* Much confusion exists in print concerning the date of Sir Henry Cobham's death. The Complete Peerage, its editors obviously unaware of the existence of an inquisition post mortem, says that (in the pedigree at III, 340) he died in 1591, and notes at III, 338 n., that the administration of his estate was granted on 10 February 1591/2. Rogers (Pt. 2, p. 14) also says that he died in 1591. As an approximate date, 1591 is good enough; that in the inquisition is certainly exact, and is corroborated by the issuing of the administration in the following month. Rowse's statement that he died in 1605 (Raleigh and the Throckmortons, p. 93 n.), however, repeats an inaccuracy which apparently originates in Rigg's assertion in D.N.B. that Cobham was living in 1604 and probably died soon afterward. This misinformation has been widely circulated and needs correction. Rigg's source was MS. Cotton Vespasian F. xiii, f. 290 (formerly f. 285b), which is a letter from Henry Lord Cobham dated 12 January 1602/3 (see above, p. 876). The baron's '2' looks rather like a '4' (hence Rigg's first error), but is certainly a '2' since the letter is dated from his house in the Blackfriars, which he no longer occupied after 1603. Rigg obviously took this letter to be from Sir Henry Cobham, and based his statement concerning the date of Cobham's death upon it and his misreading of the date. In Venn, I, 361, Rigg's date is followed ("c.1604-5"), although, apparently on the information of the Rev. A.B. Beavan of Royal Leamington Spa, it is queried with a "(?1591-2)". Von Klarwill in both his works accepts Rigg's date unquestioningly; Franklin B. Williams (Index to Dedications ... (1962), p. 24), however, cites Rigg but corrects the date to 1592. Further confusion, which does not require serious refutation, is that which, like Rigg's, is based upon the identification of Sir Henry with his nephew and namesake, Henry Lord Cobham, but which is, unlike his, the result of a complete failure to differentiate the careers of the two men. See the Analytical Index to the ... Remembrancia ... A.D. 1579-1664 (1878), p. 152; G. Eland, Thomas Wotton's Letter-Book 1574-1586 (1960), p. 18 n.; J. Cave-Browne, "Knights of the Shire for Kent from A.D. 1275 to A.D. 1831," Archaeologia Cantiana, XXI (1895), 229; Christopher Hill, The Century of Revolution 1603-1714 (1961), p. 329 (index).

Administrations 1559-1603," Archaeologia Cantiana, XVIII (1889), 30).

Although he left a widow, three sons and two daughters, Cobham was soon forgotten; the references made to him in the 1590s are few, and after the first few years of the seventeenth century, apart from the time when his second son was ennobled, he seems never to have been remembered. Among the few posthumous allusions to Cobham there are, however, some which are sufficiently interesting to be noticed here. One is that made by John Dowland, the musician, who, writing from Nuremberg to Sir Robert Cecil on 10 November 1595 about his long travels on the Continent, mentioned that he had been in 1580 "servant to Sir Henry Cobham, who was ambassador for the Queen's Majesty, and lay in Paris" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, V, 445-47). Another testifies to Cobham's friendship with Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormonde, who had once offered asylum to the pirate Thomas Brooke when the royal officers were pursuing him (see above, p. 229); on 31 July 1598 the earl wrote to Sir Robert Cecil from Dublin that he would show to the late ambassador's eldest son "any favours or friendship he can. 'His father was my old acquaintance, and one I loved very well'" (S.P., Ireland, 1598-99, p. 214). Other references to Cobham concern his diplomatic career, some of the records of which he had apparently been allowed to keep. On 1 March 1599/1600 Henry Lord Cobham sent to Cecil his late uncle's instructions "for his negotiations with the King of Spain" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 46), so that the documents might be put to official use; when Sir Henry Neville, then the ambassador at Paris, was sent in May 1600 to treat "with the commissioners for the King of Spain and Archdukes of Burgundy", he was thus provided with information of what had been achieved twenty-five years before in "the negotiations of Sir Henry Cobham and Sir John Smith" (see H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 145-46). Lord Cobham, in lending Sir Henry's papers to the government, had asked that they be returned to him; apparently they were, for when the baron wrote in 1605 from his prison in the Tower to Cecil to explain to him something about the personal property which he had left in his town house in the Blackfriars, he told the Secretary that a certain cabinet "neither concerns me nor my father; it is the whole negotiation of my uncle, Sir Henry Cobham; and what is in it I know not; for in my life I never looked in it" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVII, 582).

Even if his colleagues seem soon to have forgotten him, however, Sir Henry has survived time rather better than many of them, for there is extant in the British Museum a portrait of him executed during his stay in Paris. It is, according to Freeman O'Donoghue's Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits (1908), p. 455, an eighteenth-century print, by the autographer John Thane of a work by Remigius Hogenberg. Measuring  $3\frac{3}{4}$ " by 3", it depicts "Sr Henri Brooke Cobham Knight" in an oval frame, about which are placed shields bearing four of the coats of arms which the subject of the portrait was entitled to bear.\* Cobham is shown

\* The arms are badly engraved. They appear as: (1) Or, on a chevron (tincture not specified) a lion rampant sable; (2) Or, on a chevron (tincture not specified) three lions rampant sable; (3) (On a field, tincture not specified) seven mascles conjoined or; (4) Argent, a chevron gules between three eagle's legs erased à la guise sable. It will be seen that only the last coat is completely engraved and heraldically viable; even it, however, is inaccurate. The coats ought to be: (1) Gules, on a chevron argent a lion rampant sable (Brooke); (2) Gules, on a chevron or three lions rampant sable (de Cobham); (3) Argent, seven mascles conjoined gules (Braybrooke); (4) Argent, a chevron sable between three eagle's legs erased à la guise sable (Braye). Waller says that the arms of Brooke in the engraving are differenced by an annulet, Sir Henry "being then fifth son" ("Lords of Cobham," Pt. 2, p. 131). No annulet, however, appears in the arms, nor was he "then" (dn 1582) his father's fifth surviving son, but the third. Waller is correct to a degree, however, for, according to the Brooke pedigree in MS. Harl. 6157, ff. 9b-10, an annulet was the mark of cadency which Sir Henry bore, since four of his elder brothers had reached manhood. Sir Henry's eldest son and heir, Sir Calisthenes Brooke, quartered the four coats named above, with no mark in the shield for difference (see the virtually intact seal on one of his letters, P.R.O., S.P. 15/34/37).

in half-length, against a simple interior background consisting of a rich hanging and the corner of a leaded window. On the window sill is an ornate ink-pot bearing the date '1582'. The sitter wears a furred gown over a padded doublet, a small ruff, and no jewellery or other decorations. His hair is cropped, his moustaches à la Vandyke, and he faces the portraitist without expression, apart from a slight arching of broad, dark brows over the heavy-lidded Brooke eyes and long nose. It is, in short, an appropriately inscrutable front which the ambassador presents, that of a discreet man who was capable of living by his prudent motto, "Neque currentis neque volantis" ("Church notes of Kent," by John Philipot, MS. Harl. 3917, f. 2).\*

(56) Lady Cobham appears to have been a remarkable woman. She was the daughter of (Sir) Henry Sutton of Averham (usually written 'Arrone', as in Holinshed, or 'Arone', or, as in The Visitation of Nottinghamshire, ed. Marshall, p. 143, "Egram, al's Averham, vulgo Aram"), near Newark (MSS. Harl. 2134, f. 133, and 6157, f. 10; Holinshed, III, 1509; The Visitation of Nottinghamshire, pp. 143-44). Anne was Sutton's daughter by his third wife, Mrs. Alice Flower, the daughter of a Sir John Harington; whether her mother was of the Exton or Kelston line of the Haringtons is not specified by the heralds, and no marriage between a daughter of a Sir John Harington and a Sutton is entered in the many pedigrees of Harington in Misc. Gen. et Her., III (1880). The poet and translator Harington mentions Anne's son, Calisthenes Brooke, but never calls him cousin (see following note). There is some conflict of primary authorities concerning Henry Sutton's status. The visitation records and MS. Harl. 6157 make him a knight, and are followed by Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges (Memoirs of the Peers of England, During the Reign of James the First (1802), I, 271), by Rogers (Pt. 2, p. 14), by Scott-Robertson ("Six Wills," p. 208) and by Rigg, Sir Henry Cobham's biographer in D.N.B.; Holinshed and MS. Harl. 2134 make him only a squire. Sutton's grandson, William, was certainly knighted, and Sir William Sutton's son Robert (1594-1668) was in 1645 created Lord Lexington of Aram.

Anne Sutton married first Dr. Walter Haddon (1516-1571), the brilliant ecclesiastical lawyer, polemicist and classical poet of the Reformation who was one of Queen Elizabeth's Masters of the Requests (see the biographies of Haddon by Thompson Cooper in Athenae Cantabrigienses, I, 299-302, and in D.N.B., and the excellent modern study by Lawrence V. Ryan, "Walter Haddon: Elizabethan Latinist," Huntington Library Quarterly, XVII (1954), 99-124). She was his second wife, his first having been the queen's second cousin, Margaret Clere, a great-grand-daughter of Sir William Boleyn (see Milles, p. 967; The Visitation of Norfolk, ed. Rye, pp. 74-75). Margaret Haddon was buried, as "Mrs wife of M<sup>r</sup> Doctor Haddon", on 17 January 1565/6 or 1567/8 (The Registers of Christ Church, Newgate, 1538 to 1754, ed. Willoughby A. Littledale (Harleian Society Volume XXI, 1895), p. 267. The doubt concerning the year of her burial, and the time therefore of her death, is created

\* Waller is one of the few historians to recognize the engraving as being a portrait of Sir Henry Cobham ("Lords of Cobham," Pt. 2, p. 131). Henry Bromley's Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits ... (1793), p. 47, which identified the sitter incorrectly as Henry Lord Cobham, was followed by O'Donoghue in his work, synonymous with Bromley's, so that the print is now listed in the British Museum under the baron's name. Brydges (Memoirs of the Peers, I, 514, 529) twice lists it among various 'rare' portraits and engravings of Jacobean peers, and suggests, by giving a double entry in his lists of works extant in 1802 ("Henry Lord Cobham. 1. By R. Hogenberg, 1582; 2. By Thane"), that the original from which it was taken still existed in the last century. No such original is now known.

by a note in the published registers, p. 257: "The Registers of Christenings, Marriages, and Burials each begin in the year 1538, but in the Marriages the year has been altered in the original to 1542, and in the Burials to 1540, with a corresponding alteration in subsequent years until 1587." The editor of the registers seems to have been right to add four years to each date in the list of marriages; to add two years to the date of each burial, however, does not seem always to have been correct (see below, in the discussion of the death of Dr. Haddon, for an impossible date arrived at by this process.) Thus the entry for the burial of Margaret Haddon, which the editor dated 17 January 1567, O.S., ought perhaps to have been dated 1565.) She and Haddon had had at least two sons, Clere and Walter, the latter of whom was buried, according to the published registers of Christ Church, on 20 December 1570 (1568?) (p. 268); they had also a daughter, who was christened on 8 September 1562 as "Mrs Elizabeth Haddon dau. of Mr Haddon, Doctor of the Civil Lawe & one of the quenes majestyes high corte of Requests" (The Registers of Christ Church, Newgate, p. 15), and who was dead by the time that her elder brother died in 1571. By Anne, Haddon appears to have had no children. He is generally said to have died in 1572, but Ryan's careful researches (pp. 102-03 n.) establish the date of his death as 21 January 1570/1. Haddon's epitaph, of which a copy is preserved in Thomas Fuller's transcription, must be in error, for it reads:

Gualtero Haddono, Equestri loco nato,  
Iurisconsulto, Oratori, Poetae celeberrimo,  
Graecae Latinaeque Eloquentiae sui temporis facile principi,  
sapientiâ, & sanctitate vitae, in id invecro  
ut Reginae Elizabethae à supplicum libellis magister esset,  
destinareturque majoribus nisi facto immaturius cessisset:  
interim in omni gradus viro longè eminentissimo:  
conjugi sui optimo meritissimoque ANNA SUTTONA,  
uxor ejus secunda, flens, moerens, desiderii sui signum posuit.  
Obiit anno Salut. hum. 1572 [sic] aetatis 56

(Worthies, I, 143). Littledale's edition of the parish registers of Christ Church (p. 270) states that Haddon was buried there on 25 January 1572/3, but one obviously ought not in this case to add, as the editor has done, two years to the date given in the original registers. One can be thus sure that Haddon was buried in 1570/1, and that Fuller mistranscribed the date in the epitaph, because of the certainty that the doctor predeceased his son, Clere. Clere, a 'young hopeful' of his father's university, was made a Fellow of King's College but, in the spring of 1571, went swimming in the Cam and was drowned, an accident which is supposed to have called forth the university decree of 8 May 1571 forbidding bathing in the river. That Dr. Haddon was already dead by this time is proved by the fact that Clere had, before his own death, been found his father's heir, as is shown in the letters of administration of her step-son's estate which were granted to Anne on 25 May 1571 (see Ryan's study, where there is also cited a court case of 1573 in the course of which Clere was explicitly said to have outlived his father).

Anne Haddon did not long remain a widow. Her husband had known the Brookes; although almost twenty years the junior of George Lord Cobham, Haddon would have been associated with the baron in the circle of reformers which ruled England under Edward VI. He was also a leading figure at Cambridge while Cobham's sons were students there; in 1559 he wrote verses on the occasion of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Cobham Hall (see above, p. 193), and in 1565 an epitaph on Elizabeth Marchioness of Northampton (see above, pp. 170-71). Haddon and Henry Cobham also had a friend in common in Sir Thomas Chaloner, who wrote from Madrid on 21 December 1562 (just after Cobham had concluded his stay with him there) to Peter Osborne, and asked to "be remembered to Mr. Haddon and both their dames" (S.P., For., 1562, p. 583). It is thus probable that Anne and Henry Cobham were acquainted with each other at the time of Haddon's death. Cobham, then in his early thirties, had never married, although he had apparently considered doing so five or six <sup>years</sup> earlier. His choice of wife was then his sister-in-law Catherine Brooke's step-mother, the thrice widowed

Elizabeth Hardwick (see the notes to the family tree, p. 1125, n. 49). That famous woman, however, was not to be his, and as early as January 1565/6, only a year after her third husband's death, it was noted that "either Lord Darcy or Sir John Thynne shall marry my lady St. Loo and not Harry Cobham" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, I, 325. E. Carleton Williams (Bess of Hardwick (1959), p. 58) cites this note, but curiously identifies Cobham as Lord Cobham, commenting: "This was rather surprising, as Lord Cobham had much to offer and had been generally considered the most favoured suitor. In addition to an illustrious name and great possessions he had an attractive personality and he was known to stand high in the Queen's favour." Miss Williams's surprise would have been the greater, and her fancy perhaps the less extravagant, had she known that in 1566 William Lord Cobham had already been married for six years, and to a friend of Lady St. Loe's.) Neither of the two suitors picked to win the widow actually got her; on 9 February 1567/8 she married George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, who had been encouraged to woo her by her friend and the unsuccessful Cobham's sister-in-law, Frances Lady Cobham (see above, p. 305, n. 10). Thus deprived of Elizabeth Hardwick, perhaps in part by his sister-in-law's connivance, Henry Cobham remained single for another seven years. Then, on 27 January 1572/3, "M<sup>r</sup> Henry Cobham & M<sup>rs</sup> Anne Haddon, widow", were married in the church where Haddon lay buried, Christ Church, Newgate. One might be tempted to question the accuracy of the date because of its appearance in the confused registers of that parish (Littledale, p. 199), but there is no reason to do so. The only authority which conflicts with it is an odd little book published in 1593, Actes, Orders, and Decrees made by the King and his Counsell, 9.H.7. remaining amongst the Records of the Court, now commonly called the Court of Requests; this is listed as No. 9340 in S.T.C., and there dated incorrectly 1592. In this work, under the regnal year 14 Elizabeth (p. 136), is the following entry: "11 Nouemb. fol. 141. A deede enrolled concerning the scite of the Monastery of Wimoneham [see above, p. 1143 n.] granted to sir Henry Cobham knight, and Anne his wife, wife late of Walter Haddon Master of Requests, &c." 11 November 14 Eliz. I was 11 November 1572. One might be led to think that the Cobhams were already married by this date if it were not for the fact that the description of Cobham as a knight, when it is known that he was not knighted until 1575, indicates that the dates assigned to the entries in this sixteenth-century edition of the court records are not to be relied upon. The marriage entry in the published records of Christ Church may be accepted as correct.

The Cobhams' first child was born within a year of their wedding, perhaps even less than nine months after it (see following note), and, by the time that Sir Henry was sent to Paris in 1579, the couple had five children, of whom only the youngest son seems to have gone overseas with them.

Of Lady Cobham's part in her husband's professional life very little is known,\* but an interesting account of her reception in France survives in a paper, apparently written by her in February 1580, which is endorsed "The French courtesy to the Lady Ambassador" (S.P., For., 1579-80, pp. 174-76). The paper runs to three pages, and will here be excerpted at length, for it not only gives an indication of the proficiency in the repartee of high diplomacy which Lady Cobham had acquired, but also provides a delightfully feminine picture of the Court of the last of the Valois. "Being invited on Shrove Monday [15 February 1579/80] by Queen Mother to her own house, where a sumptuous feast was to be kept, I was met at the starhead by a great 'scoort' of ladies, among whom were duchesses and countesses, and was led by them into a chamber where the Princess of Lorraine and the Princess of Condé were awaiting the coming of the young queen. Queen Mother being sick, appointed the king and the queen his wife, in her absence to solemnize the feast. After-

\* Waller's statement ("Lords of Cobham," Pt. 2, p. 141) that "This lady once tried her own hand at diplomacy when at Paris, unknown to her husband, and made communications to the Earl of Leicester," is intriguing, but no source has been discovered for it. In view of Sir Henry's apparent distrust of Leicester, any connection between the ambassador's wife and the earl must have been most irregular.

wards I was brought down into the hall where the feast was kept. There the king met me. He saluted me with a kiss and bade me welcome, offering to do me all the service he could. He said he was very desirous to see the Queen my mistress; to which I answered that she desired as much to see him. He said, moreover, it would be great joy to him if he could see her Majesty and his brother together, professing that as long as she enjoyed the presence of his brother she had as it were a part of himself. I answered that I referred that to the will of God and his brother's good affection. Then he desired of me her Majesty's picture, of which he had heard from M. Gourdan [the Governor of Calais? see S.P., For., 1578-79, p. 7]. My answer was that I had made a vow the first that should see it should be his mother, who as I heard was then sick, which my mistress would be very sorry to hear. He told me it was but 'lickell' cold which she had taken, and no doubt she would soon recover. He said further, he 'thought beholding' to her Highness that she was so careful of his mother's good health. Then he desired again to see the picture which I told him was very excellent; wherefore I trusted he would rather hold me excused 'for that I made it so dainty.' Then with a smiling countenance he left me, saying that the ambassador's wife was much changed; and in my sight he charged the Princess of Lorraine and the Princess of Condé to accompany me, commanding that I should sit at his own table. By this time the meat was ready on the table furnished. We stayed therewith a great while for the coming of the young queen. Meantime questions arose among the ladies what could be the cause of her staying so long; to which some answered, it was that she was to be very gorgeously apparelled that day. At last she [the pious Louise de Vaudement, called the White Queen] came in such sumptuous and costly attire, indeed so decked and 'besceatt' [beset] with precious stones and pearls, and so gallantly set out, that it was most goodly sight to behold. At her entrance I was shown to her. She saluted me with a kiss, and bade me welcome. I humbly thanked her, and said for my excuse that I would have done my duty to her long before, if I had not been hindered by sickness since my coming over. She answered she had heard of it, and was sorry for it; being then as glad of my recovery, and to see me walking. She asked how the Queen did; I answered, I trusted she was very well, and would rejoice to hear the like of her. Then the king took his queen by the hand and led her to the table, where was a towel ready prepared. One part of it was wet and the other dry. This the queen took, and kissing it, gave it to the king. When they had wiped their hands, the queen made low courtesy to the king, and they sat down together. The king and queen and the rest took their places in order. A little distance from the queen sat the Princess of Lorraine, over against whom I was placed. The feast was very plentiful, with rare dainties. I was 'carved unto' on all sides, and much looked upon. After dinner the queen called me to her in the presence of the king, and desired to see the picture; saying I should not break my vow in showing it to her, because she was the queen. Thereupon I showed it to her, and as she was looking at it, the king suddenly took it from her, so that it was well viewed by both. The king said it was an excellent picture; the queen asked me if she were like it. I answered that she was. Then said [they?] the Queen is a very fair lady. I told them her Majesty had commanded that whenever I came in the presence of them both, I should wish her there. They said again that if wishing would have prevailed, they would have been together many times long ago. Then I said to the queen: If it should so happily fall out that the Queen my mistress and your Majesty might meet, it might then be truly said that two of the goodliest creatures and greatest queens in the world were together. She answered that as appeared by the picture it might be very true of my mistress, but not in respect of herself. I answered that in my opinion she much resembled my mistress; and indeed she does, not only in my opinion, but in that of others. So the queen thanked me for the good opinion I had of her [Queen Louise was twenty-eight years old, Queen Elizabeth forty-eight, in February 1580], and asked me if I could find in my heart to part with the picture. I answered that the greatest comfort which I have, being absent from my mistress, is to behold it. Hearing that, she said she would not do me so much injury as to request it from me; but commended me greatly for loving my mistress so well. She asked me also if I had been continually at the Court. I said, not so much of late as in times past, for I have had the charge of a household and children to look to. She asked me, how many children I had. I told her, five. Then she asked how many of them

were here. I said, but one. And she desired greatly to see him; for which I thanked her, and promised that when he was a little able to prattle he should wait upon her. But she said she could not forbear the sight of him so long. Then I told her he was at her commandment. Then the king departed and commanded us to follow. He led the way up into a goodly gallery, himself keeping the door till all those were entered whom he liked to have present. Then showing the pictures of the ladies, he called me to him and brought me to those of the King and Queen of Scots [probably Henry Lord Darnley and Queen Mary], asking if I had seen them. I said I had seen the king, but the queen never. So he passed through the gallery into a very gallant chamber richly hung round, wherein there stood a sumptuous bed. The king showed me there the picture of his father, which he said was very like him when he lived. I said it seemed by his picture he was wise and valiant gentleman, which the king said was true. Then he went into a very large chamber, where there was the greatest company of men and women that ever I saw in such a place at one time. The women were so gallantly and richly decked 'as it was a world to see.' Here the king and queen sat down in their state, and the king caused my husband to sit next him, and beneath my husband sat all the rest of the ambassadors. Next to the queen sat the Princesses of Lorraine and Condé, the queen's sister, and myself; and so the duchesses and countesses with ladies and gentlewomen, all in their degrees...." Lady Cobham then goes on to describe the dancing of courantes ("currants"), galliards and volte ("levoltes"), in which the king took part. Next came a masque fraught with political significance; it featured the overthrow of men representing Portuguese by women who stood for Spain, and was an unsubtle reminder to the representatives of both England and France of the need to rescue Portugal from Philip II, who had just occupied the kingdom upon the death on the last day of January of the last of the male line of Avis. One may take up Lady Cobham's narrative again at the point in the evening's entertainment at which the masquers brought their spectacle to a close: "When they had made an end, the king went into another goodly chamber, where stood a long board furnished with banqueting dishes, very curiously and cunningly wrought; also a cupboard furnished with crystal glasses set in gold. So strange and so many fashions as I have wnot seen the like. Every table had divers 'coverd paynes' very finely wrought, which being taken off they fell to the banquet. Some ate and some put more into their pockets than into their bellies, so that at last all was gone. Then the king saluted the ambassador and departed. The throng was so great that he himself could not pass out for a great while." Lady Cobham's triumph at her first important public engagement in France cannot be said to have been purely a personal one: the urgent need in February 1580 for France and England to join together against Spain (see Read, Lord Burghley, pp. 222-24) assured the wife of the English ambassador at Paris of the most courteous treatment which Henry III had to give. Yet she obviously charmed the king and his queen with her own wit in a way which Catherine Paulet had not been able to do: as Henry said, "the ambassador's wife was much changed." Her probably open appreciation of the French Court no doubt added to her attractiveness in the sophisticated eyes of the Parisians. Queen Elizabeth was apparently pleased with the way in which her servant conducted herself in conversations as delicate as those recorded in the preceding account; on 7 June 1580 Cobham wrote to the queen that, "since I think my wife's dutiful thanks are no way sufficient I would not 'leave for to accompany' hers with my humble thanks for the jewel you vouchsafed to send her, as a token whereby we both hope not only 'of' your singular good grace, but of your meaning to do us that present good we have long looked for" (S.P., For., 1579-80, pp. 292-93).

The letter of June 1580 to the queen, with its reference to the ambassador's perennial concern with his financial situation, is the last but one of those which mention Lady Cobham during her husband's lifetime; the last is dated 26 September 1582, and contains proof that Lady Cobham shared Sir Henry's apprehensions for their future. In it Cobham tells Walsingham that he has sent one of his nephews, probably Maximilian Brooke, "to obtain the means to supply wants with her Highness' relief, or else to sell a portion of the little which is left, 'having deferred to do the same, for giving thereby further grief to my wife'" (S.P., For., 1582, p. 352).

Following Sir Henry's death in 1592 his widow was deprived of her home by her sons' sale of it; she took a house in Holborn, near Barnard's Inn and not far up Newgate and Holborn Streets from the church where she had been last married, moving later to one near Charing Cross, and occupied herself with the fortunes of her children. She took full advantage of her niece Elizabeth's marriage with Sir Robert Cecil, whom she told that he was "always a father to my children" (Lady Cobham to Cecil, 30 May 1599, H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 186). Another of her influential friends was probably Sir Walter Raleigh; she at any rate dated one of her letters from his house, Durham House (that to Cecil of 30 May 1599). All of Lady Cobham's surviving communications with Cecil ask favours of the Secretary. The first, written "From my house in Holborn" on 1 February 1596/7, even intruded with scant apology for "her rash writing to him in his heaviness", upon his grief for the death of his wife, which had occurred only eight days earlier. The letter asks for Cecil's support in a suit made by her second son, John, and says that Archbishop Whitgift has already <sup>granted</sup> the young man his (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 54). Another, also from her house in "Hollborne", is dated 18 May 1597, and addressed to "My honourable cousin"; it merely serves to enclose a letter from her newly knighted eldest son, Sir Calisthenes Brooke, but that enclosure is said to ask for Cecil's help (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 203). A third, written from "My lodging by Barnard's Inn, Holborn", on 5 September 1597, encloses another letter, also requesting favours, from Calisthenes, and tells Cecil that she only wishes that she could find him in his own house, which was across Ivy Lane from Durham House, in order to show him her gratitude and affection, apparently for favours already performed for her and hers (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 378-79). In 1598 Lady Cobham asked Cecil's help in arranging the marriage of her elder daughter (see below, p. 1172, n. 60); in the same year she lost the youngest of her sons, killed in the Irish wars. She may at about this time have received the grant of a lease of a property belonging to King's College, Cambridge, which had been promised to Giles Fletcher (the eulogist of her nephew Maximilian Brooke: see above, pp. 448-49) but given by the queen's express command to Lady Cobham (see Giles Fletcher to the queen, tentatively dated 1598 by the editors of the Salisbury Papers, H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XIV, 85-86). The next year Lady Cobham was again treating with Cecil about the marriage of a daughter, this time her younger one; the marriage turned out to be a disaster (see above, p. 1036), but in 1599 it seemed promising, and the widow wanted her "verie honorable good nephew" to approve it (Lady Cobham to Cecil, "From Durham House", 30 May 1599, H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 186). Later, writing on the second occasion from "my Lodging at Cherwin Crosse", she had twice to intercede with the Secretary on her new son-in-law's behalf (see Lady Cobham to Cecil, 20 April, 20 June 1600, H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 117, 190), and later still asked him to help her other son-in-law to a knighthood (Lady Cobham to Cecil, 30 April 1603, Cecil Paper 99/146; abstracted in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XV, 62). Her last letter is dated from the Strand on 21 January 1608/9, and is a request to Cecil, by then Earl of Salisbury, to obtain a pension for her eldest son (see following note, pp. 1164-65). In Lady Cobham's struggle to gain for her children what she thought was their due, she must thus have been as much a nuisance to Cecil as was his other aunt, the termagant Lady Russell. One can understand why the Secretary was 'out' when she called with her effusive thanks for past favours and her persistent demands for new ones.

Lady Cobham made her will (P.C.C. Fenner 1) on 8 January 1611/2. It is peculiarly abrupt and pragmatic, unusual in that it makes no pious bequest of her soul to God or of her body to a specified plot of ground, typical of the woman in that it stipulates exactly to whom even the smallest of her possessions is to go. "In the name of god amen my only maker my only Creator and Redemer in whome I hope to be saued: I giue to my sonne John Brooke my Annuitie of one hundred poundes a yere out of the exchequer to hym: And my thirtie poundes out of the Exchequer to my sonne Kelestinus children I meane his three daughters tenne poundes a yeere yere: And my other ten poundes to my brother John Sutton during his life: And after his life to his wife fyve poundes a yere during her life: And after theire twoe Lyves to my sayed sonne Kelestinus children. My Executors I make my sonne John Brooke and my sonne[-in-law Sir Thomas] Bourton [see above, pp. 1045-46]. The

Bason and Ewre to my sonne John and all his silver vessell w<sup>ch</sup> I boughte of hym. The lease of my house which I nowe dwell in I giue to my sonne Borton. To my sonne [-in-law Sir Edward] Heron and my daughter his wife [see below, pp. 1172-73, n. 60] my Colledge pott and the Suger boxe of silver with the spoone. To M<sup>rs</sup> Warde the silver owle. And the Rest of my plate to my sonne and daughter Borton: To my sonne John Brooke the ffurniture of his chammer. And to my brother John Sotton the furniture of the chamber wherein I nowe lye. To old Nanne I will his [sic?] bed: And to Madge her bed: And to eache of them fortie shillings. The Rest of the ffurniture to hym that hath the house which is my sonne Borton. To my daught<sup>r</sup> Heron I giue the third parte of my Lynnen: and the Rest therof to my daughter Borton but some of my ordinary Lynnen to my sister Mary Sotton three dozen of napkynnes and three tablecloathes and three paire of sheetes: To her all my wearing Lynnen to be devided betwene my sister Sotton old Nanne and Madge, I meane that Lynnen which I usuallie weare on my bodye. I giue the Greene velvet Cosen [cushion] to my sonne Borton. To confirme that which before I haue giuen I here set to my hand beyng in perfect memorye this Eight daye of January and in the yere of my Redemer one thowsand sixe hundred and Eleaven. Anne Cobham. Raphe Taylor Witnes. Mary Sotton her marke." \* Although the will makes no mention of the testatrix's state of physical health, Lady Cobham must have been very near death when she made it, for three days later, on 11 January, "Domina Anna Cobham" was buried in the church of St. Martin in the Fields, the parish church to which she would have gone if, in her later years, she lived near Charing Cross (The Registers of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials in the Parish of St. Martin in the Fields, in the County of Middlesex, from 1550 to 1619, ed. Thomas Mason (Harleian Society Volume XXV, 1898), p. 165). On 18 January (not, as in C.P., III, 338 n., on 10 January), her executors proved her will.

(57) The peculiar name which Sir Henry and Lady Cobham gave to their eldest son is spelled in several ways. 'Calisthenes' is the form given in Sir Henry's inquisition post mortem (not, as in the abstract of that document published in the Genealogist, XI (new series), 121, 'Caletenus'); that used by Brooke himself and by his relatives (see George Brooke's "my near kinsman Calisthenes Brooke", p. 1159 below) and by Sir John Harington, who was perhaps his cousin (see below, p. 1160): it is therefore the form which has been used throughout the foregoing work, and which will be used in this article. Sir Robert Cecil's clerk, in endorsing a letter, once made the slight change of substituting a 'y' for the 'i': "Sir Calysthenes Brooke to my mr." (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 537); the Clerk of the Privy Council, although occasionally giving it its regular form (see H.M.C., Foljambe Papers, p. 77), on 13 June 1598 spelled it with a double 'l' (see A.P.C., 1597-98, p. 514), as did Sir William Browne (see H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 363, 379, 541, 591). Robert Tofte, in the dedication of the published Alba of 1598, has 'Calisthines', thus contributing to Grosart's reasons for describing Brooke as "this odd Christian-named 'knight'" (Alba. The Month's Minde of a Melancholy Lover. by Robert Tofte, Gentleman. (1598.), ed. Alexander B. Grosart (Privately printed, Manchester, 1880), p. 147 n.). Rowland Whyte gives 'Calistenis', 'Chalistenes', 'Chalistine' and 'Calistnes' (see H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 407; Letters and Memorials of State ..., ed. Arthur Collins (1746), II, 141, 205, 206), while the Brooke pedigree in MS. Harl. 2134 has 'Calistines', the form which Philip Gawdy used (see Letters of Philip Gawdy ..., ed. Isaac Herbert Jeayes (1907), pp. 103, 108). John Chamberlain spelled it 'Calistenes' (Letters, ed. Norman Egbert McClure (Philadelphia, 1939), I, 187), and Sir William Russell, Brooke's commanding officer in Ireland, used the form 'Calistinas' (Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts,

\* No Mary Sutton appears among the children of (Sir) Henry Sutton and Alice Harington in the pedigree in The Visitation of Nottinghamshire, ed. Marshall, pp. 143-44. She may, however, have been Lady Cobham's sister-in-law, rather than sister, and the wife of Mark Sutton, whose wife, a Robinson of Northumberland, was given no Christian name by the herald who compiled the visitation records.

Preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, 1589-1600, edd. J.S. Brewer and William Bullen (1869), p. 259). Another entry in the Carew Manuscripts (p. 280) has 'Callistine', which is close to the version given in the epitaph of one of Brooke's daughters, 'Calistene' (see below, p. 1165). All of these spellings seem to be mere variants, based upon the way in which the name was probably pronounced, the recurrent 'h' being silent; so may be regarded the form 'Kelestinus' given in his mother's will; the letters patent, however, which incorporated the Virginia Company on 23 May 1609 contain a most irregular form, 'Calisotheni', which is the dative case of a nominative which must have been thought to be 'Calisothenes' (The Records of the Virginia Company of London, ed. Susan Myra Kingsbury, IV (Washington, 1935), 363). The most likely source of the name shows that this last, Latin form of it was radically incorrect. Although at the back of the Cobhams' minds when they gave it to their son may have been a literary memory of Alexander the Great's friend and victim, Calisthenes, or even of the classical writer Calisthenes, mentioned by Longinus in the third book of his treatise On the Sublime, it is probable that a contemporary work suggested the name to them. It was Achilles Tatius's Clitophon and Leucippe, which appeared in a French translation in 1568. The romance contains a sub-plot which concerns a noble youth who, while at first given to debauchery, is by the time his story ends reformed by love into a paragon of knightly honour. The youth is called Calisthenes. No English translation of the Clitophon appeared until William Burton published his in 1597, but Sir Henry Cobham's knowledge of French would have enabled him to read the romance in 1568, well before Calisthenes's birth.

Calisthenes Brooke was perhaps born less than nine months after his parents' marriage, for his father's inquisition post mortem says in April 1593 that "Calisthenes Brooke aïs Cobham Tricesimo die Septemb' ultimo p'terito fuit etatis nono decem Annor'." This statement that the youth was nineteen years old on 30 September 1592 shows that he was born on or before 30 September 1573, and, although facts such as this, when given in inquisitions, cannot always be accepted without reservation, there is corroborative evidence in this case with which to substantiate the truth of the assertion. The Brooke pedigree in MS. Harl. 2134, f. 133b, says that Calisthenes was "about 19 years in a. 1592", and the enrolled accounts of the Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber for the fiscal year 29 September 1573-28 September 1574 show that in that period Elizabeth stood god-mother to "Mr. Henry Cobham's son" (Constance E.B. Rye, "Queen Elizabeth's God-children," The Genealogist, II (new series), 295). While 30 September need not have been his birthday (see the following note for the inquisition's statement concerning the age of his brother, John, in 1593, where the day and month cited are certainly not those of his birthday, but rather the day in 1592 when his age was ascertained) 1573 thus seems almost certainly to have been the year of his birth.

Nothing is known of Calisthenes's boyhood, except that he probably did not accompany his parents to France, his mother saying in Paris in February 1580 that she then had only one, apparently the youngest son, of her five children with her (see preceding note, pp. 1153-54). By 1592 he was, as his father had been, a Gentleman Pensioner (MS. Harl. 2134, f. 133b). The inquisition post mortem of Sir Henry which was taken on 12 April 1593 found him co-heir by gavelkind (see above, pp. 135-36, n. 16) with his two younger brothers; and in 38 Elizabeth I (17 November 1595 to 16 November 1596) he was given with them a licence to alienate their father's house at Sutton at Hone (MS. Add. 6378, f. 70b, being an abstract of a document apparently enrolled in the Record Office).

With the sale of their home and the removal of their mother to London, the three brothers entered the army, the eldest and the youngest going to Ireland. There, at Rathdrome on Sunday, 8 May 1597, Lord Deputy Sir William Russell "before the fort knighted Sir Calistinas Brooke" and two other men whose valour had set them apart that morning in the fight with the rebels in "the Glynes" (Carew Manuscripts, pp. 258-59; Shaw, II, 94; McClure, I, 30 n.). When Russell returned to England soon afterward, John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton that the "old deputy has come home, fat in body, purse, and has concluded his government with the overthrow and death of Fiffe Mackhugh, an ancient rebel; he has made three knights, Calisthenes Brooks [sic], Thos. Maria Wingfield, and [Richard] Trevor, a

Welchman" (McClure, I, 30; S.P., Dom., 1595-97, p. 437). Soon after obtaining his knighthood, Brooke sent to his mother a letter to deliver to Sir Robert Cecil, asking for the continuance of the Secretary's favour to him (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 203); a year later his kinsman's influence and his own abilities won for him the responsible job of returning home to report to the Privy Council on the situation in Ireland. From Athlone on 24 April 1598 Sir Conyers Clifford, President of the Province of Connaught, wrote to the Council that "A present dispatch is most necessary of those things which will be delivered to their Lordships by Sir Calisthenes Brooke, who has most worthily behaved himself in this service, and has in all things seen as much as Sir Conyers himself. 'I humbly desire your Honours that my commendation of his services may be taken notice of to his encouragement. For, albeit we have not lived in a war of great name, yet I dare assure as painful and dangerous as any war, and as necessary for Her Majesty to end; for it is a true sink of Her treasure, and a waste of good subjects'" (S.P., Ireland, 1598-99, p. 131). The next day Clifford wrote in the same vein, but less formally, to Cecil himself, making the interesting observation that it was the Secretary who had wished Brooke "to spend some time in these wars, and with Sir Conyers". Clifford's commendation of the young knight runs high: Brooke "has so well behaved himself, that he is fit for any preferment in Ireland or elsewhere." He says that he has "seen Sir Robert's affection for Sir Calisthenes, and therefore will not presume to write more of him; he knows as much of these services as Sir Conyers himself" (S.P., Ireland, 1598-99, p. 136). In the same month of May 1598 the Council received a copy of "The humble requests of the Captains of Ireland", and, annexed to it, an unsigned memorial of the deplorable state of the Irish army, which the editors of the State Papers take to be by Brooke himself (see S.P., Ireland, 1598-99, pp. 147-50).

Brooke did not at once return to Ireland after reporting to the Privy Council; instead, on 13 June 1598, he was given "a company of 150 foote in her Majesty's entertaynment in the garrison of Ostende" and instructed to proceed to the Netherlands (see A.P.C., 1597-98, p. 514). Immediately Clifford learned of this re-posting of his able lieutenant, on 26 June, he wrote to the Council, requiring that "the Earl of Thomond, the Baron of Dunkellin, Sir Calisthenes Brooke, and O'Connor Sligo, may be returned to their charges" (S.P., Ireland, 1598-99, p. 193). Brooke had perhaps not yet left for the Continent when Clifford's letter reached London; at any rate, he at once crossed the Irish Sea, his return heralded by a letter of recommendation from Cecil to his father's old friend, the Earl of Ormonde (see S.P., Ireland, 1598-99, p. 214, and above, p. 1149, n. 55). Brooke reached Ireland just in time to take part in the greatest setback which the English had yet had to undergo in that chaotic kingdom. In August he marched with the marshal, Sir Henry Bagenal, to meet the rebels at the Blackwater, and there, on the fourteenth, led the vanguard of 350 horse into battle. He "was shot into the belly, and thought to be slain;" recovering, he learned that his army had been totally defeated, and his youngest brother killed (see S.P., Ireland, 1598-99, p. 224; Carew Manuscripts, p. 280). The stomach wound which he had received did not prevent him from writing within a fortnight a long account of the disaster to Sir Conyers Clifford; he, in turn, wrote from Athlone on 28 August to Cecil: "Until yesterday that I received a letter from Sir Calisthenes Brooke, I knew no certainty either of himself, or what had truly befallen the army. He writes that himself is hurt in the side, but without danger of his life, his brother shamed [*sic*: slain] [with] Captain Ratcliffe and most of the gentlemen that went with him from me; whereof in my opinion there was great loss. Sir Calisthenes had engaged himself unto my Lord Lieutenant, before he saw me after his landing, to take the charge of the horse in this unfortunate journey, whereupon, to accompany him, 'that being so far engaged I might not dissuade, I gave leave to all those other gentlemen, and all have the fortune before mentioned ...'" (S.P., Ireland, 1598-99, pp. 246-47). The black news reached Nonsuch, according to the endorsement on Clifford's letter, on 22 September; on 16 October Brooke wrote, in a private dismay which mirrored the gloom of the whole situation, a letter to the Secretary from Dublin, knowing that his career in Ireland was finished, and that his only hope lay in the company of foot which had been granted to him in June, the young man asked Cecil to look after his interests until

he could get home: "Pardon me that I have stayed here longer than you gave me leave; it is casualty and not will that has and will detain me here, by a shot I received in my body when we went towards the Blackwater, which has cut so many sinews that go to my thigh and leg as I am not yet for pain and the shortness able to ride or go. Besides, my hurt is kept open for splinters that are coming out of one of my ribs. In regard of which I desire your favour that my company be not taken from me in my absence, which I greatly doubt, in regard they are in the States' pay, unless you stand for me. So soon as conveniently I may I will leave this unfortunate land, and go to my company" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VIII, 393).

If the Irish wars seem to have brought Brooke nothing more tangible than pain, undoing him, as the Earl of Essex said, "'in his body and state'" (see below, p. 1159), they also won him fame. In the very year of the disaster in Ireland, the poet Robert Tofte dedicated his Alba to several members of the Brooke family, and in addressing Sir Calisthenes he used terms of praise so extravagant that one can subtract from them much hyperbole and yet be left with an indication of the sort of reception which the returning soldier was given (see above, pp. 955-56). One is struck by the emphasis which Tofte places on Brooke's "Beautie", on his "louely Face": Grosart (p. lxix) is moved to remark that "Tofte addresses a man as only we would a woman."

The principal effect of the defeat at the Blackwater upon English life was to make martial the Court and to lure the Earl of Essex into what had at last become the 'war of great name' which, as Clifford had wryly pointed out to the Council, the authorities had been so slow to recognize. By 1599 Essex's opposition to Cecil and to Lord Cobham was established, yet a letter which the earl wrote to the Council as he was setting out for Ireland, on 1 April 1599, has only praise for their kinsman. It shows that he had seen Brooke recently ("I perceive by a letter of Sir Conyers Clifford's, by a message from Sir H. Dackwray [Dockwra], delivered me by Sir Calisthenes Brooke, and by Sir Calisthenes' own report, how ill Her Majesty's army is cared for in Ireland, and how miserable I am like to find it"), and asks the Lords to give Brooke an interview and to grant him their favour, since he has "'both done good service, and been undone in his body and state'" (S.P., Ireland, 1599-1600, p. 1). Perhaps George Brooke's letter to Essex, probably written in the autumn of 1598 although it bears only a note of the year, had some influence with the earl; Brooke, himself prevented by deformity from taking part in action, had highly recommended his cousin for service in the new campaign (see above, p. 743). Brooke's injuries had, by the time that the earl received George Brooke's letter, convinced him that he was well out of the Irish campaign; he no doubt assisted Essex with advice, not arms; but even such assistance must have been of some value when it came from a veteran of his standing.

Thus Ireland, which was for so many Elizabethans the grave of reputations, was for Sir Calisthenes Brooke the cradle of his fame. It is unfortunate that he so quickly lost it on the Continent. By May 1599 he was in the Low Countries: Sir William Browne wrote to Sir Robert Sidney from Flushing on 27 May that "'Syr Calisthenes Brooke arryved here yesterday, and departed presently towards the camp'" (H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 363). On 3 August 1599 the Privy Council wrote to Lord Cobham that it had acquiesced in his request that Sir Calisthenes be appointed "Serjeant Major" of the 6,000 Kentishmen who were being sent to reinforce the queen's troops in the Netherlands (see H.M.C., Foljambe Papers, p. 77).

Then, in October 1599, Brooke returned to London and took part in a sensational duel. The background to this episode is not very clear, but it may be pieced together with some completeness. On 26 June 1598, when Sir Conyers Clifford wrote to the Council to ask it to send Brooke back to Ireland and not to allow him to take over his company in the Netherlands, the commander also requested that "the Baron of Dunkellin" be ordered to return to his regiment. Dunkellin was Richard de Burgh, eldest son of Ulick Earl of Clanricard, an Irish peer whose secondary title his son bore by courtesy. It seems that Brooke and Dunkellin (who was born in 1572 or 1573 (see H.M.C., Egmont Papers, I, 38-39) and was therefore of Brooke's own age) became friendly enough for the Englishman to be invited to the young man's home on the Dunkellin, and that Brooke there met and courted one of Dunkellin's sisters. The basis of this supposition is in part a curious letter from Sir John

Harington to his confidential servant, Thomas Combe, written from Trim at a time soon after 30 September 1599, during Harington's tour of inspection of Ireland in Essex's service (Nugae Antiquae . . ., ed. Thomas Park (1804), I, 260). Harington, after rehearsing his travels over many months, told Combe: "My 'Ariosto' has been entertained into Gallway before I came. When I got thither, a great lady, a young lady, and a fair lady, read herself asleep, nay dead, with a tale of it; the verse, I think, so lively figured her fortune: for, as Olympia was forsaken by the ungrateful Byreno, so had this lady been left by her unkind Sir Calisthenes; whose hard dealing with her cannot be excused, no not by Demosthenes." Who this lady was, other than that she was one of Clanricard's daughters, it is impossible to say,\* but Harington's erudite allusion to her fate otherwise tells one almost all one would want to know of her story. Olympia, described by Harington in his Orlando Furioso in English heroical verse (1591), p. 71 n., as "a rare mirror of constancie, which I doubt too few of her sex will imitate", is taken in Ariosto's romance from her destined husband by the heroic Byreno. She lives with her soldier lover for some years, but is then shamefully deserted by him and left, like Ariadne, on an isolated island. The moral of her story is pointed by Harington in the seventh canto of Book X of his translation (p. 73):

Wherefore I wish you louely dames beware,  
 These beardles youthes, whose faces shine so neat  
 Whose fancies soone like strawn fire kindled are,  
 And sooner quencht amid their flaming heat,  
 The hunter chaseth still the flying hare,  
 By hill by dale with labour and with sweat,  
 But when at last the wished pray is taken,  
 They seeke new game the old is quite forsaken.

What Harington's comparison of Clanricard's daughter (who did, unfortunately, imitate Ariosto's heroine) with Olympia does not reveal is the fact that Sir Calisthenes left his mistress pregnant, and that she apparently died in giving birth to her bastard. When the earl's daughter discovered her condition, and when her lover left Galway, cannot be established, but by the autumn of 1599 her brother was seeking vengeance. On 27 October Rowland Whyte reported to Sir Robert Sidney that "'Betwen the Lord Donkelly and Sir Calistenis Brooke is growen unkindnes, and a comandment layd upon them not to quarrell'" (H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 407). On 15 November the same informant wrote that "The

\* The pedigree of de Burgh in John Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, ed. Mervyn Archdall (1789), I, 130, gives the earl two daughters, the "Lady Mary, who died a child", and the Lady Honora, who is said to have married Sir Nicholas Malby. This pedigree, although accepted in William Playfair's British Family Antiquity (1810), IV, 152, is contested by the Complete Peerage, its unreliability being pointed by the fact that the earl married a different woman from her whom Lodge gives as his wife. The Peerage is almost certainly right; in H.M.C., Egmont Papers, I, 38-39, is an account of a court case concluded on 31 May 1611, in which Richard Earl of Clanricard (the Lord Dunkellin of the 1590s) proved his legitimacy in the face of allegations by his younger brothers, and in which the earl clearly stated as his mother's name that which the Peerage gives. In this case, the earl also showed that his sister Mary had died in infancy, as Lodge states. With Mary thus disposed of as a possible candidate for identification with Brooke's mistress, there remains only Honora to be considered. She was not the wife of Sir Nicholas Malby; that knight married, according to his biographer in D.N.B., Thomasine Lamb of Leeds. Whether Honora de Burgh married someone other than him has not been discovered; she seems rather to have been the only person whose circumstances fitted those of Brooke's ill-starred love. Townsend Rich, in whose Harington & Ariosto . . . (New Haven, 1940) one might expect to find an attempt to identify the Irish Olympia, merely quotes, on p. 177, Harington's letter down to the first semi-colon of the second sentence.

Lord Dunkelly and Sir Chalistenes Brooke, fought this Day; the Rumor goes, that Brooke is hurt in 5 Places, and that the Lord Dunkelly hath but sleight Scratches" (Collins, II, 141; H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 416). The next day Philip Gawdy told more of the story to his brother: "My Lo. of Dunkelly fought in the feilde withe Sr Calistines Brooke vppon Wednesday [sic: 16 November; Whyte has 15 November] last and only had one thrust at him, and so the fraye ended, for my lord thrust him quight throughe the hande vp into the arme. The cause breifly was Sr Cal: had promysed hys syster mariage, and gott her withe chylde and then refusing her my Lo. her Brother vndertooke her iust quarrell, whiche god iustly reuenged" (Jeayes, pp. 103-04. The letter is dated only "In extream hast. This xvj<sup>th</sup> of Nouember", but, from references in it to the death of the queen's favourite Maid of Honour, Margaret Ratcliffe (see above, pp. 781-82), there is no doubt as to the year. Jeayes is wrong in dating it 1600.) The outcome of the duel was hard enough on Brooke, whose already mangled body can hardly have completely recovered from the shots of the Irish rebel before it was so exquisitely wounded by the sword of the Irish peer; the result of it was even worse. He was sent to the Fleet for disobeying the queen's order (apparently expressed by her Secretary) against private quarrelling, and thence wrote plaintively, on the last day of December, to Cecil: "I beseech you, as you were the cause of my imprisonment, to grant my releasement. I have been here as many more days as the Lord, though he were the commandment-breaker, as appeareth by his challenge. It is imputed a fault in me that I presented not myself to punishment as he did (a course against nature), yet did I never hear that there was warrant or officer appointed to search after me, so as I hope in that point I have not been disobedient. True it is that some friends of mine did let me know there was such intentions, and did harshly advise me. I know you will interpret all these as excuses impertinent to my suit, which is only to make known that I am exceeding penitent for my transgressions, and do humbly desire your honourable favour and my enlargement; also, that you will be pleased to pardon this bold solicitation of mine, which I am forced into in regard I have no friends that have recourse amongst your honourable selves [of the Privy Council] to be a petitioner for me" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 421). Another informative letter of Gawdy's to his brother, unfortunately undated but for the phrase "this present frydaye", shows that Dunkellin had indeed been imprisoned as well as his opponent: "My L. of Dunkelly was committed to the fleete vppon Wedensdaye last about the quarrell betwyxt Sr Calistines Brooke, and hymselfe bycause they were forbidden bothe to meddle in this matter by her maties Councell" (Jeayes, pp. 108-09, where the letter is incorrectly dated "circ. Dec. 1600"). The two men were soon released, to pursue their very different fortunes. Dunkellin succeeded to his father's earldom in 1601 and, much later, was given two English titles and two more Irish ones as well; he enjoyed the favour of James I from the outset of his reign, his inclusion among the signatories of the proclamation of that king infuriating Lord Cobham (see above, pp. 878, 880), and also had the pleasure of marrying the accomplished Frances Walsingham, the widow of Sir Philip Sidney and then of the Earl of Essex. Brooke returned to his regiment in the Netherlands (he was appointed in July 1600 to conduct the English reinforcements who were then set over to assist the Estates: see Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, 5, 12 July 1600, in Collins, II, 205, 206; H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 471), but did not there resume his successful military career. Rather, he fell into a state of mind in which he imagined himself "the unfortunat-est man that lives".

Two letters to Henry Lord Cobham survive to indicate how different was the Calisthenes Brooke of the early seventeenth century from him to whom praise and honour had been given in the last years of the sixteenth. One is dated "From Hage, 11 April stilo novo, 1601": "I had not thought to write to your Lordship till I had by time manifested myself to you, and assured myself of your opinion, which others had made doubtful, and which made me last time write only to Mr. Secretary. My business is so urgent that I have trusted to your noble disposition and the belief that you will not see your uncle's son so wronged. You know how Sir Fra. Vere hath used me, and why, and the Earl of Northumberland can tell you further, or my brother to whom I have written at large. Favour me so much as to procure Mr. Sec-

retary's letter and your own to our Colonel General, and if her Majesty's letter might be procured, it would do me great honour. I can no longer hold out with him, and besides the army is going into the field, at which time officers will be made and I displaced and disgraced. I have been infinitely beholden to Mr. [George] Gylpyn for your sake. I was at Delph and saw 4 pieces of hangings that are made for you and 4 more a making. They are the fairest I have ever seen, but I doubt he will not finish them so soon as he promised; he hath so much work. He is within 2 English miles of me. I desire to do you all service" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 154). The personal vindictiveness which Brooke imagined Sir Francis Vere to have shown him is revealed to have been nothing of the kind. Rowland Whyte, in a letter written when Brooke had been named to convey the English reinforcements into the Netherlands, on 12 July 1600, told Sir Robert Sidney how "Sir Calistnes Brooke was appointed, with 4 Captens to conduct the Volunteries to the States Army. Mons. Charon [Sir Noel de Caron, the agent in England of the United Provinces] had giuen Order for Meanes to performe it; but now Sir Fra. Vere hath sent an Offiser out of euey Company, to transport them; this Course hynders the first, and vntill Mons. Charon hears again from the Camp, all is at a Stay" (Collins, II, 206). There seems to be no reason to suppose that there was any intentional slight offered to Brooke; rather, there appears to have been a politico-logistical mix-up. His touchiness may well have created an unpleasant situation with Vere, however, and exasperated the commander until there was real reason for Brooke to fear displacement. The second letter, dated from the Hague on 10 April (20 April, N.S.), shows that Brooke had found that he could look for little help from Cobham: "In my former letter I desired your favour for the unfortunatest man that lives. I cannot imagine how I should have incurred your dislike, or how to recover your good-will. If your Honour would vouchsafe to let my brother know the cause, or give me leave to answer my accusations, I should be very glad" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 164). Despite the baron's obvious curtness, however, Brooke and he must either have come to some understanding, or become utterly estranged, for the desperate letters from Holland seem to cease with this second one.

Brooke, judging from a reference in his first letter to his cousin, seems to have been fairly intimate with the Earl of Northumberland. On 9 July 1601 the earl wrote to Brooke from the "Camp before Berke" a letter which shows that the knight was seeking to bring about an association which has since served historians well. Dudley Carleton was his friend, and Brooke had asked Northumberland to take the young man, just down from Oxford with a master's degree, into his employ; Northumberland replied that he was "obliged by ... [Carleton's] good opinion" and that, although he had "little means of doing him good ... [having] no office under Her Majesty, ... [being] no privy councillor, and ... [unable to] advance to my liking out of my own fortunes," he would take Carleton into his household "if he still wishes to abide the hazard of such fortunes as I run, 'if they be good, his share will be the better; if nought, he is like to thrive the worse; if he were my brother I could not give him sounder counsel'" (S.P., Dom., 1601-03, p. 64). From Middleburgh on 2 October (12 October, N.S.) Brooke wrote his friend the good news: "I have spoken of you to the Earl, who is too wise to promise anything, but would like you as principal secretary. I think you may venture your fortune with the Earl" (S.P., Dom., Addenda, 1580-1625, p. 410). Thus began Carleton's service with Northumberland, a service which enabled him to gather much of the information which he retailed to his friend John Chamberlain, and of which there is a record in those valuable letters which Chamberlain wrote in reply. Serving Northumberland also led Carleton ultimately, long after the earl's own fortunes had run out, to a viscounty and to many responsible positions in the state of Charles I.

In Brooke's letter to Dudley Carleton of October 1601 is mention of the hope that the knight would be in England by Christmas. It is unlikely that he was able to carry out his plan, for in the same letter he had told of being with Northumberland "at the taking of Berghem and siege of Ostend", where the "only harm done is the shooting of commanders." The commanders killed were six captains; Sir Francis Vere and his brother had been hurt. This depletion of officers meant that promotion of subalterns was imminent, and on 7 November 1601 Sir William Browne wrote to Sir Robert Sidney that he heard that "Sir Callisthenes Brooke commaunds the English att

che Campe, which are besydes his owne Company, Croftes, Cocken, Ryder" (Collins, II, 234; H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 541). On 14 November John Chamberlain wrote to Carleton the official news from London: "Sir Calisthenes Brooke is made colonell of sixe companies of English at the siege of Bolduke [Bois-le-Duc] by his excellencie [Prince Maurice]" (McClure, I, 136; S.P., Dom., 1601-03, p. 122).

Military promotion was not, however, enough for Brooke in his insecure state. He had once spoken well of George Gilpin, the English agent in Zealand (see his letter to Henry Lord Cobham of 1 April 1601), but, in his letter to Dudley Carleton of October 1601, he said: "I never saw your cousin Gilpin, for I never was in Holland; but I wrote liberally to him, and he answered me as sparingly as if I had been a spy; so I will lose no more labour for him." Obviously confused by Brooke's attitude, Gilpin asked Carleton on 20 February 1601/2 to impart to him his "opinion about Sir Cal. Brooke; I pity him, and wish he would proceed on some good course" (S.P., Dom., 1601-03, p. 154). Then, in September 1602, Gilpin suddenly died at the Hague, and Brooke at once pounced upon the chance of taking over the dead man's position. Writing to Cecil on 5 September, he said: "At this instant it hath pleased God to call to His Mercy her Majesty's agent, Mr. George Gilpin. No other English being here, I thought it my duty to advertise you. I would I were so fit and so much in your good opinion that I might intreat you to propound me for the place. I do blush for shame when I think of my youth and my unworthiness to serve so great a Queen in such a place. But when I look on those gone before and remember with whom I should negotiate, I begin to believe, if her sacred Majesty should employ me, with your favour and instructions, I should overcome the labour. The French and Dutch tongue I can as readily use as another Englishman, and for the rest, I hope I am, with two years' continuance and Mr. Gilpin's conversation, as well acquainted as a mere stranger. Sir, give me leave to intreat you to remember whose kinsman I am, and that you will please for that virtuous lady's sake, your dear wife [Elizabeth Brooke], to employ me. These poor lines are all the means and force I have, praying to God they may be read in a successful hour" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 351-52). Brooke apparently had no luck in his suit; certainly he never became Queen Elizabeth's factor in the Netherlands. His new ambition did, however, stir in him a rare sense of responsibility, evidenced by the objective report on the military situation at Ostend which he sent to Cecil in October 1602 (see H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 536-37. The letter is dated only 1602, but may be pinned down more closely by its references to Paul Anraet, whose story follows.) Yet the favourable impression created by such a show of conscientiousness must have been marred by another action of his at this time, one which illustrates his essential ineptness in petitioning. This was Brooke's encouragement of a former agent of William Lord Cobham's to ask Cecil and Henry Lord Cobham for payment of the sums which had been left owing to him at the old baron's death five and a half years earlier. "This Paul Anraet," Brooke wrote to Cecil, "hearing I was descended of the house of Cobham, made acquaintance to the end I should entreat Lord Cobham for him; being refused by me, he told me that he heretofore by letter entreated your favour and would again do so. When I understood how he had been employed, and his dwelling, I thought fit to present this enclosed, assuring you that no man is better able to advertise the proceedings than he, for he hath freedom on both sides by his dwelling, which enables him greatly" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 536). The enclosure was a letter dated from the Hague on 1 October, in which Anraet presented his case to the Secretary: "Having supplied Sir [Calisthenes] Brooke, your cousin, captain in this country, with intelligences, as occasion offered, I could not abstain from telling him that I performed the same service for the late Lord Cobham, his uncle, Chamberlain to her Majesty, till the day of his death. I was at great expense in the collection and translation of many important documents, and in spite of his Lordship's promise in respect of some slight reward for my pains during five or six years, viz. of twelve lengths of London russet cloth, which de Questere [Matthew Questor: see above, pp. 670-71], his secretary, and Demetrius (sic)\* well remember, I have been obliged to remind

\* This unidentified Demetrius may have been "Emanuel Demetrius, or de Meteren, a

the present Lord Cobham hereof and your Honour some three years ago. By means of your said cousin and a convenient bearer, I make bold to renew my former request, and pray your good services with the heirs of the late Lord Cobham, that my labours on behalf of so distinguished a personage may not go unrequited" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 414). It would seem most unlikely that the harassed Secretary, in the autumn before the queen's death, would have felt that the assurance that Brooke was working for Elizabeth's intelligence service was worth the trouble of dealing with his late father-in-law's creditor. Yet Brooke does not seem to have realized that he had been a nuisance in Anraet's case, for in 1604 he performed a similar office for one Francis Mitchell. As Mitchell wrote to Cecil "From the Unicorn's Head in Fleet Street" on 20 October 1604: "Having spent this last summer, part before Sluis, part in travelling the several Provinces; in my journey through Holland I met Sir Calisthenes Brooke at the Hague. He recounted sundry passages in our converse both in England and Ireland in the Lord Burgh's days and since, not forgetting the friends of his lady's [Lady Burgh's] fortune, and how she lost those that then were and still are best able to do most for her. We remembered you to be the only procurer of the pension she now lives on, but her ladyship had made an evil requital, by being too busy about a libellous 'lost-letter' concerning you and the Lady Shurlye. And hereupon (which is the cause of my now writing) it was by you imagined, or by some of her friends, or self, in excuse of her wrong doing, fathered, that I, living then with her as trencher companion, must be either the deviser, contriver, or publisher of that letter .... For clearing whereof, I protest I am not guilty of so much as consent, and so I will depose before any magistrate cross-article-wise ..." (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVI, 333-34). One suspects that, at least so far as Sir Calisthenes Brooke was concerned, the Secretary can have had little patience with the affinity which had become his through marriage.

Francis Mitchell's letter of 1604 provides the last direct report of Brooke's presence in the Netherlands, although, from the next account of him, he appears to have stayed on there for some years. Then, on 21 January 1608/9, Lady Cobham wrote of his pitiful state to Cecil; her letter is so revealing that it is here given in full from the original, P.R.O., S.P. 14/43/22, the description of it in S.P., Dom., 1603-10, p. 487, giving little indication of its interest. "Most honorable Lord," the dowager began; "I pray yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>r</sup>P: vouchsafe to heare the suite & petico<sup>n</sup> of an old woeman, wch vpon confidence & knowledge of yo<sup>r</sup> Honors noble nature and disposico<sup>n</sup> she will adventure to make at the end of this short & vnto her lamentable story. My eldest sonne Calisthenes Brooke served diuers yeares in the warres of Ireland, and there besides other woundes & hurtes was in the service against those Rebels at the Blackwater shott w<sup>th</sup> muskett shott through the body. And euer since hath bene & served in the warres of the low cuntries by wch he hath had his meanes & maintenūce, But I neither valew nor can iudge of his services but ground this my humble suite to Yo<sup>r</sup> Honor onely vpon his late relapse into miserie & misfortune. The extremity of the last wynters great frost soe wrought vpon his infirme bodye that the wound he receiued at the Blackwater festered w<sup>th</sup> in, & hath soe prisht [perished] his sinnewes on the one side that he is vtterly lame (that legge being 3 or 4 inches shorter then the other) And besides hath from that tyme put him to greiuous torment & paine, soe as he hath layen whereof both yt substance he had & the meanes wch his creadytt could provide him are wholie consumed and spent. And for my estate my Lord (I speake in truth) [sic] and sorrow now) yt is soe very meane that what I can possibly spare from serving myne owne necessityes will doe him little or noe good at all. My humble suite

Dutchman by nation, born at Antwerp, but lived in England, and was a member of the Dutch church, London: a worthy person, and excellent historian, who writ the history of the Netherlands, called, Belgica Historia" (Strype, Annals, III, i, 404) He was a shareholder in the Company of Mines Royal (see Donald, p. 242), and the addressee of the first of Gabriel Harvey's famous Four Letters, as well as the dedicatee of Harvey's Greenes Memoriall.

therefore vnto yo<sup>r</sup> Hono<sup>r</sup> is that for y<sup>t</sup> small tyme & little pt of that spanne & residew of his life wch he hath to runne ouer (for they tell me he cannot liue longe) he may be kept from miserable extremitie & vtter prishing by some stipende or pencoñ from the Kings Matie either here or out of Ireland. And thus my good Lord, I haue taken the hardines to tell yo<sup>r</sup> Hono<sup>r</sup> the truth of my sonnes misfortune & my greife, & to peticoñ yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>r</sup>PP: (I confesse) for I know not well what in pticuler my selfe but yo<sup>r</sup> Hono<sup>r</sup> knowes by this what I would haue & what is fitt. And therefore I cease to trouble yo<sup>r</sup> Lordship further. And soe comittinge yo<sup>r</sup> Hono<sup>r</sup> to Gods blessinge and proteccoñ I most humblie take my leaue ffrom my poore howse in the Strande this xxjth of January 1608. your honor<sup>s</sup> poore beadswoeman that shall euer pray for yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>r</sup>PP: ANNE COBHAM." Despite his mother's misgivings, Brooke survived the winter of 1608-09 (the time of ice and hailstones to which allusion has been seen in *Coriolanus* I.i.177-78); he seems rather to have recovered something both of his health and his credit, entering upon a business venture and returning to the Netherlands. On 23 May 1609 he and his brother John, later well known for his exertions in behalf of the explorers of the New World, became Charter members of the concern known as "the Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the First Colony in Virginia", composed of men who were either to "migrate in their own persons to be planters there in the plantation aforesaid or do not migrate but adventure their money, goods or chattels" (Kingsbury, IV, 363, 366). Then, on 5 October 1611, John Chamberlain wrote from the Hague to Dudley Carleton that "Sir Calisthenes Brooke died here lately leaving his wife in very poore estate for they say he was seven or eight hundred pound worse then nought" (McClure, I, 306; *S.P., Dom., 1611-18*, p. 79). Whether Brooke's body was brought back to England for burial is nowhere stated.

The name of Brooke's wife is not known, apart from its being given as 'Anne' in the epitaph of her eldest daughter, but her rank and the news of their marriage are recorded in a letter of Chamberlain's to Carleton, dated at London on 28 February 1602/3: "Your good frend Sir Calistenes Brooke is saide to have married a widow in the Lowe Countries of no great goode report for wealth or otherwise" (McClure, I, 87; *S.P., Dom., 1601-03*, p. 293). (In marrying so, Brooke seems to have done rather as did his companion in the Irish wars, Thomas Maria Wingfield, who was knighted at the same time as he; Lady Wingfield is said variously to have been "Arlinda Van Rede de villa Utrecht in Belgio" and "E. Travildo de Susnett in Over Isell", described, in a phrase which is open to misconstruction, as "an outlandish woman": *The Visitation at the County of Huntingdon ... A.D. MDCXIII*, ed. Sir Henry Ellis (Camden Society, 1849), pp. 112, 131.)

Brooke's children by his Dutch wife were three daughters, mentioned in the will of Lady Cobham, their grandmother, on 8 January 1611/2 (see preceding note). In MS. Ufford I, 508, is cited "a Pedigree on Parchment in the poss<sup>n</sup> of Rev<sup>d</sup> Cha<sup>s</sup> Brooke 1817", in which two of these daughters are entered, one the wife of Mr. Hyett of Herefordshire, and the other Joan. MS. Ufford I, 501, gives the name of the other, the eldest, who died on 23 February 1632/3, aged twenty-nine, and who was buried in Church Langton, Leicestershire; on p. 437 this lady's epitaph is transcribed, as being "In the Chancel of Church Langton, C<sup>o</sup> Leic. On a board, at the South east Corner, against the wall, which was found among some old rubbish in the Church & hung up there. Arms. Arg. a chevron sable." The epitaph reads: "Here lies the Body of Mr<sup>s</sup> Anne Brooke, eldest Daughter to Sir Calistene Brooke, Knight Banneret, and the Lady Anne Brooke his Wife, born in Medliborough\* in Zeland, in the Year of our Lord 1603, descendinge from the Right Honourable House of the Cobhams in Kent, who, when she had lived the space of twenti-ix years, religiousli, chastly, and inoffensively, in the love, honour, and high reputation of all, departed this Life in the year of our Lord 1632, Februarii the 23."

A curious postscript to the discussion of Sir Calisthenes's children and Christian name is provided by an entry in Venn, I, 228, where Walter, the son of

\* I.e., Middleburgh Head, to which Brooke's company moved early in 1603: see a letter from Sir William Browne to Sir Robert Sidney, 21 January 1602/3 (Collins, II, 263).

"Callisthenes Brooke, gent., of Gatforth, Yorks.", is shown to have been admitted pensioner at Jesus College, Cambridge, on 8 April 1714. This Yorkshire gentleman, despite his name, was not a descendant of Sir Calisthenes Brooke; MS. Ufford XVII, pp. 332 ff., contain a pedigree drawn up from one received by Francis Capper Brooke of Ufford on 6 December 1861 from the Rev. Richard Brooke of Gadeforth [Gatforth], which traces the Yorkshire line from Humphrey Brooke, a Londoner who in 1564 bought Gatforth from Henry Lord Darcy, and whose son, Gabriel, died in 1631, leaving a son Calisthenes. It seems reasonable to suppose that this country gentleman was named either for or in memory of the valiant soldier who must somehow have been his distant kinsman.

(58) John Brooke, created Lord Cobham by Charles I, seems to have lived longer than any other member of his family; he must have been eighty-five years old when he died. Only that part of his career which was contemporaneous with that of his cousin Henry Lord Cobham will be treated here, as the last half of his life may more properly be regarded as belonging to Caroline than to Elizabethan and Jacobean history.

He was christened as "John son of Henrye Cobham Knyght" at Christ Church, Newgate, on 20 June 1575 (Registers, ed. Littledale, p. 25. The extant entry in the christening register must have been made at some time after the ceremony, for John's father was not knighted until 18 July 1575.) According to Sir Henry's inquisition post mortem, taken in April 1593, "Joh<sup>is</sup> Brooke a<sup>is</sup> Cobham Decimo quinto die Augusti ultimo p<sup>ter</sup>ito fuit etatis septemdecem Annor<sup>um</sup>": that is, his age on 15 August 1592 was found to be seventeen, not that 15 August 1592 was his seventeenth birthday. He was, with his elder and younger brothers, left heir to his father's estate by gavelkind, and with them had licence to sell the family home at Sutton at Hone (see preceding note, p. 1157). John was probably already a soldier by the time his father died; as early as 1 November 1591 William Lord Cobham had asked for three months' leave from service in the Netherlands for a certain Captain Brooke who, despite his youth, seems to have been he (see H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IV, 157, and above, p. 1132, n. 52). He was also at this time under the especial patronage of Archbishop Whitgift; according to the Brooke pedigree in MS. Harl. 2134, f. 133b, he was then "in service wth the Archb: Canterb:" Two and a half years after Sir Henry's death, John's uncle John died, leaving to his namesake the reversion of his estate in case of the death without heirs of another of his nephews, his favourite, Sir William Brooke (see above, p. 1133, n. 52). John was certainly in the queen's forces and bore the rank of captain by 8 October 1595, when he signed an indenture with Lord Cobham's lieutenants acknowledging the receipt of a company of 135 Kentishmen, as well as "68 coats, 32 corslets furnished with pikes and swords, 20 muskets furnished, and 16 calyvers furnished". He had given his uncle's deputies "13 l. 13 s. for coat money of the said 68 men" (see H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, V, 405-06). A year later, on 13 November 1596, the young commander wrote to Sir Robert Cecil from "Sheppi, four miles from St. Vallires", reporting severe plague conditions in the area where his men were quartered and informing the Secretary that as yet "there has been no service done, but their Colonel has just intimated that the King will be at Abbeville in two days and the companies are to be ready" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VI, 477). By 13 December his name was among those of the captains of foot who were "serving in the aid of the French King in Picardy" (see H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VI, 523). On 1 February 1596/7 his mother wrote to Cecil asking him to support John in some suit then depending before the queen (see H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VII, 54); Lady Cobham knew when she wrote that she was intruding upon the Secretary's grief for the loss of his wife, her niece, and John's own letter to Cecil at this time reflects the general feeling of deprivation which Lady Cecil's death created among her family. Writing from Amiens on 26 June, five months after his cousin died, Brooke said: "I could have no greater misfortune than the death of my best friends [William Lord Cobham's death had also occurred that spring], but you fulfil my hopes that you would do for me, for their sakes whom you so much loved, especially concerning this matter of John Wells. His offer of his daughter to me, with 5,000 l. down and 4,000 l. after his death, was not of my seeking. I asked Sir Arthur Savage, at his going into England, to enquire whether it was a

fitting match, and if so, to acquaint you with it, but he thought it unfitting. I protest I do not desire marriage, nor especially to match myself basely, for I have been afraid of my employment failing, and of being forced through poverty to act contrary to my disposition; but seeing your care of me, I will presume on a better fortune" (S.P., Dom., 1595-97, p. 445). Who Brooke's first wife was, other than that she was called Anne, is unknown; the Complete Peerage, III, 339, which says that he married her before 21 January 1608/9, has probably confused his mother with his wife, and taken Anne Lady Cobham's letter to Cecil of that date (see preceding note, pp. 1164-65) as proof of the existence of her daughter-in-law. It seems unlikely that Lady Brooke was the daughter of John Wells whom John seems in this letter to have been so reluctant to marry; since, however, no reference to any other plan of marriage has been discovered, one cannot ignore the possibility that it was this tentative arrangement which went forward after all.

John was 'Captain Brooke' when he wrote to Cecil in June 1597; by 26 October of that year, when the Clerk of the Privy Council entered in the register that, "Upon an alarum that Ostende shold be beseiged the Lords ... ordered that 500 men sholde be sent theither and the rest to remaine to be otherwise disposed," he had become the Sir John Brooke who was dispatched with the government's instructions, crossing to the Continent from Dover on or soon after 30 October (see A.P.C., 1597-98, p. 52; Henry Lord Cobham to Charles Earl of Nottingham, 30 October 1597, S.P., Dom., 1595-97, p. 525). The exact date of his knighthood cannot be ascertained; it cannot have been bestowed long after his brother Calisthenes's, which was won in May 1597. On 2 November the Council ordered Sir Oliver Lambert to conduct 400 Kentishmen to Ostend, there to be put under four company commanders, two of whom the government had appointed, while the "choice of the other twoe ys left to the Lord Cobham either of capten Wyat, capten Johnson and Sir John Brooke, whoe are all ready there" (A.P.C., 1597-98, pp. 81-82). On the same day the Earl of Essex wrote to Lord Cobham about the assignment of the reinforcements to captains, and referred to Brooke as Cobham's 'cosen' (A.P.C., 1597-98, p. 86). Cobham probably chose Brooke to take over 100 of the men, and by 25 November Brooke's old company, 150 strong, "of footemen sent ... from Picardy" to Ostend, was also at the besieged fortress, for on that day the Council ordered that the men be paid (see A.P.C., 1597-98, p. 153). Three months later, on 2 February 1597/8, the government ordered the withdrawal of Brooke's company and of the companies of two other commanders from Ostend, and their dispatch to Flushing (see A.P.C., 1597-98, p. 294; Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Papers, II, 318). In March 1598 he was back in England, when, on the nineteenth, the Council issued on "Sonday forenone. At the Court at Whithall" "An open warrant to all publick officers, &c., to give acceptaunce unto Sir John Brooke, knight, or his lieutenante for the impresting and takinge up of 30 able and masterlesse men or soche others as were willinge to serve to fill upp a companie of foote under the chardge of the said Sir John Brooke, which remayned in the towne and garryson of Ostende" (A.P.C., 1597-98, p. 366). Brooke was thus making a name for himself in the Netherlands at the same time as his brother, Sir Calisthenes, was becoming a hero in Ireland, and when Robert Tofte published his Alba later in 1598, with its effusive compliment of the elder brother, the poet also had some high-flown praise for the younger, mentioning especially Sir John's part in the siege of Amiens of 1597, during which the knight had written on 26 June to Cecil (see above, p. 956).

Upon the commencement of Essex's Irish campaign in 1599, Brooke left his service on the Continent to assist in the new onslaught upon the queen's rebellious second kingdom. He was not allowed to attach himself directly to Essex's staff: John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton on 31 January 1598/9 that "The erle of Essex commission for Ireland is at length after many difficulties agreed on, though not signed.... The preasse of his followers wilbe much abated by reason the Quene countermaunds many, as namely and first all her owne servants," among whom was Sir John Brooke. "Some suspect yt is his owne doing because he is not able to geve them all satisfaction," commented Chamberlain, "but I am not of that opinion" (McClure, I, 65-66; S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 156). Brooke was concerned in the logistical essential of shipping horses into Ireland; the report of the <sup>Lord</sup> Mayor of

Bristol to the Council on 9 March 1598/9 told how, on 7 March, Sir Anthony Coke and he had seen to the transportation of a certain number of them, returned, and on 8 March seen another lot off (see H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 96). The knights' difficulties were increased by contrary winds, and on 22 March Coke wrote from Ilfracombe that he and Brooke had been detained there by weather conditions (see H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 111-12). By 24 March Dudley Norton wrote to Cecil from Cork that "Sir John Brooke and Sir Anthony Cooke are newly arrived; their men and horses are in very good state" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 115-16). Brooke's company consisted of fifty horse, according to the "List of the army, horse and foot, in Ireland, 1599", drawn up by Essex's secretary on 28 April (see H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IX, 146).

In the debacle of Essex's expedition, and in the earl's subsequent rebellion, Brooke played no part; when, in fact, on 19 February 1600/1 Essex and Southampton were conducted in barges from the Tower to Westminster for their trial, Sir John Brooke was "appointed to attend in other barges with certain musketeers for the guard of them" (A.P.C., 1600-01, p. 172). With his Irish service over, Brooke returned to the Continent, although not at first to serious participation in the Dutch wars. On 2 October 1601 his brother wrote a letter to Dudley Carleton which suggests that John was with him at Middleburgh, and perhaps making something of a fool of himself. "Wee haue hadd w<sup>t</sup>in thes 2 monthes to iorneyes wch here are Caled auslantes," Sir Calisthenes told Carleton. "The one was one [i.e., on] Leyre, the other was one the galleys in the riuier of Sluce and the Iland of Casant ouer agaynst Sluce, but all faled sauing Jack gott a shepe." This 'getting a sheep', perhaps, while gunning for a Spaniard, obviously amused the older brother, for he added drily that "hee is not a merchant and at sceruisse but of mutton" (P.R.O., S.P. 15/34/37; abstracted in S.P., Dom., Add., 1580-1625, p. 410). Sir Calisthenes dated his letter 12 October 1602 (N.S.), but, from references in it to the course of the Dutch wars, it is obvious that he should have written '1601'. The editors of the State Papers correct him (although without showing that they do so) by filing it under the earlier date.) Brooke was probably on the way to Paris when he visited Sir Calisthenes, for on 24 October 1601 Carleton wrote to John Chamberlain from the French capital that "Sr John Brooke w<sup>th</sup> one Coppinger [Brooke's first cousin's son, Francis: see below, p. 1182, n. 69] a Kentish gentleman are [sic] lately come hether to learne language" (P.R.O., S.P. 12/282/20; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1601-03, p. 111). Carleton adds the curious comment that the newcomers are the "bags" or the "logs in ovr French schoole": the key word looks very like the former, but the editors of the State Papers express it by the latter, which makes at least some sense if one chooses to understand Carleton to mean either that Brooke and Coppinger were founder-members -- the foundation -- of a new English colony abroad, or that they were proving themselves inept for study after their years in the field. If the word is 'bags' it might conceivably mean that Brooke and Coppinger were temporarily unemployed: 'to be given the bag' is not unlike the currently idiomatic 'to be given the sack'. There is no difficulty in interpreting the next record of Brooke's doings. It is a letter from him to Cecil, dated 28 November, and explains why he is sending from Paris a gift for which one would not have thought that the little Secretary would have had much use. "In regard it was my fortune to be by you when you wanted a pistol," Brooke wrote, "I have presumed to make a present of one unto you, which I will be bold to recommend unto you for a good one because the outward show is not to be esteemed of" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 505).

In June or July 1602 Brooke took over some of the responsibility for his younger sister's well-being when he became a trustee of the estates of the profligate Walter Calverley (see above, pp. 1038-39). He need not have been in England to be appointed an administrator of his brother-in-law's lands, but he was certainly there a year later, when he played a mysterious but apparently unworthy part in the destruction of the main line of his family. It is in connection with his activities against Henry Lord Cobham in October 1603 that one first finds him described as "Sir John Brook of the Court" (see H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XV, 273); a letter which Sir Edward Hoby wrote to Cecil, then newly created Earl of Salisbury on 23 July 1605, makes clearer Brooke's position in the king's service, Sir Edward Stafford, Brooke's father's old enemy and successor as ambassador at Paris, had

died on 5 February 1604/5. His treachery to England never having been discovered (see Read, Lord Burghley, pp. 388-89), Stafford had lived out his life in comfortable circumstances, and was sitting for Queenborough in James's first Parliament at the time of his death. "Upon the death of Sir Edward Stafford," begins Hoby's letter revealing the competition for the seat which Stafford vacated, "Sir John Broke made means to me for my good will, as he had done unto the town. I promised him all the kindness I could show, which has bred no small dislike towards me in answering of Sir John Stafford, Sir W. Udall and sundry Kentish gentlemen, among whom Sir Moyle Finch was most importunate, no whit doubting to have it without me, for so he replied unto myself. I the rather yielded my good will for that he was a gentleman of the King's Chamber and therefore could not but prefer his affairs, no stranger to your lordship's 'aiance' [alliance] and my kinsman and old acquaintance. But I have no desire to please any, but upon these respects, one more than other, for you have principal power over me of any creature living. So far am I from my desire to have any particular man in that place, so I vow to my God, I wish myself free. But the best is as it is. I need not much trouble it except I list and what I shall do I know and refer all the spirits I have to your lordship's disposition. One thing in your letter most joyed me, which was that thereby I first saw the name of Salisbury" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVII, 335). Despite Hoby's preference of him, which should have carried great weight because of the knight's lordship of Queenborough Castle, Brooke did not get the seat, and so was not present at the opening of the 'Gunpowder' session of Parliament in November 1605. His position near the king, however, probably helped him to obtain the annuity of £ 100 for life which was granted him on 16 June 1607 (S.P., Dom., 1603-10, p. 361), to which was added another £ 100 a year when his mother's will was proved on 18 January 1611/2 (see above, p. 115, n. 56). On 23 May 1609 he became, with his elder brother, a Charter member of the Virginia Company (see preceding note, p. 1165), and, whereas Sir Calisthenes Brooke seems never to have shown any other interest in the New World, Sir John became something of an expert on American exploration and settlement (see Kingsbury, III, 624 ff., 643, for instances of the respect shown to his knowledge by explorers in the 1620s). His assistance of the navigator Luke Foxe won him the honour of having an island named after his family: Foxe, on 29 July 1631, came upon an island at the mouth of Rankin Inlet in Hudson's Bay, and, as he wrote later that day in his journal, "named this Iland Brooke Cobham, thinking then of the many furtherances this Voyage received from that Honourable Knight, Sir John Brooke, whom [sic] together with Master Henry Briggess, that famous Mathematicall Professor, were the first that countenanc'd me this undertaking" (The Voyages of Captain Luke Foxe of Hull, and Captain Thomas James of Bristol, In Search of a North-West Passage in 1631-32 . . ., ed. Miller Christy (Hakluyt Society, 1894), p. 324. Christy, p. lxiv n., obviously unaware of the old practice in Brooke's family of coupling the surname with the title, queries Foxe's reason for giving the island this double name, for "Sir John Brooke seems to have had no right to use the title of Lord Cobham in 1631.") Although now named Marble Island, this bit of Canadian territory which now lies in the District of Keewatin was thus once a belated addition to the list of places upon which the Elizabethans had bestowed the names "of eminent persons at court, for instance, Warwick's Foreland, Cumberland's Isles, Lumley's Inlet, Darcie Islands" (Conyers Read, Mr Secretary Walsingham and the policy of Queen Elizabeth (Oxford, 1925), III, 409 n.).

In 1610, when the Dutch war had at last been adjourned, Brooke went abroad again, although on what errand it does not appear: on 31 March he wrote to Cecil that he and his company "could not bear the sea, and not being allowed to land in Spain for fear of the plague, they put in at a small town in Portugal", apparently the place called 'Carmina' from which he wrote (S.P., Dom., 1603-10, p. 596). He was in England early in 1612, when he proved his mother's will, and in 1614 was returned to Parliament for Gatton, in Surrey (Return of Members of Parliament, Pt. 1, Appendix, p. xl). The next year he was attempting to re-establish in some way his family's old interest in Kent, buying the Lieutenancy of Dover Castle from Sir Robert Brett in May and selling it by 14 July to Sir Thomas Hamon, in the interval between the death of the Earl of Northampton, his cousin's successor in the Lord Wardenship of the Cinque Ports, and the appointment of Lord Zouch of Har-

ringworth (see George Lord Carew to Sir Thomas Roe, 24 January 1615/6, Letters from Sir George Carew to Sir Thomas Roe ..., ed. John Maclean (Camden Society, 1860), p. 12 n.).

Brooke's business transactions in Kent in 1615 are the last in connection with which one hears of him until after the death of Henry Lord Cobham in 1619. The baron's death left him the senior male in his family, his cousin George's son (see below, n. 75) being under age. William Brooke's claim to the attainted barony and to the family estates was, however, superior to Sir John's, and the death of Lord Cobham made little difference to the knight's situation. He went on to serve twice again in Parliament in the 1620s (see the Return of Members, Pt. 1, pp. 452, 466), and, following the death of his wife (who was buried at Kensington as "Anne, wife of Sir John Brooke, of the Savoy, Knt.", on 23 February 1624/5, according to the evidences cited in the Complete Peerage, III, 339), he married again. His son was born in October 1636 (see below), and an undated letter from John Donne to his sister (in A Collection of Letters, made by Sr Tobie Mathews Kt. ... (1660), p. 341) shows that the marriage must have taken place at least as early as 1631, when the poet died. The letter notes that "Sir John Brook is married to Sir William Bam's [sic] third daughter," a statement confirmed in MS. Ufford I, 508, where "a Pedigree on Parchment in the poss<sup>n</sup> of Rev<sup>d</sup> Cha<sup>s</sup> Brooke 1817" is cited as evidence that Brooke married Mrs. Frances Redman, the daughter of Sir William Bamfield. (A curious note regarding Frances Bamfield appears in a book of Sir Joseph Williamson's, "Lincolnshire Families, Temp. Charles II," ed. John Gough Nichols, Herald and Genealogist, II (1865), 122. In a pedigree of Heron, the family into which Sir John Brooke's elder sister married, is an asterisk beside Anne Brooke's name which connects with a note elsewhere on the page, "\*Ye Lady Cobham, y<sup>e</sup> last L. Cobham's widow, d. to Sir Martin Lister's wife." Lister, who died in 1670, was one of the family of great physicians and scientists; his wives were the Hon. Mary Wenman, who does not appear to have been married more than once, and Susanna, who died in 1669 and who was the daughter of Sir Alexander Temple. The second Lady Lister had daughters by a previous marriage, but her first husband had been Sir Giffard Thornhurst, Bt., not Sir William Bamfield (see The Visitation of Yorkshire, ed. Norcliffe, p. 192; Burke's Landed Gentry, ed. 1937, p. 1382). While it would appear that, during Lady Cobham's widowhood, it could only have been Susanna Temple to whom Williamson would have referred as "Sir Martin Lister's wife", it is difficult to see how she could have been thought to be the baroness's mother. This curious matter is of some interest because of the fact that one of Sir Giffard Thornhurst's daughters by Susanna Temple was Mrs. Frances Jennings, the mother of the famous Sarah Duchess of Marlborough: (see C.P., XII, Pt. 2, p. 121; C.B., I, 212.) Frances Brooke appears to have been a vigorous woman, whose exertions on behalf of Charles I no doubt helped to induce the king to favour her husband (see Lady Cobham's petition to the restored Charles II on 24 August 1660, as abstracted in H.M.C., Report 7, p. 128, and a certificate of her activities for the late king in H.M.C., Report 7, p. 156). As her husband, John Brooke certainly advanced at Court, and when his cousin William died fighting for Parliament in 1643 he laid claim, with some hope of success, to the attainted Barony of Cobham. The Roundhead rulers stipulated on 9 October 1643 that even should William's widow bear her husband a posthumous daughter, rather than the hoped-for only son, the entailed estates of the family should not go to "Sir John Brooke of -- [Heckington, an estate held by Brooke, perhaps through marriage], in the County of Lincolne, Knight, a great Delinquent, who hath taken up Arms and levied War against the Parliament" (Journals of the House of Lords, VI, 248). The king, however, naturally took a different view of the case, and determined to recognize the loyal Brooke's services. Although the old barony, which had come to the claimant's family through three successive heiresses and had often been cited as an example of how titles might descend through females, could not be brought out of attainder without falling at once into abeyance among the daughters of the late Parliamentarian, Charles could and did create a new peerage, synonymous with the old, for his faithful subject. Thus, "so great was the merit of Sir John Broke of Hekinton in Com. Linc. Knight, Grandson and next Heir Male to George Lord Cobham (who died in Queen Maries daye) suffering not a little for his exemplary Loyalty to the King, in the times of the

... unhappy defection; that he was advanced to the title and dignity of Lord Cobham to enjoy as amply as any of his Ancestours had done, and to the Heirs Male of his body; as by the Kings Letters Patent, bearing date at Oxford 3 Jan. 20 Car. 1 [1644/5] doth appear" (William Dugdale, The Baronage of England ... (1676), II, 283). The benefits of peerage in Charles I's tottering state were negligible when enjoyed by a new creature of the king's, but John Lord Cobham tried to plead them to save himself from prosecution for debt: that Parliament was averse to recognizing his rights is suggested by the manner in which his plea was entered in the rolls, for he is there recorded simply to have been "S<sup>r</sup> John Brooks", and his use of his new title was investigated (see H.M.C., Report 6, p. 210; Report 7, p. 10). He did, however, live to see his style accepted, for he survived the Commonwealth and was buried, according to the Complete Peerage, at Wakerley in Northamptonshire on 20 May 1660, fifteen days after the proclamation of Charles II. According to the present rector of Barrowden with Wakerley, the Rev. Norman Smith, in a private communication of 28 January 1962, no record of Lord Cobham's burial in the parish church is now to be found. His widow survived him, petitioning the newly royalist House of Lords on 24 August 1660 (see H.M.C., Report 7, p. 128); the Complete Peerage says that she was buried at Surfleet in Lincolnshire in 1676, Surfleet being her sister-in-law Lady Heron's home (see below, n. 60). Their only son, George, had predeceased his father (he was born on 1 October 1636 and christened at East Barnet two weeks later: C.P., III, 339 n.), so that the new title became extinct, while the old one continued under attainder. Cobham's personal property must have gone either to the heirs of Calisthenes Brooke, or to Lady Heron or her heirs (see the Complete Peerage, III, 338 n., where it is said that Lady Heron was his heir), but, lacking the evidence either of a will or an inquisition post mortem, it cannot be ascertained to whom the estate passed.

John Lord Cobham was the last male descendant of George Lord Cobham. Upon his death the male representation of the line passed to the Brookes of Aspell, the family founded by Reginald Brooke (see above, p. 1081, n. 7), of which the nineteenth-century antiquary, Francis Capper Brooke of Ufford Place, was the heir. The Gentleman's Magazine in 1841 (XV, 306) called this gentleman "a descendant and inheritor of their name, though not of their estates".

(59) Maximilian was probably named after his cousin, since, when he was born, that youth was expected one day to become the head of their family. He was said in his father's inquisition post mortem of April 1593 to have been sixteen years old on 15 November 1592 ("quintodecimo die Nouembris ultimo p<sup>o</sup>terito fuit etatis sex decem annor<sup>o</sup>"): he must thus have been born on or before 15 November 1575. Maximilian appears to have been taken to France with his parents in 1579, and there to have been presented to Queen Louise (see above, p. 1154, n. 56); his mother expressed her reluctance in February 1580 to let the queen see him until "he was a little able to prattle," which may strike one as odd, since Maximilian would then have been more than four years old. There is no possibility that Lady Cobham was talking about another of her children: the pronouns used in her account of the interview with the queen show that she was referring to a son, and the fact that the five children who are known to have made up her family were all born by 1580 shows that her youngest son was then, as later, Maximilian. One is thus left to assume either that she was overly anxious that Maximilian should be old enough to make a good impression on the queen when first she saw him, perhaps even to say a few words in French, or that the little boy was rather slow in learning to talk.

In 1592, when he succeeded with his two older brothers to their father's estate, Maximilian was "in service wth the Archb: Yorke", John Piers (MS. Harl. 2134, f. 133b). No other fact concerning his life survives. He obviously was with Sir Calisthenes in Ireland, where he was killed at the Blackwater on 14 August 1598 (see above, p. 1158, n. 57. MS. Harl. 1529, f. 63b, describes him as "occisus in Hibernia 1598"; MS. Ufford I, 501, has "killed in Ireland died s.p.") He apparently died unmarried and aged about twenty-two.

(60) Anne was one of seven women in her immediate family to be so named: her mother; her maternal grandmother, both of her brothers' wives and two of her nieces bore

the name, which was as popular in the Cobham-alias-Brooke line as 'Frances' was in the main line of the family. She was born about 1577, apparently after all three of her brothers, for the Brooke pedigree in MS. Harl. 2134, f. 133b, describes her as the "eldest da<sup>r</sup> about the adge of 15 In año 1592". On 23 June 1598 Lady Cobham wrote to Sir Robert Cecil concerning Anne's marriage, adding to it a srewd postscript: "I sent my son John to make known unto you a match that was intended between Sergent Herne his eldest son and my eldest daughter, by whom I received answer of your good liking thereof (on which I greatly depend). Therefore, seeing it has pleased God to bring them together to the good liking of all our friends, I would ask you to send for Mr. Sargent unto you and grace him and the marriage so far as you may. P.S. I thought good to acquaint your Honour that Mr. Sargent has assured my daughter's child £ 600 a year, and hath covenanted to assure £ 400 more, the which I humbly desire you to speak unto him that it may be done presently, because I fear that a mother-in-law may alter his good meaning" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, VIII, 231). 'Herne' was Edward Heron of Langtoft, Stamford, Lincolnshire, and Halstead, Essex, who had been a Serjeant-at-Law since January 1594/5. He had married twice, having sons by both wives; Anne Vincent of Northamptonshire, who died in 1584, had given him his heir, Edward, the young man whom Anne Brooke was to marry (see Lincolnshire Pedigrees, ed. A.R. Maddison (Harleian Society Volumes L-LII, LV, 1902-06), II, 488-89; Williamson's "Lincolnshire Families," ed. Nichols, p. 122). Apparently the couple were married at once, for when, later in 1598, Robert Tofte published his Alba, he dedicated it to Anne's brothers and to herself as "the no lesse excellent then honorable descended Gentlewoman, Mistresse Anne Herne".

In 1610 Tofte, in addressing his Honours Academie to the same lady, called her "the trulie honorable, as well for vertue, as nobilitie, the Ladie Anne Herne: Wife to that worthie and generous Gentleman, Syr Edward Herne, of the thrice Auncient and Noble Order of the Bathe, Knight" (see above, pp. 955, 957). The change in Anne's style between 1598 and 1610 came about in a manner which suggests that Serjeant Heron was not only an unscrupulous but an ambitious man, who was coming up fast in the society of the last days of Elizabeth, and who was determined to consolidate what he had achieved by demanding public recognition of his new prosperity in the first days of James. While he could, to the heralds' satisfaction, trace his family no further back than to his father, the serjeant had by about 1600 two country seats, Langtoft and Cressey Hall, in Lincolnshire, and by 1609, when he died, he had acquired a knighthood and the position of Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer (hence his appearance in Williamson's pedigree as "Baron Heron"). His way of making sure that his heir should not, as the phrase went, 'degenerate from the honour of his house', is revealed in a letter which Lady Cobham wrote to "Sir Robarde Sissell Knight secretary to his Magistie" on 30 April 1603: "Sr my mesirable fortun and estate was shuch that for wante of a portion I was constrand to mach my eldist dafter to Sargente Heron eldist sonne without anny condiscions with the Sargent, ether for Joynter for my dafter or assurancis for ther childrine: the sargent hopinge by the mach with my dafter to gane fauer by my frends, and I ther by did hope to parfett assurancis for them. The sargent out of his great estate and the knighting of men of meane quallety and some of them his nabors doth now earnestly desier his sonne to bee a knight and will both fourder inable hime presintly and settell and [sic: an] estate capable of that dignity on him and his chilldrin which would bee one of the greatest confortes to mee. To haue assurans of this vnsertenty I flye to your Honnor whom [sic] I know will haue felinge of thes great good that shall prosed from the breth of your mouth, and I hope at this time the shute [will be] les difficulte then herafter it will bee" (Cecil Paper 99/146; abstracted in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XV, 62). The contempt which Lady Cobham felt for her own grandchildren's parvenu grandfather and his ilk was obvious, but Cecil understood how desperate she was; when, therefore, the coronation honors became known in July, Serjeant Heron found that his son had been made not merely a knight, but a Knight of the Bath (see Le Neve's Pedigrees of the Knights, ed. G.W. Marshall (Harleian Society Volume VIII, 1873), pp. 26-27). His new degree was practically all which her son-in-law got from Lady Cobham; in her will she left him and her ill-matched daughter only some silverware and linen (see above, p. 1156, n. 56).

Sir Edward and Lady Heron had at least four children by the time that he was knighted; later six others were born. Elizabeth, the eldest, was born in 1598 (1598/9?), according to the pedigree in Maddison's Lincolnshire Pedigrees; she married her first cousin, Edward Smythe of Edmonthorpe, Leicestershire, the son of Serjeant Heron's only daughter who had married into the knightly class. One of Elizabeth's sisters, Theodosia, born in 1602, married in 1620 Sir Francis Molyneux, a baronet and a man with connections which even the Brookes would have accepted as good: Cranmers, Markhams, Thorolds, Haringtons (see the Complete Baronetage, I, 48). Other of the Heron girls married less well, those with the Newton-like names of Frances and Bridget (see above, n. 39), and the unusually christened Thalia. The Herons' sons were Robert and Edward, who predeceased their father, and Henry, who succeeded his father upon Sir Edward's death at some time after 1648 (Le Neve), and was described by Williamson as "Sir Hen. Heron, son to Sir Edwd Kt of the Bath, of Cresey Hall in Holland, lineally descended from Baron Heron of ye Exchequer, about 600 l. [income per annum]". He married Dorothy Long, a baronet's daughter, and left children.

Lady Heron, the lady who provided the quarterings which the new men of her family were privileged to bear after she was left a co-heir of her noble brother, is last recorded as being alive on 6 May 1624, when she proved the nuncupative will of her brother-in-law (P.C.C. Byrde 40). She then became William Heron's sole heir on condition that she bring up "one George Savell nephew vnto the aforesaid William Heron". In the will she is described as "the hono<sup>r</sup>ble the lady Heron ... wife to Sr Edward Heron of Surflete in Holland in the Countie of Lincolne knighte of the hono<sup>r</sup>ble order of the Bathe".

(61) The story of Philippa Brooke is that of the heroine of A Yorkshire Tragedy and of Katherine Scarborough, the wife in The Miseries of Enforced Marriage: see above, pp. 1029 ff.

(62) The second of George Lord Cobham's sons to be called Thomas was born on Tuesday, 22 April 1539. (See Appendix, p. 1075 above,) for the little which is known of him.

(63) Edmund, born probably either on Saturday, 30 October 1540, or the next day, is an obscure figure in the history of the Brooke family. See Appendix, pp. 1075-76, for the little which is known of him.

(64) Edward the younger, the exact date of whose birth is not known, although it certainly took place before 1551 (see Appendix, p. 1076 above), matriculated fellow-commoner from Trinity College, Cambridge, at Easter 1563, and was prebend of Clifton in the diocese of Lincoln in the late 1560s (see above, p. 22). On 17 August 1579 the Privy Council issued a letter "to the Lord Justice in recomen- dacon of Edward Cobham, brother to the Lord Cobham, to be placed in some room among the bandes [of the queen's infantry] as she shall thincke meete, in respecte of his house and experience of the gentilman in former services" (A.P.C., 1578-80, p. 244). He died childless, according to the Brooke pedigrees, and to Francis Thynne's 1587 account of the family (Holinshed, III, 1509); the date of his death cannot be more exactly established than between 1579 and 1587.

(65) Like everything else relating to Edward Brooke, very little is known of the woman whom he married. His wife's name is not entered in the Brooke pedigree in Cecil Paper 225/1, although it is there stated that he was married; the pedigrees in MSS. Harl. 2134, f. 133b, and 6157, f. 10, simply show that, like five of his brothers, he had no children, as if never having married. Despite the inadequacies of these sources, however, the name of Brooke's wife is known. She was Mary Hornebie, who, described simply as a spinster, was granted with "Edward Cobham" a general licence to marry on 21 December 1577 (Allegations, ed. Armytage, I, 78; cited by Rogers, Pt. 2, p. 15. Scott-Robertson was unaware of the marriage: see "Six Wills," p. 208.) To Mary in her widowhood her brother-in-law John, at his death in 1594, left an annuity of £ 10 (see the notes to the family tree, p. 1133, n. 52). She died on 22 July 1600 and was buried near John Brooke (and, perhaps,

near her husband, the location of whose grave is not known), in the church at Newington in Kent. Over her is this inscription: "Here lyeth buried the body of Mary Brooke alias Cobbum widdo vnto Edward Brooke alias Cobbum Esquier whoe departed this life the xxij<sup>th</sup> daye of July An<sup>o</sup> Dni 1600" (transcribed in MS. Harl. 6587, p. 273, by John Thorp, and in Rogers, Pt. 2, p. 15).

(66) The career of the Marchioness of Northampton has been traced in detail in the foregoing work; see especially pp. 7-8 (and 1076), 22-23, 31-34, 41, 44, 154-73.

(67) Anne, born in March 1531 or 1532, and Mary, born probably on Friday, 6 October 1542, were the second and third daughters of George Lord Cobham; they were both dead by 31 March 1551 (see Appendix, p. 1076).

(68) Catherine, the youngest of George Lord Cobham's daughters, perhaps the youngest of his children, was born on Monday, 7 April 1544 (see Appendix, p. 1076), and outlived all of her brothers and sisters. Left much of her mother's personal property in 1558, and apparently dowered with the silver-gilt service which Henry II of France had given to her father in 1550 (see above, pp. 92-94, 118 n. 6), Catherine was yet unmarried on 4 October 1559, when she attended her sister-in-law's funeral as chief mourner (see above, p. 198); when her parents' tomb was erected in 1561, however, and when in the same year Clarenceux made his visitation of Suffolk, she was the wife of John Jerningham of Somerleyton, Suffolk (see also the Brooke pedigrees in MSS. Harl. 2134, f. 133b, and 6157, f. 10, and in Cecil Paper 225/1). Jerningham (or Jernegan) was the eldest son and heir of George Jerningham (not, as in the Streatfeild pedigrees in MS. Add. 33919, f. 199b, "Sr George"), a cousin of the Norfolk branch of the family which was seated at Cossey and which produced Sir Henry Jerningham, the Marian Captain of the Guard, Vice-Chamberlain and Master of the Horse. (The best pedigree of Jerningham is in The Visitations of Suffolk ... 1561, ... 1577, and 1612, ... ed. Walter C. Metcalfe (Exeter, 1882), p. 47.) The Jerninghams of Somerleyton were an inconspicuous family in the time of Elizabeth, and apparently did not involve themselves in the recusant activities of their cousins. Those of Cossey required constant surveillance: the care with which they were watched by the authorities is suggested by a letter which William Lord Cobham and others of the Privy Council wrote on 26 October 1593 to Henry Jerningham the son and heir of the Marian magnate. Henry was by this time the son-in-law of Cobham's sister, having married his cousin Frances; the letter concerns his children by his first wife: "Whereas upon humble Suit made unto us bye you, That your two sons ... might during the time of the Infection bee sent to remain with you for one Season. We accordingly have directed That ... Mr. Molcaster shall send them unto you.... Wee doe look that in the mean time your Children bee brought up & instructed by a Schoolmaster known to be well affected to Religion that may give accompt for their Education" (Augustus Jessopp, One Generation of a Norfolk House: A Contribution to Elizabethan History (1879), p. 216). Later, when on 27 August 1601 the informer John Byrde gave Sir Robert Cecil a report on recusant doings in London, the Jesuit Father Gerrard was said to be lurking with "the old Lady Cornwallis ... and at St. John's with Mr. Jarningham" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XI, 365). Sharpe, pp. 221-22, makes rather much of the Brookes' connection with the Jerninghams, suggesting that the appearance of a character named Jerningham in The Merry Devil of Edmonton is linked with the Oldcastle-Falstaff question, and that "the Elizabethan representatives of these names [Brooke, Cornwallis, "the gentlemanly Clares, Jerninghams, and Mouchenseys", &c.] who would interest the dramatist or his audience were, on the whole, Cecil connections." Considering that Catherine Jerningham's children were first cousins of Henry Lord Cobham and of Elizabeth Lady Cecil, it is surprising that the Jerninghams of Somerleyton appear so seldom in the records of the Court circle. The only direct reference to Catherine herself as a participant in Court ceremonial is that which shows that she assisted, as one of six "Barrons daughters", at the funeral of Lady Cecil in 1597 (see above, p. 641).

Catherine Jerningham had probably been left a widow by 1600 when, in his steward's half-year accounts dated 25 March, Henry Lord Cobham wrote with his own

hand, "To my aunt Jerningham -- [£] 15", in the list of semi-annuities paid out of his estate (see P.R.O., S.P. 12/274/83; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1598-1601, p. 414). When Jerningham died it is impossible to establish. He was alive in 1587 when Francis Thynne described Catherine as "now living married to John Jerningham esquire" (Holinshed, III, 1509), and was perhaps dead by 1598 when Thynne, in MS. Add. 37666, omitted the 'now living' phrase from his otherwise identical description of her: certainly the significant deletion of that phrase cannot be taken to refer to Catherine's own death. The latest date at which Jerningham was certainly alive is 1590, when his son-in-law Bedingfield left him an annuity in his will (see below, p. 1177). That unusual bequest, and his eldest daughter's own reference to her father's inability to provide her with a dowry (see below, p. 1176), suggest that Jerningham was fairly impoverished by the time his family had grown up.

By 30 April 1604 Catherine had married again; this time her husband was a man called Bellamy who cannot be further identified, and whose marriage with her is entered in none of the Brooke pedigrees and in no published account of the family. On that day the Privy Council gave Sir John Leveson, administrator of the attainted Lord Cobham's estate, permission to pay out of the revenues managed by him an annuity of "Thirty poundes per Annum to the use of Katheren Belamy, the Aunte of the said L: Cobham" (MS. Add. 5755, f. 194). As Mistress Bellamy, Catherine lived for at least ten years, surviving her second husband, for on 13 February 1613/4 her daughter Lady Carey left in her will "to my lovinge Mother Katheryne Bellamy widowe Tenn poundes in money" (P.C.C. Lawe 12).

It is presumably safe to identify the seventy-three-year-old Catherine Bellamy with the lady of that name who died at Acton, near London, in the last week of October 1617. Frances, the second of the Jerninghams' daughters, had married her Cossey cousin, Henry Jerningham, whose family occupied the Great House at Acton in the early seventeenth century; Miss D.R. Ingold, to whose researches this paragraph owes much, has found in the records of the church-wardens of St. Mary's there that by 1635 Sir Henry Jerningham, Frances's step-son, had been established long enough in the parish to be regarded as one of its leading inhabitants. One may assume that Catherine, after the death of her second husband, went to live with her daughter, and that it was in Frances's house that she made the following nuncupative will (P.C.C. Weldon 108): "Memorandum: that on the Sixe and twentieth daye of October Anno Domini 1617. Catherine Bellamy of Acton in the Countie of Midd widdowe beinge sicke in bodie and in dauger of Death but yet in perfect mynde and memorie (prayed be god) and beinge moved by m<sup>r</sup> [John] Kendall being Parson of the said parish [from 1576 to 1627] to settle her estate did make and declare her last will and testamente nuncupatiue as folweth That is to saye havinge Comended her soule to god and her bodie to the earthe she said theis wordes or like in effect vizt: I doe bequeath vnto Dyne Hall of Acton aforesaid All my Annuities due vnto me at Michaelmas last past to se my funerall discharged and my debtes payde soe farr as they would extende therevnto in the presence whose names are herevnder written. Grace warner signn<sup>t</sup> Elizabeth Sherley." On 31 October the funeral of "Katherin Bellamy" was entered in the parish register, and on 19 November Dine Hall, an active church-worker in the parish, according to Miss Ingold, proved the will. What remained of his legacy was perhaps his own to use as he wished; perhaps, however, the old lady, knowing his piety, depended upon him to turn it over to the church. No memorial appears ever to have been erected to the baron's daughter, who had survived the last of her brothers and sisters by more than twenty years.

The Brooke pedigree in MS. Harl 6157, f. 10, which originally showed Catherine's issue, has been badly damaged, so that the corner in which her children were named is now torn away. It is known that she had three daughters. (The printed source of most statements about the Jerningham daughters is the following untrustworthy paragraph from John Henry Druery's Historical and Topographical Notices of Great Yarmouth, in Norfolk, and Its Environs, Including the Parishes and Hamlets of the Half Hundred of Lothingland, in Suffolk (1826), p. 176: "Sir [sic] John Jernegan, of Somerleyton, knt., who married the Honourable Catherine Brook, daughter to Lord Cobholm [sic], by whom he left issue four [sic] daughters and coheireses, viz. 1. Elizabeth; 2. Catherine, who married Wymondham [sic]

Carew, Esq; 3. Frances, who married first, Sir [sic] Thomas Bedingfield, of Bedingfield and Oxburgh, Knt., by whom she had two sons, and afterwards her cousin, Henry Jernegan, (or Jerningham,) of Costessey, Esq.; and 4, Margaret, married Thomas Ford of Butley, in Suffolk." Druery's attribution of Elizabeth Jerningham's marriage to an apparently invented sister, 'Margaret', is inexplicable. There is no doubt that the Christian name of Mistress Ford of Butley was 'Elizabeth'; she signed herself "Elizabeth Fourth" in the letter quoted below. Also hard to understand is Druery's making John Jerningham and Thomas Bedingfield knights, when they were not, and his failure to do the same for Wymond Carey, who did receive the accolade. Yet standard works on the peerage and landed gentry have followed him.)

In the visitation records of 1561 John and Catherine Jerningham are shown to have already had a daughter, Elizabeth. She married Charles Ford (or Fourth), the disinherited son of the master of Butley Abbey, Suffolk (see the Complete Baronetage, I, 24. The marriage is not entered in The Visitations of Suffolk, ed. Metcalfe.) On 6 May 1593 Elizabeth Ford wrote to her cousin's husband, Sir Robert Cecil, thanking him for helping her in her struggle with a difficult father-in-law: "I beseech you be pleased that a poor distressed gentlewoman, my lady your wife's kinswoman, may acquaint you with certain undeserved wrongs offered by one Mr. Fourth of Suffolk, father unto my husband, who, having received that small portion of marriage money which friends bestowed upon me, did, notwithstanding better entreaty promised before my good lord and uncle, the lord Cobham, and also my lord of Buckhurst, first unkindly use me in his own house, and after caused my husband to carry me from thence, and never since yielding me any maintenance, but suffered me to depend upon such friends as would for courtesy or compassion vouchsafe me relief. By the advice of learned counsel, I did exhibit a bill unto the Court of Requests, wherein I did intend to use my lord Cobham's name, because he was privy to the payment of the most of my portion, till since hearing he was not pleased I should so do, I have withdrawn that complaint, and exhibited the same only in my brother[-in-law] Jernegan's name and my own; most humbly desiring you, for the saving of further expenses in suit, to send for Mr. Fourth, who is presently in London, and persuade him either to pay my portion, and sustain the children I have by his son, or else yield me such convenient maintenance as shall be unto your Honour thought reasonable, protesting before God, otherwise than having married without his consent, I never deserved his offence or ill opinion. For want of acquaintance with your Honour, I entreated my good friend, Mr. William Howard [most probably the eldest brother of Frances Countess of Kildare, later the wife of Henry Lord Cobham], to say thus much, who telleth me that so he did, and that you were pleased to speak with Mr. Fourth in my favour, which is mine only suit, and so doing shall bind me for ever to wish you all honour and happiness" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IV, 309-10). "Sir William Forthe of ffarneham, Suff' Kt.", apparently Charles Ford's brother, was in possession of Butley when he made his will (P.C.C. Dale 107, proved on 11 December 1621) on 7 December 1612; Charles was apparently never restored to his father's good graces. Elizabeth Ford speaks of her children in her letter to Cecil. The only one of these whose name is known was Catherine, who married Sir Philip Knyvett of Buckenham Castle, Norfolk, created a baronet on 22 May 1611. She and her husband were remembered in the will of her aunt, Lady Carey, in 1614 (P.C.C. Lawe 12). Lady Knyvett died in 1647, leaving a son, the second and last baronet (see the Complete Baronetage, I, 24).

The second of the Jerninghams' daughters was Frances, who alone of her family came into close touch with the recusant branch of her father's house. She married first Thomas Bedingfield, the son and heir of Edmund Bedingfield of Oxburgh (himself the son of the Marian Privy Councillor and Governor of the Tower, Sir Henry Bedingfield), by Anne, one of the great Catholic family of Southwell (see The Catholic Record Society Miscellanea, VI (1909), 431, and especially pp. 238, 432. See also the notes to the family tree of the present work, pp. 1116, n. 39, and 1134, n. 53. In The Catholic Miscellanea, as in Druery, Frances is incorrectly called the third daughter and co-heir of her father.) Bedingfield made his will (P.C.C. Drury 72, proved on 4 November 1590) on 3 April 1590, in it suggesting that he had a powerful friend in the government by requesting that Sir Christopher Hatton act as its overseer. In order to pay his debts and legacies, he directed

that his "stockes ... goodes and chattelles" be sold, "except my sute of Hanginges at Oxborowe which shall remaine to myne heire". His estate he divided into three parts: one third, including the manors of Dynham and Flymworth, was to go to his wife; another was to be used by his executors during the minority of his heir; the last was to be set aside to pay the Crown its dues of wardship. To ensure his wife's agreement to the settlement he left her £ 1,000. Bedingfield's relations with the Jerninghams appear to have been most cordial. He bequeathed to his "mother Jerningham tenn poundes yearelie duringe her life as a remembraunce of my good will": "to my wiues two sisters fyve markes [£ 3.6.8] a peece for Ringes:" and, a curious bequest, to "my wiues ffather tenn poundes yearely During his life if it seme see good" to his executors. Bedingfield left two sons; one was later celebrated as Sir Henry Bedingfield the Cavalier (1586-1656), and the other, William, was left four manors by his father, as well as the "warren of Conneys parcell of the mannor of Northpickenham". Bedingfield's heir, four years old in 1590, was given in wardship to his mother's cousin, Henry Jerningham of Cossey, the son of the Marian minister. In May 1591 Jerningham offered terms to his ward's grandmother, Mrs. Anne Bedingfield, for the lands which formed her dowry, "they being necessary for the maintenance of Oxburro" (see H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IV, 115, 275). Her son's guardian, himself a widower, the widowed Frances Bedingfield soon married: see the reference to him in her sister Elizabeth Ford's letter of 1593. She had by him a son, Francis (mentioned in the will of his aunt, Lady Carey, in 1614), and a daughter, Anne. Henry Jerningham died on 15 June 1619, apparently intestate; his heir, the eldest son of the first marriage, was created a baronet and established a titled line which did not become extinct until 1935 (see Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, ed. 1929, p. 1320, for the best pedigree of this family, Burke's, like Druery, refers incorrectly to Frances Jerningham's father and first husband as knights.)

The Jerninghams' third daughter, Catherine, married twice. Her first husband was Henry Crane, who died on 1 August 1586 (see Robinson, "Cary," p. 39), having made his will (P.C.C. Windsor 58, proved on 12 November 1586) on 20 June of that year. Describing himself as "sonne and heire apparaunt vnto Robert Crane of Chilton in the County of Suff' Esquier" and his wife as "Katherine third daughter of John Jerningham Esquy<sup>er</sup>", Crane left her "all my geldinges money debtes chattelles plate Jewelles and howsholde stuff whatsoeu<sup>r</sup> whiche shall remaine after my debtes and Legaceis [sic] [are] paide and discharged". The Cranes' son, who succeeded to his grandfather's estate at Chilton, was Sir Robert Crane, whom his mother remembered in her will with only "a rounde hoope Ringe of gould of the price or value of three poundes sixe shillinges and Eight pence", that is, 5 marks. Catherine Crane took as her second husband Sir Wymond Carey of Snettisham, Norfolk (1538-1612), a first cousin of Henry Lord Hunsdon and the half-brother of Secretary Sir Francis Walsingham (see the genealogical chart in the notes to the family tree, p. 1102, n. 39). The general licence for the marriage of "Wymond Carey, of the City of London, Esq., & Catherine Crane, of the same, widow of Henry Crane, Esq.", was issued on 9 May 1589 (Allegations, ed. Armytage, I, 178), apparently after the wedding had taken place, for an entry in the registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate, records the marriage on 12 March 1588/9 of "Wymond Carey, gent., and Katherine Crane, gent., by Licence" (see Robinson, "Cary," p. 47). By Carey Catherine had no children. She was widowed again in 1612, and made her will on 13 February 1613/4 (P.C.C. Lawe 12, abstracted by Robinson in "Cary," p. 130). Describing herself as "Dame Katherine Carey of ffethall in the pishe of little Stoneham in the Countie of Suff' widowe beinge sicke in body but of good and pfect mynde and memorie (thanks be therfore giuen to Allmightie God)," she left the greater part of her estate to one Sir Thomas Hyrne, who proved the will on 21 February 1613/4, the day after she was buried at St. Margaret's, Westminster (see Memorials, ed. Burke, p. 501).

(69) Frances, the elder of William Lord Cobham's two daughters of that name, was the only child of the baron's marriage with the royally descended Dorothy Neville (Burke's Landed Gentry, ed. 1939, p. 591, calls her his "only dau.", as if by either marriage). Despite her lineage, however, Frances Brooke was matched less eminently than any of her half-brothers and sisters, and, since she lived before

and after her marriage outside her father's family circle, it is difficult to learn very much about her.

She was born on 31 July 1549 (see above, pp. 29-30); the coincidence that she should have been given the same Christian name as her step-mother (and therefore as one of her step-sisters) is probably explained by the fact that her father's young aunt, the youngest daughter of Edmund Lord Braye, was called Frances (see the notes to the family tree, p. 1092, n. 25). Apparently born during a brief period of reconciliation in her parents' unhappy life together, the girl lost her mother when she was ten years old, and, after attending the funeral at Cobham on 4 October 1559 (see above, p. 199), she seems to have been taken into her uncle Abergavenny's household. It was her uncle and not her father who gave her in marriage seven years later. Conspicuous among the mourners at Lady Cobham's funeral in 1559 had been "the ladye Coppinger". Who this person was it is difficult to say, since the last Coppinger to be knighted before the reign of James I seems to have been Sir William, Lord Mayor of London, who died in 1513 (see Burke's Commoners, III (1838), 501); perhaps the Lord Mayor's widow was still alive in 1559. If so, it may have been this Lady Coppinger's great-great-grandson whom Henry Lord Abergavenny arranged in 1566 that Frances Brooke should marry. The marriage articles are preserved in MS. Harl. 98, ff. 1-3; headed "Articles of agreement made the vth daye of June in the viijth years of the reigne of o<sup>r</sup> moste gracious sou<sup>r</sup>aigne Ladye Quene Elizabeth betwyxte the most honorable S<sup>r</sup> Henry Nevyl knyght Lorde Aburga-venny on thone p<sup>te</sup> and Henry Copinger of the prishe of alhallowes in the hundred of hooe w<sup>th</sup>in the countie of Kent esquier on thothe<sup>r</sup> p<sup>te</sup>," they begin. "Imprimis it is agreed that Thomas Copinge<sup>r</sup> sonne and heyre apparaunt of the said Henry shall on this side the feaste of -- espouse and take to his wyfe ffraunces Brook the eldest Dowghter of the right honorable S<sup>r</sup> Will<sup>m</sup> Brook knyght Lorde Cobh<sup>am</sup> ... if the said fraunces shall thereunto assent and the Lawes of the Churche will that pmitt and suffer." Bringing with her a dowry of £ 300 and an assurance that "the said Lord Cobh<sup>am</sup> shall beare all the charge of the mariag apprell of the said ffraunces according to hyr degree," Frances was thus married to Thomas Coppinger, receiving on her part an assurance that she should receive £ 100 a year and a jointure of lands in Kent should she be left a widow. Her husband was the heir to his father's estates at Buxhall in Suffolk, at Allhallows in the Kentish peninsula east of Cooling, and at Davington near Faversham. (Robert Glover's account of the children of William Lord Cobham in MS. Coll. of Arms Philipot E.1, f. 95, describes Coppinger as "de Davington in com<sup>u</sup> Kanciae iuxta Feu'sham armiger". His inquisition post mortem refers to ~~Manors~~ manors at Buxhall, Allhallows and Davington, among other lesser properties. He is, however, usually said to have been seated at Allhallows in Hoo, and at Stoke: see Burke's Commoners, III, 501.) Thomas Coppinger appears to have been an ordinary country squire, accepting his local responsibilities (in 1578, for instance, he served on a commission for repairing the road from Milton Regis to Kingsferry with his wife's uncle, John Brooke, and on another for the investigation of piracy on the Sussex coast with her father: see A.P.C., 1577-78, pp. 223-24, 293), and apparently never entering the social circles into which his in-laws might have introduced him. (His brothers were more celebrated. Two were scholars and clerics: Ambrose, knighted in 1603, was a Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, and Henry, also a Fellow of St. John's, was Master of Magdalene and the father of two Cambridge scholars, Henry was also the father-in-law of Thomas Randolph, the Master of the Posts who in 1588 informed on the Brookes' illicit activities in Kent (see above, pp. 544-46, and the notes to the family tree, p. 1186, n. 71, for the family of FitzGerald into which Randolph's daughter by Ursula Coppinger married). Another of the Coppinger brothers was Edmund, the Puritan fanatic who starved himself to death in 1592: see Cooper's Athenae Cantabrigienses, II, 379.)

On 21 March 1579/80 Thomas Coppinger died, leaving his wife with two children and pregnant of a third. His will, dated 16 March, is recited in his inquisition post mortem (P.R.O., C142/190/25). By it he left his widow her £ 100 annuity and the use of his houses during her lifetime. Frances had borne him four sons and was to give birth to another after his death (MS. Add. 37666, the 1598 account of the Brooke family by Francis Thynne, says that by him "she had issue fiue sonnes"). For these children Coppinger made provision, recognizing William as his heir and

ordering that Francis, the other son, should receive £ 40 annually. The posthumous child, if a son (as it turned out to be), was to receive £ 30 a year; "yf yt be a daughter that my wyef nowe goeth w<sup>th</sup>," the girl was to receive £ 300 upon her marriage, to be increased to £ 500 should her brothers die and the estate revert to Coppinger's brother. From Francis Thynne's statement of 1587 that "she hath issue, two sonnes now liuing, William & Francis" (Holinshed, III, 1512), it is clear that Frances Coppinger's last child did not live long.

Thomas Coppinger was buried in the family chapel at Allhallows. By 1760 his tomb had fallen into ruin, but the vicar of that time salvaged the brass plate which bore the memorial inscription, and had the words copied in marble and affixed to the north wall of the chancel. Thus it can still be read: "Tho: Coppingero de Buxhall in provincia sudo vulgarum orto Cantii inhabitatori, pacis administratori et vice comiti, aequi boniq' fautori, parenti benemerenti et filio primogenito Hen: Coppingeri armigeri et Agnet, filiae Tho: Germin aequitis curati Guillelm Coppinger filii et heres ejusdem Tho: E. Francisca unica sobole prenobil: Guillelmi Brook Baron Cobham et Dorot filiae Georgii Nevil Dñi Abergaven, Hoc Monumentum pietatis et memoriae ejus consecravit Aq Domini 1587." In other words, William Coppinger in 1587 set up this monument to the memory of his worthy father, recording his own parentage and that of his father, and saying that Thomas, while a native of Suffolk, had been an inhabitant of Kent, and in the latter county had served with distinction as Justice of the Peace and sheriff (see F.J. Hammond, The Story of an Outpost Parish, Allhallows, Hoo, Kent [1928], pp. 78-79).

Frances did not long remain a widow. She was, apart from her uncle Abergavenny, probably quite alone in the world: her father had given her no place in the family portrait painted in the year after her marriage (see above, pp. 269 ff.), and when in 1573 he had divided his personal jewels among his children nothing was set aside for her (see above, p. 387). She therefore re-married within a year of Coppinger's death, taking as her second husband, on 5 October 1580, Edward Beecher of London (The Registers of St. Lawrence Jewry London, 1538-1676, ed. A.W. Hughes Clarke (Harleian Society Volume LXX, 1940), p. 84. The general licence for the marriage was apparently not issued until 5 December: (see Allegations, ed. Armytage, I, 997, where the contracting parties are described as "Edward Becher, of City of London, Gent., & Frances Coppinger, Widow, of same".) Beecher was the second son of "Henry Bechar of Bishops Morchard in com. Deuon gent. ... yongest son of eleuen sons, and was heire to all their lands w<sup>ch</sup> they had in gavel kind in Kent;" his elder brother was Henry Beecher, Alderman of London, and one of his younger brothers was the father of Sir William Beecher, the Jacobean diplomat and Clerk of the Council. Edward Beecher was himself an "Esq<sup>r</sup> for the body of Queene Eliz." (see the pedigree in The Visitation of Bedfordshire, ed. Blaydes, p. 81). Beecher apparently took over one of his wife's dower houses during the minority of his step-sons, for in the visitation of Middlesex taken in 1664 he was remembered as having been seated at Allhallows, Kent (see MS. Harl. 1096, ff. 30-31). As a Kentish squire he served as muster-master in 1585 for troops to be sent to Flanders (see S.P., Dom., 1581-90, p. 259). On 5 April 1597 he attended his father-in-law's funeral (see above, p. 668). Although in presenting to Henry Lord Cobham in 1598 his revised account of the Brooke family, Francis Thynne deleted the "now liuing" phrase from his 1587 description of Beecher (Holinshed, III, 1512), Beecher apparently did not die until some years later. On 19 April 1603 (?) an "Edwarde Becher" who was almost certainly he wrote from "finchiamstede" (Finchampstead, in Berkshire) to Sir Robert Cecil: "Righte honorable: hauinge many waies founde youre fauorable inclination towards the good of me and mine, I am thereby imboldened to beseeche youre honor to accepte of this bearer mi sonne into youre seruice, who hauinge bene for thes two yeares laste paste, in seruice w<sup>th</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Kitson is thereby I hope the better inured how to doe youre honor good seruice, and beinge of himselfe desirous to serue yow aboue ani other, I hope his care and diligence wilbe answerable to yowre honors expectations and ready to deserue youre so greate a fauor extended vnto him. So crauinge pardone for this mi boldnes of writinge inrespecte of mi absence in the countre, I humbley take leaue, w<sup>th</sup> praiser for yowre honors good healthe and longe happines" (Cecil Paper 99/129; abstracted in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XV, 53. Kitson, of Hengrave, Suffolk, had died on 28 January

1601/2; the endorsement on the back of this letter is difficult to read, and may well be '1602' rather than the '1603' which the editors of the Salisbury Papers take it to be. He had headed one of those great knightly families in which the wives were more often than not lords' daughters and in which the daughters frequently married peers. Kitson's first marriage had made him a son-in-law of the first Lord Paget, the Brookes' friend; his sister was the mother of the Earl of Bath; and his daughters were Lady Cavendish, sister-in-law of the Earl of Devonshire, and the Countess Rivers (see Gage's Suffolk, p. 184). Beecher might well be smug about having had his son trained in so noble a household.)

In Holinshed in 1587 Thynne had written of Frances Beecher in the present tense, saying that she was "yet liuing"; in 1598 he changed the tense to the past, and the "yet liuing" phrase he omitted. She had been alive on 16 February 1592/3, when George Brooke of Aspull noted that she "now is wife to Becher" (see MS. Harl. 2134, f. 133), and perhaps had died not long before her father. Lord Cobham's only known reference to his eldest child is one which he made shortly before his death; as William Lambarde wrote to Burghley on 15 March 1596/7, one of the last wishes that Cobham had expressed to the executors of his will had been "that some consideratiō should bee taken of the poore estate of his daughters chyldrē by m<sup>r</sup> Edward Becher" (see above, p. 653). These children were Caro, Francis and Edward; which of them his father recommended to Cecil in 1602 or 1603 is not known. It is likely that Cobham, while not going so far as to provide in his will for the motherless children of the daughter whom he appears to have practically disowned, for reasons unknown, set aside some money with which his executors were to care for them, since their father was unable to do so.

Frances Brooke, by her two husbands, had eight sons in all, and apparently no daughters. Of these eight, four appear to have grown up. Those who certainly died as children were the three unnamed sons of Thomas Coppinger, Edward Beecher (who does not seem to have been born when Holinshed was published in 1587) figures in the list of his mother's children drawn up by Thynne in 1598; he is included in the eighteenth-century pedigree of the Beechers in MS. Add. 33919. His name is omitted from the visitation records of Middlesex of 1664 (MS. Harl. 1096, f. 31), where only his brothers are named; this suggests that he died young and without issue. The four sons who probably lived into manhood were thus William and Francis Coppinger and the oddly named Caro (in MS. Harl. 1096 'Cary') and Francis Beecher. Of the Beechers, apart from the recommendation of one of them to Cecil, nothing can be discovered; in the pedigrees which contain their names there is no mention of their having married or had children. The lives of the Coppingers are better documented. William was born on 13 July 1573 (he was aged, when his father's inquisition post mortem was taken on 20 May 1580, "sex annor' decem mensū et Septem Dierū"), and probably named after his maternal grandfather, although there were several Williams in his father's family as well. He died unmarried on 8 September 1594, not quite two months after his twenty-first birthday, and was succeeded in the family estates by Francis (see his inquisition post mortem, P.R.O., Cl42/244/109 taken on 5 February 1594/5). Since Francis Coppinger played a far greater part in the life of the Brooke family than did his mother or any other of her children, his career will be here discussed in detail.

He was born either at the end of December 1577 or in 1578 (his age on 18 December 1594 was, according to his brother's inquisition post mortem, found to be "sex decem Annor'"), and on 5 February 1594/5 was recognized as the heir to the Coppinger estate. Given in wardship to Lord Cobham, Coppinger, at the age of seventeen or eighteen, appears to have made, on his own initiative, a marriage which infuriated his grandfather and which Cobham did all he could to have annulled (see above, pp. 626-28). An account of the marriage (based upon two letters written at the time) has been given in the text of this work. It seems to have been made late in May 1596, and the peculiar thing about it is that, while it is known who the officiating priest was and that the ceremony took place in the Savoy, it is impossible to ascertain who it was that Francis Coppinger married. Cobham must have contrived to have all traces of it erased from the records, both ecclesiastical and heraldic. Coppinger himself is in fact never mentioned by name in connection with the episode, and the fact that Ambrose Coppinger seems to have been the

promoter of the match, combined with the knowledge that Francis was the only grandson of Lord Cobham old enough in 1596 to have taken a wife, alone makes it certain that it was he who was the bridegroom. It is clear from the correspondence which Cobham had with the canonists at the time that Coppinger's bride was his paternal first cousin, the child of one of his father's sisters. Yet no record of the marriage of any of these ten gentlewomen with her cousin survives.\* One may assume that, although no entry of such a ruling has been discovered in the records of the Savoy, in the archiepiscopal registers at Lambeth, in the consistory courts situated at London or elsewhere, Cobham succeeded in having the marriage declared invalid almost as soon as it was made. Even knowing, however, that Francis Coppinger married a first cousin and was separated from her with such thoroughness that who she was cannot now be said, one cannot leave the matter at that. For there is a teasing allusion to Coppinger's wife in a petition presented to Sir Robert Cecil in the first years of the seventeenth century which one must consider. The editors of the Salisbury Papers assign the paper to the period 1600-03; the reference in it to Coppinger's service with Sir Richard Leveson suggests a date near 28 June 1602, which is that of a letter from Henry Lord Cobham to Cecil acknowledging the Secretary's favour to Coppinger, "who now desires to return to Sir Richard Leveson", for he fears that "his absence will be some hindrance to him." Cobham asked Cecil to help arrange matters for the young man (see H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 203-04). The petition explains what the difficulties in Coppinger's position were, and in so doing it provides an inexplicable postscript to the affair of the clandestine, uncountenanced marriage of six years before: "Vpon a quarrell betwene m<sup>r</sup> Francis Coppenger and m<sup>r</sup> Losse whom [sic] married two Systemes, ytt pleased my Lord Chyff Justes to bind them both to [keep] the Peace; And w<sup>th</sup> shuretties both to appeare in the kinges Benche the furst day of y<sup>is</sup> Tearme [6 June, if the year was 1602]; M<sup>r</sup> Coppenger beinge now Imployed vnder Sr Richard Leuson in her Maties flette att Sea, ytt is humbly desyred that my Lord wilbe pleased in the behalfe of m<sup>r</sup> Coppenger and his shuretters nott to Extreat those bonndes in to the Exchequer Consideringe he is in her maties serues" (Cecil Paper 1953; abstracted in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 468. The quarrel is alluded to in Bradford, p. 171, but no further information about it is given there.) The knowledge that Francis Coppinger and a man called Losse were brothers-in-law is interesting in that it is given in the only known reference to Coppinger's marriage made after the time of the wedding itself. To establish who Losse was is, however, so apparently insoluble a problem that the knowledge helps not at all in identifying Coppinger's wife. A pedigree of a family of new men founded by a Richard Losse of Edgworth, Middlesex, "Receuer of y<sup>e</sup> Renteys for H 8", is given in MS. Harl. 1174, f. 57; it shows that the receiver's son was William Losse of Nedham, Norfolk, and that this son married

\* The sisters of Thomas Coppinger are known to have been Frances, the wife of Sir Richard Leigh (or Lee), of Leigh, Cheshire; Ursula, the wife of Thomas Randolph; and Susan, the wife of Sir George Clive of Huxley and Stiche, Cheshire (see The Visitations of Suffolk, ed. Metcalfe, p. 129. The Randolph marriage is omitted from the visitation records, but in the will of William Coppinger (P.C.C. Scott 21) is mentioned "Urcilla Randolphe my sister". A complete pedigree of Coppinger, dating from the eighteenth century, is in MS. Add. 33919, f. 251b.) Lady Leigh had five daughters, two of whom died young, two more of whom did not marry, and the last of whom married a Thomas Lawton (see Pedigrees made at the Visitation of Cheshire, 1613, ... edd. Sir George J. Armytage and J. Paul Rylands (The Record Society, 1909), pp. 140-41). Susan Randolph's daughters are named in the will already cited, that of her brother William; in 1595, five years after their father's death, they were "ffrauncys Urcilla and Elizabeth". Of these daughters only Frances is known to have married; her husband was the Hon. Thomas FitzGerald (see Charles William Duke of Leinster, The Earls of Kildare and their Ancestors: from 1057 to 1773 (Dublin, ed. 1858), p. 25). Lady Clive is known to have had only two daughters: Susan, who "obiit virgo", and Rebecca, living in 1599-1600 as the wife of Henry Legh of Bagnlegh, Cheshire (see George Ormerod's History of ... Chester ..., ed. Thomas Helsby (1882), II, 801; The Visitation of Salop, 1623, edd. Grazebrook and Rylands, I, 124). Lady Clive, widowed in 1590, appears to have had no children by her second husband John Poole.

"Dorathe d: to Hen Whitcrofte of Ipswich". The only son of this marriage whose wife's name is given was "Bartholomew Losse of Nedham in Com Norff: nowe Huinge 1635", the husband of "Jane dau: to W<sup>m</sup> Walrone of Wood in [Wood in<sup>e</sup> crossed out] Newneham in Com<sup>e</sup> De<sup>n</sup>". Neither Whitcrofte nor Walrone is a name connected with the Coppingers. A Robert Losse of Little Stanmore, or Whitchurch, Middlesex, is known to have married Hester, the daughter of Nicholas West of Marsworth, Buckinghamshire (see Middlesex Pedigrees, ed. Armytage, p. 58), and Sir Hugh Losse is known to have married a Joan West of Oxfordshire (see Familiae Minorum Gentium, Diligentia Josephi Hunter, Sheffieldiensis, S.A.S., ed. John W. Clay (Harleian Society Volumes XXXVII-XL, 1894-96), p. 906); again, however, neither West of Buckinghamshire nor West of Oxfordshire is a name to be found in the pedigrees of Coppinger. Of the Losses who might conceivably have been found in Francis Coppinger's circle at the turn of the century nothing connecting them with him by marriage has been discovered. One of these men was the Sir Hugh Losse who has already been mentioned as the husband of Joan West: not knighted until 1603, being one of the many knights made by James in the first months of his reign, he was involved in a burglary within a year of receiving his spurs, and was granted on 14 March 1603/4 a pardon (see S.P., Dom., 1603-10, pp. 87, 172). Philip Gawdy, writing about the burglary to Sir Bassingbourne Gawdy on 20 February 1603/4, before the pardon was issued, pithily suggested how little respect was paid to Losse's new-found chivalry: "The knight whose name is Sir Hue Losse," remarked Gawdy, "is fledd" (H.M.C., Report 7, Appendix, p. 524). Such a man might well, as plain Master Losse, have quarrelled with Coppinger so publicly that they had to be restrained by the magistrates, but no corroboration for such an assumption can be found. The other Losse mentioned at about this time, while less likely to have married where Coppinger did because he was only a clerk, was described on 29 November 1606 as one of "5 younge gentlemen" ("as the moste of them were reputed to be, both in name & bloude") who, "beinge at supper together the 7th of this nouember in Holborne, did resolute to doe somethinge that they maye be spoken of when they were deade." The five thereupon "late in the nighte after supper tooke a boate & wente ouer to Lambethe Marshe to the Swanne, where one Dauis dwelte, a lewde Fellowe & a very lewde Howse, & there Called for drinke & a wenche, & beinge denied, brake the windowes of the howse & of tenne or twelue howses more there, in somuche as the Constable wth the wache sett vpon them & tooke them." Hailed before the Star Chamber, they were fined between £ 20 and £ 50 apiece, "& imprisonmente" (William Paley Baildon, ed., Les Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata ... (Privately printed, 1894), pp. 315-16). Again a man not unlikely to quarrel; again one who cannot be connected by marriage with Coppinger. One draws a blank at every turn in trying to learn who was Coppinger's first wife.

After he annoyed his grandfather in 1596, little is heard of Francis Coppinger for some years. He attended Lord Cobham's funeral in the spring of the next year (see above, p. 672), and appears then to have passed for the duration of his minority into the charge of his young uncle, George Brooke, only ten years older than himself. That Brooke became his guardian, and that the way in which he managed his ward's estate dissatisfied Francis's Coppinger uncles, is indicated by a letter that Henry Lord Cobham wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, as Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, on 21 May 1600: "I pray you to send me by this bearer the petition exhibited by the Coppingers against my brother, that his counsel may have some time to consider, and that you will now, at the beginning of this term, appoint some afternoon that the cause may be heard before the Attorney of the Court of Wards" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, X, 153). No record of any proceedings in the matter to which this letter referred survives; perhaps Ambrose Coppinger (whom William Lord Cobham had probably regarded as largely responsible for his grandson's attempt to get married four years earlier), and the other members of that clever family, were kept in line by Cecil and prevented from bringing whatever charge they had against Brooke into open court. It is with his mother's family, not his father's, that Francis Coppinger is at any rate found in the years following his attainment of his majority. On 24 October 1601 he was in Paris with his cousin, Sir John Brooke (see the notes to the family tree, p. 1168, n. 58), and it seems to have been in the following year that Cecil was helping him evade the magistrates

restrictions on his movements imposed because of his quarrel with Losse. He was then, as has already been seen, sailing under command of Sir Richard Leveson, and on 27 June 1602, only the day after Lord Cobham wrote to the Secretary to have his nephew released from the bonds restraining him in London, John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton a letter which explains what Coppinger had lately been doing, and why his uncle was so anxious that he should be allowed to rejoin Leveson. A Portuguese carrack was just then being brought into Portsmouth by Leveson and Sir William Mounson, who were the heroes of the moment for the courage and ingenuity which they had displayed in capturing the ship in the very mouth of the Tagus. The carrack was laden with treasure, and Coppinger was one of the sailors who had taken her: "Younge Coppinger that was comming into Fraunce, turned his course and went to sea with Sir Richard Lewson, and being at the taking of the carraque was sent with the first newes, and hath waited hard at court since, in hope to be knighted, but he speedes no better then his fellowes" (McClure, I, 154). Apparently, even as Chamberlain was writing, Coppinger had seen that he was not going to get a knighthood for his part in the capture; understandably, he turned to his uncle for help in getting out of London, and down to the coast, where he might at least pick up some of the spoils of the ship itself.

On 3 August 1602 Coppinger was back in the city, for on that day he entered Gray's Inn (Foster, Admissions, p. 103). No further record of his career as a student of the law survives, but in the accounts of the following year, that in which the house of Cobham fell, Coppinger's name occurs in a more sensational context. One of the hundreds of people who were investigated by the government in connection with the conspiracy of 1603 was Thomas Harris, a Serjeant-at-Law who had sat on the tribunal which sent Essex to his death in 1601. Harris was an intimate of several of the Privy Councillors: as Cecil was warned when it was decided to proceed against him, "My L Chancellor and Lo Treaso<sup>r</sup> ar emongst other of yr ll [lordships] [who] in some Degre ar most beholding vnto the Sergeant" (P.R.O., S.P. 14/3/55; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1603-10, p. 37): but Harris could not be let alone, for he had spoken indiscreetly both against his powerful acquaintances and, a more serious matter, against the right of King James to the Crown. A man named Thomas Horwood, known to George Brooke, was a witness of Harris's treasonable words. Horwood repeated them to Francis Coppinger, and Brooke, when he implicated Horwood in one of his many confessions, thus also gave the authorities reason to be interested in his nephew. Sir William Waad, the notorious agent of the Council to whom the government gave a principal part in the preparation of the case against the conspirators, was entrusted with the apprehension of Harris, and on 31 August Waad told Cecil that he was calling Coppinger in for questioning (see P.R.O., S.P. 14/3/41; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1603-10, p. 36). On 2 September Waad reported from Hampstead on his interview with the young man: "M<sup>r</sup> Francis Copinger was wth me yesternight verry late, whose report of the vile and schlawnderus wordes sergeant Harrys did vse of most of yr LL that were of the priuy Cownsell to the late Que I send y<sup>r</sup> L. set down all of his one hand, as he related the same vnto me. One thing only he omitted hasting away because it was late, that M<sup>r</sup> Sergeant should say those LL had fownd a statute w<sup>ch</sup> preferred the title of some Other. Harward is in Norfolke and looked for dayly at his howse at snt Mary Oudryes I thincke it needles to send for him consydering the Relation of M<sup>r</sup> Coppinger doth not only Confirme, but addethe more to that w<sup>ch</sup> by M<sup>r</sup> Brooke hathe ben confessed, but when he comethe to his howse I haue taken order he shall come vnto me" (P.R.O., S.P. 14/3/52; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1603-10, p. 37, where the editors obtusely confound Waad's versions of Horwood's name (Horwood, Horward, Harward) with that of Lord Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, one of the chief men in the government). Coppinger, although it may appear rather simple of Waad to have attributed his omission of the most important charge against Harris to his eagerness to get home to bed, seems not to have been further questioned: Horwood turned up on 3 September, and corroborated everything which Coppinger had said, thus making questioning of the young man unnecessary (see P.R.O., S.P. 14/3/55; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1603-10, p. 37).

Far more unpleasant for him was his involuntary entanglement in the sordid personal affairs of his uncle George. In one of the famous letters supposedly written by Toby Matthews to John Donne at the time of the Winchester trials in the

autumn of 1603 is the statement, "I hear that F.B. is gotten with Child either by Fra. C. or by her brother George Brooke, which is rather thought" (Mathews Collection, p. 287). This letter was written before Lord Cobham himself came to trial; that is, before 25 November 1603. At the trial itself, Cobham "excepted against his brother as an incompetent accuser, baptizing him with the name of a viper; and laid to his charge (though far from the purpose) the getting of his wife's sister with child; in which," remarked Dudley Carleton, "it is thought he did young Coppinger some wrong" (Carleton to John Chamberlain, 27 November 1603, in Miscellaneous State Papers, From 1501 to 1726, ed. Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke (1778), I, 381). Michael Hikes, Cecil's secretary, corroborated Carleton's testimony: Cobham, Hikes told the Earl of Shrewsbury in a letter of 6 December, "inveighed most bitterly against his brother George, terming him corrupt and most wicked wretch; that he had sought to poison him; that he lay with his wife's sister, and had a child by her" (Lodge, III, 76). Both Brydges and Thomas Carte, on the basis of these reports of the trial, say that George Brooke was charged with incest (see Memoirs of the Peers, I, 267; A General History of England (1752), III, 722); he appears to have been technically liable to the charge, at any rate. Brooke's wife was Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Thomas Lord Burgh and Frances Vaughan, and, since the death of her only brother, senior co-heir to the family titles (see above, pp. 767-71, and the notes to the family tree, pp. 1190 ff., n. 74). The eldest of Elizabeth Brooke's three younger sisters was Frances, and it was Frances Burgh, probably while she was betrothed to Coppinger (to judge by Carleton's remark), whom Brooke is said to have seduced. Thus the cryptic sentence in the Mathews letter may be glossed: "I hear that Frances Burgh is got with child, either by Francis Coppinger or, rather, by her brother-in-law, George Brooke."

Dishonoured though his intended was, Coppinger married her; which, if any, of the seven sons and three daughters whom they had was actually fathered by George Brooke cannot be discovered. Having settled down to marriage, Coppinger resumed his former, undefinable career. He was no more than twenty-six years old when the events of 1603 were finally complete, and his distressing young uncle had been beheaded. He appears to have remained on reasonable terms with his surviving uncle: on 2 August 1604 the imprisoned Lord Cobham asked that his nephew might be permitted to visit him in the Tower (see Cobham to Cecil, H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVI, 198). By 30 April 1605 he was again at sea with his old commander, Leveson mentioning his "camerado, Frank Coppinger", in a letter of that date "from the Heyght of 43" (see H.M.C., Report 5, Appendix, p. 137). Coppinger does not seem ever to have gained the knighthood which he had once hoped that his exploits under Leveson would win him; he is, however, called "Sir Francis Copinger of St. Giles in the Field, London", by Walter Arthur Copinger in Pedigree III of The History of the Copingers or Coppingers of the County of Cork, Ireland, and the Counties of Suffolk and Kent, England (1884).

Because of the paucity of other references to him in the years following the fall of his mother's family, one is surprised to find Coppinger being hailed as early as 1606 as a patron of writers. In that year the notorious hack, Anthony Nixon, dedicated to him his 'serious joke', The Blacke yeare, calling him "the true Maecenas of the Muses", one who was known to show "generall fauour to all desert" (see above, 957-59). Nixon's testimony to Coppinger's interest in letters is unique; one can find no other trace of it. It is unfortunate that so little of the later years of Coppinger's life is known. One would like to find out what connection he had with the Coppinger who played so ignominious a part in the Overbury affair: Brydges, quoting Sir Anthony Weldon, calls this Coppinger "a gentleman who spent a faire fortune left by his ancestors, and now, for maintenance was forced to lead the life of a serving man (that formerly kept many to serve him), and as an addition, the worst of that kinde, a flat bawd. This gentleman had lived a scandalous life, by keeping a whore of his owne, which for the honour of her family I will not name; therefore, was fittest to trade in that commodity for another, and in truth was fit to take any impression basenesse could stampe on him ..." (Memoirs of the Peers, I, 109). Could Northampton's tool have been Francis Coppinger himself? Would even Weldon have referred to Frances Burgh as a whore of honourable family? There seems to be no way of answering these questions; the Cop-

pinger who helped ruin Overbury has never been identified, either with Francis or with any other of the Allhallows family.

W.A. Copinger says that Francis Coppinger died in 1626, having made a will on 15 October of that year. His statement has been accepted by various editors of Burke's Peerage and Landed Gentry, and by the Marquis de Ruvigny (see The Mortimer-Percy Volume, p. 489); the extensive search through the repositories of wills has not, however, uncovered the will, and in Copinger's own list of the locations of wills cited in his work (pp. 393-95) Francis Coppinger's is not mentioned. Copinger's unsupported statement that Frances Burgh died before 24 November 1619 has also been generally accepted. Coppinger certainly died before 20 September 1630, when his son Henry made his will (P.C.C. Evelyn 84) and described himself as "sonne of ffrancis Coppinger esquier deceased [sic: not 'Sir Francis Coppinger, knight'] and of frances his wife daughter of the right honorable ffrances Ladie Burgh".

Of the Coppingers' sons (see Copinger, Pedigree III; Ruvigny, The Mortimer-Percy Volume, p. 489; Burke's Commoners, III, 501), William, Edward, Henry, Dru and James had no children. (Henry, who made his will in 1630 because he was "intending by Godes grace to travaille in the partes beyond the seas", died before 1 June 1641, when his will was proved; his sole heir and executor was his aunt Anne, the widow of Sir Dru Drury.) The line of Seymour Coppinger, the second son, became extinct in the eighteenth century. The remaining son, Nicholas, alone founded a family which yet survives; since 1790 it has been surnamed De Burgh. Of the three daughters, only Lettice had children. She, after a childless marriage with one Paul Barnaby of Greenwich, became the wife of Sir William Hooker, Sheriff (1665-66) and Lord Mayor of London (1673-74); the eldest of her daughters was immortalized by Pepys. She was Anne, the wife of Sir John Lethieullier, Sheriff of London in 1674, whom Pepys described at various times during the year of her father's shrievalty as "my fat brown beauty of our Parish, the rich merchant's lady, a very noble woman", as "our noble, fat, brave lady in our parish, that I and my wife admire so", as "a very noble lady ..., however the silly alderman got [i.e., begot] her", "a most beautifull fat woman". There seems to be no doubt about Lady Lethieullier's proportions. (See The Diary of Samuel Pepys ..., ed. Henry B. Wheatley, V (1928), 161, 172, 182, 221. Wheatley, who relies upon the notes of Lord Braybrooke, says that Lady Lethieullier was Hooker's daughter by Anne Gipps; his error may be seen by referring to Drake, who identifies Pepys's lady and who, following the pedigree in Philip Morant's History and Antiquities of the County of Essex (1768), I, 27, shows that Anne Lethieullier was the eldest daughter of Hooker and thus the child of the first Lady Hooker, 'Laetitia' Coppinger: see Hasted's Kent, ed. Drake, pp. 100, 253.)

(70) The life of Maximilian Brooke (4 December 1560-July 1583) has been fully treated in the text of this work; see especially pp. 208-11, 447-54.

(71) The little which is known of the early life of Frances Howard has been recorded above, and her parentage and alliance established. She survived the reign of King James, but the story of her later years can only be told in conjunction with that of her husband's career under that king. Here it is necessary only to correct certain works of history and genealogy which fail to distinguish her from other ladies of her family, and to give some account of her children by her first husband, Henry FitzGerald, Earl of Kildare. These FitzGerald, although the step-daughters of Henry Lord Cobham, seem never to have come into close contact with the Brookes.

Brydges, in his Memoirs of the Peers, I, 235, says that the Earl of Nottingham had two daughters named Frances, the elder the wife first of Sir Robert Southwell and then of the Earl of Carrick, and the younger first of the Earl of Kildare and then of Lord Cobham. Henry Howard, in his study of his family (Indication of Memorials, Monuments, Paintings, and Engravings of Persons of the Howard family... (1834), p. 91), says that the eldest of Nottingham's three daughters was Frances, the wife of Sir Robert Southwell, and that "Elizabeth, second daughter, married Henry Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare." The biographer of Nottingham in D.N.B. has

apparently followed Howard, for he gives no second husbands to these two ladies, and names Lady Southwell 'Frances' and the countess 'Elizabeth'. It is obvious from the various documents cited in the foregoing work, as well as from a contemporary pedigree which records that "Henry Earl of Kildare was Liuinge 1597= ffrauncys Dau' of Charles Lo: howard of Effingham, lord Admyrall; & Earle of Nottingham; ... wi: to henry lord Cobham 1605" (MS. Harl. 4031, f. 201b), that the Countess of Kildare was Frances Howard. From other sources, including The Visitations of Norfolk, ed. Rye, p. 261, it is equally clear that Lady Southwell was Elizabeth Howard. Most probably Elizabeth was the elder of the two: in one of the earliest English 'peerages', Milles's Catalogue of Honor (1610), p. 895, Nottingham's two older daughters are given as Elizabeth Lady Southwell and "Frances, wife of Fitzgireld, earle of Kildare" (not, be it noted, also the wife of Cobham, who, having been in disgrace since 1603, is not mentioned by Milles). Collins's Peerage; the Duke of Leinster's study of his predecessors; and the Complete Peerage all name and identify the two sisters correctly. John Nichols, at one point in his Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First ... (1828), also rightly describes Lord Cobham's wife as "Frances Howard, second daughter to the Lord Admiral, widow of Henry Fitzgerald, twelfth Earl of Kildare" (I, 265 n.); at another point, however, in glossing an account of the homage paid by the great ladies of England in April 1603 to Queen Anne, Nichols incorrectly identifies the Countess of Kildare as "Elizabeth, daughter of Christopher Lord Devlin, and wife of Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare" (I, 195). That it was the dowager countess, Lady Cobham, who is meant, is proved by the description of her as the lady who had "then the chief charge of the Lady Elizabeth", for Frances Howard was governess to the king's daughter for some months in 1603. The fact that Cobham's wife continued, quite properly, to style herself 'countess' and to take precedence as such after marrying the baron, combined with the fact that the wives of her first husband's successors in the Earldom of Kildare were never prominent at Court, makes almost any reference to a Lady Kildare in the early seventeenth century virtually certain to be to Frances Howard.

On which to argue for the seniority of Frances to her sister there is only the evidence of the poet, Thomas Powell, who lists her as the third of her parents' children, coming immediately after her two brothers and before Elizabeth (Vertues Due ... (1603), sigg. C2-3; see above, p. 946). Powell, however, seems to have listed the young Howards in the order of their social importance rather than by the chronology of their births. William Lord Howard of Effingham and Charles, his father's eventual heir in the Earldom of Nottingham, Powell names first, although they were born after their sisters. Thus Frances's position as a dowager countess and a baroness in 1603 may well have given her seniority by Powell's criteria over Elizabeth, then only the widow of a knight.

There is much conflicting evidence to be found concerning the children of Frances Howard's first marriage. That they were daughters is certain, since the earl was succeeded in his titles by his brother, but agreement among historians ends with this acknowledgement that the Kildares had no son. (It is interesting to find the countess ascribing to the displeasure of God her inability to present her husband with an heir. The earl had had an elder brother who had died in their father's lifetime, leaving a daughter who, while not heiress to the family titles, had a claim on the estate. This claim her uncle, when he succeeded to the earldom, denied. Dying himself without sons by the countess, Kildare had been succeeded by his younger brother, who had also died without sons, leaving his titles and the disputed estate to a cousin. On 8 September 1602 the dowager countess wrote that she was "confidante that God would not haue ponished the heires males so muche as he hath done, to leau them wthout seede of ther owne bodyes, wch is the blissinge of this worlde, yf wee had done their generall [i.e., the heir general] righte, wch wronge could nott bee kepte from the face of the livinge god, to whom we muste call for mercye for the deede, And seeke to make the beste satissfaccon that o<sup>r</sup> consciense and beste counsell will advise vs": Cecil Paper 95/63; abstracted, with a needless querying of the phrase 'their generall', in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 359-60.)

Howard (p. 91) says that the earl and countess had two daughters, Elizabeth

and Anne. He ignores the statement in Archdall's 1789 edition of Lodge's Peerage of Ireland (I, 99) that there were three of them: Elinor, "who died young before him", Bridget, "seven years and six months old at his decease" on 1 August 1597, and Lettice, "aged five years and four months, who died unmarried". Where Lodge learned of the existence of Elinor cannot be discovered; the names and ages of the other daughters he apparently found in the earl's inquisition post mortem, which, although the original was destroyed during the demolition of the Irish Public Record Office in 1921, survives in a nineteenth-century copy of the document now preserved in the new office (Exchequer, Co. Meath, Eliz., No. 51). Of these three daughters, according to Lodge, only Bridget married; her first husband was the Earl of Tyrconnell, her second the Viscount Barnewall of Kingsland. The information given by Lodge had been given earlier, although without the precise ages of the Ladies Bridget and Lettice FitzGerald, in Collins's Peerage (1779), VI, 183. The Duke of Leinster (pp. 224-26) follows Collins and Lodge. Rogers (Pt. 2, p. 19) disregards the statements of the earlier genealogists, and says that two of the earl's daughters married; they were Bridget Viscountess Barnewall and Elizabeth Lady Killeen. Esmé Wingfield-Stratford (The Lords of Cobham Hall (1959), p. 92), probably following Rogers, says that when Lady Kildare returned to England after the earl's death she was "an attractive widow, with two young daughters". Finally, Sir Edmund Chambers states that, when Lord Cobham was attainted in 1603, his property in the Blackfriars was declared forfeit to the Crown and then re-granted to his wife, and that for some years it remained "in the hands of trustees for her and her daughter Lady Howard" (The Elizabethan Stage (Oxford, 1923), II, 507).

Of the secondary authorities, one may dismiss Howard, who gives only the Christian names of two daughters, one of which, that of Lady Anne FitzGerald, is encountered nowhere else; Collins and Leinster, who say no more than Lodge; and Chambers, who cites in support of his assertion a paper (P.R.O., S.P. 14/8/18; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1603-10, p. 108) in which no daughter of Lady Kildare's is mentioned, and in which Lady Howard is clearly the wife of one of the countess's male relatives. Rogers (and, through him, Wingfield-Stratford) relies exclusively upon what can be gleaned from the will of Lady Kildare, which will be cited independently below. The contention between Lodge, who says that only Bridget married, and Rogers, who says that both she and a sister Elizabeth married, must be resolved on the basis of the primary evidence which follows regarding the earl and countess's children.

The Irish Public Record Office evidence of the names of the daughters of the earl who survived him, and of their ages on 1 August 1597, must be regarded as the most important single document concerning his daughters.\* There are, however, other pieces of primary evidence to be considered. One is the pedigree in MS. Harl. 4031, f. 201b, which apparently dates from 1605; in it two daughters are named, "1Bridgid 2Elizabeth". Since no Elizabeth is named in the copied inquisition, one can only assume that its 'Lettice' and the 'Elizabeth' of the pedigree refer to the same person. The pedigree gives no more information about these girls than their names; two other pieces of evidence show that as late as 1604-05 they were still both living and that one of them had already married. In a letter which Lady Cobham wrote to a Mr. Burnell on 8 September 1602 (Cecil Paper 95/63, already cited), there is mention of "one of my children", and in another from her to Viscount Cranborne (Cecil being properly so addressed between 20 August 1604 and 4 May 1605), the dowager countess indicated that she had yet more than one child by referring to "my eldest datur", Cecil's provision for whom had permitted the girl to marry (Cecil Paper 114/59; abstracted in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVII, 176).

\* A record in the enrolled accounts of the Queen's Chamber in the Public Record Office notes the christening in April 1591 of a daughter of the Earl of Kildare (see Rye, "Queen Elizabeth's Godchildren," p. 296). If Bridget, the second daughter, was seven and a half years old when her father died, and if Lettice was five years and four months old, they must have been born in January 1589/90 and in April 1592 respectively: the infant christened in April 1591 was thus most probably one whose birth came between those of Bridget and Lettice, and who died before 1597.

Finally, there is the will of Lady Kildare, drawn up on 20 June and proved on 8 July 1628 (P.C.C. Barrington 70). In it are mentioned "my two sonnes in lawe", "my sonne Nicholas Barnewell" and "my sonne the Lord of Killeene husband vnto my daughter Elizabeth". "My daughter Elizabeth wief vnto the saide Lord of Killeene" is also specifically mentioned, although Barnewall's wife, Bridget, is not.

It would seem that Lady Kildare had three daughters, two of whom, Bridget and Elizabeth (or Lettice), survived their father, and that, despite what all the published authorities except Rogers say, both these daughters married.

The story of the Lady Bridget FitzGerald's life has been frequently told (see Lodge, I, 99, and Leinster, p. 226). Born in January 1589/90, she was apparently the daughter to whose marriage her mother referred in her letter to Viscount Cranborne of 1604-05. Her husband, Roderick O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell, fled with the Earl of Tyrone to France in 1607, and died under attainder at Rome in the following year. The countess was not implicated in her husband's Roman Catholic treason, and, sent into England, was there made a pensioner of the Crown. In 1617 she married again; her second husband was Nicholas Barnewall, who in 1646 was created Lord Turvey and Viscount Barnewall of Kingsland. The countess died about 1680. Besides Elizabeth, the daughter whom she is said to have married to Luke Lord Killeen (see below), Bridget is known certainly to have had children by Tyrconnell who are celebrated. They were Hugh, born in 1606 and known by the courtesy title of Lord Donegall, who was carried by his father to the Continent and who there, as the titular Earl of Tyrconnell and an officer in the imperial service, died childless in 1642; and Mary, who, born in England in 1607/8, was given the surname Stuart in lieu of 'O'Donnell' by King James. When Abraham Darcie in 1625 wrote his Honors True Arbor in praise of the Howards, he dedicated the work in part "To the Honor and Fame of those Most Noble, and Right Honourable Families now liuing, sprung by the Mothers side, from this Arbor of the Howards most renowned and ancient Nobilitie". He therefore 'consecrated these his Labours' in order, among other things, "To eternize the true Nobilitie of the Noble Issue of the most Honourable Lord, Henry Fitz-Gerald late Earle of Kildare, by his Gracious Lady, Frances Howard Countesse of Kildare, viz. the Noble wife of O Donnell Earle of Tirconel in Ireland, who bare vnto the said Earle her husband, two children; A Sonne who is now at Bruxells in Brabant, and a Noble and Vertuous Daughter, named Stuart O Donnell, which liues here in England." Mary rejected her grandmother's attempts to marry her to an Englishman, fled to the Continent disguised as a man, and there became something of a papist heroine, her flight from Protestantism being commemorated in print and her bravery recognized by letters congratulatory and benedictory from Pope Urban VIII. She later made a misalliance and became a topic of scandal in Rome. By Barnewall of Kingsland, Bridget Countess of Tyrconnell had two sons, neither of whom Darcie mentions, Christopher, who died in his father's lifetime, was mentioned as "my grandchilde Christopher Barnewell" in Lady Kildare's will; Henry succeeded his father as Viscount Barnewall. The countess had also two daughters by her second marriage, Frances, to whom her grandmother left a legacy, and Mabel, who married first Christopher Earl of Fingall, and then Colonel James Barnewall, a cadet of the senior branch of her father's house.

Of the Lady Elizabeth (or Lettice) FitzGerald, born in April 1592, less is known. Her mother's will of 1628 shows that she was the wife of Luke Plunkett, Lord Killeen, who on 26 September 1628, three months after the will was made, was created Earl of Fingall. Besides Rogers, only the Complete Peerage, among works of genealogy, notes this marriage. The Peerage, however, while saying at one point that in Lady Kildare's will are mentioned her "daughters, Lady Bridget (wife of the 1st Earl of Tyrconnell) and Lady Elizabeth, wife of Lord Killeen" (VII, 240 n.), contradicts itself at another point (V, 385) by saying that Killeen's first wife was Elizabeth O'Donnell, the daughter of the Lady Elizabeth FitzGerald's sister by Tyrconnell. All other authorities (see Lodge, Leinster, and the various editions of Burke's) concur with this second identification of the woman known as Elizabeth Lady Killeen. One would think that Lady Kildare's specific mention of "my daughter Elizabeth wief vnto the saide Lord of Killeene" would resolve this contradiction. It is, however, known that Killeen had taken a third wife by the time that the will was made, and that his third wife lived until 1632 (see the documentary proofs presented in the Complete Peerage, V, 385 n.): in other words, it is known that Lady Kildare's daughter cannot have been the wife of Lord Killeen in 1628. It is



word 'equite' but also gives Brooke the wrong Christian name, calling him "Edwardo Brooke fratre Do'i Cobhami" (f. 60). A similar remark may be made about the French ambassador's use of the term "le sieur Brouc frere de Millord Cobant" (see the comte de Beaumont to Henry IV, 20/30 July 1603, MS. King's 123, f. 343): in the correspondence between Paris and the French embassy in London, Brooke is usually called simply "Georges Brouc". Other of Brooke's contemporaries also called him a knight: on 28 December 1603, three weeks after Brooke's execution, Thomas and John Butler wrote to Sir Nathaniel Bacon to tell him that "Ther hath suffered Sr George Brooke" (The Official Papers of Sir Nathaniel Bacon . . ., ed. H.W. Saunders (Camden Society, 1915), p. 159). The burial register of Winchester Cathedral records his interment there on 5 December 1603 as that of "George Brookes Knight". It is probably as a reflection of this kind of uncertainty about Brooke's proper status that one should consider Fuller's description of him almost sixty years after his death as "Sir George Brook" (Worthies, II, 33).

Apart from occasional errors regarding his style, however (and from the misstatement in MS. Harl. 1174, f. 49, which makes him his brother's son: see the notes to the family tree, p. 1083, n. 10), George Brooke has generally fared better at the hands of historians than have the other members of his family, and the short biography of him by B.C. Skottowe in D.N.B. is, although necessarily limited, quite reliable.

(74) Elizabeth Burgh, for whose marriage with George Brooke in 1599 see above, pp. 767 ff., was the eldest of the four sisters of Robert Lord Burgh of Gainsborough. Burgh was the child peer who succeeded to his father's heavily mortgaged estate on 14 October 1597 and whose guardians wrote the letter quoted above, pp. 767-68, to Lord Cobham for help in preserving his patrimony. He died on 26 February 1601/2; the revolting treatment which was administered to the child in a desperate attempt to save his life is recounted by the Bishop of Winchester in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XII, 65-66). His barony, as well as his indubitable right to the ancient Barony of Strabolgi (originally Scottish, but since 1318 an English peerage) and his claim as heir general upon the fourteenth-century Barony of Cobham of Sterborough, fell into abeyance among his four sisters. As Fuller says, "the honour, which could not conveniently be divided, was here determined" (Worthies, II, 33).

'Determined', or terminated, however, the co-heirs of the Burgh titles were not content that the three peerages should be. Elizabeth Brooke was the senior of these women; Frances, who later married Elizabeth's nephew by marriage, Francis Coppinger (see the notes to the family tree, p. 1184, n. 69), was the second. The third was Anne, the wife of Sir Dru Drury; Catherine, later Mistress Thomas Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe, Norfolk, was the youngest. Knyvett was, like his wife, co-heir to a barony, in his case that of Berners, which was, long after his death, decreed to have been held by him de iure, and which was confirmed to his descendant. The charming love letters which he wrote to his wife throughout their married life are printed from MS. Add. 42153, in The Knyvett Letters (1620-1644), ed. Bertram Schofield (1949). Schofield's notes are excellent; on one point, however, he is at variance with the view taken in 1912 by the Committee of Privileges of the House of Lords in stating (p. 22 n.) that Anne Drury, not Frances Coppinger, was the second Burgh daughter. See John William Disney Thorp, "Claims to the Baronies of Burgh, Strabolgi, and Cobham," The Genealogist, XXIX (1913), 70.) The claims of the female co-heirs were contested by the heir male, Richard Burgh of Stowe, Lincolnshire, who was descended of a younger son of their father's grandfather (see C.P., II, 77). The modern practice whereby, generally speaking, a title which falls into abeyance among female co-heirs is not called out until only one of the co-heirs is left with a representative, was not in force in the early seventeenth century. Thus, in 1606, while her three sisters were yet alive, Elizabeth Brooke wrote to her late husband's brother-in-law, Secretary Cecil, by then Earl of Salisbury. She sent him a gift, and put to him her case: "I besech you excuse my boldnes In presuming to send y<sup>r</sup> lo so pour a token only that It is of my one [i.e., own] handyworke and that I am uery desyrieus to take this ocacyon to present my ounbell duty to y<sup>r</sup> Lordship with many thanks for y<sup>r</sup> greate fauer to mie and

mine houbly besechinge y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>r</sup> Lo will be pleasd to stande my honorabell frende In procuring me my own right I mene the barondry [sic] of Bourgh. I hafe let It rest all this whill to se the ottermost that myster Bourgh Could dooe for hime selfe and now I perceau he Is continted to let It dye, I am desierous to trye the justnes of my one cause and to be a suter to my frinds to settell my honer oppan my selfe In my life time because It maye the easier fall oppan my boye after my desease. I am the more ernist to hafe it ophild because It is a name neuer tantid bout euer remaind loyall to thar [sic] prince and my lorde my father endid hise life in the Saruis of his princes and was a man that truly honored y<sup>r</sup> lo ship and yours which maks mee the rather presume to Importune y<sup>r</sup> lordship to be a meane to vphold his house which will lyfe and dye at y<sup>r</sup> lordship Commandement" (Cecil Paper 118/114; abstracted in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVIII, 381). Indicating that she had already begun to appropriate to herself the style to which she felt herself entitled, Elizabeth signed the letter "El. Bourgh", and Cecil's clerk, in endorsing it, while apparently unable to bring himself to call her 'Lady Burgh', compromised by writing the meaningless "Mystris Bourgh to my lord".

It must have been soon after initiating the proceedings by which she hoped to become a peeress that Elizabeth Brooke and her sisters drew up a petition to the king. "The humble Peticon of the Sisters and Coheirs of Robert Lord Burgh is," it begins, "That vntill yo<sup>r</sup> Matie: in yo<sup>r</sup> Princely wisdom shall thinke meete to place & settb the honour of the Said Barony either vpon the eldest daughter as the Custome hath bene, or vpon any other of the abovenamed Coheirs (wherein they all submytt themselves; and do most humbly attend yo<sup>r</sup> gracious pleasure in that behalfe) yo<sup>r</sup> Matie: wolde not so muche disgrace the said Coheirs, as to gyve eare to the Ambitious Suyte of one y<sup>t</sup> importuneth yo<sup>r</sup> Matie. for the said hono<sup>r</sup>, havinge neither Tytle to demaunde it, nor meanes to maintaine it" (MS. Folger V.a. 321 (a transcription of about 1615 of various letters of slightly earlier date), f. 87). The petition was obviously intended to counter that of Richard Burgh, which had been presented on 24 January 1606/7 (see Lincolnshire Pedigrees, ed. Maddison, p. 209), and by which the heir male had apparently contrived to keep his family's titles from going to his female cousin. Elizabeth Brooke received some sort of quasi-official recognition of her right to her brother's barony: there is a reference to her as "Lady Burrowes" in Cecil Paper Accts 16/4, dated 1615, and she appears as "Elizabeth, Lady Brough" in Devon's transcription of the exchequer bill of 25 January 1618/9 by which she was granted the residue of the pension upon which her late brother-in-law, Henry Lord Cobham, had been existing in prison (see Issues of the Exchequer ..., ed. Frederick Devon (1836), pp. 224-25) but no summons to Parliament was ever issued to her or to her son.

It was not until 1822 that an officer of arms could be brought to pronounce upon the validity of the claims of Elizabeth's descendants upon the Baronies of Strabolgi, Burgh and Cobham of Sterborough; Lancaster Herald then gave his opinion that the attainder of George Brooke had not made his children ineligible to inherit their mother's rights (see MS. Add. 38575, ff. 48-49). Almost another century had passed when the claimants at last made their official application to the House of Lords for recognition of those rights, and by that time (1912) the claim to the Barony of Cobham of Sterborough had been allowed to lapse. The third title which King George V was asked to call out of abeyance had by then become that of Cobham of Kent itself. The partition which the king decreed in 1916 is described in the note on Elizabeth Brooke's 'boy', Sir William Brooke, pp. 1197-98 below.

Although there is no mention of it in the correspondence of the Brooke family, and although it can have done nothing to assist George Brooke's widow in her attempts to establish her right to her family's titles, a second marriage appears to have been made by Elizabeth Burgh. The only record of it is in Mundy's Middlesex Pedigrees, ed. Armytage, p. 56, where it is shown that Francis Reade, the second son of Sir William Reade of Osterley, Middlesex, married "Elizebeth d. & coheire of Thom. 1. Borough widdow of George Brooke". Reade's brother, Sir Thomas Reade, was the son-in-law of Secretary Cecil's brother, the Earl of Exeter. By her second husband Elizabeth Burgh had no children. It is not known when he died.

Among the Knyvett letters are several which refer to Elizabeth Burgh. The first of these is assigned by its editor to May or June 1627, and suggests that by

that time Elizabeth was again a widow, for she was living with her mother and the elder of her surviving sisters, the widowed Lady Drury, in Westminster. Thomas Knyvett appears to have been a welcome visitor to his wife's family, and when he came up to town from his Norfolk estates he went often to see them. Thus, in the letter of the late spring of 1627, he wrote to his wife to say that "I have been with yo<sup>r</sup> sisters but could not see y<sup>r</sup> mother by reason she was not vp, therefore I have not yet delivered y<sup>r</sup> token, but I will see her againe, if I can, before I come downe. Your sisters & I weare very merrye after the first parlye" (Schofield, p. 72). With the three widows apparently lived Elizabeth's unmarried daughter, Elizabeth Brooke: between 30 January and 4 February 1634/5 Knyvett informed his wife that her "faier sisters and Neece are in plentifull health" (Schofield, p. 86). It was a family joke to call old Lady Burgh's three surviving daughters after those of King Lear, although evidently without any specific reflection upon their characters. Elizabeth, the eldest, was Goneril, Anne Drury was Regan, and Catherine Knyvett, the youngest, was Cordelia. Thus, after his wife had been hostess at her home at Ashwellthorpe to his sister, Muriel le Grosse, Knyvett took time out from his business trip to London to write home on 20 November 1632. "Yo<sup>r</sup> intertaine with the greate Lady," he began, punning on Lady le Grosse's name, "had beene matter inoughe for a letter, neither was the relation of it less pleasing to me, then sweet to you. And suerly had my sister Gross been a little Arromatised [sweetened] ther, her disposition could never have been so harsh as to have falne out with poore Cordelya. But tis no matter, I beleeve I shall Anger Gonerill & Ragan to, before this busines be ended" (Schofield, p. 79). Perhaps the Burgh sisters were easier to get along with than was Muriel Knyvett; more probably, Knyvett enjoyed making the effort to amuse them that his wife would not bring to her conversation with her in-laws; there is certainly a mild reproof in Knyvett's letter, for all his teasing. At any rate he continued to visit his wife's sisters, and it is in the same terms, appropriate to women whose mother had once professed to fear that they might be forced by poverty to go on the stage (see above, pp. 768-69), that at last he informs one of Elizabeth Burgh's death. Knyvett's letter is unfortunately undated. Its editor tentatively assigns it to October 1637 on the basis of an entry in the burial registers of St. Margaret's, Westminster, which records the interment on <sup>Monday</sup> 2 October, of an Elizabeth Brooke (Burke, p. 582). One might have expected her to be buried under the name of her second husband, Francis Reade, but there was no Elizabeth Reade buried at St. Margaret's during the period when Knyvett wrote his letters to his wife. It is of course possible that, as the mother of the up and coming Sir William Brooke, Elizabeth was thought of as George Brooke's relict rather than as Francis Reade's widow; certainly Knyvett never refers to his brother-in-law Reade. If, however, one assumes that Reade had been forgotten, one cannot assume that Elizabeth was not using the style to which, as the senior co-heir to her father's barony, she thought herself entitled. Knyvett calls her 'Sister Burgh'. One must therefore wonder whether she was not one of the two ladies named Elizabeth Burrowes (a variant of Burgh) who were buried at St. Margaret's, one on <sup>Wednesday</sup> 19 February 1639/40 and the other on <sup>Monday</sup> 16 November 1640 (Burke, pp. 591, 594). While accepting Schofield's tentative identification of her with the Elizabeth Brooke of the burial registers as a very feasible one, one ought not to endorse it without qualification. The letter by which Knyvett announced her sister's death to his wife reads: "My Deere sweete Harte, first to give thee an Accompte of my Journye an wellfare. I thanke my God I got safe hether on wednesday by eleaven of the clocke. I confess my Journy was so fine & easye as I did most really wish the[e] with me, but you would have incountred a very sad wellcome at Westminster. For yo<sup>r</sup> Sister Burgh you showlde have found a dyinge woman, not in Jest but in earnest, for nowe her glasse is runne, And on sundaye, in the after noone [1 October 1637?], she payde nature her due And yesternight she was buriede in st. Margretts church, And Ragan Rainges alone, only she saith she is but halfe her selfe, because she wants Cordeliaes companye. But this is no invitation to come vp, for I tell the[e] true, I see no reall desier that thay have to have thee heere. Yo<sup>r</sup> mother is excellent well as I have seene her a greate while. She makes extremly of me. Good woman, I would we had her at Thorpe. So much for sad busines" (Schofield, pp. 89-90). Lady Burgh was still making "ext-

reamly much" of Knyvett when he last mentions her in his letters to his wife, on 11 July 1644 (Schofield, p. 166); she died in July 1647 (C.P., II, 424). She may, like Lear, have seen all of her three daughters die before her, for Catherine Knyvett died in April 1646 (see Schofield, p. 43), and after 20 June 1644 (see Schofield, p. 159) no mention is found of Anne Drury.

(75) When George Lord Cobham drew up his will in 1558, he took every possible human precaution to ensure that a descendant of his who bore his name should always be in possession of the great estate which he had established. Himself the begetter of ten sons and still the father of eight of them at the time when he wrote, Cobham modestly reckoned that each of his male offspring might leave at least as many sons as he was leaving. Thus, in the entail under which he placed his children's patrimony, he made provision for the passing of his lands as far down the line of his male descendants as to the eighth son of his eighth son. Of the number of his great-grandsons the baron attempted to make no estimate; his expectations were no doubt patriarchal. Yet, so unobliging was fate, that within eighty years of his death Cobham's heirs on the spear side of the family numbered only two. One of these was the aging, childless Sir John Brooke, a younger son of a younger son, who died in 1660 (see the notes to the family tree, p. 1171, n. 58); Sir William Brooke, one of the three male descendants of the baron who bore his name into the third generation, and the only one of the three who lived long enough to hope to perpetuate it, was the other. Thus, not only as heir male of the family but as its last effective chance of survival, Sir William was the sole heir of the house of Cobham. He was as unfortunate in propagation as the rest of his line, and it was because he left no son when he died in 1643 that the centenary of the death of George Lord Cobham was observed only by one old man, out of all the proud, male posterity for which such careful provision had been made.

The story of the life of Sir William Brooke is Caroline history, not Elizabethan, hardly even Jacobean. Yet it begins under Elizabeth, and was shaped under James, and for these reasons something may properly be said of it here.

Brooke was born in November 1601, and christened on 1 December (see above, pp. 770-71). He is said incorrectly to have been born in 1598 (C.P., III, 350). His paternity has been wrongly attributed to his uncle, Henry Lord Cobham, by Oswald Barron (The Ancestor, XI (1904), 21); he has been confused with his other paternal uncle, Sir William Brooke, by Hasted, I, 493; by Cave-Browne, p. 230, and by J.E. Neale, The Elizabethan House of Commons (1949), pp. 30, 73.) When he was three months old his young uncle, Lord Burgh, died, and the senior right to the Baronies of Strabolgi, Cobham of Sterborough and Burgh of Gainsborough passed to the infant's mother (see the preceding note). Soon after his second birthday the child became, by the execution of his father on 5 December 1603, heir presumptive to the attainted Barony of Cobham of Kent. During the years of William's minority his mother fought to keep her children's rights constantly before the government, and to maintain them in the way of life to which they were born. She appears to have received help from Secretary Cecil. In a letter which she wrote to him in 1604, for instance, she pleaded her necessity, her confidence in "his compassionate words", and her assurance that he had valued her father's love and respect for him, and asked him to arrange for her a lucrative wardship in place of one which he had already bestowed upon her but for which the ward had not 'fallen', that is, his father's expected death had not occurred (see H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVI, 243). When the Privy Council on 30 April 1604 gave authority to Sir John Leveson, the administrator of the Cobham estates, to settle the attainted baron's debts, the ministers took care to satisfy Elizabeth Brooke's demands upon her brother-in-law: "Whereas by the petition of the widdowe of George Brooke lately executed for treason wee are informed that there was an Annuittie of Threescore and Sixe poundes, thirteene shillings and fower pence, payable to the said George Brooke during his life, out of the Landes of the said Late L: Cobham, of w<sup>ch</sup> the Sūme of Thirty three poundes sixe shillings and eight pence was unpaid at the Laste Michaelmas, and further that there is a debt of Twentie poundes due by the said L: Cobham by his Bill to the Late Lady Fitzjames, to whome the said George Brooke was sole Executor [see the notes to the family tree, p. 1112, n. 39], the same not paid as by the Bill of the said L: Cobham it appeareth; These shalbe also to pray and requyer

yo<sup>w</sup> to pay to the said widdowe Brooke the said twoe Sōmes" (MS. Add. 5755, f. 194).

Yet, welcome as this assistance must have been to Elizabeth Brooke, it was little compared with what was due to her son as the Brooke heir under the terms of the entail drawn up by George Lord Cobham in 1558. Less than a year after the destruction of the family, however, the legality of that document had been constrained to accept an interpretation far different from that which its author had intended. "By this entail," the Privy Council stated on 11 August 1604, in arranging the sale of much of the estate to Duke Brooke of Templecombe, "it appears that by the attainder of the said Henry [Lord Cobham] and of George Brooke, who was executed for treason, the King holds the lands during the lives of the said Henry and of William Brooke, an infant son of the said George, but after their decease the lands revert to the said Duke and his heirs male" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVI, 224). A thorough discussion of the implications of this and other papers which indicate what means were employed in disposing of the Cobham estate in the first years of James I could only be included in a study of the fate of Henry Lord Cobham. Its specious propriety is typical of what one discovers everywhere in the relevant documents; by ignoring the possibility that the infant heir of the house or his children might one day be cleared of the impediment of attainder, it permitted the Crown to proceed with impunity to sell to Duke Brooke the estate of which he had been declared heir in reversion. There was only a little property in the Isle of Grain which, having been left to George Brooke by his father and subsequently held by him in fee-simple, could not be wrested from his heir (see H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVII, 266).

In her determination to see her son better treated, Elizabeth Brooke appears to have concentrated her efforts upon having the stain of attainder removed from him. It can hardly have been to Cecil that she turned in search of support, for, although he seems to have been willing enough to help her to provide for her immediate needs, it was he who was the prime mover of the device by which the Cobham estate was being dismembered. Ultimately, as he had arranged, what Duke Brooke had received would go to him or to his heirs. The recipient of the following letter can thus hardly have been the Secretary. It is likely that Elizabeth Brooke wrote it to Sir John Leveson, in whom Henry Lord Cobham is known to have had enough confidence to entrust to him the care of his mad sister and her child (see the notes to the family tree, p. 1204, n. 79), and who had besides served the Brookes well as one of the executors of William Lord Cobham. It was, moreover, Leveson who had pointed out, in an obvious attempt to discourage the government from pursuing what was apparently its intention, the difficulties involved in disposing of young William Brooke's lands in the Isle of Grain as if they were a part of the entailed estate (see Leveson to Cecil, 19 June 1605, H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVII, 266). Elizabeth Brooke had reason to consider Leveson her friend, and, before going to Court to make her plea to the king, she must have wanted the advice from him for which she asks in her letter: "S<sup>t</sup>. The noble discharge you have made of the trust reposed in you by the last Lo: Cobham, assures me that those poore fatherlesse infantes lefte to the goodnes of yor Conscience, shall fynde that good, that their Noble Graundfather [either William Lord Cobham or Thomas Lord Burgh, both of whom died before the marriage of George and Elizabeth Brooke] intended towards them. I am altogether ignorant how their state standes; but am sure they are lefte vpon my handes, whose good dependes onlie on his Maties favor. And therefore would be glad if their were any thinge for their good to vnderstand it before my goinge to ye Courte. Yf youre leysure could affoorde a poore distressed wydow so muche favo<sup>r</sup>, as to make a Journey hether, that I might have some conference wth you aboute their busynesse before my goinge, I woulde holde my self especyally bounde vnto you; But yf yo<sup>r</sup> busynes will not gyve you leave to affoorde me that favour I would make a Journey of purpose to come to you, to yo<sup>r</sup> howse. And will holde no travailes to hard, that may yeild these poore distressed orphanes any good or comforte. Therefore my request is that I may have some answeare from you, how I shall direct my self in these busynesses by whom I am resolved wholie to be gyuded, and will rest ever in any thinge I may at yo<sup>r</sup> discretion to be directed" (MS. Folger V.a.321, f. 43b).

No date can be assigned to this letter, but one would probably not be far off

in saying that it was written not long before 5 March 1609/10, when the Attorney General's office submitted to the Clerk of the Parliament the text of a bill to be entered for the relief of George Brooke's children (see H.M.C., Report 3, Appendix, p. 12). Three days later there was read for the first time in the House of Lords the bill of "An Act for Restitution in Blood of the Son and Two Daughters of George Brooke, lately attainted of High Treason" (Journal of the House of Lords, II, 563). The other two readings passed without difficulty, and on 12 June the bill went to the Commons, where a proviso was added, to the effect that William Brooke should not claim any of his father's property or that of his uncle the former baron, and that he "was not to enjoy the title of Lord Cobham without the King's special grace" (Journals, II, 612; C.P., III, 350). Finally, on 14 June 1610, "a Proviso added by the Lower House to the Bill of Restitution in Blood of the Son and Two Daughters of George Brooke, late attainted of High Treason, was the Third Time read; ... and ... the Bill with said Proviso was past" (Journals, II, 613).

The king's 'special grace' was never granted to William Brooke; Drake (Hasted's Kent, p. 282), and other historians who call him Lord Cobham, are wrong. Yet, seated on a portion of the ancient estate of his mother's people at Sterborough, in Lingfield, Surrey, and granted some of his patrimony at Cooling, the young man began to rise in public life. On 10 January 1617/8 John Chamberlain wrote from London to Dudley Carleton of the sixteen-year-old's prominence among the youths of James's Court: "some sticke not to say that younge Sir Henry Mildmay, a sonne of George Brookes that was executed at Winchester, and a sonne of Sir William Mounsons begin to come into consideration" (McClure, II, 127). Under James, Brooke received no distinctions, not even after his uncle died on 24 January 1618/9, but in the coronation honours of Charles I, conferred on 1 February 1625/6, he became a Knight of the Bath (Shaw, I, 162), and, two years later, he was returned by his ancestors' old borough of Rochester to Parliament (Return of Members, Pt. 1, p. 476. See Frederick Francis Smith, Rochester in Parliament 1295-1933 ... (1933), pp. 111-12.) It must have been soon after this time that Bishop Goodman noticed him. "Again, for George Brooks ...," wrote the bishop, "I know that his son had a very fair estate left him; that he was a great reveller at court in the masques where the queen and greatest ladies were; that he had a good estate in the hundred of Hoo in Kent [where Cooling was situated]; that he had a park there; and I have seen him dance" (The Court of King James the First; by Dr. Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester; ..., ed. John S. Brewer (1839), I, 70. Sir Edmund Chambers, misinterpreting this passage, makes it refer to the lame George Brooke himself; "Among the stray names of revellers that have floated to us down the stream of time," he says, "are those of George Brooke, who came to the scaffold in 1603," &c. (The Elizabethan Stage, I, 199). Edward Thompson (Sir Walter Raleigh: the Last of the Elizabethans (1935), p. 206 n.) uses it to illustrate his remark, "It is an interesting commentary on political executions, that Brooke's son did not allow his father's fate to depress him.")

As he began to move in the same circles of Court and Parliament where his family had once been so important, Brooke obviously came to think himself influential enough to do something about the arrangements by which he had been deprived of most of his inheritance in his youth. (Drake, who calls him "10th Lord Cobham", even reproduces a specimen of his signature as "W. Cobham": see Hasted's Kent, p. 282, and the plate following p. 284.) A protracted quarrel developed between him and his first cousin, William Earl of Salisbury, Cecil's son, and one finds such records of undignified occurrences as the following: "Affidavit of John Pope, of Maidstone; that on Fraday the 30th of September last [1642] he rode to the farm of Bewell, a tenant of the Earl of Salisbury, to see about repairs there, and the next day, Sir Wm. Brook, when out hawking came to Bewell's house, and finding him and his dame out and only two maids in the house, sent one of them to seek for her mistress, and the other with a message to some passers by, to tell Bewell he wanted to speak to him. Sir William having thus got the maids out went into the house and locked the doors, and would not let Bewell in until he attorned tenant to him, upon which Sir Wm. gave him his bond that he would save him harmless" (H.M.C., Report 5, Appendix, p. 60; see also the Journal of the House of Lords, V, 492).

By 1642, however, Brooke was engaged in larger issues than that of wresting from the actual owner the property which he felt was rightfully his. The Civil War divided what little remained of the house of Cobham as it divided the nation, and while Sir William's only male cousin, Sir John Brooke, fought for his king and received a peerage for his loyalty, Sir William himself sided with Parliament against the dynasty which had wronged him. His treason, and his grandmother Burgh's acceptance of it, shocked his royalist uncle, Thomas Knyvett. Writing to his wife on 1 August 1643, the staunch supporter of King Charles made one of those little remarks which are contributed by his letters to the social history of the seventeenth century: "Yo<sup>r</sup> Nephewe s<sup>r</sup> Will: Brooke is come to towne. What he hath done with his men I heer not, But my Lady hath intertain'd him at bed & board; so hath she Let: Carr [probably Brooke's niece: see the following note] who lyes with yo<sup>r</sup> sist<sup>r</sup> [Lady Drury]. I say no more, but thoughts free. I send you heer the Kings late protestation, wch the last sunday was set vp vpon posts almost all the towne over; yet some ther are so impudently vncharitable as to spitt ther venome of vnbeleefe of him & it. God keepe & protect him from ther mallice" (Schofield, p. 123). On 10 August Knyvett informed his wife that "Yo<sup>r</sup> mothers house is nowe cleere againe. I could write a storye but dare not; come & heer it" (Schofield, p. 127). The story most probably concerned Brooke; whatever it is, it cannot have had much of a sequel, for on 20 September Sir William died fighting for the Parliament at Newbury.

There was yet hope when Brooke died that he might have left an heir; Parliament on 9 October made provision for the child which Lady Brooke was carrying at that time (see the Journal of the House of Lords, VI, 248). When the child was born, however, and proved to be Brooke's fourth daughter, the line of Cobham was seen to be doomed to extinction.

Because of the investigations conducted in the reign of King George V into the pedigrees of the claimants to the Baronies of Cobham of Kent, Strabolgi and Burgh of Gainsborough, both the Complete Peerage (III, 350) and all modern editions of Burke's Peerage (see especially ed. 1929, pp. 408 ff.) give full and attested details of the marriages of Sir William Brooke and of the lives and marriages of "Pembroke, Hill, Margaret, and Frances Brooke ... his four daughters and coheirs" (Thorp, p. 70). Of these daughters only the first was born of Brooke's marriage with Pembroke Lennard, the daughter of Henry Lord Dacre and of Chrysogona, one of the Bakers of Sissinghurst, Kent; it was to Pembroke Brooke, "S<sup>r</sup> William Brooke his eldest daughter", that the widow of Duke Brooke of Templecombe left "my bracelet of orion [orient] pearle and my Ringe of five diamondes" in her will of 27 December 1640 (see the notes to the family tree, p. 1122, n. 44). Brooke had married Pembroke Lennard in the autumn of 1623, shortly before his twenty-second birthday: his uncle Knyvett wrote to his wife between 27 October and 2 November 1623 to tell her that her "Nephewe Brooke is married to a fine gentlewoman, my Lo: Dacres his sister, but what portion I cannot tell" (Schofield, p. 62). Not more than a month later Knyvett wrote again, and this time reference may have to be made to 2 Henry IV II.iv.159-62 to make clear what he meant. "Y<sup>r</sup> Nephewe Brooke; he told his wife, with that frankness which marks his Cavalier relationship with her, "hath almost occup: his fine wife to death" (Schofield, p. 63). Although it cannot be learned how long his wife lasted, it is known that by the 1630s Brooke was fathering children on his second. She was Penelope, the daughter of Sir Moyses Hill of Hillsborough, County Down, and she gave him three other daughters. On 9 October 1643, before the third of these was born, Parliament provided for the contingency that the widowed Lady Brooke might not give birth to the hoped-for son by decreeing that the entail formulated in 1558 by George Lord Cobham should have no effect upon the descent of Brooke's estate. Sir John Brooke, the heir male, "a great Delinquent, who hath taken up Arms and levied War against the Parliament," was to stand disinherited and the dead man's lands go to Lady Penelope and her daughters (Journal of the House of Lords, VI, 248). One is thus not surprised to find that Brooke's family, as that of a prominent Parliamentarian, was secure so long as the Commonwealth lasted, and his widow and two of his daughters further strengthened their position by matching themselves well. Pembroke became the wife of the regicide Matthew Tomlinson, her half-sister Hill married a baronet, Sir

William Boothby, and the dowager took a second husband, Edward Russell, a younger brother of the Earl of Bedford. What is more surprising is that the Brookes fared even better under Charles II. Lady Brooke and her step-daughter necessarily retired into a kind of obscurity, the dowager to die in 1694, the regicide's widow in 1683; but for the three daughters of Brooke's second marriage there was no need to be inconspicuous. By 1665 Hill was Lady Boothby; Frances, the posthumous daughter of 1643, was Lady Whitmore; but it was Margaret, the second daughter, while still unmarried, to whose influence heralds attribute the royal letters of 19 May 1665 by which she and her two full sisters were raised to the precedence which they would have enjoyed had their father been recognized as Lord Cobham. For the poet Sir John Denham, a favourite of Charles I and a prominent figure at the Court of the restored Charles II, fell in love with Margaret, and it was no doubt before marrying her on 25 May 1665 that he had the king honour her in this way. (It is notable that Mrs. Tomlinson, although the senior co-heir of her father, was excluded from the elevation.) The story of Lady Denham's effect on her fifty-year-old husband has been colourfully sketched by John Aubrey: "He married his 2nd wife, Margaret Brookes, a very beautiful young lady: Sir John was ancient and limping. The Duke of Yorke fell deeply in love with her (though I have been morally assured he never had any carnall knowledge of her). This occasioned Sir John's distemper of madness, which first appeared when he went from London to see the famous Freestone quarries at Portland in Dorset, and when he came within a mile of it, turned back to London again, and did not see it. He went to Hounslowe, and demanded rents of Lands he had sold many yeares before; went to the King, and told him he was the Holy Ghost. But it pleased God that he was cured of this distemper, and writt excellent verses (particularly on the death of Mr. Abraham Cowley) afterwards" (Aubrey's Brief Lives, ed. Oliver Lawson Dick (1949), p. 93). Lady Denham did not live long after her marriage; she died on 6 January 1666/7, Aubrey recording that she "was poysoned by the Countess of Rochester, with Chocolate".

Of Brooke's four daughters, only Margaret Denham left no children. The line of Pembroke Tomlinson died out in 1703, that of Frances Whitmore survived until 1747. In 1747 Sir William Boothby, a great-grandson of Hill Boothby, was sole heir to the Barony of Cobham of Kent, and senior co-heir to the titles of Lord Strabolgi, Lord Cobham of Sterborough and Lord Burgh of Gainsborough, those to which Sir William Brooke had had the chief claim in right of his mother. Boothby died childless in 1787, leaving all of his rights to his cousin, Mary Thorp, but with her any question of sole right ended. When she died in 1789 she left descendants by three of the daughters whom she had borne to Gervase Disney of Nottingham.

On 23 July 1912, on the petition of the descendants of Mary Thorp, the Committee of Privileges of the House of Lords pronounced on the state in which then stood the Baronies of Cobham of Kent, Strabolgi and Burgh of Gainsborough. (No claim was made to the Barony of Cobham of Sterborough.) The Cobham title, it was stated, while still under attainder, might rightfully be claimed by three of the petitioners, and by a fourth man who made no claim. That of Burgh was abeyant, and might be claimed by the three Cobham petitioners and by the non-claimant of that barony, as well as by the heirs of Frances Coppinger and Catherine Knyvett, none of whom made any petition. The Strabolgi petitioners were informed that they had not made out their case to the satisfaction of the committee (see Thorp, p. 70). In 1914 the same three petitioners who had established their claims to the other two titles again presented their evidence concerning that of Strabolgi, this time with success. The endorsed petitions were handed over to the Crown, which was thus informed that Alexander Henry Leith, representative of the eldest daughter of Mary Thorp, Reginald Gervase Alexander, representative of the third daughter, and Cuthbert Matthias Kenworthy, representative of the sixth daughter, had been recognized as co-heirs of the three baronies. The second of these co-heirs died in February 1916, before the Crown acted upon the evidence presented to it, and was succeeded in his claims by his elder son, Gervase Disney Alexander.

In March 1916 a bill was passed in Parliament whereby the attainder under which the Barony of Cobham of Kent had existed since 1603 was repealed, and the title thus cleared assumed the same abeyant status as that of Strabolgi and Burgh

of Gainsborough. Six months later, in September 1916, King George V called the three titles out of abeyance, and, acting upon his prerogative, bestowed the Barony of Burgh upon Leith, the senior co-heir; Cobham of Kent His Majesty gave to Alexander; Strabolgi went to Kenworthy. Thus, after more than three centuries, there were a sixth Lord Burgh and a fourth Lord Strabolgi (or an eighteenth, if one counts as his predecessors those of his Scottish ancestors who held the title before its establishment as an English peerage in 1318, as well as the men of the house of Burgh who had claimed it), and a twelfth Lord Cobham.

As if too long buried ever again to flourish, however, the title of Lord Cobham did not long remain in its revived state. The Georgian baron died childless in June 1933 and, while the abeyance into which the barony fell was speedily determined by the issuing of a Parliamentary summons to the late lord's brother in December of the same year, the thirteenth baron also died childless. Thus, in 1951, the title once more lapsed among numerous co-heirs. Two daughters of the original petitioner of 1912, both taking precedence as baron's daughters by a special decree of 1917, are the senior co-heirs, but the abeyant title is now also subject to the representations of the heirs of the other Georgian claimants. There is, in short, little chance that anyone may soon establish his right to regard himself as fourteenth Lord Cobham of Kent.

(76) Elizabeth and Frances (whose Christian names appear in no contemporary pedigree, but which were gleaned from family records presented to the Committee of Privileges in 1912 and have since been accepted by the various works on the peerage) were born between 1599 and 1604. Restored in blood with their brother in 1610 (see preceding note), they appear to have been the young women to whose success in the law courts Thomas Knyvett referred in a letter which he wrote to his wife, their aunt, in the autumn of 1623. "Yr 2 Nieces," reported Knyvett, "mis Carr and lusty Bess hath recovered one 3000<sup>l</sup>, and the other 2000<sup>l</sup>, but from whome I cannot tell. These are strange things, and I would have you wonder at them the more because thay be very true" (Schofield, p. 62). It was probably the same women about whom Knyvett again wrote to his wife between 30 January and 4 February 1634/5: "Yr faier sisters ([the widows, Elizabeth and Anne Burgh] and Neece are in plentiful health. Yo<sup>r</sup> Neece Carr: is lately delivered of another girle. I was affraid I showld have been a Gossippe, but, I thanke them, ther is no such matter" (Schofield, p. 86). Catherine Knyvett's only nieces were Frances and Elizabeth Brooke, and the daughters of Frances Coppinger (see the notes to the family tree, p. 1185, n. 69); the genealogical history of the latter is known, and no Carr is found married to one of them. One must therefore assume that Frances Brooke had by 1623 married a gentleman called Carr, and the editor of the Knyvett letters very reasonably suggests (considering Knyvett's ironic reference to "our noble kinsman Coll: Popham": see Schofield, p. 165) that her husband was William Carre, Groom of the Bedchamber to James I, whose two daughters were Anne and Letitia, the wives of the celebrated Parliamentarian brothers, Alexander and Edward Popham, grandsons of the Elizabethan Lord Chief Justice (see Schofield, p. 62 n. See also the biography of Edward Popham by Sir John Knowlton in *D.N.B.*, and Burke's *Commoners*, II, 198.) 'Lusty Bess' would thus be Elizabeth Brooke, for whom no marriage can be discovered. By the Pophams, Frances Brooke's daughters left issue; she and her sister were not, however, co-heirs to the Burgh and Brooke titles, being the sisters of an heir male who himself had children, and their descendants were not investigated by the Committee of Privileges of 1912.

(77) Elizabeth Brooke (12 January 1561/2 - 24 January 1596/7), because of her marriage with Sir Robert Cecil, is a principal figure in the story of her family in the last decade of the reign of Elizabeth. Even after her death, her influence was felt in the relations between the Brookes and their brother-in-law. Much is known of her life; it has been recorded in the foregoing work (see especially pp. 211, 444, 482, 548, 552-60, 641-45).

One might be surprised, considering the prominence of the Cecils' position and the brevity of their married life, to discover a good deal of uncertainty among historians and genealogists concerning the number of children who were born

to them. The Complete Peerage and the other standard works on the peerage say that there were two, William, later second Earl of Salisbury, and Frances Countess of Cumberland. This statement is traditional, having passed through a virtually unbroken line of authorities from Milles, who made it in his Catalogue of Honor (p. 1055) to Brydges (Memoirs of the Peers, I, 487), and from them into the modern works. The one older authority who took exception to it was Collins, who stated that there was another child, Catherine, the elder sister of Lady Cumberland, who died unmarried (III, 146). Confronted with this conflict of opinion, certain modern biographers of Cecil have suggested that he may have had three children: thus Joel Hurtsfield says that "he had a son and one, or possibly two, daughters" ("Robert Cecil Earl of Salisbury: Minister of Elizabeth and James I," History Today, VII (1957), 286), and P.M. Handover, while mentioning only William and Frances by name, implies that there was a third child by describing Frances as her father's "elder daughter" (The Second Cecil ... (1959), p. 244). Duncan Warrand goes further, saying that there were William, Catherine (who "must have died young in the lifetime of her mother") and Frances (Hertfordshire Families (1907), pp. 113-14). G. Ravenscroft Dennis, while agreeing that Catherine "died in infancy", makes her the youngest child (The House of Cecil (1914), p. 166). Algernon Cecil gives the fullest expression to be found of the belief which underlies these latter statements. It was Catherine's birth on 24 January 1596/7, he says, which caused her mother's death (A Life of Robert Cecil First Earl of Salisbury (1915), p. 97), and, while confessing ignorance of the rest of the facts of her life (except for inferring incorrectly from Frances's being able to marry that it was Catherine and not she who was deformed), he affirms that "all that is certain is that Catherine was still alive when her father died in 1612, and that he questioned his chaplain tenderly about her religion on his deathbed" (pp. 372-73).

Of these modern writers, Warrand bases his assumption of Catherine's early death upon the fact that she is not mentioned in Lady Cecil's funeral certificate, where only William and Frances are said in January 1596/7 to be "both lyvinge at this present" (see above, p. 641). It is most improbable, in fact, that Catherine Cecil ever existed. There was indeed a third child, but it seems likely that it and its mother died as it was being born on 24 January 1596/7, and that it was never christened: the epitaph inscribed on Lady Cecil's tomb reads, "Blest with two Babes the thirde brought her to this." This would explain why there is no mention of it in the funeral certificate drawn up later in the month; in the will of Lord Burghley (P.C.C. Lewyn 91), dated 1 March 1597/8, in which only William and "his sister ffrances Cecill" are remembered as Sir Robert's children; and in the reports on Cecil's motherless children which were sent to the Secretary in the years after his wife's death (see H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, VIII, 102 (where the "Mr. Francis" of the published calendar is a simple misreading of the "mres ffrancis" of Cecil Paper 60/66), 128; XI, 440). Once this probability has been established, it is easy to dispose of that creation of Collins and his successors, Catherine Cecil. The young woman to whom Algernon Cecil refers, about whose religious profession Cecil was so solicitous before he died in 1612, was his daughter-in-law, Catherine Howard, the child-wife of his son William. The story was recorded by Bishop Bowles, Cecil's attendant in his last days, and printed as part of Bowles's account of the Secretary's death in Francis Peck's Desiderata Curiosa (1732-35), I, vi, 12: "My Daughter Catherine, said my L, hath shee not received the Sacrament? I toulde my Lord, 'three Tymes at my Handes.' 'I am glad of it, said he. Praie [her] uppon my Blessing to be constant in true Religion." One can see how this might have been misread; Bowles makes Cecil refer to his own daughter, the child whose deformity had been so far corrected that she was able to marry in 1610, in the same way as he had referred to his daughter-in-law: "My Daughter Fraunces, I beseeche God to blesse, & her Husband [Henry Lord Clifford, Son & Heir apparent to Francis Earl of Cumberland.] 'And I beseeche the King to be good to my Lord of Cumberland, for my Sake; since he hath matched into my House. And I charge my Daughter to love & honor her Husband....'" (Aubrey, p. 66, was confused about the link between the families of Clifford and Cecil. Of the supposedly unjust appropriation by Queen Elizabeth's Privy Council of the West Indian fortune of George Earl of Cumberland, the brother of Frances Cecil's father-in-law,

he wrote: "This was the breaking of that ancient and noble family; but Robert, Earl of Salisbury (who was the chiefest Enemy) afterwards married his Daughter, as he might well be touch't in conscience, to make some recompence after he had done so much mischief." Frances Countess of Cumberland died in 1644.

Elizabeth Brooke's only son, in whom his unfortunate uncle saw "a memory of Honour", succeeded his father in 1612 and died in 1668, leaving behind him the line now represented by the Marquess of Salisbury.

One further problem must be explored before this discussion can be closed, concerning the existence of a second son of the Cecils. It has been shown that no mention of any such child was made either in Lady Cecil's funeral certificate nor in Lord Burghley's will; it can also be shown that, to observers of the great courtly families, his existence was unknown. In reviewing the situation in which England was left by the death of Burghley, for instance, the French ambassador noted that Cecil had only one son ("the Secretary, married the daughter of my Lord Cobham, that lately died, and he has a son:" A Journal of all that was accomplished by Monsieur de Maisse . . ., trans. and edd. G.B. Harrison and R.A. Jones (1931), p. 88). When Cecil died in 1612 and Richard Johnson wrote his eulogy of the late minister, "the Right honorable William now Earle of Salisbury" was said to be "the only sonne to the deceased nobleman" (A remembraunce of the Honors due . . . (1612), sig. D3). Yet, on 7 May 1594, the Earl of Shrewsbury had written to Cecil that he had never seen "a finer boy, except two which myself once had, than your eldest son is, who this morning I saw at Tibbalds" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IV, 526). 'Eldest', unless taken to mean merely the first of several sons whom the Cecils might be expected to produce, would seem to indicate that the couple had at least two sons by this time. There may even be a reference to the birth of one of them in a brief note which concludes a business letter written to Cecil by Sir Matthew Arundell on 4 March 1592/3, where Arundell said that Lady Cecil's "happy delivery of a second son I more regard than any hope I have ever to gain a groat at your hands by bargaining" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, IV, 292). Since Frances Cecil was born about four months after the date of this letter, one may take Arundell's words to mean only that he knew of Lady Cecil's pregnancy and hoped that she would have another boy. On the other hand, it may be that he was alluding to the actual birth of a son to her several months before. Whatever the import of Arundell's good wishes, the phrase in Shrewsbury's letter may well mean that the Cecils had at least one son other than William, the absence of all mention of whom from his mother's funeral certificate indicates that he died before 1597.\*

(78) What is known of the life under Elizabeth of Frances Brooke, Lady Cecil's twin sister, has been told above; see especially pp. 211, 405-06, 444, 512, 588-94. Explicit references to her in the reign of James are few, and are mostly related to matters raised in earlier years and therefore already discussed. One may, however, assume that it was because of her interest in her attainted brother that the name of her second husband occurs in connection with Henry Lord Cobham in the first year of the baron's imprisonment. Sir Edward More of Odiham, Hampshire, and Worth, Sussex, the widower whom the dowager Lady Stourton married about 1596 (see above, p. 590), was a man whom Secretary Cecil professed to "esteeme extraordinarily." He was thus one of Cobham's acquaintances who was sufficiently trusted to be given a licence to visit his brother-in-law in the Tower. When on 30 July 1604, however, the Lieutenant of the Tower sent to Cecil for confirmation a list of the visitors whom he was to continue to admit to Cobham's apartments, the

\* Lodge (III, 171) publishes a letter which he dates 1605 and which he attributes to Robert Earlof Salisbury. Its reference to "my younger son" prompts Dennis (p. 201 n.), thinking to detect "a person not known to the genealogists", to ask "What became of this youth?" Actually, the letter (Cecil Paper 114/118) was not written by Robert Cecil but by his son William, second Earl of Salisbury; it is much later in date than 1605, and of course does not raise any genealogical problems, since the second earl had several sons.

Secretary struck out the name of "Sir Edw. More" along with several others (see Sir George Harvey to Cecil, H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVI, 193). Three days later Cobham protested about the curtailment of the list; annotating the names of his visitors in a letter to Cecil of 3 August, the prisoner wrote beside More's that "Twice he was with me, not by my suit, yet I pray when he comes he may be permitted" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVI, 198). Cobham's complaint had some effect, for on 25 October Cecil gave permission "for Sir Edward Moore to speak with my Lord Cobham" (see Sir Gawen Harvey's list of letters received by his father from Cecil, H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVII, 600-01), but after that date one hears no more of More's coming to the Tower. That it had been for his wife's sake that he had gone unsolicited to see his brother-in-law is suggested by a letter which Lady Stourton wrote to Cecil in 1606. Cecil was by then Earl of Salisbury, the virtually omnipotent prime minister: Cobham had by then so often pleaded in vain to be released from his imprisonment that he could hardly still expect success: Lady Stourton cannot but have known that the success of the one man had been brought about in part by the repression of the other. Yet, aware as she must have been of how much Cecil had contributed to the destruction of her house, she also knew that he was Cobham's only hope. She could not afford to offend him. Thus able to do nothing but perpetuate the elaborate pretence that Cecil was doing what he could for her brother, she wrote: "I can but humbly thanke yo<sup>r</sup> lo for the great Comfort you gaue me that yo<sup>r</sup> selfe woulde speake to the kinge for my brother. What fauour he shall haue next under god I must attribut it unto you for otherwise [*sic*] I knowe his estate desperate. I am onley sorye that I shall neuer be able to requite yo<sup>r</sup> fauour which I acknowledge great and the greater because for my sake you Will doe yo<sup>r</sup> best for his releasment for the which I doupt not but god will rewarde you and i will euer pray for you and be redye to the uttermost of my poore estate to deserue it and soe humbly I take my Leauē, yo<sup>r</sup> Lo poore sister in Lawe Francis Stowrton" (Cecil Paper 193/52; abstracted in H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XVIII, 446).

After 1606 one hears nothing of Cobham's connection with his sister and her husband for more than a decade. Then, in September 1617, as he was returning under guard from one of the salubrious visits to Bath which, in the years following Cecil's death in 1612, he was permitted to make, the former baron "was at Hungerford, surprized with a dead palsey, frome thence with difficultie he was carried alyve vnto Odiam, Sir Edward Moore's house" (George Lord Carew to Sir Thomas Roe, 18 January 1617/8, Carew to Roe, ed. Maclean, p. 122; abstracted in S.P., Dom., 1611-18, p. 515). On 28 September the Privy Council met at Hampton Court and drafted "A letter to Sir Edward More, knight. Whereas wee are informed that the late Lord Cobham returning lately from the Bath was taken with a dead palsey upon the highe way and carryed into your howse [more than 30 miles from Hungerford] as the next place of harbour and conveyency in that extremity. Forasmuch as wee likewise understand that in regarde he is to returne prisoner to the Tower, and to continue there as formerly hee hath done, you doe desire to receave warrant and direction in that behalfe, theese shall be to signifie unto you his Majesties pleasure and approbation of his stay at your house upon this extremitye that hath befallen him untill he shall be able to repayre to the Tower, or as it shall otherwise please God to dispose of him" (A.P.C., 1616-17, p. 330). Cobham remained at his brother-in-law's house for some months (he was still there in January 1618 when Lord Carew wrote of his plight), but apparently God did not see fit to 'dispose of him' there, for on 23 March he had sufficiently recovered to write one of those letters concerning his pension which is now preserved in MS. Ufford II, pp. 21-73, and when he wrote another on 5 May he was back in the Tower. Cobham's movements in this, the last year of his life, are difficult to reconcile with the assertion made after his death in January 1618/9 that he had "ben out of the Towre above this twelvemoneth" (John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, 30 January 1618/9, in McClure, II, 208). This is not the place in which to attempt a resolution of these conflicting pieces of evidence, for it seems most unlikely that he died at Odiam. Certainly it cannot be proved that he was buried there, for a search conducted in July 1962 by the vicar, the Rev. A.L. Bryan, turned up no entry which could conceivably refer to him in the parish burial registers.

One cannot be sure that his sister was living when Cobham was brought to Odiham in 1617. Lady Stourton saw drawn up on 15 June 1615 the marriage settlement of her daughter Frances (see the documents cited in the C.P., XII (Pt. 1), 311), but no other mention is made of her in her lifetime, and when, on 24 April 1623, Sir Edward made his will (P.C.C. Swann 53, proved on 19 May 1623), he showed that he was twice a widower by directing that his body should be buried in the chancel of the parish church "neere vnto my two wives". Lady Stourton died therefore between 1615 and 1623; since there is no entry of her burial in the registers at Odiham one cannot give a more exact date.

An indication that Frances Brooke shared her family's interest in literature, or that she at least liked to read, is conveyed by one of the bequests which Sir Edward made in a codicil which he added to his will on 25 April 1623. He left to their daughter, who had married her mother's nephew by her first marriage and thus also become Lady Stourton, "my late wives Cabinet and all her bookes and her Pawlecollor [of the colour of pall cloth, purple?] veluet gowne, and A Crimson velvett Peticoat to it both laced with gould and a dublett of Clothe of goulde to yt". (One may note the inconsistency in the use of internal 'v's' and 'u's' in the transcript of More's will.) In the codicil More also provided Lord and Lady Stourton with a house in Surrey by leaving them rent-free the use of his manor of Hartmere (see Coll. Top. et Gen., VIII (1843), 223 n.): "Item I doe will and appoint that my daughter the Lady Sturton shall haue and enioye my howse at Hatmere [sic] in the countie of Surrey and the Orchard garden and landes which she and her husbände doe nowe holds of me at the rent of xlvli or xlvjli per Annum for soe longe tyme as she and the right honorable The Lord Sturton shall liue without payinge anye rent for the same."

Frances More was apparently the only child of Frances Brooke's two marriages. She married on 2 July 1615 (see the proofs cited in the C.P., XII, (Pt. 1, 311) her mother's nephew, William Lord Stourton, and died at Dorking, Surrey, on 5 January 1662/3, where her epitaph reads: "Here lyeth interred the body of Frances Lady Stowrton, wife unto William Lord Stowrton. Shee departed this life on the 5th day of January, an<sup>o</sup> dn<sup>i</sup> 1662, at Darking. O.R.A." (Collins's Peerage, ed. Brydges, VI, 639-40). According to Richard Mundy, however, all four children of "Sr Edwarde Moore of Odiam in Com. Southton lord of the manor of Worth in Com. Sussex & Hartmere in Com. Surrey" were born to "Lady Frances d. of Wm. lord Cobham widow of ... lord Stourton" (Pedigrees from the Visitation of Hampshire ... collected by Richard Mundy in Harleian MS. No. 1544, ed. W. Harry Rylands (Harleian Society Volume LXIV, 1913), p. 173). These four children are named as John, William (who, by an unnamed wife, was the father of Edward), Elizabeth (the wife of Sir Thomas Drew of Broadhambury, Devon) and Frances Lady Stourton. The visitation evidence collected by Mundy is challenged in Coll. Top. et Gen., VIII (1843), 223 n., where all but Lady Stourton are said to have been the children of More and Mary Poynings, his first wife; Maclean also, citing More's will, attributes his sons and elder daughter to his first marriage (see Letters from Sir Robert Cecil, pp. 111-12 n.).

There can be little doubt that Mundy erred in drawing the tabular pedigree preserved in MS. Harl. 1544, f. 150b, and that in doing so he helped to conceal the existence of a second, interesting link between the family of More and the house of Cobham. On 24 June 1602, some six years after Sir Edward's marriage with Lady Stourton, Secretary Cecil wrote to his friend Sir George Carew, then serving as Lord President of the Province of Munster, to ask his help in solving a ticklish problem. "I am right sorrye that I haue cause to be beholdinge to any man in a matter of this nature, though (seeinge necessity forceth me) it pleaseth me better that it is to you then to any. In short, Sir, this Gentleman (in whose companie this lettre comes) is sonne to Sir Edward More, whoe is one I doe esteeme extraordinarily both for himself and for my Lady his wife, to whom you can well gess how iust respects doe tye me, from which you are noe less free then I am, she beinge [through the Newtons] your kinswoeman, and the Sister of her that held you so deare; and soe much for his person and my respects to satisfye the gentleman. For the rest you shall vnderstand that he hath been verie leawdly inticed to intangle himselfe with the daughter of Arthur Milles, by whom he hath noe other portion But of suspected fame, her breedinge (as it is sayd) beeinge far from any good disciplyne. This accident hauing wounded the father (whoe had fixed his espe-

ciall care vppon him) makes him desyrus (by all means possible) to remoue him from her conversation, to see if it can be possible to make him see his blyndness, and be content to further those courses which may be taken to proue the marriage vnlawfull, whereof, they say, there be verie many iust occasions; for which purpose my desire is that you will fynd the meanes to place him in some good sort in some regiment or garrison, where he may be furthest from hearinge from her and her freinds, and yet soe as you may heare of him if he should start to sayle ouer, wherein the more care it pleaseth you to take of him in any way, the more I shall thinke myselfe beholdinge vnto you" (Letters from Sir Robert Cecil, ed. Maclean, pp. 111-13). 'Milles' was a common name at Court in the last years of Elizabeth, but the Christian name 'Arthur' appears to have been peculiar to the family of Lady Stourton's uncle, Thomas Brooke the pirate. Brooke's daughter Frances married Arthur Mills, and had by him at least one son, who was executed for murder in 1608, and a daughter, Frances, who was unmarried at the time of her brother's trial (see the notes to the family tree, p. 1126, n. 50). It seems likely that there was a second daughter, and that it was her marriage with More which so distressed the young man's father when Cecil wrote to Carew. Unfortunately no more is heard of the affair, but William More is known to have died in his father's lifetime, leaving a son, Edward, by an unknown woman, as Mundy's pedigree records. For the protection of this child, his grandson, from the influence of his mother, More provided in his will of 1623, appointing as his executors, and as the recommended guardians of young Edward, Sir Thomas Drew, his son-in-law, and Sir William Pitt, a friend to whom he left "My ringe with a fayer blewe Spahire in it which my Lorde of Salisbury gaue me." "And whereas," wrote Sir Edward, "Edward More the sonne of my yongest sonne William More deceased who is nowe myne heire apparaunt is very younge and if it shall please God to call me to his mercy, will be in ward to his Matie by knightes service [marginal addition: in cheife] I doe humbly desire the right honorable the Master of the wardes and the councell of that Court that accordinge to his Maties gracious Instructions the wardship of the bodie of my said grandchild and of his landes and his marriage may be graunted to my Executors.... Item I doe give and bequeath vnto my daughter in lawe -- More widdowe late the wife of my deceased sonn William More out of the rentes and profittes of my said freehold landes in Surr. for her maintenaunce duringe her naturall life one Annuitie of Thirtie poundes per annum ... vpon the condicōn nevertheles that neither she nor anye other for her doe endeavor or attempt to get the wardshipp of the bodie and landes of my grandchilde Edward More her sonne nor doe interrupte my Executors in obteyninge the same as I have before desired" It would indeed be a coincidence if two such misalliances as that described in Cecil's letter of 1602 and that suggested by the provisions of this will had been contracted by More's sons. One may assume that the young man who was separated from his bride in 1602 was the same William whose son was his grandfather's heir twenty-one years later; one may accordingly assume further that it is the name of the unacceptable Mills girl which one should read for the blank space left in Mundy's pedigree and in Sir Edward's will.

(79) Very little is known of the obscure life of Margaret Brooke (2 June 1563-c. April 1621), and that little has been told above (see especially pp. 211-12, 445-47), for she was mad during the eighteen years of her life under James I.

Her unhappy marriage with Sir Thomas Sondes resulted in the birth of an only child, a daughter who was, like three of the other four grand-daughters of Frances Newton, named Frances. When Sondes died and was succeeded in the Throwley estates by his brother in 1593, the little girl's position was uncertain: the Brookes and the Sondeses were engaged in a bitter quarrel which the widow's incompetent management of her dower lands soon exacerbated, and which no doubt became more impassioned when the two families split over the great national issue created by the Earl of Essex's competition at Court with the party of which Lord Cobham was a nominal leader. Essex's friend and protégé, Sir Robert Sidney, was an intimate friend of Sir Michael Sondes of Throwley (see especially Rowland Whyte's letter to Sidney of 4 March 1597/8, in which it is said that "Mr. Sands is now in the Cowntrey, where my Lady [Barbara Sidney] may repose her self a Day or too:" Collins, II, 94; and

another of 4 August 1599 (II, 112), in which Sidney is said to have spent his last night in England before returning to his post as Governor of Flushing "at Sir Michael Sands". Eventually aspersions came to be cast upon Frances Sondes's paternity, apparently on no other grounds than those of her mother's irresponsibility. It is probably because of the animosity which the head of the Sondes family continued to feel toward Margaret Brooke and her child that visiting heralds were asked to record pedigrees in the early seventeenth century in which Sir Thomas Sondes is shown to have died without issue: see those in The Visitation of Kent, ed. Hovenden, p. 106, and in Berry, p. 244, and the Streatfield compilation in MS. Add. 33920, f. 35b. Thus A.F. Pollard, probably misled by these erroneous pedigrees, says (with unintentional irony) in his D.N.B. biography of Sir Thomas Savile, Frances Sondes's second husband, that Frances was Sir Michael's daughter. Hasted, more perspicacious, gives Frances's parentage correctly (II, 764), and is followed by the Complete Peerage (III; XII (Pt. 1), 352) and by the Complete Baronetage (I, 83 n.).

Frances Sondes, born between 8 August and 9 September 1592, probably lived with her mother at Cobham Hall in the late 1590s, when Henry Lord Cobham appears to have had his sister cared for there by his servants (see above, pp. 476 n. 47, 446). The girl thus felt more immediately than most of her family the consequences of Cobham's fall in 1603. She, accompanied perhaps by Lady Sondes, was at first boarded with her grandfather's executor, Sir John Leveson, at Halling, less than five miles away. Her uncle, however, seems to have known that she was unwanted there, and from prison as he awaited trial Cobham attempted to do something to settle his niece more happily. Thus, on 26 September 1603, two letters were addressed to Secretary Cecil from the Tower, one enclosed within the other. The covering letter was from Sir George Harvey, the Lieutenant: "My singuler good Lorde. The Lo. Cobham being verie carefull for the placing and good education of a niece of his, (who is now as it seemeth in a place not to his liking) And conceyving well of my wiffe, dyd at her late being heere verie earnestlie intreat hir to take the care of his niece and to bring her vppe amongst her grandchildren at my house in the countrey. And, because he wold breed no discontent by severing the Childe from her mother he hathe lately desired me that I wold sojourn the mother (his Sister) wth her childe, whiche I thinke that he hath by this inclosed signified vnto yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p<sup>e</sup></sup>, And thoughte I coulede verie willinglie giue him content herein, yet (knowing how they are allyed vnto yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p<sup>e</sup></sup>) I will not in sorte deale therein wthout yo<sup>r</sup> knollege and good allowance, And haue therefore purposelie sent this bearer my sonne vnto yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p<sup>e</sup></sup> to resolute me of yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p<sup>e</sup></sup>'s good pleasure therein, being vtterlie vnwilling in that or any thing ells to do any thing that shall not stande wth yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p<sup>e</sup></sup>'s verie good liking" (P.R.O., S.P. 14/3/84; abstracted in S.P. Dom., 1603-10, p. 41). The enclosure was from Cobham himself: "may it pleas y<sup>r</sup> I<sup>r</sup>: at my Ladie Harvies being heer I vnderstod y<sup>t</sup> she had som Grandchildren of her own that she keeps with her and haht [sic] great care of thear bringing vpe. Knowing y<sup>t</sup> Sr Jhon Leuson and his wife wer very desirous to be ride of my neace: I caused this ladie to be moved from me to bring vpe my neace. I find her very willing at my intreatie to hav y<sup>e</sup> care of her and so loke vnto her bringing vpe. I do not know whear I shold wish her to be better placed wherf[ore] if my sealf wer at my nown dispo<sup>'</sup>tion: I wer absolutly resolved to hav her with this ladie: I pray y<sup>r</sup> I<sup>r</sup>s: [of the Privy Council] therfor my case being as it is y<sup>t</sup> you will allow of it and giue direction that my neace may be brought vnto her. and I could wish that my sister myght be thear lykwis: whear I know she shuld be meruelous wel and y<sup>r</sup> intreatie vnto m<sup>r</sup> Lieutenant and my Ladie wold obtayn it: y<sup>e</sup> care of y<sup>e</sup> mother and y<sup>e</sup> daughter is one of ye greatest cares I hav now to think of as a charg cōmitted vnto me by my lord my father at his death. This I now recōmend vnto you whearin I cōfort my sealf y<sup>t</sup> I know you will hav a care of y<sup>e</sup> same for me y<sup>r</sup> true pour frind that doth love you abov any man in y<sup>e</sup> world. God send you as great comfort as I hav afflixon."

There is apparently no way of discovering what was Cecil's reaction to the proposal, nor of ascertaining whether Frances Sondes and her mother were allowed to go to Lady Harvey. One circumstances inclines one to think that, if they were,

they were soon taken from her. Later in the autumn of 1603, as Cobham waited to be put on trial, he managed to bribe a youth to act as intermediary between him and Raleigh, his co-defendant. The youth was the Lieutenant's own son, Gawen Harvey. Such communication was of course forbidden, and when the young man's treachery was discovered he was imprisoned. Shaken by the revelation of his son's activities, and bewildered in his attempts to understand why he should have undertaken them, the Lieutenant wrote to Cecil, denying all personal knowledge of the affair and asking that the Council would, since Gawen's "simplicity is manifest," "take commiseration thereof and of his youth and ignorance which are the cause of his fall" (Harvey to Cecil, 2 December 1603, H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XV, 303). One sentence in Harvey's letter soon came to have significance: "It is no strange thing," wrote the Lieutenant, "with gifts and other allurements to entrap a wiser man than my son;" four days later Gawen himself revealed exactly what his father meant. "From Winchester's cold walls" on 6 December the young man wrote to the Council: "Such was my ignorance, or supposed innocency, that I thought I had not offended. God bless the next lord that shall be prisoner in the Tower, for cold walls will be his comfort since this is the fruits of courtesy. I appeal to your lordships whether any man living being in my case could have done less for him which had given me his niece, a handsome young gentlewoman, for a wife, that would be worth to me 10,000 l. in portion. He that had done me this favour could never procure me to carry a letter or consent to anything which I thought dishonest. I could allege many reasons that I did not anything for affection to Sir Walter Raleigh, for he never gave me cause to love him, and until he came into the Tower I never ate with him or had any familiarity with him. He never did me courtesy in all his life, unless I should love him for starving me in his Guiana journey and sending me home afoot without money in my purse when we landed in the west country" (H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, XV, 310-11). It is known whom Gawen Harvey married. She was Mary Lucas, a Raleigh, not a Brooke connection, since her sister was Lady Throckmorton, Lady Raleigh's sister-in-law: far from being Cobham's niece, Mary Lucas was in fact the sister of the man whom the baron hated for killing Sir William Brooke (see above, pp. 741-42, and the excellent account of the Lucas family, derived mainly from The Visitation of Essex, ed. Metcalfe, and from Morant, in Douglas Grant's Margaret the First: A Biography of Margaret Cavendish Duchess of Newcastle 1623-1673 (1957), p. 30). Thus one must not take Gawen Harvey's words literally: he meant that Cobham had promised to give him his niece, not actually given her. That niece, the "handsome young gentlewoman", must have been Frances Sondes, then aged eleven. The knowledge that Cobham was so desperate that he would exchange his sister's daughter for the running of a few errands, however indispensable to his case communication with Raleigh may have seemed at the time, makes one wonder whether it was solicitude for his niece which moved him to request that she be sent to Lady Harvey, or merely part of the bargain which he had struck with young Gawen. Even so gullible a youth as he professed to be must have wanted some assurance that the noble heiress who had been promised to him would actually become his wife; having her placed in his mother's household would have given him that security.

Frances Sondes was apparently destined to marry a son of the house in which she was boarded, Her stay with the Harveys, if it took place at all, can hardly have been prolonged after her uncle's trick was discovered; she then seems to have returned to the Levesons, and in 1612 she married Sir John's son. On 31 December 1611 John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton of the knighting of this young man, and, reflecting the current attitude toward the dubiousness of Frances Sondes's legitimacy, went on to say: "Younge Lewson shall marrie a pretended daughter of Sir Thomas Sandes (that was elder brother to Sir Mighell) who hath a great portion, but a greater blemish in her birth" (McClure, I, 326. Brydges, in his Memoirs of the Peers, I, 271, erroneously identifies Frances's husband as Sir Richard Leveson, a Staffordshire knight seated at Trentham, and makes Sir John Leveson, whom she actually married, the son of this marriage. At one point in the Complete Peerage (XII (Pt. 1), 532) her husband is confused with his father, Sir John Leveson the elder.) When exactly the marriage between young Leveson and Frances Sondes took place has not been discovered, but it cannot have been long after Chamberlain gave notice of it, for on 9 December 1613 that invaluable gossip wrote again to his

friend, saying that "young Sir John Lewson died here in towne the last weeke. He had but one daughter, and hath left his Lady well forward with child" (McClure, I, 491). Frances Sondes was probably as much as seven months pregnant when she was widowed; on 17 February 1613/4 Chamberlain finished his sad little story by saying that "young Sir John Lewsons widow after much suspence and expectation of an heyre is brought abed of a daughter" (McClure, I, 512, where Frances is incorrectly named by the editor 'Elizabeth', and her official paternity ascribed with needless imprecision to "Sir Richard or Sir Thomas Sandys"). In the following year old Sir John Leveson died, and in the will which he drew up on 7 November 1615 (P.C.C. Rudd 97, proved on 10 November 1615) he named his two little grand-daughters. "Whereas," Leveson wrote, "it hath pleased God for the punishment of my synnes to take away my eldest sonne John Leveson knight and yet of his mercy to leaue me two younge sonnes viz<sup>t</sup> Richard and ffrances and one daughter viz<sup>t</sup> Rachell now the wife of Richard Newporte of Eaton in the countie of Salop knight\* besides two [grand-] daughters viz<sup>t</sup> Christian and ffrauncis beinge infantes the children of my said sonne John Leveson." To Christian and Frances, Sir John left legacies which were to be given them as they "shall accomplishe the age of Twentie and one yeaes or shall marry after the age of xvj yeaes w<sup>th</sup> the consent in writinge of my wife or of their mother yf she be livinge." It looks as though Leveson expected the little girls' mother to die before her mother-in-law; perhaps Frances Sondes was ill at the time when he wrote.

By the time that her mother died and Chamberlain wrote the news of her death to Carleton on 7 April 1621 (see above, p. 447), Frances Sondes had married again, for in Chamberlain's letter she is described as she "that was young Sir John Lewsons wife, and since to Sir Thomas Savill". In 1624 Frances, as Lady Savile, made a statement of her claim to "a sum of 6,900 l. being the fortune of her mother, Lady Margaret Sondes, the daughter of Lord Cobham" (H.M.C., Rutland Papers, I, 471). Savile, a connection of the Careys and therefore of the Newtons, was a Yorkshireman who, knighted in 1617, was created Viscount Savile in 1628, succeeded his father as Lord Savile of Pomfret in 1630, and was finally created Earl of Sussex in 1645. By him Frances Sondes had no children. She died before he became an earl, at some time between 1634 and 1641 (see the C.P., XII (Pt. 1), 531-32).

By Christian Leveson, the elder of her two grand-daughters (not, as is clear from Sir John Leveson's will of 1615, the younger of them, as she is said to have been by the Complete Baronetage, I, 83 n.), Margaret Brooke was the ancestress of the celebrated Augustan family of Temple. Through it the descent is traced back to her of the Lytteltons, presently Viscounts Cobham and Lords Cobham of Cobham, Kent.

\* For the Newports' supposed connection with Shakespeare, and for Sir Richard's near relationship to the poet George Herbert and his celebrated brothers, see The Annotator . . . , by Alan Keen and Roger Lubbock (1954).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Included in this list of books and articles are those which were read or consulted in the preparation of the dissertation, as well as those which are of interest because they were dedicated to the Brookes. Works which are neither quoted nor mentioned in the dissertation, but which may be considered relevant to the study of the Brookes, are distinguished from those cited in the footnotes by asterisks placed before their titles.

It has been assumed that certain monumental works of reference, such as the Dictionary of National Biography (D.N.B.) and the Oxford English Dictionary (O.E.D.), need no place in such a list of books. Use of them has been fundamental to the writing of the dissertation. Other obvious sources of information are A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640, comp. A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave (1926) (S.T.C.); Alumni Cantabrigienses ... (Part I: From the earliest times to 1751), 4 vols., comp. John Venn and J.A. Venn (Cambridge, 1922-27); The Book of Matriculations and Degrees: a Catalogue of those who have been Matriculated or been Admitted to any Degree in the University of Cambridge from 1544 to 1659, comp. John Venn and J.A. Venn (Cambridge, 1913); Alumni Oxonienses ..., comp. Joseph Foster (Oxford, 1891); The Register of the University of Oxford (Volume I: 1449-63, 1505-71), ed. C.W. Boase (Oxford, 1885); The Register of the University of Oxford (Volume II: 1571-1622), ed. Andrew Clark (Oxford, 1887-89); The Return of Members of Parliament (Part I: Parliaments of England, 1213-1702) (1878); The Victoria County History of the Counties of England, gen. ed. William Page (1901- ); G[eorge] E[dward] C[okayne]'s Complete Peerage, 12 vols. (1910-59) (C.P.); and his Complete Baronetage, 5 vols. and an index volume (Exeter, 1900-09) (C.B.); and Burke's Peerage, Landed Gentry and Commoners, in various editions specified in the footnotes to the foregoing text. The publications of <sup>the</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission which contain material relevant to the Elizabethan period have been quarried for references to the Brookes. The Acts of the Privy Council from 1542 to 1629, in the new series edited by John Roche Dasent and published between 1890 and 1929 (A.P.C.), and The Calendar of Patent Rolls from 1553 to 1563, published between

1937 and 1948 (C.P.R.), have also been used as basic reference books. Constant use has been made of the calendars of State Papers relating to the affairs of England, Ireland and Scotland in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. These calendars are The Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, edd. J.S. Brewer, James Gairdner and R.H. Brodie, 21 vols. and a volume of addenda (1867-1932) (L. & P., H. VIII); The Calendar of State Papers, Spain, 1485-1558, edd. G.A. Bergenroth, Pascual de Gayangos, Garrett Mattingly, M.A.S. Hume and Royall Tyler, 13 vols. and 2 supplements (1862-1954); The Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1547-1625, edd. Robert Lemon and Mary Anne Everett Green (1856-72); The Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1547-89, edd. William B. Turnbull, Joseph Stevenson, Allan James Crosby, Arthur John Butler, Sophie Crawford Lomas, Allen B. Hinds and Richard Bruce Wernham, 23 vols. (1861-1950); The Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1509-1603, edd. H.C. Hamilton, E.G. Atkinson, R.P. Mahaffy, 11 vols. and addenda (1860-1912); The Calendar of State Papers, Spain, 1558-1603, ed. M.A.S. Hume, 4 vols. (1892-99); The Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots, 1547-1603, edd. Joseph Bain, William K. Boyd, Henry W. Meikle, Annie I. Cameron and M.S. Giuseppi, 12 vols. (1898-1952); The Calendar of State Papers, Vatican, 1558-78, ed. J.M. Rigg, 2 vols. (1916-26); The Calendar of State Papers, Venice, 1202-1603, edd. Rawdon Brown, Cavendish Bentinck and Horatio Brown, 9 vols. (1864-98); and State Papers Published under the Authority of His Majesty's Commission: King Henry the Eighth, 11 vols. (1830-52). Individual references to these volumes are made in full in the text.

Public records, wills and other manuscript sources of information have been identified in the text and in the footnotes to it. No purpose would be served by listing them here under their official and usually uninformative code names.

Since the works listed in this bibliography range in date over more than four centuries, and include works of reference, 'peerages' and other genealogical and heraldic guidebooks and records, histories, studies of historical institutions, biographies, religious treatises, plays, poetry and works of literary and dramatic criticism, it has seemed best to divide them into three broad categories. Grouped

together under the term 'Contemporary' are those works which were published in and before 1660: those, that is, which appeared in print when the Brooke family was still counted among the nobility. Under 'Historical' are placed works published since the Restoration which interest a student of the Brookes as historical figures, while under 'Literary and Dramatic' are placed those works published in the same period which are devoted to the study of the plays, poems and prose writings with which one may connect the family. Works written and compiled in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but printed only in more modern times are listed in the 'Historical' section because of the dates of their publication.

The place of publication is London unless otherwise specified.

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