XXI. *Particulars respecting Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, with a fragment of the "Itinerarium ad Windsor." written by Mr. Serjeant Fleetwood, Recorder of London. Communicated by JOHN BRUCE, Esq. F.S.A.*

Read March 26, 1857.

THE communication which I desire to make to the Society on the present occasion will be found to be in some respects peculiarly unsatisfactory. It is a tale of an interesting manuscript, imperfect; of inquiries respecting it, unavailing; of researches, baffled on every hand; and now of an ultimate appeal to this Society, in the hope that some Member may supply the deficiencies which I have not been able to remove.

The manuscript to which I have alluded is Harleian MS. No. 168, Art. 1. It is a transcript, by Ralph Starkey, of a paper entitled "*Itinerarium ad Windsor.*," written by William Fleetwood, Esq. Recorder of London. Many years ago I was attracted by its title in the Catalogue, and, being about to publish a little volume, the original manuscript of which had passed through the hands of Fleetwood, I was desirous to give an account of what appears to be one of his works, which has hitherto remained unnoticed. I sought at that time, by inquiries in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, and in a variety of other quarters, to discover a perfect manuscript of this "*Itinerarium*," but all my endeavours were unsuccessful. I have kept the subject before me on subsequent opportunities, and have tried all the usual channels of inquiry, but entirely in vain.

The manuscript deserves the pains which I have taken, for, although of no antiquity, it presents a picture in which the life which belongs to reality is united, as I am fain to believe, to some little of that interest which ought to distinguish a romance. It represents a transaction which took place in the month of July 1575. A cavalcade of noble gentlemen quitted the well-known Essex House, one of those inclosed mansions which then studded the bank of the Thames from Temple-Bar to Westminster; and, riding along the Strand, passed the very spot where we are now assembled, pursued the way by the park side, since termed Pall Mall, and close by the walls of what was then considered the "most princely and stately palace" of St. James's. Taking this course, they proceeded by "the park corner," and so onwards, on the road to Windsor.

The journey which was thus commenced was connected with business relating to Windsor Forest, and probably also with those extensive alterations at Windsor Castle, which were then in full progress. The chief person of the party was the Earl of Leicester, who travelled according to his own pompous notions, and according also to the custom of the time, accompanied by a princely cavalcade of attendants: John Dudley and William Dudley, two of his own family, were present on the occasion, together with "divers knights and noble gentlemen, as well courtiers as of the country." Among his companions or attendants, the present narrative brings conspicuously before us two well-known persons, Thomas Lord Buckhurst and William Fleetwood.

Two men more essentially different can scarcely be imagined. Buckhurst—the facts of whose life have been admirably strung together by my friend Mr. Durrant Cooper, in his edition of "*Gorboduc*"—was a person of distinction almost from his youth. As Thomas Sackville, ere well out of his teens, he became celebrated, not as a lawyer, although the law was his profession, but as a companion of poets, and as himself a poet of unquestionable genius. Quaint in form, and laboured in expression, there is little in his poetry to attract a modern reader; but Mr. Hallam awards to Sackville the high praise of "fertility of imagination, vividness of description, and strength of language."

Sackville's personal tastes inclined him in everything to delight in the rich and the splendid. Brought before the world by his success in letters, he took the lead in many of the amusements of his time, and became as conspicuous for personal extravagance as for literary ability. As the heir of his father, whose characteristic nickname was "*Fill-sack*," he might look forward to a considerable patrimony; but Sackville lived as if the inheritor of a kingdom rather than of an estate. In a few years all property over which he had any control was sold or deeply mortgaged, and he himself was bound hand and foot in the power of usurers and bailiffs. Of a sudden, he became the subject of a remarkable change. The whole course of his life was altered, as it were, at once. The spendthrift was converted to prudence; the man of pleasure became a man of business. Sackville's contemporaries account for this change in various ways. The kindly remonstrances of the Queen, and the purse-proud insolence of a creditor who kept him waiting in his hall, are both set down as having contributed to bring it about. The misery of a wife, to whom he was affectionately attached, and the degradation of a numerous family, may have had their influence. Whatever the cause, the fact is unquestionable. He quitted England for a time; and, on his return, after the death of his father, devoted himself to the public service, and the

redemption of his estate. He was gifted with eloquence,^a and his general talents easily adapted themselves to the business of the state. The Queen gave him encouragement. He was employed on embassies; was rewarded with a peerage; and lived to succeed Lord Burghley as Lord High Treasurer, to hold the office of Chancellor of Oxford,^b to obtain the Garter from Queen Elizabeth, and an earldom from King James I. Amidst all his changes, two circumstances are recorded of him which seem links between his earlier and his later life. It was long before he freed himself from a condition of comparative poverty. Even after he had been ennobled as Lord Buckhurst, there is evidence that he lived in a style of extreme simplicity. But still he retained his old love of magnificence; and his will contains very precise and peculiar directions for the disposal of his own private rings and personal jewels. Again, we are told that such was the unusual sensitiveness of his taste in composition, that in all his public business he could get no secretary to please him, he was "so facete and choice in his phrase and style." (Naunton's *Frag. Reg.* p. 279, ed. 1808.)

The other person who accompanied Lord Leicester was William Fleetwood. His letters, published by Sir Henry Ellis, have made him generally known. There are others of the same kind in the State Paper Office, which have been brought to light by Mr. Lemon's recently-published Calendar. Fleetwood is praised by his contemporaries as a sound lawyer, and a man of indefatigable diligence. He is also entitled to be held in honour as having been a collector and preserver of historical manuscripts. It is evident that he was a precise, prudent, cautious, methodical person, and, in the character of his intellect, the most absolute opposite of Lord Buckhurst. Under the patronage of Lord Leicester, Fleet-

^a Mr. Durrant Cooper informs me that the only note of any speech of Sackville's that he has found is one reported in a very unfriendly spirit in the proceedings against Lord Vaux and others for harbouring Campion, published in *Archæologia*, vol. XXX. p. 106.

^b A contemporary epigram on his election to the chancellorship of Oxford, for a reference to which I am indebted to Mr. Durrant Cooper, contains some little evidence of the estimation in which Buckhurst was held in 1591. It is derived from MS. Addit. 3728, fol. 65, a volume of poems in honour of Buckhurst, compiled and addressed to him by William Thorn, Fellow of New College.

Occidit Hattonus, retrahit sua lumina Phæbus,
Nec visa in nostris lux fuit ulla scholis.
Sacvillus venit, en reddit sua lumina Phæbus,
Jamque coma solito splendidiore nitet.
Obscuras veteres obscurabisque priores,
Nemo fuit similis, nemo secundus erit.
Sis bonus ô felixque tuis: interque clientes
(Alme) tuos aliquem me precor esse velis.

wood procured the Recordership of London, and was called to the degree of Serjeant. These are evidences of professional eminence; and his letters to Lord Burghley contain many proofs of his zeal and activity as a magistrate. But all his more studied writings which have come under my notice are peculiarly dull, formal, and pedantic. In the composition which I am now about to read to you, he seems to have striven to be a little more lively; and it contains some things which, totally undesigned by him, have a value at the present time which they had not when he wrote; but, even in these pages, the Society will have an opportunity of judging whether he did not possess the qualities which I have attributed to him.

I have alluded to some things in Fleetwood's "*Itinerarium*" as having a value now which Fleetwood himself never contemplated. Amongst them is one circumstance which gives the paper a special applicability to this Society: Buckhurst and Fleetwood, it will be seen, were both antiquaries. Attachment to archæological inquiries constituted a strong link between them. It united their opposite characters and qualities—the poetry of the one and the prose of the other. Fleetwood has always been reckoned amongst the members of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries; but I am not aware that that has been the case with Buckhurst. The present paper, unimportant as it is, will, I hope, be allowed to pass, if it be found to add such a valuable name to our pedigree of antiquarian forefathers.

Fleetwood's paper runs as follows:—

ITINERARIUM AD WINDSOR;

Written by William Fleetwood, Esq. Recorder of the Cittye of London.

[Harl. MS. 168, fol. 1.]

IN the moneth of Nisann, in the seavententh yeare of the most happie raigne of the virtuous and most noble Ladie Queene Elizabeth, the right honorable Robert Earle of Leicester, beinge constable of Windsore Castle and chiefe forester of the forest thereunto appendant, (beeinge with divers noble knights and other gentlemen, as well courtiers as of the countrie, accompanyed,) did take his journeye from his lordship's howse scituated neere the barres of the Newe Temple in London, towardes Windsore Castle; amongst which assemblye the right honorable baron Thomas Lord Buckhurste was present, and I, William Fleetwoode, reporter hereof, beinge recorder of London, was, by the comaundement of the said Earle of Leicester, there alsoe attendante, for the better servyce of the queene in matters that weare to be debated within the honnour and forest of Windsore aforesaid. And as the said earle in his journey was uppon the newe cawsey over agaynst her majesties howse called Sainte James Parke, hee espyed, even fast by the verve walls of the same howse, two rydeinge alone, noe creature eyther rydeinge or goeinge before or after them; and

beinge desyrous to knowe whoe they weare, no man knewe, untill Mr. John Dudley and his brother told the said earle that it was the Lord Buckhurste and the recorder of London. "Naye," quoth the earle, "it cannott bee they, for heere bee their men." "Yeas," quoth Mr. John Dudley, "my lord, it is their condition to separate themselves from all companye when they ride into the cuntrye, and then their manner is to use argumentes of eare and very straunge thinges, sometymes of parleamente matters, sometymes of chronicles and historyes, but cheifelye of the antiquities of this realme of England, for they be both marveyulously given to be antiquaries." "Then," quoth the earle, "what meane you by that name antiquaries?" "Marrye," quoth Mr. John Dudley, "they canne tell your lordshipp of the antiquitye of Leister House; they can shewe your lordship howe that the territoryes betwene the Temple Barre and Ivey Bridge was in the Saxons tymes knowne and called by the name of Vavasorian, and that Iven was the Vavasor and lorde of the same; and they can tell you the Danes, being dryven out of this realme, and yett suche as were naturalized, partlye by birth, for that they weare children of Englishe women, but chieffelye by the benefitt of the noble Kinge Ethelbert, was allowed them that place to inhabitt in, where they buylded a church in the honnour of Saint Clement, the patron of the Danes; and thereof it is called, even unto this daye, Sainte Clement's Danes. They can declare the first foundation and founders of Sainte Spicett's Chapple, and what marvellis and straunge thinges there happened in that place. They are able to disclose howe the Savoye first had that name, and of the escheate of the same to the crowne, and of grantinge thereof to Crochback the Earle of Lancastre; and as for the antiquitye of Thorney, Rounsivalls, Charing Crosse, Saint James, the scite of which Sainte James was first made an hospitall, and annexed to a monasterye in Normandye, and soe beinge the landes of Prior Aleins, was given unto the crowne by parleamente in the second of Henery the fifte, and by Kinge Henerye the sixt given to Eaton Colledge, for the advauncement of learninge and bringinge up of youthe; and in the tyme of Kinge Henry the eight, Cromwell, then Earle of Essex, obtayned a long lease thereof, and there beganne to buylde, and by his attaynder it came to the handes of Henry the eight, in which place, as your lordship maye see, is buylded a most princelye and statelye pallace for the kinges of this realme." "Then," quoth the earle, "surelye these be straunge thinges that you speake of; but can they discourse in suche sorte of all other places within this realme?" Mr. John Dudley answered that he thought verelye they could. "Then," quoth the earle too Mr. Thomas Dudley, "I praye you when my Lord of Buckhurst and Mr. Recorder come againste the parcke corner, tell them that I would speake with them;" and after Mr. Thomas Dudley was ridden before, Mr. John Dudley said to my lord the earle, that it should be best for his lordship to move some questions of learninge toucheinge the state and pollecye of this realme; "and," quoth hee, "that will please them well, for they are muche like of disposicion to one Sir Richard Barkeley, a knight of Gloucestershire, whoe delighteth in noe man's companye but suche as be learned, or that can move wittie or subtyll questions, whereuppon arguments of knowledge maye aryse and growe." "Then," quoth the earle, "I lyke them the better, and I shall, God willinge, followe your counsaile, and move sutche fruitfull questions unto them, as that they shall not be wearye of my company;—well, I see them at hand.

Temple Barre.
Ivey Bridge.

St. Clement's.

St. Spicett's
Chapel.

Savoy.

St. James.

[Sir Richard
Berkeley.]

"Nowe, my Lord of Buckhurst, I wonder what matter it is that your lordship and the recorder have all this waye bene debateinge soe earnestleye betwene yourselves?" Then quoth my Lorde

of Buckhurst: "My verye good lorde, my old frend Mr. Recorder and I doe evermore use to discourse of one matter of learninge or other when wee cane gett any leysure or tyme convenyent. Our talke was at this tyme of the excellencye of the regall dignetye of a kinge, and especialle of the royall majestie of the Kinge of England; and yf it please your good lordship to move anye question disputeable, as touchinge that kynd of knowledge, or any other matter wherein wee have anye skyll, your lordship shall have our oppinyons to the full, with this caution, that non may be permitted to ryde within the ringe, excepte onlye Mr. John and Mr. Thomas Dudley, your lordship's gentlemen; for *naturaliter scire desiderat unusquisque* (sayth the philosopher), and it is often seene that simple wittes, for wante of judgmente, maye conceyve an errour of which maye ensue hurte, and greate peryll in tyme to come."

"Your lordship sayes wiselye," quoth the earle, "and your request shall be performed. My Lord Buckhurst, and you Mr. Recorder, lett me ryde betwene you, and then I will move a question, the which, though I make noe greate dowbte thereof, yet would I gladlye heare what you thincke thereof. I doe read that the most auntient states of this realme, beinge made by kinges then raigninge, doe not onlye attribute and refferr all prerogatyve, prehemynence, power, and jurisdiction royale unto the name of kinge, but alsoe doe give, assigne, and appoynte the correction and punishment of all offenders agaynst the regalltye and dignetye of the crowne and lawes of the realme unto the kinge, and not by the name of a queene. Heereuppon would I gladlye heare the reason, whie the queene, our mistress, should have and execute the like and the same prerogatyves, and other regall prehemynencye as have bine given onlye by parlemeunte unto her highnes most noble progenitours beeinge kinges, and by the specyall name of kinges, and not unto them by the names of kinges or queenes; for I have learned all penall lawes made by parlemeunte are expounded and understood accordinge to the letter, and not inforced by interpretacion, eyther to the person, to the tyme, or to the place, but are benignely expounded accordinge to the moste favorable meaneinge of the letter. I praye you therefore, my lord and Mr. Recorder, lett me heere your myndes in these matters."

"My very good Lord of Leicester, (said the Lord of Buckhurst,) your question is very honnorablye and wyselie moved; for wee doe both perceyve that your lordship doth not dowbte thereof, but that for knowledge sake you desier to heare the very reason thereof; and suerlye, as to the former matter that Mr. Recorder and I alonge by Saint James' walles ded begin to debate uppon, toucheinge the excellencye of the royall dignetye of the kinges of England, there cannot an apter question bee propounded for the furtheraunce of that argumente then this that your lordship hath moved. The lawes of this realme doe most abundantly flowe of these matters, and you (Mr. Recorder), what longe, and lardge, and howe manye learned arguments have you and I heard and read in our bookes, as toucheinge the expoundinge of penall statutes. You remember, I ame suer, the olde sayeinge concerninge that matter in anno septimo Henrici sexti: *Quod lex beneficalis, casu consimili, remedium præstat, odiosa autem lex casu quo efficitur ulterius non extendit* (that is to saye), that beneficall lawes are expounded by equitye, but penall lawes are taken (as my lord said) strictly.

"The full discourse of the first parte of your lordship's question, as toucheinge the regall prehemynence in the queene our mistress, and the second parte beinge moved rayther for an

example then for any matter concerninge the exposition of penall statutes, would both betwene them make up a compleate volume;—but *ad propositum*. My lord, before wee enter into this greate and hawtye matter, it muste bee agreed on all sides that the kingdome of England, that is to saye, the doome and judgment of the Kinge of England over his people (comytted by God unto his chardge), yea, and *tota plenitudo totius regni Angliæ*, that is, the landes and goodes of all the fulnes and store of the whole realme, are subjecte to the only doome and sacred sentence of the Kinge of England, whose doome is conducted by meanes of the matter thereunto subjecte :

“1. Sometyes by the only censures of Godes most holye lawes, I meane the Old and the Newe Testaments, as in matters touchinge matremonye. Lawe of God.

“2. Sometyes by suche cannons ecclesiasticall as be allowed of within this realme by the custome of this land, as in matters of tythes and thinges testamentarye. Spirituell lawe.

“3. Sometyes by the civill lawes, as in maryne causes, or in contractes made out of the realme. Civill lawe.

“4. Sometyes by the martiall lawe, as before the Constable of England, in his court, as touchinge matters of armes, and offences comytted in the kinges campe or battayles. Martiall lawe.

“5. Sometyes by the forest lawes, as in matters that doe concerne vert and venizon, and suche lyke. Foreste lawes.

“6. Sometyes by the lawes of Oleron, the which lawes are verye often in our bookes termed by theise wordes, *secundum legem mercatoriam*, that is, lawe merchante, the which lawe concerneth assuraunces and suche like things. Lawes of Oleron, or lex mercatorum.

“7. Sometyes *per leges treugarum*, by the lawes of the wardourye agaynst Scotland, executed by the lord wardens of the three severall marches, for the correction of thee marche treason, outputters, lymmers, fyled persons, inryders and outryders, and a thowsand suche like. Leges treugarum or lawes of wardonrie ag^{te} Scotlande.

“8. Sometyes by the pryvate customarye of lawes of citytes and auntient burroughes. Customarie lawes.

“9. Sometyes by the Lorde Steward of England, in his court of the coronation of the kinge, where eache man's clayme for the servyce of graund sergeauntie, and the arraignment of peeres, bine onlye dealte withall. Lawe of the Lo. Stewarde of England at coronation.

“10. Sometyes by the highe courte of parleamente, in which courte causes maye as well be heard and judicyallie executed as maye be the makeinge of lawes and statutes for the realme. Parleamente.

“11. Sometimes, yea, and that most commonlye, by the auntient common lawes of this realme, all causes, as well personall, mixt, and crimynall, are by the same common lawes heard and judicyallie ended. Common lawe.

“12. And yett there is another lawe, the which is *seorsum ab omnibus aliis regni legibus*, whereby certayne especyall and singuler causes are absolutely deemed of, the which lawe is called *lex corona*, and that lawe is the perticuler lawe of the crowne. Mention is made of this lawe in the statute of the xxviijth of Henrye viij. ca. vij.; the wordes in effecte are these: ‘By the lawe of the crowne of England, it hath bine accustomed that the crowne ought to succeed and goe to the eldest daughter, when the femalls are heritable, etc.’ There was a booke wherein the especyall laws of the crowne weare wrytten, the which booke did remayne alwayes in the custodie of the Lord Cheife Justyce of England, for it is his offyce to answeere all dowbtes and questions that concerne the lawe of the crowne. This booke, as I have heard Sir Richard Sackville, my father, saye, that it was not permytted to come to the handes of Sir Richard Listar, or of Sir Roger Cholmeley. He thought

that yf the late Earle of Southampton (whoe sometyme was Lord Chauncellour of England) weare lyveing, that he could make an account what is become of that booke."

"Trulye, my Lord of Buckhurst," quoth the Earle of Leicester, "I thancke you verye muche for discoveringe of the aforesaid severall jurisdictiones; and yett I, howe manye soever they bee, they doe all proceed *ex solio regie majestatis*; and further, I doe note by your lordship's argument that *infinite sunt legum species*."

BUCKHURST. "Yea, my lord, your lordship will soe saye by that tyme that wee have gone thorough with the whole disputation. But, my lord, nowe lett us intreate Mr. Recorder to shewe his mynde as towchinge your lordship's former question. Goe to, Mr. Recorder, lett us heare what you can saye to the matter."

RECORDER. "Although (my singuler good lords,) the question propounded doth requyer a deeper consideracion then my simple wytte is able to reache unto, and my skill very slender, yett, because I ame fullye perswaded that although I erre I shall with favour obtayne pardon at both your good lordships' handes, I shall be the bolder to pursue the arguments uppon the aforesaid question as effectuallye as my knowledge will serve. I doe read that this worde Kinge is a Saxon terme, and doe originallye comme and growe out of this ould Saxon word *cuning*, which doth signifie a cuninge, a wyse, a virtuous, a polleticque, and a prudent person, fitt to governe as well in peace as in warres; and this word Queene, in the same tounge, is in effect of the same force, referringe the same to the female sex, and therefore it is to be noted that the crowne of England is not alwayes bound especiallye to be governed by the male; but yf there wante heyres males, then ought it to descend to the heyres females, as it appeareth by the judgmente given touchinge the dawghters of Zelophehad (xxvi. 33 Nombers), and as it did in the tyme of the Bryttons descend uppon Queene Cordeila, whoe was queene of this realme before the Incarnation of Christ 805 yeares, even at that tyme that the good Kinge Ozias did repayer the cittye of Jerusalem, which was in the yeare of the world 3358. This Cordeila was dawghter of Kinge Leire, whoe buylded the auntient cittye of Leicester; yea, and is it not a most true and playne matter, that the crowne of England maye descend and come to the female dawghter, where there lacketh heyre male, as it did unto Mawde the Empresse, whoe was dawghter to Kinge Henrye the First, and by the meane that William, Mary, and Richard, the children of the same Kinge Henry the First, were drowned in the seas by shipwracke, it soe fell out the said Mawde the Empresse became sole heyre, and notwithstandinge an ynterruption made by Kinge Stephen the intruder (for that is his proper addition in the auntient chronicles), yett the judgmente fell out for her parte, and she and her posteritye, even to this daye, have justlye and most rightfullye enjoyed the crowne without any enterclayme of anye person that ever hath bine heard of."

LEICESTER. "I see that this is a greate and good prooffe that the female hath had and enjoyed the crowne of England by just and lawfull tytyle; but you have not showed what arguments weare made of Kinge Stephen, whie the female ought not to inheritt the crowne."

RECORDER. "There weare manye such arguments made, eyther by Kinge Stephen, or by some other that tooke his parte; for Stephen claymed the crowne as sonne and heyre to Adela, whoe was the eldest dawghter of the Conquerour, for he had yssue other dawghters beside the said Adela (viz.), Cecilia, Constantia, and Gundreda; and soe Kinge Stephen was not able to make argument

whie the female ought not to inheritt the crowne, because hee himselfe claymed the crowne by Adela his mother, whoe was (as I have said) the eldest dawghter of the Conqueror, and soe you see that the tyle of Kinge Stephen was by the female, which is another president for prooffe that the female maye inheritt the crowne, or els woulde Kinge Stephen never have made tyle by the female."

BUCKHURST. "Mr. Recorder, a man must take heed to your argumente, or els he maye lett slipp manye thinges that be worthie notinge; for you said that the Conquerour had divers dawghters, and that Adela was the eldest, and that, as from Adela, beinge the eldest dawghter, Stephen claymed to be kinge. By this I note that even from the Conquest it hath bine taken, by the lawe of the crowne, that where the kinge had noe other children but females, there the eldest dawghter should solelye inheritt, and by consequence this my president to bee good and sound, that heerewhile I vowed out of the acte of parleamente made in anno xxvij Henr. viij. cap. vij. concerninge this matter."

RECORDER. "It is well noted; but your lordships knoweth that the manner of my arguments hath alwayes bine grownded uppon authorities and presidents, and not on reasons ynvented by myselfe; and therefore it is to be remembred that myne argumente is not my owne argumente, but the speeches and judgments of those that first sett them downe, and after that every byrd hath plucked awaye his owne proper feather, I for my parte ame like in this could and blusteringe moneth of Nisan to become yellowe, and then maye I shrowde myselfe in a hollowe tree with the poore cuckoe."

LEICESTER. "I like *illud argumentum quod est ex autoritate sumptum*, for that is sound argument, and suche argument hath worthie John Jewell, late lord Bishop of Sarum, used thoroughout his whole bookes agaynst Dr. Hardinge; but, Mr. Recorder, as my Lorde of Buckhurst said, it is good to take heed to your argument, or els it maye be saide of my lorde and mee, that muche water passeth by the myll that the myller knoweth not of. But me thought you spake even nowe of a judgmente or sentence that was pronounced for Mawde the Empresse and her posteritye, agaynst Kinge Stephen and his posteritye; for I knowe that Kinge Stephen had yssue a sonne, called William the Earle of Bloys and of Warren, whoe overlyved his father, the which William did not succeed his father as kinge, but Henrye, who was sonne and heyre to the said Mawde the Empresse, did quyetlie succeed, as all men knowe. I would gladlye knowe what the effect of that judgmente or sentence was, and whoe was the judge thereof that gave that sentence, or whether by that sentence the person of Kinge Stephen were removed from the regall dignitye of the crowne."

RECORDER. "In very deed (my good lord,) I used those wordes (viz.), that a judgment fell out on the parte of the said Mawde and her posteritye. To that I answere, recordes doe make mencion of the civill warres that were within this realme by meanes of the severall claymes of the said Kinge Stephen and Mawde the Empresse and her sonne Henrye, for the quyet appeasinge whereof the noblemen and bishops of the realme brought the kinges to a consultacion touchinge the said severall tytles, and, that graunted, as well the kinge as the said emperesse and Henrye her son did cause fyfteene archebyschoppes"—

Desunt cetera.

Here unfortunately the manuscript comes to an end. Comment on its main subject is unnecessary; its character lies upon the surface, and can be understood by every one: but, as Lord Buckhurst is here brought before us in the special character of an antiquary, which gives us all an interest in whatever relates to him, perhaps I may be allowed, in conclusion, to append part of a letter of his, which I believe has never been published, and which illustrates what I have before mentioned respecting the comparatively homely style of his living, even after he had been honoured with the peerage. I have been directed to this letter, the original of which is in the State Paper Office, by a reference to it in that great mine of information respecting our Elizabethan worthies, to which I have before referred, Mr. Lemon's "Calendar of State Papers." The letter is dated in 1568, September the 30th, and is addressed to the Privy Council. The circumstances under which it was written may be shortly stated. It will be remembered that in 1568 Cardinal Chastillon, one of the family of the Coligni, having preferred the faith of his relation the admiral to that faith to which his numerous and lofty church preferments seemed likely to bind him, sought refuge against a papal sentence of excommunication in England, accompanied by a bishop of Arles. The cardinal was received with distinction at the English court; and it was evidently a part of the government policy of the time to give encouragement to a person who was placed in the singular position of being a cardinal, and yet a Protestant. Amongst other places which he visited was the royal palace of Sheen. At that time Lord Buckhurst was residing there. His mother, as he states, "had the order and keeping of the house," under her majesty; and, by his mother's "sufferance," and on payment of forty marks rent to the crown, he was allowed to occupy a certain number of rooms, constituting about a fourth of the whole palace. Preparatory to the visit of the cardinal, the council wrote to Lord Buckhurst to do the best he could to accommodate the foreign dignitary, and also to give his assistance to the queen's officers, who were to make the necessary arrangements for the cardinal's reception. After the cardinal had paid his visit, complaints were made against Lord Buckhurst that he had not complied with the injunction of the council; and it was formally intimated to him that the queen was "greatly displeased with him, for that he had not in better sorte entertained the cardinall, who having bene with so great honor receved, not only by thos in whos houses he had rested before, but also even by the quenes maiestie herself, her highness did the rather take it in verie ill parte." It is his answer to this censure that I am now about to read. It runs thus:—

Toching the furste parte of this message, with how grete greif I received the same, God and my

sorofull harte can beste witnes. So injuste reportes of me to her majesty trobled me very muche; her highness displesure a grete dele more; but doubting how to remove the same, that greved me most of all. For, whatsoever my deserte have bene, I know not how I may presume to clere myself, yf her majesty have alrede condemned me; and yet, thinking it both a great fault and a folie to betraye mine ynocencie with silence, I have resolved to laie before your lordships, plainly and simply as it past, the whole discourse of my deling towards the cardinall, with this protestaçon beside, that yf anie parte thereof be found untrue, I wishe to myselfe the losse of her majesty's favor, and consequentlie of my lief withall: and therefore when your lordships shall have considred therof, if to the same it may apere that I have no waies deserved this displesure, I shall then most humblie beseche your lordships, that ye will vouchsafe on my behalf, with most lowly petiçon to her majesty, to restore me again to her majesty's most gracious favor.

Yt may please your good lordship therefore tunderstand, that having receved your lordship's lettres that I should repaire to Shene, and there to do the beste I cold, in accommodating the cardinall, with mine advise, aid, and assistans towards her majesty's officers who then were at Shene for that purpose (the same your lettres containing no other effecte at all), I toke hors within one hower after, I being then xxx. mile of from Shene, and so rode all the night. And upon my coming thether, being but two daies before the cardinal's arrival, I spake with her majesty's officers with whom I had conference for the better accommodating of the cardinall. I brought them into every part of the house that I possessed, and showed them all such stuff and furniture as I had; and where they required plate of me, I told them—as troth is—that I had no plate at all. Suche glasse vessels as I had I offered them, which they thought to base. For naperie, I cold not satisfy their turn, for they desired damask work for a long table, and I had none other but plain linnen for a square table. The table whereon I dine meself I offered them, and for that it was but a square table they refused it. One only tester and bedsted not occupied I had, and those I delivered for the cardinall himself; and when we cold not by any menes in so short a time procure another bedsted for the bushop, I assigned them the bedsted on which my wiefes waiting wemen did lie, and laid them on the ground. Mine own basen and ewer I lent to the cardinall, and wanted meself. So did I the candlestickes for my own table, with divers drinking glasses, small cushions, small pottes for the ketchin, and sundry other such like trifles, although indeed I had no greater store of them then I presently occupied; and albeit this be not worthy the writing, yet mistrusting lest the misorder of some others in denieing of such like kind of stuf not occupied by themselves hath been percase informed as towards me, I have thought good not to omit yt. Long tables, forms, brasse for the kitchen, and all such necessities as cold not be furnished by me, we toke order to provide in the towne; hanginges and beddes we received from the yeman of the wardrop at Richmond. And when we saw that naperie and sheets cold no where there be had, I sent word thereof to the officers at the courte, by which menes we recieved from my lorde of Leceter two pair of fine shetes for the cardinall, and from my lord chamberlen one pair of fine for the bushop, with two other courser pair and order beside for ten pair more from London. At which time also, because I would be sure your lordships shold be ascertained of the simplenes and scarsytie of such stuff as I had here, I sente a man of mine to the courte, speciallie to declare to your lordships that for plate, damaske, naperie, and fine shetes I had none at all, and for the rest of

my stuff, neither was it such as with honor mighte furnishe such a personage, nor yet had I any greater store thereof then I presentlie occupied, and he brought me this answer again from your lordships, that if I had it not I could not lend it. And yet all things being thus provided for, and the diet for his lordship being also prepared, I sent word thereof to Mr. Kingesmele, and thereupon the next daie in the morning, about nine of the clocke, the cardinall came to Shene, where I met and receved him almost a quarter of a myle from the hous, and when I had furste brought the cardinall to his lodginge, and after the bushop to his, I thought good there to leve them to their repose.

The next morning, making excuse of urgent business, Buckhurst quitted home, and did not return until long after his guests—if they were to be considered such—had left the palace. On his own showing there was no cordiality in his reception of them; but my purpose is not to dwell on that part of the story, but simply to point attention to the homeliness of Lord Buckhurst's domestic arrangements at Sheen. But all this was soon altered. He who had occupied a part of Sheen by sufferance, without plate, and with nothing but plain linen, in an age when the dinner-tables of the noble glittered with vessels of splendid silver, and were covered with curious ornamented napery, lived to possess not merely ample, but even extraordinary, stores of all such articles. In his will he makes mention of the "white silver plate ordinarily used in his several mansion-houses;" and he bequeaths to his wife a complete set of "fifty-and-one pieces of white silver vessell," to be selected at her pleasure, besides the silver plate and silver vessels appointed for her cupboard and "cushion cloth;"^a he gives, also, to his heir, all his gilt silver plate, with "one hundred pieces of white silver vessell," and makes mention of the care and charge, by the space of many years past, with which he had "gotten and gathered together" these valuable stores. His will also contains numerous legacies of plate and jewels to the most distinguished of his contemporaries, with many other highly curious bequests, which manifest the superabundance of his wealth in these particulars, and the entire recovery of his estate from that condition of depression to which we have seen it reduced.

I will only add, that if any Fellow of this Society shall ever be able to direct me to a complete copy of Fleetwood's "*Itinerarium*," I shall esteem myself indebted to him.

^a Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 131, ed. Brydges.