

## THE EARL OF ESSEX'S SUICIDE

Anon., *An Account How the Earl Of Essex Killed Himself in the Tower of London, the 13th. of July 1683* (Edinburgh, 1683)

Embroyan-fancy of anti-Jack Presbyter, *A New Poem on the Dreadful Death of the Earl Of Essex, Who Cut His Own Throat in the Tower* (London, 1683)

Anon., *A True Narrative of the Bloody Murther of the Earl of Essex, Upon Himself, Being Now Prisoner in the Tower* (London, 1683)

Henry Danvers, *Murder Will Out: Or, A Clear and Full Discovery That the Earl of Essex Did Not Feloniously Murder Himself; but Was Barbarously Murthered by Others: Both by Undeniable Circumstances, and Positive Proofs* (London, 1689)

Robert Ferguson, *An Enquiry into, And Detection of the Barbarous Murther of the Late Earl of Essex: Or A Vindication of That Noble Person from the Guilt and Infamy of Having Destroy'd Himself* (London, 1684)

Lawrence Braddon, *Essex's Innocency And Honour Vindicated: Or, Murther, Subornation, Perjury, and Oppression, Justly Charg'd on the Murtherers of That Noble Lord and True Patriot, Arthur (Late) Earl of Essex* (London, 1690)

Anon., 'Notes on the Death of the Earl of Essex', British Library, Sloane MS 78 (1683), ff. 2v–22r

Arthur Capel, the first Earl of Essex, was arrested at his house at Cassiobury Park in Hertfordshire on 9 July 1683, taken to the Tower, examined but not charged, and was discovered dead in the close-stool closet in his rooms on 13 July. The coroner convened an exceptionally large jury of inhabitants of the Tower Liberty on 14 July, who having viewed the body pronounced his death as caused by his cutting his throat with a razor. The fact of Essex's incarceration is indisputable; the verdict of the coroner's jury was promptly disputed by his friends and associates, who insisted that he had been murdered. It was without doubt the most notorious political 'suicide' in that turbulent period which stretched from the Popish Plot of 1679, the Exclusion Crisis, and the Rye House Plot that followed to Glorious Revolution of 1688–9 that saw the Catholic James II withdraw to

the Continent in defeat, while his Protestant cousin and sister took the throne as William III and Mary.

Arthur Capel was born in 1632 into a prominent Hertfordshire family, son of Arthur Capel, the first baron Capel, and Mary, the daughter of a baronet. The elder Capel was the royalist commander of Colchester during the second civil war in 1648, which after a lengthy siege was defeated by Lord Fairfax, the Parliamentary commander; Capel was subsequently tried by the High Court of Justice and executed in 1649. In 1653 the younger Arthur Capell married Lady Elizabeth Percy, the daughter of Algernon Percy, the Earl of Northumberland, and from the marriages of his sisters found himself connected to a significant part of the aristocracy, although apparently his closest friendship was with his cousin Algernon Sydney. At the Restoration he was granted two Lord Lieutenancies and in 1661 received the earldom of Essex from Charles II, presumably in part as a reward for his father's service to the Stuart cause. In 1669 the king appointed him ambassador to Denmark and two years later Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Given his known antipathy to Catholicism, he apparently proved a remarkably fair-minded administrator in Ireland.

Essex returned to England at the end of 1677 and quickly became associated with the anti-Catholic anti-Danby faction at the court and Parliament. In 1679 he became First Lord of the Treasury and played an active part in the investigations that followed the accusations of the Popish Plot in association with Shaftesbury, but he opposed the exclusion of James, Duke of York, a Catholic, from the succession to the throne (Charles II had no legitimate sons, and his son, the Duke of Monmouth, was a bastard, though favoured by his father). By 1681 Essex had come to see a Catholic succession as too dangerous and was clearly associated with the Shaftesbury Whigs, and by 1683 Essex had come around to the opinion of Algernon Sydney and John Hampden that a republic was preferable to a Catholic kingdom. By this time the Whig peers had been joined by such dangerous figures as John Wildman, a former Leveller. In June the so-called Rye House Plot was exposed. The plot to assassinate Charles II and James Duke of York as they passed the Rye House in Hertfordsire on their way back from the races at Newmarket collapsed when a fire at Newmarket prevented the races from taking place. To what degree Essex, Lord William Russell, and Sydney were in fact involved in the Rye House plot is unknowable, but there was no question that the three with others had taken part in discussions when Monmouth was present. William Howard, Lord Howard of Escrick, betrayed the others and provided damning information about the meetings. The plotters were arrested in June, and while Lord Russell's trial was in taking place at the Old Bailey, Essex, incarcerated in the Tower, was found dead in mysterious circumstances. The verdict of the coroner's inquest of *felo de se*, of suicide, was promptly contested by friends and associates of Essex, who claimed that he had in fact been murdered.

The controversy over the death of Essex was to produce a plethora of pamphlets on into the early eighteenth century. The broadsheets and tracts that follow are but a sample of a much larger literature. The report of the coroner's inquest was promptly put in print in 1683, followed by a short broadsheet reiterating the findings of the inquest, which was followed in turn by a mocking poem in rhymed couplets by someone who called himself Embroyan-Fancy of Anti-Jack Presbyter, and who set Essex's 'suicide' in the context of disloyal Whig politics. *An Enquiry into, and Detection of the Barbarous Murther of the Late Earl of Essex* was published in the following year (1684) and has been attributed to Robert Ferguson, a Scot who died in 1714; it was published anonymously, necessarily, since it named the Duke of York as the instigator of the murder of the earl of Essex. Ferguson was present in London in the 1660s, apparently with connections to various members of the London dissenting community and came to be reputed by the authorities as dangerously subversive. He subsequently became attached to Shaftesbury and the Whig cause of exclusion and fled with Shaftesbury to Amsterdam late in 1682; he returned in London in time to be involved in the Rye House plot, fleeing to Scotland when Secretary of State Jenkins got wind of the plot and closed in on the plotters. His lengthy tract depended heavily on information uncovered by the lawyer, Lawrence Braddon, who published an account of his trial with Henry Speke for subornation and bribery in 1684. Braddon had in fact been interviewing those who had been in the Tower at the time of Essex's death and made no secret of his attempt to discover who had engineered Essex's murder. Henry Danvers, who also waited until James II had fled abroad to publish his tract, *Murder Will Out*, was an older and experienced radical, a General Baptist preacher who had participated in discussions of the *Agreement of the People* in 1647; in the 1650s he became a Fifth Monarchist. At the Restoration he moved to London and was soon involved in various plots against the regime, and in the 1670s he became a popular preacher to a large dissenting congregation. He was associated with groups close to both Shaftesbury and Algernon Sidney and the Rye House plotters, and managed to escape to the Netherlands when the plotters were prosecuted, but whether he was there or back in London when he wrote *Murder Will Out* is not clear. He managed to escape again when Monmouth's rebellion collapsed and died there in 1687. The final piece, an anonymous and undated manuscript (British Library, Sloane MS.78) consists in notes prepared to make the case for reopening the *felo de se* verdict passed by the coroner's inquest on the morrow of Essex's death, evidently at some point in 1689, and again rehearses the case for a verdict of murder implicating the Duke of York.

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***Anon., An Account How the Earl Of Essex Killed  
Himself in the Tower of London, the 13th. of July  
1683 (Edinburgh, 1683)***

AN

ACCOUNT

HOW THE

Earl of Essex  
Killed Himself in the  
Tower of London,  
The 13th. of July 1683.

*As it appears by the Coroners Inquest, and the several Informations following.*

LONDON:

Printed by the Assigns of *John Bill* Deceas'd:  
And by *Henry Hills*, and *Thomas Newcomb*,  
Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, 1683. / /

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THE Information of *Paul Bomeny*, Servant to the Earl of *Essex*, for about Three or Four Years now last past; taken upon Oath the Fourteenth Day of *July*, *Anno Regni Caroli Secundi Dei Gratia, Anglie, Scotie, Francie & Hibernie Regis, Fidei Defensoris, &c. Tricesuno Quinto, Annoq; Domini*,<sup>1</sup> 1683.

SAITH, That when my Lord came to Captain *Hawley*, which was the Eleventh Instant, my Lord of *Essex* asked him for a Pen-Knife to Pare his Nails, as he was wont to do; to which this Informant answered, Being come in haste he had not brought it, but he would send for one, and accordingly sent the Footman with a Note for several things for my Lord, amongst which the Pen-Knife was inserted; and the Footman went, and gave the Bill to my Lords Steward, who sent the Provisions, but not the Pen-Knife, and he told the Footman, He would get one the next day. When the Footman was come, my Lord asked, If the Pen-Knife was come? This Informant answered, No; but he should have it the next day, and accordingly, he on the Twelfth Instant in the morning, before my Lord of *Essex* was up, this Informant sent the Footman home with a Note to the Steward, in which, amongst other things, he asked for a Pen-Knife for my Lord; and when the Footman was gone, about, or a little after Eight of the Clock, my Lord sent one Mr. *Russell*, his Warder, to this Informant, who came, and then he asked him, If the Pen-Knife was come? This Informant said, No, my Lord, but I shall have it by and by; to which my Lord said, That he should bring him one of his Rasours, it would do as well; And then this Informant went and / fetched one, and gave it my Lord; Who then went to Pare his Nails, and then this Informant went out of the Room into the Passage by the Door, on *Friday* the Thirteenth Instant, and begun to talk with the Warder, and a little while after he went down Stairs; and soon after came the Footman with the Provisions, and brought also a Pen-Knife, which this Informant put upon his Bed, and thought my Lord had no more need of it, because he thought he had Pared his Nails; and then this Informant came up to my Lords Chamber, about Eight or Nine in the Forenoon on *Friday* the Thirteenth Instant, with a little Note from the Steward; but not finding his Lord in the Chamber, went to the Close-stool Closet Door,<sup>2</sup> and found it shut; And he thinking his Lord was busie there, went down, and staid a little, and came up again, thinking his Lord had been come out of the Closet; And finding him not in the Chamber, he knocked at the Door with his Finger, Thrice, and said, My Lord? But no body answering, he took up the Hanging, and looking through the Chink, he saw blood, and a part of the Rasour; Whereupon

he called the Warder, *Russell*, and went down to call for help; and the said *Russell* pushed the Door open, and there they saw my Lord of *Essex* all along the Floor, without a Periwig, and all full of blood, and the Rasour by him. And this Depo- nent further Deposeth, That the Rasour now shewed to him, at the time of his Examination, is the same Rasour which he did bring to my Lord, and which did lye on the ground in the Closet, by my Lord.

*BOMENY. /*

THE Information of *Thomas Russel* one of the Warders of the *Tower*, who had the Custody of the Earl of *Essex*, taken the Fourteenth day of *July*, *Anno Regio Caroli Secundi, Dei Gratia Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae, & Hiberniae Regis, Fidei Defensor'*, &c. *Tricesimo Quinto, Annoq; Dom. 1683.*

Saith, That on *Friday* the Thirteenth Instant, about Eight or nine of the Clock in the Forenoon, he was present when he did hear the Lord of *Essex* call to his Man Mr. *Bomeny* for a Pen-knife to pare his nails, and then for a Rasour, which Mr. *Bomeny* brought him, and then my Lord walked up and down the Room scraping his nails with the Rasour, and shut the outward door; Mr. *Bomeny*, half a quarter of an hour afterwards, not finding my Lord in his Bed-Chamber, went down stairs again, believing that my Lord was then private in his Closet. *Bomeny* came up about a quarter of an hour afterwards, and knocked at the door, then called, My Lord, My Lord, My Lord; but he not answering, peeped through a Chink of the door, and did see the Earl of *Essex* lying on the ground in the Closet, whereupon he did cry out, That my Lord was faln down sick; and then this Informant went to the Closet-door, and opened it, the Key being on the outside, and then did see my Lord lie on the ground in his bloud, his Throat being cut.

*Tho. Russell. /*

THE Information of *Robert Sherwood* of *Fanchurch Street*, Chyrurgion,<sup>3</sup> taken the Fourteenth day of *July*, *Anno Regni Caroli Secundi, Dei Gratia, Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae, & Hiberniae Regis, Fidei Defensor'*, &c. *Tricesimo Quinto, Annoq; Dom. 1683.*

Saith, That he hath viewed the Throat of the Earl of *Essex*, and does find that there is a large Wound, and that the *Aspera Arteria*, or Wind-pipe, and the Gullet, with the *Jugular Arteries*, are all divided: Of which Wound he certainly died.

*Robert Sherwood.*

THE Information of *Robert Andrews* of *Crutchet Friers* Chyrurgion taken upon Oath the Fourteenth day of *July*, *Anno Regni Caroli Secundi nunc Regis Anglie, &c. Tricesimo Quinto, Annoq; Dom' 1683.*

SAITH, That he hath viewed the Throat of the Lord of *Essex*, and does find, That it was cut from the one *Jugular* to the other, and through the Wind-pipe and Gullet, unto the *Vertebres* of the Neck, both *Jugular* Veins being also quite divided.

*Robert Andrews. /*

AN Inquisition Indented, Taben at the *Tower of London*, in the County of *Middlesex*, the fourteenth day of *July*, in the Five and Thirtieth Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord *Charles* the Second, by the Grace of God, of *England, Scotland, France* and *Ireland* King, Defender of the Faith, &c. *Annoq; Dom.* 1683. before *Edward Farnham* Esq; Coroner of the said Lord the King, of the Liberty of the *Tower of London*, upon view of the Body of *Arthur* Earl of *Essex* then and there lying Dead, by the Oaths of *Daniel Colwell* Esq; *William Fisher*, *Thomas Godfel* Esq; *Thomas Hunt*, *Nathaniel Mountney* Esq; *Thomas Petter*, *William How*, *Robert Burgoine*, *Eleazar Wiggins*, *Thomas Hoggsflesh*, *Henry Cripps*, *Richard Rudder*, *William Knipps*, *John Hudson*, *John Kittlebeater*, *Lancolet Colson*, *Morgan Cowarn*, *Thomas Bryan*, *William Thaxton*, *Richard Cliffe*, *Zebadiab Richard*, *William Bayford*, and *Theophilus Charter*,<sup>4</sup> good and lawful men of the Liberty of the *Tower of London* aforesaid, who being Charged and Sworn to enquire how and in what manner the said *Arthur* Earl of *Essex* came to his Death, upon their Oaths say, That the aforesaid *Arthur* Earl of *Essex* the Thirteenth day of *July*, in the said Five and thirtieth Year of his now Majesties Reign, at the said *Tower of London*, in the said County of *Middlesex*, about the Ninth hour of the same day in the Forenoon, not having God before his eyes, / but being moved and seduced by the Instigation of the Devil, of his Malice forethought at the *Tower of London* aforesaid, in the said County of *Middlesex*, then and there being alone in a Closet, with one Rasour of the value of one shilling, Voluntarily and Feloniously Cut his Throat, and did thereby give himself one Mortal Wound, it being cut from the one *Jugular* to the other, and through the Wind-pipe and Gullet unto the *Vertebres* of the Neck, both *Jugular* Veins being also quite Divided; of which said Mortal Wound the said *Arthur* Earl of *Essex* instantly Died; and thus the aforesaid Jurors, upon their Oaths say, That the aforesaid *Arthur* Earl of *Essex*, in Manner and Form aforesaid, did Voluntarily and Feloniously, as *Felo de se*, Kill and Murther himself, against the Peace of our Lord the King, His Crown and Dignity. In Witness, whereof as well I the said Coroner, as the Jurors aforesaid, to this Inquisition have put our Hands and Seals, the Day and Year abovesaid.

*Vera Copia Examin' cum Originali,*  
Per.<sup>5</sup> E. FARNHAM.

*FINIS.*

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**Embroyan-fancy of anti-Jack Presbyter, *A New Poem  
on the Dreadful Death of the Earl Of Essex, Who Cut  
His Own Throat in the Tower* (London, 1683)**

A NEW

POEM

ON THE

DREADFUL DEATH

OF THE

EARL of ESSEX,

WHO

Cut his own Throat in the TOWER.

By the *Embroyan-Fancy*<sup>1</sup> of *Anti-Jack Presbyter*.<sup>2</sup>

Come, with a nimble thrust of *Rapier'd* wit,  
(My Muse) now *Stab* all *Traitors*, *point at*, *bit*  
The *Throat* of a *Self-murtherer*, whose fall  
Doth manifest his *Crimson Guilt* to all.  
Led by the *Halter* to the *Stygian Lake*.<sup>3</sup>  
Many there be, he to prevent the *Stake*,  
Or *Hemp* or *Hatchet*, took a shorter *Cut*,  
(As if to *die* were but to *crack a nut*,)  
To let his *Soul* fly from its *Prison*, *Body*,  
To stept to – ask his *Chronies*, *How d'ye?*  
O pity 'tis that such a *Branch* as he,  
Should thus deserve so sad an *Elegy*.  
Whose *Loyal Father*<sup>4</sup> pawn'd his life to those,  
Who were the grand *Promoters* of the *Cause*.

So *excellent* his *Father*, that t' express  
 His *Excellencies*, seemes to make them *less*.  
 'Should I presume to tell his worth, I fear  
 (My Muse) I should subscribe a *Murtherer*:  
 To do't by halves were *fair*, but 't would be se'd,  
 'Twere only then but *Drawn and Quartered*.<sup>5</sup>  
*My Lord* (like *Tully's Son*)<sup>6</sup> *Degenerates*.  
 A Worm, within his breast most sadly prates,  
 Conscience (*The Kings Atturney*) stings his heart  
 So mortally, that now he *dares depart*.  
 'A *wounded soul* close coupled with the sence  
 of *Sin*, payes home its *proper Recompence*.  
 Could not your *active hands* had fairly staid  
 The leasure of a *Psalm*? *Judas* has pray'd,  
 But later *Crimes* cannot admit the *Pause*,  
 They run upon *effects* more than the *Cause*.  
*Hangman* will curse your *Feates*, 'tis most *severe*  
 To be ones *proper Executioner*.  
 Some do affirm, that 'twixt such *Acts* and *Death*,  
 One may *repent*, even at his *last breadtb*.  
 I fear, there is, (after so *foul* a *Sin*,)  
 Too narrow a *gap* to let *Repentance* in. /  
 His *Death* to th' *Saints*<sup>7</sup> this *Doctrine* will afford,  
*Impatient of being with the Lord*  
*He was good man: Dearly-Beloved, praise*  
*His Policy, in Shorteining his Days*.  
 'But if the *Saints* thus give's the *slip*, 'tis need  
 We *look about us*, to preserve the *Breed*.  
 Hence sweep the *Almanack: Lilly*<sup>8</sup> make room,  
 And *Blanks* enough, for the *New Saints* to com  
 All in *Red Letters*: As their *Faults* have been  
*Scarlet*; so limb, their *Anniverse* of sin.  
*Jack Presbyter*, I tell the *Whorson*,<sup>9</sup> *Lyar*,  
*Encomiums* that do amount much higher.  
 'Tis height of *Valour, Fortitude*, to *kill*  
 (Not our *strong foes*, but) a *mans self at will*.  
 Brave active *Roman Spirit! Purgatory*  
 Shall be to thee, for a new *Inventory*.  
*Scylla, Charibdis, Python, Acheron*,<sup>10</sup>  
*Medea's Bull*,<sup>11</sup> the *Tails of the Dragon*,  
*Sea-monsters, Serpents, Gorgons, Centaurs*<sup>12</sup> all  
*Medusa's, Bugbear-Harpies*<sup>13</sup> these I call  
*Mormos*<sup>14</sup> and *Bugs*, (as our stout Earl did see,  
 To *fright* poor *Idiots* to *Morality*.  
*Cowards* do dread the *grim pale face of Death*,  
 Who *foil'd* b'it, are but *squeezed* out of *Breath*.  
 Give me an *Hector*<sup>15</sup> *greedy* of's *own blood*  
 Makes *Death to tremble*, bids *Damnation, slud*,

Fears not the *Gods*, 'tis *sin*, if they be *good*,  
If *bad*, why'ere in *aw* of *them* men stood?  
*Death, Hell, Damnation* and if thou not *fearest*,  
*Jack Presbyter*, dy thou thus if thou *darest*.  
Or else learn hence not to *aspire* too *nigh*  
The *high Perogatives* of *Majesty*.  
**Vive le Roy**,<sup>16</sup> let *Rebells* meet the end,  
If their *Repentance* may not it prevent.

*FINIS.*

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**Anon., *A True Narrative of the Bloody Murther of the Earl of Essex, Upon Himself, Being Now Prisoner in the Tower* (London, 1683)**

A TRUE  
NARRATIVE  
OF THE  
*BLOODY MURTHER*  
OF THE

Earl of Essex,  
UPON

*Himself, being now Prisoner in the Tower.*

ON *Friday* morning about Seven of the Clock, being the thirteenth of this instant *July*; His Majesty and Royal Highness came down from *Whitehall*<sup>1</sup> in their Barges to the Tower,<sup>2</sup> to take a view of the Store houses, and was walking there some considerable time about the lines, and coming by the Earl of *Essex* his chamber, the Earl was struck with such remorse of Conscience, to think what a loyal man his Father<sup>3</sup> was, and how he gave his life a Sacrifice for the late King, of blessed memory, and considering how lately he had free access to his Majesty; but now being under consinement, and the terror of a guilty Conscience, desperately cut his own Throat with his Razor and deprived himself of Life immediately, and from thence was carried to the Captain of the Warders<sup>4</sup> lodgings to be disposed of as his Majesty shall think most fit. I hope this will be a warning to all to take care how they involve themselves in such horrid designs<sup>5</sup> least their portion prove fatal like his, but now let the world know, that such cruel Bloody designs, especially against a Prince most Merciful and Gracious, can never go unpunished, but will undoubtedly meet with a recompence answerable to the deserts of such horrid Cruelties.

London, *Printed for* J. Scott 1683. /

50. *Milesians*: Milesians were the inhabitants of Miletus, a Greek city in Anatolia.
51. *Strabo*: Strabo (64 BC – AD 24) was a Greek geographer from Pontus in Anatolia, then a part of the Roman Empire. He traveled extensively throughout the Empire; in his advanced years he settled in Rome where he wrote his geography describing the people and places he was aware of which stretched from Britain to India, a work which was to become very well known in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
52. *Calanus*: Calanus was an Indian ascetic invited by Alexander the Great to accompany him when he turned back to the west. On reaching Peria, Calanus contracted pneumonia and immolated himself on a funeral pyre he had instructed Alexander's men to build for him. The story is told in Arrian's *Anabasis*.
53. *King Darius*: Darius the Great (550–486 BC) expanded the Persian Achaemenid Empire to include Balochistan, Egypt, and parts of eastern Greece. He died shortly after the defeat of the Persian forces at Marathon in 490.
54. *Q. Curtius*: Quintus Curtius Rufus was a Roman historian, writing in the period AD 41–54 His only surviving work is his *Historiae Alexandri Magni*.
55. *Alieno mori malo scelere quam meo*: 'I would prefer to die by another man's impiety than my own.'
56. *St. Austin*: St Augustine (AD 354–430) was born in Roman North Africa, converted to Christianity after having been a disciple of Manichaeism and Neo-Platonism. He became a priest and then Bishop of Hippo Regius. His writings, particularly *Confessiones* and *De civitate dei*, the latter written after the Visigoths conquered Rome in 410, were the important theological works in the Christian West. His condemnation of suicide continued to be quoted by clerical writers as authoritative into the eighteenth century.
57. *Magisenim mens infirma deprehenditur, quaeferre non potest duram Corporis sui Sanitatem, aur stultam vulgi Opinionem*: Philipot supplies his own translation following the quotation.

Anon., *An Account How the Earl Of Essex Killed Himself in the Tower of London*

1. Anno Regni Caroli Secundi Dei Gratia, Anglie, Scotiæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ Regis, Fidei Defensoris, &c: Tricesuno Quinto, Annoq; Domini: The year of the reign of Charles the second, by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France & Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, etc., the thirty fifth, in the year of our Lord. The kings of England continued to include France in their title, although the French possessions of the English Crown had largely been lost in the fifteenth century. 'Thirty fifth' refers to the regnal year, i.e. the number of years the monarch had reigned.
2. *Close-stool Closet Door*: A chair with an opening in the seat and a chamber pot below, which was a standard indoor toilet until indoor plumbing was introduced; it was sometimes placed as here in a closet to provide privacy.
3. Fanchurch Street, *Chyurgion*: Fenchurch Street ran in an easterly direction from Lombard Street to Aldgate in the eastern wall of the City. 'Chyurgion' is an obsolete spelling of Surgeon. Barber Surgeons, members of the guild of that name, were normally summoned to set broken bones and bind up wounds, tasks that physicians did not perform.
4. Daniel Colwell ... Theophilus Charter: This was an unusually large number of jurors to be empanelled by the coroner, who seems to have sworn such a large number because the

case was clearly unusual involving as it did a peer of the realm, at the time a prisoner of the Crown.

5. Vera Copia Examin'cum Originali, Per: A true copy examined with the original by.

### Embroyan-fancy of anti-Jack Presbyter, *A New Poem on the Dreadful Death of the Earl Of Essex*

1. Embroyan-Fancy: Possibly a pseudonym made up of 'embroyn', an obsolete term for making dirty or befouling something; 'fancy' in an obsolete usage may mean 'fantasy' or 'imagination'.
2. *Anti-Jack Presbyter*: Here the anonymous author makes clear his political identity. He is an Anglican Tory bent on smearing the Whigs and especially Essex as Dissenters. It is true that Essex sympathized with the Dissenters and supported Charles II's 1672 Declaration of Indulgence.
3. Stygian Lake: In classical mythology the river Styx runs through the infernal regions presided over in Roman terms by the god Pluto. Milton speaks of the 'Stygian Pool' in *Paradise Lost*.
4. *Loyal Father*: Essex's father, also Arthur Capell, was the 1st Baron of Hadham. He was the royalist commander at Colchester during the second civil war, which was besieged by Fairfax. After Capell's defeat and the town's surrender, Capell was tried by the High Court of Justice established by the Rump Parliament and beheaded in 1649.
5. Drawn and Quartered: The punishment of traitors, although sometimes mitigated as an act of grace to a beheading, was to be hanged, cut down before strangulation, drawn (that is disemboweled), after which the traitor's arms and legs were attached to four horses and the body dismembered. By the seventeenth century the horses were usually dispensed with and the dismemberment was performed with an axe.
6. Tully's Son: Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC) was a Roman philosopher and statesman, who championed a return of the Republic against both the first Triumvirate led by Caesar and Pompey, and the second Triumvirate led by Mark Antony, which resulted in his assassination. Cicero had hoped that his son, also Marcus, would become, like his father, a stoic philosopher, but instead his son favored a military career which he pursued not very successfully, although during the reign of Augustus he was appointed proconsul of Syria and the province of Asia.
7. *Saints*: During the wars and revolutions of the 1640s and '50s, the more radical Puritans frequently referred to themselves as 'saints'. The author here is using the term for the Dissenters.
8. Lilly: William Lilly (1602–81) was a famous astrologer and almanac maker, broadly sympathetic to the Parliamentary and Puritan cause but no friend of the Presbyterians. His *Christian Astrology* (1647) was the first major work in English on astrology. Although a friend of Pepys and Elias Ashmole, Lilly was out of favour during the Restoration.
9. Whorson: An obsolete term for whoredom or fornication, literally meaning 'the son of a whore', or 'bastard son'. Rarely used after the nineteenth century.
10. Scylla, Cbaribdis, Python, Acheron: Scylla and Charybdis are described in Homer's *Odyssey* as two monsters in the Strait of Messina between which Odysseus was forced to pass, Scylla being a six headed monster and Charybdis a whirlpool. Python was the earth-dragon of Delphi. Acheron was one of the five rivers of Hades, according to Greek mythology.

11. *Medea's Bull*: According to Greek myths related to the founding of Athens, Theseus was the son of King Aegeus and Aethra. After a series of adventures that established Theseus as a hero, he returned to Athens where Aegeus then wife Medea alone recognized him and realized that he was a threat to her son Medus. She sent him on a quest to capture the Marathonian Bull, which he succeeded in doing, returning with the bull which he sacrificed in Athens. Medea then tried a poison cup, but Aegus finally recognizing that Theseus was his son dashed the cup from Theseus' hand. Father and son were reunited and Medea fled to Asia.
12. *Gorgons, Centaurs*: In Greek mythology three sisters whose hair was living snakes and who to look on turned the viewer to stone. Centaurs were mythological creatures, half human, half horse.
13. *Medusa's, Bugbear-Harpies*: Medusa was one of the three Gorgons, whom Hesiod describes as sea daemons; harpies were mythological sisters equipped with wings, who snatched away the food prepared for others.
14. *Mormos*: Mormos/Mormon was a name given in the mid-seventeenth century to name certain baboons or mandrills.
15. *Hector*: In Homer's Iliad Hector, Priam's son, is the Trojan prince and hero, who after killing Patroclus, who was dressed in Achilles' armor, is then killed by Achilles, the Greek's greatest warrior, with the assistance of the goddess Athena.
16. *Vive le Roy*: Long live the King.

Anon., *A True Narrative of the Bloody Murther of the Earl of Essex, upon Himself*

1. *Whitehall*: Whitehall was a complex of buildings in the borough of Westminster north of Westminster Abbey and between the then Parliament Street and St James Park. The Whitehall mentioned in this tract was built between Henry VIII's reign and 1691, when much of the complex burned down, the surviving parts being demolished in 1769. It was a combination royal residence and government offices.
2. *Tower*: The Tower of London, originally a Norman fortification, was at the eastern edge of the City of London and was a liberty, jurisdictionally independent of the City of London. It had originally been a royal residence, but by the seventeenth century was largely used as a prison for important prisoners of the Crown awaiting execution just outside the walls on Tower Hill. Travel from Westminster by monarchs and their families and by Crown officials to the Tower or further east to the royal palace at Greenwich was normally by barge, thus obviating the need to travel by horseback through the City.
3. *Father*: Essex's father, also Arthur Capell, was the 1st Baron of Hadham. He was the royalist commander at Colchester during the second civil war, which was besieged by Fairfax. After Capell's defeat and the town's surrender, Capell was tried by the High Court of Justice established by the Rump Parliament and beheaded in 1649.
4. *Warders*: The Yeomen Warders were a small detachment of guards founded by Henry VII in 1485. They and their commander and their families were resident in the Tower.
5. *horrid designs*. The 'horrid designs' referred to the so-called Rye House Plot of June 1683 in which Essex, along with Lord William Russell, Lord Howard of Escrick, and Algernon Sydney were all implicated. The alleged plot was to assassinate Charles II and the Duke of York as they returned from the races at Newmarket in April 1683, but a fire in

Newmarket led to the king and his brother returning to Westminster without going on to Newmarket and passing by the Rye House, Hertfordshire, on their return.

### Danvers, *Murder Will Out*

1. Sir Francis *Bacon* observes in Sir *Tho. Overberyes* Case, in the E. of *Somerset's* Tryal: Francis Bacon (1561–1626), son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Queen Elizabeth's Lord Keeper, was trained as a lawyer and, as a client of the Earl of Essex, sat for various constituencies in the House of Commons. His desire for office largely frustrated in the 1590s (he was in competition with Sir Edward Coke), he turned to philosophy, which was to remain an abiding interest for the rest of his life. In 1608 he became King James's Solicitor General and in 1611 Attorney General, an office he had sought for more than a decade. In 1613 Robert Carr, the Earl of Somerset, the king's Scottish favorite, married Frances Howard, her marriage to the third Earl of Essex having been annulled months before. In 1615 Somerset and his wife and their associates were tried in Star Chamber for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, a former associate, who had infuriated Frances Howard by trying to block her marriage to Somerset; the claim was that she and Carr had arranged for Overbury's poisoning. Sir Francis Bacon prosecuted the case, Frances, now the Countess of Somerset, confessed to the murder, and both were sentenced to die, but the king refused to permit the sentence to be carried out, and they were released from the Tower in 1622.
2. Lord *R*: William Russell, Lord Russell (1639–1683), was the third son of the Earl of Bedford, entered Parliament at the Restoration but played little role until the 1670s when he became an ally of the Earl of Shaftesbury and with the other Whigs pushed for the exclusion of James, Duke of York, from the succession. In 1683 he along with others (Essex, Hampden, Sidney, Howard of Escrick and Sir Thomas Armstrong) was implicated in the Rye House plot to assassinate both the king and the Duke of York on their return from the Newmarket races. Russell's trial was in progress when Essex was in the Tower.
3. *Chyrurgeons*. A frequent spelling of 'Surgeon' in the early modern period. The London barber surgeons had been practicing anatomical dissections at their company hall since early in the seventeenth century.
4. *Solomons Spirit*: The story referred to here, usually called the judgment of Solomon, appears in 1 Kings 3:16–28.
5. *When they stabb'd H. the IV. of France, Burnt London, Assassinated Sir E.B.G.*: Henri IV of France was a Protestant prince who converted to Catholicism but was nevertheless assassinated by a fanatical Catholic, Francois Ravaillac, in 1610. The Great Fire of London in 1666 was sometimes blamed on the Catholics, although the evidence points to an accident. Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, a justice of the peace, was murdered by parties unknown in 1678 after receiving papers from Titus Oates describing a Catholic plot to assassinate the king, the so-called 'Popish Plot'.
6. French *Lord* Fevershams: . Louis de Duras (1641–1709) was the 2nd Earl of Feversham; he had come to England in the suit of James, Duke of York, was naturalized, and in 1673 was elevated to the peerage as Baron Duras of Holdenby. In 1676 he married the daughter and co-heiress of George Sondes, the 1st Earl of Feversham. He commanded various regiments of horse guards under Charles II and James II and succeeded to his father-in-law's earldom in 1677.