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Elizabethan England:

Being the History of this Country "In Relation to all Foreign Princes.

FROM ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, MANY HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED;
CO-ORDINATED WITH XVIth CENTURY PRINTED MATTER
RANGING FROM ROYAL PROCLAMATIONS
TO BROADSIDE BALLADS.

A Survey of Life and Literature

BY

E. M. TENISON

Officer of the Order of St John of Jerusalem,
Corresponding Member of the Academy of History of Spain,
and Member of the Society for Nautical Research

With many hundred portraits and other illustrations in collotype,
also title pages and portraits in line
And with PORTFOLIO
of unique Maps, Charts, Documents, etcetera,
relevant to the text, and first published 1932

Issued for the Author
to Subscribers only

At the Sign of the Dove with the Griffin,
Royal Leamington Spa, in the County of Warwick.
MDCCCCXXXVII

Copyright for the Author


ELIZABETHA REGINA

"ELIZABETHA REGINA,"

now first published from the original at Hyde, Dorset, in possession of Major C E Radclyffe of Foxdenton, late of the 1st Life Guards

Panel 20½ inches x 16 inches

Shown at the Tudor Exhibition of 1890, (No. 410)

Traditionally believed in the Radclyffe family to have been given by Queen Elizabeth to Margaret Radclyffe, who was one of her Maids of Honour. Formerly at Ordsall Hall, then moved to Foxdenton, and brought to Hyde about 1830

(See Vol I, Prologue, Sec 8, for arms of Radclyffe of Foxdenton, one of the few remaining English families whose possessions have descended in a direct line from father to son from the early Middle Ages up to the present See also Pedigree of the Radclyffe or Ratcliffe Earls of Sussex, E E, Vol V, facing p 82)

(1) E M Tenison's "Elizabethan England," Frontispiece Vol VI

Elizabethan England.

BOOK II.

"Spain, yea Spain it is."

"Spain, yea Spain it is, in which all causes do concur to give a just alarm . . . . . "

Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, K G , P.C , Discourse on " Matters of Religion and State ": To his " Most Gracious Sovereign."

VOLUME VI

FROM THE APPEAL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES FOR ENGLISH AID, JUNE, 1585,
AND THE COMMISSION OF THE EARL OF LEICESTER, OCTOBER, 1585,
TO THE TRAGEDY OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS AT FOTHERINGHAY, 8 FEB: 1586-7
AND THE FUNERAL OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY, 16 FEB: 1586-7.

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Preface, 1937.

THIS work being addressed, in 16th century fashion, both to contemporaries and to "hereafter ages," it is suitable to place on record that in 1935 the local authorities of Northamptonshire and the Soke of Peterborough selected "*Elizabethan England*" as a Silver Jubilee gift to King George V and Queen Mary: the Lord Lieutenant of the County at the time being Lord Burghley's representative in the senior line, the Marquess of Exeter.

Bound in blue levant morocco tooled in gold, it was offered to Their Majesties as the portrayal of conditions under which England's influence extended "far and wide."

Volumes V and VI now follow in the year of the Coronation of King George VI, when England has again a Queen Elizabeth for the first time since the death of the last of the Tudors three hundred and thirty-four years ago.

Of political differences between then and now, it will suffice to touch upon some most relevant to recent events and to the subject matter of this History. During the reign of the Tudor Elizabeth, theological bitterness between Catholics and Protestants was enhanced by the ambition of Philip II to dominate this country where he had reigned as King Consort. To what extent many English Catholics conceived it their duty to adhere to King Philip, we have partly seen, and shall see up to his death in 1598. But to try and convey the position in a sentence is to invite misunderstanding; because the relationships and enmities between England and Spain were peculiarly complicated.

Among men who fought each other by sea and land, admiration was to be mingled with the antagonism. But for the baffled English conspirators against Elizabeth, in 1569 and 1586, there was much cause for dismay, in that they staked their all on the aid of Spain, and on both occasions their hope in King Philip precipitated their doom.

While rehabilitating that Monarch as a skilled organiser of wars, and as the most astute crowned statesman of his day, it is not possible to claim for him that he showed any chivalrous consideration, either towards his English allies, or for the Queen of Scots, of whom in theory he was the principal champion; nor even was he magnanimous to his Admirals and Generals.[1] His limitations of sympathy, and his peculiar coldness of temperament, can be observed from his dealings. But the so-called "gloomy bigot," of whom we are often told that he was unduly influenced by priests, had many a difference of opinion with a succession of strong and powerful Popes. He discouraged at Rome any measure he considered

[1] See *Discurso* of the Duke of Alba, 1919. E E. Vol IV, p. 234 and note 1.

detrimental to the interests of Spain, and in emergencies he drew a sharp distinction between the Pope as the Holy Father and the Pope as a temporal Prince.[1]

Whereas the Elizabethan English Catholics were placed in the tragic position of having to choose between obedience to the Sovereign *de facto* or to the Pope, who had declared Elizabeth only a "pretended Queen"[2] and therefore not to be obeyed, Pope Pius XI sent to King George VI and Queen Elizabeth his congratulations upon their Coronation, and his good wishes for a happy and prosperous reign. Changed conditions make this salutation possible.

Queen Elizabeth's prohibition of Catholics from holding public offices (1559) was continued by the Stuarts; till James II lost his Crown for proclaiming a religious toleration not accepted or acceptable until the early 19th century.[3]

As British Catholics long since have been freed from former disabilities, nothing now prevents the Archbishop of Westminster from not merely advising loyalty to the throne but enjoining it upon English Catholics as a duty.

The time has come when it is possible to address the same History simultaneously to Catholics and Protestants, as well as to others under the British flag; assuming that they all should now be willing to see the Elizabethan age in its diverse aspects, and not as epitomised to suit some one accepted thesis on the one side or the other.

We have seen and will further see that Queen Elizabeth was neither the sublime paragon her poets and balladists alleged, nor the "female Nero" execrated by Catholics upon whom her penal laws pressed heavily. Nor was Mary Queen of Scots the subtle "syren" of English caricature, nor yet so superhuman as not to feel a poignant exasperation and disgust against the petty indignities so often imposed upon her during her captivity.

But in 1937 the descendants of the rival factions could harmoniously attend the Coronation; and the Catholic Duke of Norfolk, as Hereditary Earl Marshal of England, could organise the ceremony at which the Archbishops of Canterbury and York officiated. Since the Vatican ceased to claim any right to decide who should or should not rule this Empire, the loyalty of English Catholics to the Crown has been expressed with an increasing vigour and emphasis.

That it is the descendant of Mary Queen of Scots who reigns over us is a fact we now take as a matter of course. But let us look back to the extraordinary

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[1] E.E Vol. I, p 92 [2] E.E Vol II, pp 44-49

[3] King James's Declaration of Liberty of Conscience embraced not only Catholics but all the Protestant dissenters, of whom there were an astonishing number of different sects These last set no value upon toleration if they had to share it with "Papists", and King James was accused by them of intending to force Catholicism on them all See Barrington's "*Grahame of Claverhouse, Viscount of Dundee, 1648-1689,*" London, 1911, pp 177-203, for particulars of that crisis and how it has been misrepresented

prophecy of Bassentyne, uttered while both the Queens were young.[1] He foretold that she and Elizabeth would never meet face to face, and that going into England would be "utter wreck" to her; but nevertheless that her descendants would unite both crowns. Though this prediction now attracts scant notice, we should remember that when James VI of Scots became James the First of Great Britain and Ireland, he pointed out that he would have had a just claim to the Crown of England even if his mother had not been the descendant of Henry VII's elder daughter. Independently of Plantagenet ancestors brought in through the Tudors, James represented "the ancient Saxon Royal Line" in virtue of descent from Saint Margaret (who is also the ancestress of our present Queen Elizabeth).

Now that there is no longer any dynastic controversy,—and now when the British and not the Spanish flag flies over "an Empire on which the Sun never sets,"—there remains no political necessity to keep up old injustices. All fair-minded Britons should be willing to recognise that the dwarfing of 16th century Spain in English Modern History should be terminated for ever. And Spaniards may understand that 19th and 20th century historians, who have vied with each other to depict a feeble Philip and a decaying Spain, have seldom been intentionally unfair, but were the products of an imperfect system.

It is rash to judge matters of strategy and tactics without enquiring into the full particulars; and is especially unjust to blame or praise the Admirals and Generals on either side without first ascertaining what precisely they had been ordered to do and what means were provided for the doing of it. But even Sir John Fortescue—whose *"History of the British Army"* remains so great a national monument,—took on trust the sweeping assertion that the Elizabethan army was deplorably lacking in discipline. Actually it would be difficult to improve upon Lord Leicester's *"Lawes and Ordinances of War"* which in Volume VI of *"Elizabethan England"* are brought out of oblivion. These printed laws on the one hand, and King Philip's unpublished Instructions to the Marquis of Santa Cruz on the other[2], have hitherto been left out of the reckoning.

During the 19th century a witty Frenchman said that "the ancients made history a panegyric; but we have made it a libel."[3] The epigram is applicable not only to echoes of specific libels such as Buchanan's attack on Mary Queen of Scots, or else the *"Vie Abominable . . . de my Lorde de Lecestre."* It is still more relevant to the unconscious libels, in which great actions are reduced to a squalid "realism," the antithesis to heroic reality. This tendency arose partly from acceptance of the dictum that hero-worship is "barbaric"; and partly from forgetfulness of the warning of Vauvenargues,—"It is the sign of a mediocre mind to measure out praise grudgingly."

Great men are great because they could undertake and achieve what would be

[1] E E Vol I, p 324
[2] E E Vol V, pp 199-203 [3] Roux *"Pensées,"* 1886, (2nd Ed Paris), p 61.

impossible to lesser minds. But lesser minds can grow by familiarity with the past in its constructive aspects. This principle of education was understood by Alfred the Great, and Charlemagne, and Alfonso *el Sabio* of Castile.

A recent work on the Reign of Elizabeth was praised by a press critic as "a history without a hero." This was a polite way of saying that the men of action had been arbitrarily despoiled of their laurels; and that the distinction, variety, and brilliance of a most eventful era had been almost obliterated in effort not to offend the present by hinting at any superiority in the past.[1]

Of current fallacies, one upon which it is necessary again to remark, is the belief that the Inquisition in Spain quenched literature and the fine arts. This has been frequently reiterated in English, even while Spain still possessed an enormous wealth of art treasures proving the contrary.[2]

Perhaps the recent destruction of many a marvel of painting, and sculpture, architecture, and other skilled craftsmanship, may bring home to the outer world to what extent these antiquities represented a highly civilised country.

When in 1914 the Louvain University Library was destroyed, scholars all over the British Empire remonstrated; and Mr. Henry Guppy of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, sent out an appeal to private collectors each to help in the re-creating of that Library. But when the Palacio de Liria was wrecked in November, 1936, there was no British protest.

Twelve years earlier the Duke of Alba in a *discurso* to the *Academia de Bellas Artes* had stated what he meant by civilisation. The cultured man, he said, whether living now or in the Middle Ages, or amid the exuberant glories of the Renaissance, was one who felt and fostered an appreciation of "the good, the true and the beautiful." Granted that different nations and persons saw truth and goodness from different angles, the charm of the old works of art arose primarily from the spirit of the artists. They aimed not merely at a momentary success, but intended that their labours should last into the far future. And believing the soul of man to be the child of God, their art sprang from and appealed to some of the most exalted human hopes and emotions. But if an artist, under pressure of modern materialism, loses this *sentimiento de perpituidad,* the blight of mediocrity falls upon him as a nemesis. Man is not civilised on the strength of mechanical contrivances or the increase of speed; he is civilised in proportion to his moral, spiritual, and artistic sensibilities.

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[1] "History without heroes," was the aim of a person of doubtful nationality who in 1933 arrived in Spain, calling himself "Envoy from the International Association for Reform in teaching history." The "reform" was to consist in "eliminating" all leaders and outstanding personages, if they happened to be Monarchs or noblemen, or sailors or soldiers.

[2] Many of these (from the Royal and ecclesiastical collections, and from among the private possessions of the Duke of Alba, Marquis of Valverde de la Sierra, Marquis of San Juan de Piedras Albas, and others) were lent to the Barcelona Exhibition of 1929-30 Particulars in "*El Arte en España. Guía del Museo del Palacio Nacional . . . Tercera edición Revisada por el Dr D. Manuel Gómez Moreno . . . Professor del Centro de Estudios históricos de Madrid.*" Barcelona, 1929.

The Duke of Alba so generously permitted access to his own hereditary treasures that it appeared the more ironical when his palace was confiscated in July, 1936; and burnt four months later. *"Un gran beneficio no se podia pagar sino con una gran ingratitud."*[1]

The examination, classification and cataloguing of the Alba MSS was begun by the present Duke's mother, and continued after her death. In 1907 her son published his first book, a collection of Ambassadorial letters which an English expert had pronounced to be non-existent.[2] But it was not until 1935 that the University of Oxford conferred upon the Duke an Hon: Degree, the year after the publication of Volumes I to IV of *"Elizabethan England,"* the first English History to draw upon the Alba papers.[3]

To treat History as the monopoly of historians, antiquities as only of interest to antiquarians, and art as reserved for comprehension by artists, is an attitude not infrequent in our age of specialism. But a new stimulus has lately been given to appreciation of the arts as handmaids to History. On 27th April, 1937, the King and Queen opened the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich, in the Queen's House (begun by James I for his Queen Anne and finished by Charles I for Henrietta Maria). Nothing resembling this Museum has existed hitherto in Britain, though Spain and other countries of Europe and also the U.S.A. had their naval museums ahead of us. Under the auspices of Professor Geoffrey Callender and the Society for Nautical Research, and also thanks to the financial aid of Sir James Caird, Bart., such a Museum has been created as should banish indifference and promote a widespread revival of interest in all maritime concerns.[4] The principles on which the National Maritime Museum and this History of *"Elizabethan England"* have been evolved are akin: in so far as both appeal to the eye and mind through direct evidence; both are created to make history and the arts delightful in conjunction. Both are arranged so that the wealth of material is not fatiguing to the onlooker. Both have been planned and achieved with the intention to help our countrymen to apprehend more fully the lessons of the past; avoid bygone errors and limitations; and carry on into the remote future the best traditions of valour and vigour, *pro Deo, pro Rege, pro patria, pro utilitate hominum.*

E. M. TENISON.

London. June, 1937.

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[1] A saying of the Conde de Tendilla in 1513, quoted by the Duke of Alba in 1919 *Discurso* to the *Academia de la Historia*, p 96 [2] E.E Vol IV, p 2

[3] Interest in the Spanish language and in Spanish literature has advanced notably in our time, and especially since the Oxford University Press has issued a series of selected works in Spanish Nevertheless in 1936 one of the chief English critics of Spanish literature could airily dismiss all the Kings of Spain as having "misgoverned" either by "weakness or ambition" (not even mentioning which Kings he supposed to have erred in which sort)

[4] See the present writer's article on the N.M.M in *"United Empire"* for August 1937 (N.S. Vol xxviii, No. 8, pp 451-454), and the official description in *The Museums Journal*, Vol. 37, No 2, May 1937.

POSTSCRIPT

"MATTERS APPERTAINING TO THE ROYAL NAVY."

When the King and Queen and Princess Elizabeth arrived by river at Greenwich, to open the National Maritime Museum, the Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors of the Borough offered a "whole-hearted and respectful welcome" The Mayor said, "As loyal and devoted subjects we are well aware of the deep interest Your Majesty displays in all matters appertaining to the Royal Navy," and to maritime matters in general Briefly reciting the chief events in the past of Greenwich Palace and Hospital, he added,

"St Nicholas, Deptford (which is included in the Borough of Greenwich,) also has a long and distinguished connection with the Naval Service of this country In its Royal dockyard (closed in 1869) have been built some of the most famous ships in the history of the Royal Navy, particularly those associated with the victories of Sir Francis Drake and Lord Nelson It was here that Queen Elizabeth conferred the honour of knighthood upon Sir Francis Drake on his return from circumnavigation of the world . . .

It is because of the associations of Greenwich with the Crown, the Royal Navy, and the maritime world, that the inhabitants of the Borough feel doubly honoured by your Majesty's visit on such a propitious occasion as the opening of the National Maritime Museum which will house in the cradle of the Royal Navy such a magnificent collection of articles historically associated with the Royal Navy and the Mercantile Marine, and will prove a connecting link of Greenwich with its traditional history.

We humbly pray that Your Majesty may long be spared to guide the destinies of the great Empire, in whose prosperity and happiness each of your loyal subjects evinces such justifiable pride"

The King, in reply, commended the linking of past and present "Rightly do you recall with pride your historical associations with the Royal House, the Royal Navy, and the maritime world there is no place in this country in which the museum could be more appropriately established I am happy to think that the Queen's House, in which so many of my ancestors have resided, has now become accessible to the public "[1]

The Museum is open free. Under the Directorship of Professor Geoffrey Callender, F S A, author of "*The Naval Side of British History*," the Society for Nautical Research hopes its creation inaugurates a renewal of popular appreciation of the Sea Services, past, present, and to be.

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[1] See Introduction to "*The Society for Nautical Research Annual Report for the year 1936*," Greenwich, 1937, pp. 31-32: with pictures of the Museum; and (plate xvi) H M. The Queen receiving the golden key with which to open the main door.

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Note on the Illustrations.

Major Radclyffe's "Elizabetha Regina," (1), and the Warwick Castle Robert Earl of Leicester, carrying his bâton as Lieutenant-General, (2), are here published for the first time, as also (8) a "Voluntary Gentleman of the Horse" (Rowland Lytton of Knebworth) 1585. As to the miniature of Queen Elizabeth, see "Note on the Illustrations," Vol. V, p. xxxv. The picture of Robert Earl of Essex, now in the National Gallery of Ireland, is believed never to have been reproduced before in any British or foreign publication. New, likewise, are the watercolour plans of Flushing (3) 1585, of Berck (11) 1586; and the Mediterranean Chart (5) dated the same year. With the sketch-map to illustrate Lord Leicester's operations (scale 16 miles to an inch), and with the map of Zeeland (7), from the Atlas Leicester would have used, also the contemporary plans of Zutphen (13—14) and Deventer (16),—to which is added an exact delineation of Leicester's victorious siege of Doesburg,—the services of the English Army need no longer be misunderstood.

The three pictures of King Philip's General, the Prince of Parma (9, 10, 11) come respectively from Naples, Parma, and Brussels. But whereas Spanish portraits and frescoes were conspicuous in the earlier volumes of "Elizabethan England," *the lack of these in Volume VI is due to the exigencies of the war. It is hoped to continue the Spanish series in later volumes. But at the time of writing we do not know how many of the intended items (from 1585 to 1625) are still in existence, one of the most irreparable misfortunes of Spain being the scattering and destruction of many art treasures in 1936-37.*

Though the last letter of Mary Queen of Scots (18, 19, 20) was reproduced in facsimile by its former owner in his sumptuous Catalogue, it is necessary also to this volume of "Elizabethan England," *in which the complexities and controversies of the last part of Mary's tragic career are an outstanding feature.*

Lant's engraving of Sir Philip Sidney's herse (22), 1587, is not chosen for artistic merit but for its historical interest, and because it shows the interior of old St. Paul's Cathedral which perished in the Great Fire of Charles II's day. The prints of Sidney's funeral procession, and the reproductions of title pages of works then widely popular but now seldom read, speak for themselves of an era in which the hope of being remembered with honour in "hereafter ages" was a strong incitement to constructive action.

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For Note on *Catálogo de documentos inéditos*, see E E Vol. V, p xxvii

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Sir Henry Sidney, four times Lord Justice and thrice Lord Deputy of Ireland, "found Her Majesty's Records laid as it were in an open place, whither any man (that vouchsafed his pains) might come that would": the papers being "subject to wind, rain, and all kinds of weather, and so in a sort neglected that they served now and then (as I have by good men and good means credibly heard reported), . . to rub horses' heels."

These papers Sir Henry "with great care and diligence caused to be perused and sorted, and prepared an apt place within the Castle of Dublin, well trimmed and boarded, with a chimney in the room, where neither by the moisture of the walls, nor unseasonableness of the weather, nor other means they could be subject to harm.

"He prepared fit and convenient places and several divisions to lay them apart, according to their several natures and appointed one of discretion and skill to look on them, who also for his better encouragement was assigned a convenient fee for his labour"

"He also caused the Statutes, policies and Ordinances of that Realm, which lay hid and not known to many . . to be searched, surveyed and overviewed by men of the best learning, skill and discretion he could find or come by in that realm: giving them in express charge to peruse and read all; and to collect such and so many of them as they should . . . judge and discern to be expedient and necessary to be published and known, to the end that the same might be imprinted . . . that no man thenceforth might pretend ignorance of the laws . . ."[1]

Privately, to Leicester and Walsingham, Sir Henry defined his system as "to make the sword to work with the Law, so as the one may bring to pass that which the other cannot. using them both as instruments of justice."[2] *English and Irish ideas of what constituted justice differed considerably. The Catholic Irish chiefs set their hopes upon a Spanish conquest of England, and (as they supposed) a consequent emancipation of themselves. This caused Ireland to be regarded by Elizabethan Englishmen as a foreign country; even while they reminded the Irish that King Henry II had become Overlord "not by conquest but by invitation."*

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[1] Spelling modernised from the Continuation to Holinshed's Chronicles An Dom. 1586, by Molyneux (Sir Henry's secretary) Published 1586-7. Ed. 1808 Vol. IV, pp. 871-872

[2] Sir H. Sidney's "Remembrances to deale with my L. of Leicester and Mr Secretarie." Unpublished Dudley MSS of the Marquess of Bath, K G (Longleat) Vol III, ff 47-48

ERRATA, VOL. V.

NOTE As formerly, errata overlooked in proof reading are duly corrected below. In a work of such wide scope, and drawn from so many languages, misprints are not easy to avoid. But abbreviations which to modern eyes may look like misprints in Escobar's *Recopilacion,* E E. Vol V, pp 12-17, were transcribed from one of the only two known copies, and in 1935 the proofs were checked from the same volume, then in possession of the Duke of Berwick and Alba. Whatever the accentuation, contractions, and other peculiarities, they are those of Escobar's printer in 1586. But the point is less how the printer spelt than that Escobar's experiences in the Conquest of Portugal in 1580 have not hitherto been examined by English writers, and are of special interest, in that Alba's victory at Alcántara was not only one of the decisive battles of the world but was taken as a warning by Elizabethans

Of the undernoted small misprints in Volume V, one in Spanish, p. 205, was noticed in time to insert an erratum slip while binding

Vol V p xiii, lines 11, 12, 13 For "xxxvii, xxxviii, xxxix," read "xxxv, xxxvi, xxxvii"

p xxiv, line 3rd from end After "nation", delete comma

p xxviii, l 20 For "1924" read "1934."

p xxxv, l 6. For "plate 3" read "plate 4"

p 90, l. 13 For "*Use* the said Queen" read "*Us* the said Queen"

Plate 12, facing p 140 For "his stepson and stepdaughter *of* the Earl of Essex and Lady Dorothy Devereux" read "his stepson and stepdaughter the Earl of Essex and Lady Dorothy Devereux"

p 205, l 14 For "Rey servido *do* Patria honrada" read "Rey servido *y* Patria honrada"

p 222, l 1 For "1066" read "1067"

p 296 Chronology, 1585 For "1st December" read "8th December"

Also, Vol. I, *p* 307, *5th line from end* For "1588" read "1568"

Vol III, p 301, note 2 For "Vol II," read "Vol III"

ADDENDA

Vol I, pp 297-304, 307 *Hawkins at S Juan de Ulua*

Obligations were acknowledged to Mr. G R G Conway Since then, he has transcribed further particulars as to the Artillery captured from Hawkins (Arch of the Indies, Seville, Cabinet 52, case 1, file 12/9). and he has translated from the original (Arch · of Simancas, Cabinet 59, drawer 4, file 3) the letter of Vice-Admiral Juan de Ubilla to King Philip, 16 Dec 1568 These transcripts he gave to Professor Michael Lewis, of Greenwich R N College See "*The Mariners Mirror,*" Vol. xxiii, No 3, July, 1937, where they are printed Professor Lewis remarks that whereas Corbett's rendering of Ubilla's letter was from the one which "Philip II sent to Alva" [the Duke of Alba] "to forward to the English Ambassador," which letter ascribes "the firing of the first shot to the English," the actual statement of the Spanish Vice-Admiral says no such thing

As a popular English historian, still living, seldom mentions Hawkins without calling him a "pirate" (the most deadly insult a landsman can offer to a seaman,) it is doubly to be noticed that the Spanish adversary's communication contains no opprobrious terms; testifies that Hawkins "fought my ship and the flagship gallantly"; and adds, "It was a well fought battle, and one of the hardest in which I ever took part, although I have served Your Majesty in most of the notable fights of the West, from the battle of Tunis till now" Whereas the list of Ordnance is fascinating only to the few of us who study the evolution of Artillery, the Spanish tribute to English valour should be significant for all

ADDENDA

"THE DELYVERIE OF THE ISLE OF MALTA," 1565.

(*a*) *E E Vol I pp* 261, 273. When the title page of "*A Fourme of Prayer*" for the defenders of Malta was reproduced, and the prayers were quoted, only the Hatfield House copy and that in the British Museum were mentioned Since then, another edition, printed for use of the Diocese of Norwich, similar in text but with a different decorative border to the title page, has been presented by Lieut-Colonel Beales, O.St.J, to the Library of the Order of St. John, at St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell

In 1847 the Parker Society in "*Liturgies & Occasional Forms of prayers set forth in the Reign of Elizabeth*" (ed Wm Keatinge Clay, B D, Cambridge University Press) reprinted a copy then in the Cathedral Library at Salisbury. "*A Forme to be eused in Common praier euery Wednesdaie & Fridaie, within the citie & Dioces of Sarum· to excite al godly people to praie vnto God for the deliuerie of those Christians, that are now inuaded by the Turke*"· London, John Waley, n d ; Quarto

Furthermore the Parker Society (pp 524-526) gave (also from a copy in the Cathedral Library at Salisbury), "*A short Forme of Thanksgueing to God for the delyuerie of the Isle of Malta from the inuasion and long siege thereof by the great armie of the Turkes both by sea & lande, & for sundry other victories lately obteined by the christians against the said Turkes, to be vsed in the common prayer within the prouince of canturburie, on Sondayes, Wednesdaies, & Fridaies, for the space of syx weekes next ensuinge the receipt hereof Set forthe by the most Reuerend father in God, Matthew, by Goddes prouidence Archebyshop of Canturburie, Primate of all Englande and Metropolitane Imprinted at London by Willyam Seres, dwelling at the West end of Paules, at the signe of the Hedgehogge Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum Anno* 1565" (4to)

Mr. H. W. Fincham, F S A, Sub-Librarian at St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, thinks it possible that in other Cathedral libraries there may exist uncatalogued copies

The reason for quoting the *Fourme* in this History was less its bibliographical rarity than its political significance. for it shows that despite Queen Elizabeth's rejection of the Pope's authority, and her expulsion of the Order of St John from England, she was capable of recognising the value to Europe of the services of the White Cross Knights, when by defending Malta against the forces of the Grand Turk they saved the Mediterranean for Christendom

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(*b*) *Vol V p* 251. *note* 2: *Francesco Alunno* He was author of "*Le osservationi di M. Francesco Alvnno da Ferrara sopra il Petrarcha*", which in 1550 was "*novamente restampate, & con diligenza ricorrette, & molto ampliate*".

His portrait is engraved on the title page of the above work, printed "*In Vinegia per Pavolo Gherardo M D L*"

Introduction to Volume VI.

"There is not any governed Estate which in peace or war can be accounted sure, or preserved from dishonour and ruin, unless it be supported and borne up by justice duly administered, and discipline orderly observed."

Thus Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester introduced his admirable *"Lawes and Ordinances of War,"* the ignoring of which has caused fundamental misunderstanding The now-current assumption that the most valiant actions of the Elizabethans were "unlawfully begotten," during thirty years,—until the coming of King Philip's Armada,—is a delusion which vanishes as soon as "matters of warfare and the State" are sufficiently examined in conjunction.[1]

The diplomatic and martial dealings of Leicester will be shown further in this and the ensuing volume. Amongst errors repeated by nearly all modern English historical writers, one of the chief is that Leicester and Lord Burghley led rival "factions" A Shakespearian critic even compared them to the Capulets and the Montagues. But it was Burghley upon whom Leicester mainly relied to defend him from enemies at the Court, during his absence in the Netherlands. And we shall see how the combined influence of Burghley, Walsingham and Hatton, was needed to prevent Queen Elizabeth from "revoking" her General, just when his presence in the Low Countries was most advantageous for England, and proportionately unwelcome to Spain.

If, on the one hand, Leicester's constant loyalty and valuable service to his own Sovereign can be demonstrated beyond dispute, his resolute and ruthless antagonism to the Queen of Scots, and his share in bringing her to the scaffold, will also call for close attention.

The extraordinary good fortune of the English Queen, to whose advantage the attempts of her enemies were turned by the devotion and astuteness of her Ministers, the fatal ill-fortune of the Queen of Scots,—who, despite her brave spirit and innate graciousness, as well as alert intellect, seemed born to be a human sacrifice,—make a contrast as startling as any the genius of a Shakespeare could have invented. Had such Ministers as Burghley, Leicester and Walsingham been bred north of the Tweed, and awaited Queen Mary on her first arrival from France, not all the thunders of John Knox could have blasted her, nor the pen of Buchanan defiled her. Had Elizabeth been surrounded by such self-seekers as Lord James Murray, Elizabeth might soon have found herself a fugitive or a captive.

Whereas Elizabeth, both at the time and to posterity, has received the chief glory for measures carried out in spite of the difficulties she placed in the way, Mary

[1] See EE Vol I, pp 181-182, for answers to an assertion that "Events were what the Queen and her cautious Ministers most dreaded"

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The State Papers for Ireland.

Sir Henry Sidney, four times Lord Justice and thrice Lord Deputy of Ireland, "found Her Majesty's Records laid as it were in an open place, whither any man (that vouchsafed his pains) might come that would": the papers being "subject to wind, rain, and all kinds of weather, and so in a sort neglected that they served now and then (as I have by good men and good means credibly heard reported), . . . to rub horses' heels."[1]

These papers Sir Henry "with great care and diligence caused to be perused and sorted, and prepared an apt place within the Castle of Dublin, well trimmed and boarded, with a chimney in the room, where neither by the moisture of the walls, nor unseasonableness of the weather, nor other means they could be subject to harm.

"He prepared fit and convenient places and several divisions to lay them apart, according to their several natures. and appointed one of discretion and skill to look on them, who also for his better encouragement was assigned a convenient fee for his labour"

"He also caused the Statutes, policies and Ordinances of that Realm, which lay hid and not known to many . to be searched, surveyed and overviewed by men of the best learning, skill and discretion he could find or come by in that realm giving them in express charge to peruse and read all; and to collect such and so many of them as they should . judge and discern to be expedient and necessary to be published and known, to the end that the same might be imprinted . . . that no man thenceforth might pretend ignorance of the laws . . . ."[1]

Privately, to Leicester and Walsingham, Sir Henry defined his system as "to make the sword to work with the Law, so as the one may bring to pass that which the other cannot: using them both as instruments of justice."[2] *English and Irish ideas of what constituted justice differed considerably. The Catholic Irish chiefs set their hopes upon a Spanish conquest of England, and (as they supposed) a consequent emancipation of themselves. This caused Ireland to be regarded by Elizabethan Englishmen as a foreign country; even while they reminded the Irish that King Henry II had become Overlord "not by conquest but by invitation."*

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[1] Spelling modernised from the Continuation to Holinshed's Chronicles An Dom. 1586, by Molyneux (Sir Henry's secretary) Published 1586-7 Ed 1808 Vol IV, pp 871-872

[2] Sir H. Sidney's "Remembrances to deale with my L of Leicester and Mr Secretarie" Unpublished Dudley MSS of the Marquess of Bath, K G (Longleat) Vol III, ff 47-48

ERRATA, VOL. V.

NOTE As formerly, errata overlooked in proof reading are duly corrected below. In a work of such wide scope, and drawn from so many languages, misprints are not easy to avoid But abbreviations which to modern eyes may look like misprints in Escobar's *Recopilacion,* E E Vol V, pp 12-17, were transcribed from one of the only two known copies; and in 1935 the proofs were checked from the same volume, then in possession of the Duke of Berwick and Alba. Whatever the accentuation, contractions, and other peculiarities, they are those of Escobar's printer in 1586 But the point is less how the printer spelt than that Escobar's experiences in the Conquest of Portugal in 1580 have not hitherto been examined by English writers, and are of special interest, in that Alba's victory at Alcántara was not only one of the decisive battles of the world but was taken as a warning by Elizabethans.

Of the undernoted small misprints in Volume V, one in Spanish, p. 205, was noticed in time to insert an erratum slip while binding

Vol V p xiii, lines 11, 12, 13 For "xxxvii, xxxviii, xxxix," read "xxxv, xxxvi, xxxvii"

p xxiv, line 3rd from end After "nation", delete comma

p xxviii, l. 20 For "1924" read "1934"

p xxxv, l 6 For "plate 3" read "plate 4"

p 90, l. 13 For "*Use* the said Queen" read "*Us* the said Queen"

Plate 12, facing p. 140 For "his stepson and stepdaughter *of* the Earl of Essex and Lady Dorothy Devereux" read "his stepson and stepdaughter the Earl of Essex and Lady Dorothy Devereux"

p 205, l 14 For "Rey servido *do* Patria honrada" read "Rey servido *y* Patria honrada"

p 222, l 1 For "1066" read "1067"

p 296 Chronology, 1585 For "1st December" read "8th December"

Also, Vol I, *p* 307, *5th line from end* For "1588" read "1568"

Vol III, p 301, note 2 For "Vol II," read "Vol III"

ADDENDA.

Vol I, pp 297-304, 307 *Hawkins at S Juan de Ulua*

Obligations were acknowledged to Mr. G R G Conway Since then, he has transcribed further particulars as to the Artillery captured from Hawkins (Arch of the Indies, Seville, Cabinet 52, case 1, file 12/9) and he has translated from the original (Arch. of Simancas, Cabinet 59, drawer 4, file 3) the letter of Vice-Admiral Juan de Ubilla to King Philip, 16 Dec 1568 These transcripts he gave to Professor Michael Lewis, of Greenwich R N College See "*The Mariners Mirror,*" Vol. xxiii, No 3, July, 1937, where they are printed Professor Lewis remarks that whereas Corbett's rendering of Ubilla's letter was from the one which "Philip II sent to Alva" [the Duke of Alba] "to forward to the English Ambassador," which letter ascribes "the firing of the first shot to the English," the actual statement of the Spanish Vice-Admiral says no such thing

As a popular English historian, still living, seldom mentions Hawkins without calling him a "pirate" (the most deadly insult a landsman can offer to a seaman,) it is doubly to be noticed that the Spanish adversary's communication contains no opprobrious terms; testifies that Hawkins "fought my ship and the flagship gallantly"; and adds, "It was a well fought battle, and one of the hardest in which I ever took part, although I have served Your Majesty in most of the notable fights of the West, from the battle of Tunis till now" Whereas the list of Ordnance is fascinating only to the few of us who study the evolution of Artillery, the Spanish tribute to English valour should be significant for all

ADDENDA

"THE DELYVERIE OF THE ISLE OF MALTA," 1565.

(*a*) *E E Vol I pp* 261, 273. When the title page of "*A Fourme of Prayer*" for the defenders of Malta was reproduced, and the prayers were quoted, only the Hatfield House copy and that in the British Museum were mentioned. Since then, another edition, printed for use of the Diocese of Norwich, similar in text but with a different decorative border to the title page, has been presented by Lieut.-Colonel Beales, O St J, to the Library of the Order of St John, at St John's Gate, Clerkenwell.

In 1847 the Parker Society in "*Liturgies & Occasional Forms of prayers set forth in the Reign of Elizabeth*" (ed. Wm Keatinge Clay, B D, Cambridge University Press) reprinted a copy then in the Cathedral Library at Salisbury. "*A Forme to be eused in Common praier euery Wednesdaie & Fridaie, within the citie & Dioces of Sarum to excite al godly people to praie vnto God for the deliuerie of those Christians, that are now inuaded by the Turke*" London, John Waley, n.d ; Quarto

Furthermore the Parker Society (pp 524-526) gave (also from a copy in the Cathedral Library at Salisbury), "*A short Forme of Thanksgueing to God for the delyuerie of the Isle of Malta from the inuasion and long siege thereof by the great armie of the Turkes both by sea & lande, & for sundry other victories lately obteined by the christians against the said Turkes, to be vsed in the common prayer within the prouince of canturburie, on Sondayes, Wednesdaies, & Fridaies, for the space of syx weekes next ensuinge the receipt hereof Set forthe by the most Reuerend father in God, Matthew, by Goddes prouidence Archebyshop of Canturburie, Primate of all Englande and Metropolitane Imprinted at London by Willyam Seres, dwelling at the West end of Paules, at the signe of the Hedgehogge Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum Anno* 1565" (4to)

Mr. H. W Fincham, F S.A, Sub-Librarian at St John's Gate, Clerkenwell, thinks it possible that in other Cathedral libraries there may exist uncatalogued copies

The reason for quoting the *Fourme* in this History was less its bibliographical rarity than its political significance. for it shows that despite Queen Elizabeth's rejection of the Pope's authority, and her expulsion of the Order of St John from England, she was capable of recognising the value to Europe of the services of the White Cross Knights, when by defending Malta against the forces of the Grand Turk they saved the Mediterranean for Christendom.

(*b*) *Vol V p* 251. *note* 2: *Francesco Alunno* He was author of "*Le osservationi di M. Francesco Alvnno da Ferrara sopra il Petrarcha*", which in 1550 was "*novamente restampate, & con diligenza ricorrette, & molto ampliate*".

His portrait is engraved on the title page of the above work, printed "*In Vinegia per Pavolo Gherardo M D L.*"

Introduction to Volume VI.

"There is not any governed Estate which in peace or war can be accounted sure, or preserved from dishonour and ruin, unless it be supported and borne up by justice duly administered, and discipline orderly observed"

Thus Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester introduced his admirable *"Lawes and Ordinances of War,"* the ignoring of which has caused fundamental misunderstanding. The now-current assumption that the most valiant actions of the Elizabethans were "unlawfully begotten," during thirty years,—until the coming of King Philip's Armada,—is a delusion which vanishes as soon as "matters of warfare and the State" are sufficiently examined in conjunction.[1]

The diplomatic and martial dealings of Leicester will be shown further in this and the ensuing volume. Amongst errors repeated by nearly all modern English historical writers, one of the chief is that Leicester and Lord Burghley led rival "factions." A Shakespearian critic even compared them to the Capulets and the Montagues. But it was Burghley upon whom Leicester mainly relied to defend him from enemies at the Court, during his absence in the Netherlands. And we shall see how the combined influence of Burghley, Walsingham and Hatton, was needed to prevent Queen Elizabeth from "revoking" her General, just when his presence in the Low Countries was most advantageous for England, and proportionately unwelcome to Spain

If, on the one hand, Leicester's constant loyalty and valuable service to his own Sovereign can be demonstrated beyond dispute, his resolute and ruthless antagonism to the Queen of Scots, and his share in bringing her to the scaffold, will also call for close attention.

The extraordinary good fortune of the English Queen, to whose advantage the attempts of her enemies were turned by the devotion and astuteness of her Ministers, the fatal ill-fortune of the Queen of Scots,—who, despite her brave spirit and innate graciousness, as well as alert intellect, seemed born to be a human sacrifice,—make a contrast as startling as any the genius of a Shakespeare could have invented. Had such Ministers as Burghley, Leicester and Walsingham been bred north of the Tweed, and awaited Queen Mary on her first arrival from France, not all the thunders of John Knox could have blasted her, nor the pen of Buchanan defiled her. Had Elizabeth been surrounded by such self-seekers as Lord James Murray, Elizabeth might soon have found herself a fugitive or a captive.

Whereas Elizabeth, both at the time and to posterity, has received the chief glory for measures carried out in spite of the difficulties she placed in the way, Mary

[1] See E E Vol I, pp 181-182, for answers to an assertion that "Events were what the Queen and her cautious Ministers most dreaded."

was over and over again the victim of deeds for which the main responsibility did not rest with herself. And while in Elizabeth, volcanic burstings up of tempestuous "humours" made her sometimes impervious to rational arguments until the "storm was overblown," Mary, a prisoner, suffering the miseries of hope deferred, never lost her courage or her consideration for others. This can be seen from her own letters; but neither her words nor those of her opponents carry their full meaning if we lose sight of Philip II.

That England was at war with Spain in 1585-87, is denied by one of the most trusted editors of the Navy Records, the late Sir Julian Corbett. But Philip would not have sent Commissioners in 1587-8 to "treat for peace"—while finishing preparations for the sailing of his Armada,—unless peace had been already broken. That the open rupture dates from 1583-4, when the Spanish Ambassador was dismissed from London, is forgotten by all (and they are many) who persist in referring to Drake's expedition of 1585-86 as that of a "gallant pirate"· a pirate being a highwayman of the sea, who, for his own gain, raids and plunders those with whom his Sovereign is at peace.

The keynotes in the transactions that follow are King Philip's attempted world-domination; and the combined determination of Burghley, Leicester, Walsingham, and Hatton, and of Drake and Hawkins, that Spain should never be master either of England or of the United Provinces.

In "*Papers relating to the Navy during the Spanish War, 1585-1587*," (Navy Records, 1908,) Corbett in his introduction says, "To apply the title of 'Spanish War' to the collection is to some extent a misnomer. War had not been declared, and in the eyes of publicists a state of war did not exist between the two countries." Corbett's good faith is above suspicion, but this assertion is typical of the misunderstandings arising from specialism in naval affairs to the exclusion of politics. The commissioning of English troops (too late) for the relief of Antwerp preceded Drake's sailing on his famous expedition; and Lord Leicester in 1586 was working ashore as the Queen's Lieutenant General against Spain in the Netherlands while Drake was smiting King Philip's subjects in the New World.

War is war, whether by land or sea.

How, behind the back of her General, Queen Elizabeth was coquetting with the "Peace" party is the more incongruous, because the personage she took to be pacific was the Prince of Parma, upon whom Thomas Morgan and the other Catholic conspirators were depending, to land at Scarborough or Hartlepool on behalf of the Queen of Scots.

That nowadays Lord Burghley is habitually represented as having been on ill terms with the seamen and soldiers, reveals our authorities of the 19th and 20th centuries as relying upon each other, instead of going to the testimonies of Burghley and his intimates. In the Continuation of Holinshed's Chronicle,

(by Sir Henry Sidney's secretary Molyneux, published in 1586-7,) the transformation of Dover Castle by Sir Thomas Scott and Thomas Digges, from "miserable ruins," to "a peece of great force and importance, verie beautiful to behold" is fully described,—Walsingham having a share of the glory. But "the honourable disposition of the Lord Burleie lord high treasuror of England" is commended also as "a principal furtherer thereof": being one "*whose forwardness in militarie affaires is had in admiration by all the best souldiors of England . . . .*"

That this plain statement (issued eleven years before Burghley died, and available in print for over three centuries,) has never been noticed by teachers of history,—and that Martin Hume, in "*The Great Lord Burghley,*" took as the clue to Burghley's policy some 17th century printed "Instructions" to "Sonne Robert," in which he is depicted as asserting there is no such thing as a "just war,"—is an amazing though unconscious irony.

The present writer has been the first to compare sundry MS copies of the alleged Instructions with each other and with the actual dealings of Burghley; and to discover that some of the Instructions as to martial affairs are a direct inversion of Burghley's principles. "*A just war*" was one of his favourite expressions; and far from asserting, as in the Instructions, that soldiers in peace time are of no more use than "chimneys in summer," Burghley inculcated keeping the peace at home by being ever ready to defend the realm on foreign soil or in distant waters. In Volume IV of "*Elizabethan England*" we have seen him trying to put Drake in command of "a very great and royal war" before the Queen would consent. From her accession in 1558, to his last days, he was so consistent an advocate of "sea causes" and of a well-disciplined Army,—so steadfast a friend to the chief men of action,—that he bears no resemblance to the personage who goes by his name in Corbett's "*Drake and the Tudor Navy,*" 1898. Trusting in modern renderings of Burghley's views, Corbett seems never to have realised the necessity to make independent and first hand investigation of Burghley's papers.

As, for nearly forty out of the forty-four years of Elizabeth's reign, it was Burghley who held the threads of the labyrinth, his character, policy and friendships must be delivered from misinterpretation, before Elizabethan England, in relation to Europe and the New World, can be restored to its sixteenth century proportions. Where major assertions are defective, the minor inferences are necessarily unsound. Not only was Burghley no Polonius, but the Polonius type would not have been tolerated in the Privy Council, where the standard of efficiency was remarkably high.

It is not a question of whether Englishmen to-day can approve of Burghley's policy at all points: Catholics inevitably will always deplore the execution of the Queen of Scots. Nor did it answer the purpose intended. Those who desired the fall of Elizabeth were not deterred by the beheading of Mary. They chose another candidate; and in later volumes of this History we shall meet the English partisans of the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia.

Meanwhile it is essential to see the case of the Queen of Scots not only biographically, but in relation to the balance of power in Europe.

That the compulsory uniting of the vast Portuguese Empire to the Crown of Castile in 1580-83 carried with it a deadly menace to Queen Elizabeth, has been forgotten by our people; for the victories of the Duke of Alba and the Marquis of Santa Cruz have no place in our modern English academic Date Tables. We are taught to believe that Elizabeth Regina commanded the seas, at the very time when actually the dominating influence both in the Old World and the New, was claimed and exercised by "the most Catholique Kyng of Spayne." To ignore this fundamental fact is not only unfair to the Spaniards: it also prevents us from measuring accurately the courage, high spirit, and initiative of the English seamen and soldiers.

E. M. TENISON.

11th of November, 1937

"NOW THAT ENGLAND IS AT WAR WITH HIS MAJESTY."

Don Bernardino de Mendoza's advice to the Prince of Parma

The idea of Drake's biographer in 1898 that "publicists" did not regard a "state of war" as existing between England and Spain in 1586,[1] is the less accountable in that in 1896 our Government had published an English Calendar of Simancas MSS, abounding in references to that war

On 15th (5th) October, 1586, Mendoza wrote from Paris, to the Prince of Parma, "now that England is at war with His Majesty," Elizabeth would find herself without "sufficient store of money, men, or munitions to sustain the war in Flanders, to man with extraordinary garrisons the Scotch and Border fortresses, and to fit out the ships with which they intend to plunder his Majesty's flotillas, and disturb his Indies, since their own commerce has been destroyed by His Majesty's prohibition"

Mendoza therefore advised the Prince to encourage a rising of the Scottish Catholics. "It is certain that in order to prevent the war in Flanders from becoming chronic, it will be necessary to sting the Englishwoman either in Scotland or Ireland or both, if not resolutely in her own country"

His peroration about King Philip is that "Whilst he is at war with the Englishwoman, His Majesty should on no account fail to welcome the Scots"[2]

"The Englishwoman," however, had taken the precaution to convince the most powerful of the Scots that it was not to their interest to fall out with their nearest neighbour. So, England being on the Borders and Spain far away, King James had become convinced that his immediate interests necessitated his alliance with Elizabeth, against whom previously he had solicited Pope Gregory's assistance[3]

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[1] Corbett See E E, p xxxiv
[2] Cal S P S Simancas III p 636
[3] E E Vol V p 40[8]

ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER, K.G., P.C.

Now first reproduced from the original in possession of The Earl of Warwick, at Warwick Castle

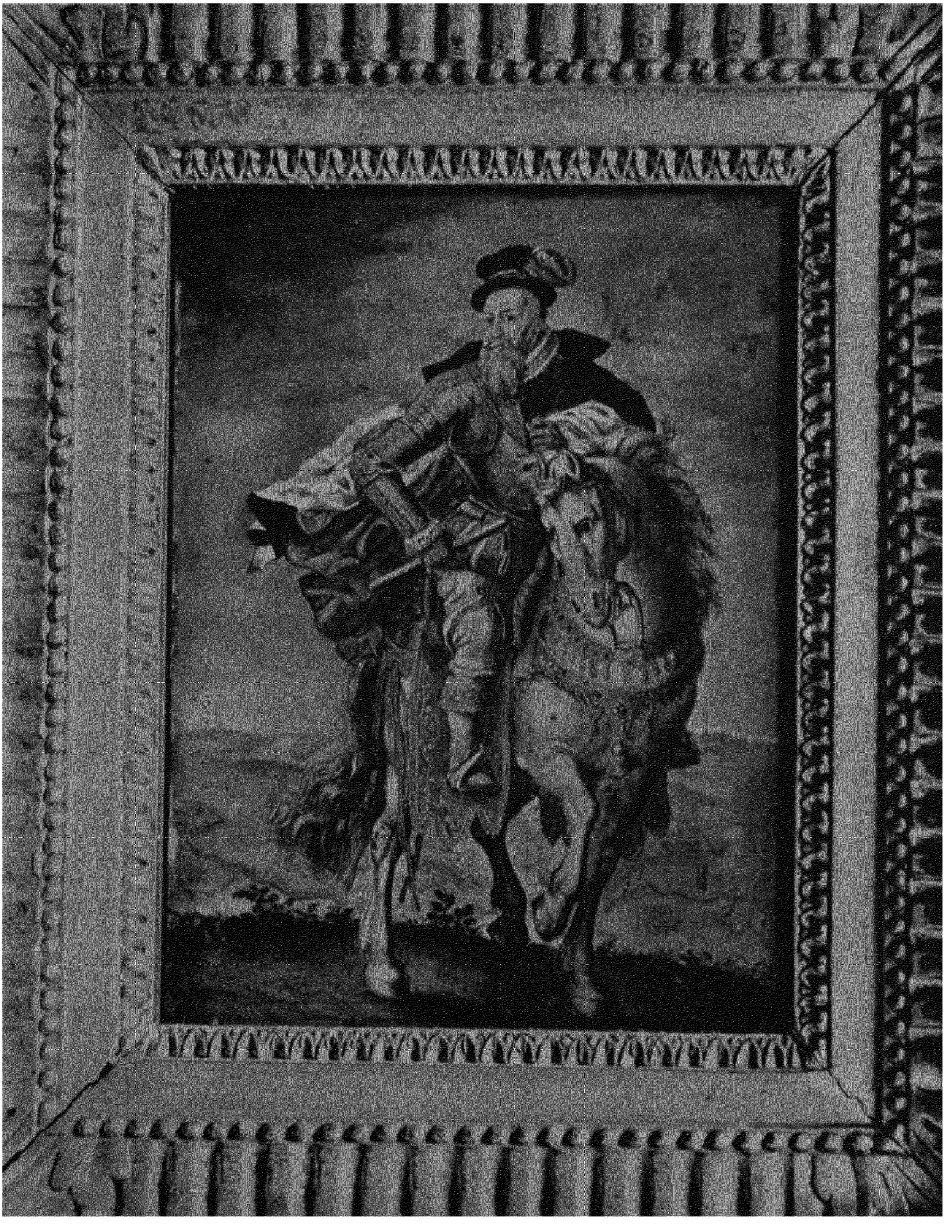
Hair and beard grey, eyes dark grey, complexion fair Dark blue cloak, lined with white.

Panel, 8 x 6 inches

Undated, but evidently painted subsequent to Leicester's appointment as "Lieutenant and Captain General" of the Queen's forces for the Low Countries

Notice the baton in his right hand There was then only one Lieutenant-General at a time; he represented the Crown, and had the royal authority to confer knighthood, and grant armorial bearings for "courage and good work" (See Leicester's Commission, first translated E E, pp 19-21)

(Photograph, Harold Baker, Birmingham, for the present History)



PART III.

"Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant."

CHAPTER 3

"THIS NOBLE NECESSARY SERVICE."

SECTION I

"To do service to Her Majesty and this Realm."

(The appointment of Robert Earl of Leicester to command the Army for the Netherlands. 1585).

"I find . . . a resolution in the States most earnestly to crave your Lordship only for the Governor . . . hoping your Lordship will vouchsafe to embrace [it], and not omit so honourable an occasion, in purchasing the safety of her Majesty and the Country. . . ."

Thomas Digges to the Earl of Leicester, K G, P C 23rd June, 1585 Unpublished orig Harl· MS 6993 f 91

"I will seek nothing by my journey in this world but to do service to Her Majesty and this realm . . ."

Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, K G, P C, to Principal Secretary Sir Francis Walsingham, P.C, Sep: 1585. Orig. Harl: MS. 285. f 147.

"This noble necessary service. . . ."

The Lord High Treasurer (Lord Burghley, K.G, P C.) to the Earl of Leicester. Orig. Cotton MS Galba C. IX f 15

"We direct all Admirals, Vice-Admirals, and Captains of our ships and sailors of our subjects generally, . . . to act under the orders of the said Earl with their ships and forces. . . ."

Commission of Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Leicester, now first translated from the Latin, 22 October, 1585. (E.E., pp 19-21).

NOTE ON SOURCES OF INFORMATION, 1585-87.

Leicester's doings in this volume VI of *"Elizabethan England"* were first based upon uncalendared MSS in our Record Office, co-ordinated with Hatfield MSS, Sidney MSS, etc, etc, and with the *"Leycester Correspondence"* (Camden Soc 1844); also with the unpublished Longleat Dudley MSS, and with much Elizabethan printed matter, including Leicester's own hitherto ignored *"Lawes and Ordinances"* It was first completed in 1924

Since the publication of the English Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Vol XX, 1927, every section has been re-examined (See E E. pp. 49-50, for Addenda Index of P R O. material used in *"Elizabethan England"* but not mentioned in the index to that Calendar)

In 1931, under the editorship of Dr H Brugmans, there was issued, at Utrecht, *"Correspondentie van Robert Dudley graaf van Leycester, en andere documenten, betreffende zijn gouvernement-generaal in de Nederlanden 1585-1588,"* 3 vols Historisch Genootschap, 3rd Series, Nos 56, 57, 58

The official correspondence of Leicester preserved in the Netherlands had been previously studied by the present writer from copies existing in our own Record Office He and Burghley, also Walsingham, were so precise and methodical that there need be no confusion as to their actions; but it has been a matter of considerable time and application to become conversant with the particulars and select the most important MSS for *"Elizabethan England"* The misrepresentation of Leicester's character by Motley and Froude, under the influence of the 1584-85 libels, is the less accountable in that a lavish supply of authentic material could have been consulted by both Leicester's official utterances, keeping up Queen Elizabeth's dignity to the outer world, contrasted with his sorrowful private letters to Burghley and Walsingham, and his subsequent explanations to the Queen herself, during her "discontentation," are of much human and political significance Any reader who cares for study of character will find the actual Leicester of far greater interest than the "slothful" and "incompetent" being who goes by his name in English Modern History

The efficiency and valour of his opponent the Prince of Parma seem not to have been disputed, either in England or Spain So, while reproducing a picture plan of Parma's fireships, (Vol V, facing p 280) and giving three of his portraits in Vol VI, (plates 9, 10, 11), it is not necessary here to depict his actions except when they bore upon English affairs or the fate of the Queen of Scots How ironical were his "peace" negotiations with Queen Elizabeth,—especially his claim to be more placable than the late Duke of Alba,—becomes plain as soon as seen in conjunction with other events

The story of his inevitable antagonism to England will be continued in Volumes VII and VIII[1]

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[1] The reason the English Calendar of Simancas MSS, Vol III (1580-1586), ed. M. Hume, 1896, is not often quoted about this war, in E E Vol VI (1585-86-7), is that Mendoza, then in Paris, did not always receive accurate news, so it is more useful here to show English exploits direct from the despatches of Queen Elizabeth's Lieutenant-General

Mendoza's letters from France were edited in 1851 by M Teulet for the Bannatyne Club, with a French summary, but when drawn upon in E E as "Paris Archives" with a reference number, they are from the English (Simancas) Calendar (They are also available in Spanish)

"AUTHORITY TO TAKE UP MEN AND SHIPPING":

Raleigh's enterprise in 1585[1]

Don Bernardino de Mendoza, in Paris, names "Master Raleigh" as *"the Queen's new favourite"* in June 1585.[2] But previously in the early spring some anonymous "advices" from England notified that "the Queen has knighted *Raleigh her favourite*, and has given him a ship of her own of 180 tons burden, with 5 pieces of artillery on each side," &c; and that he intends fitting out 16 vessels to carry 400 men.[3]

Nevertheless it was not the small expeditions sent out by Raleigh in 1584 and 1585, but the large venture commanded by Sir Francis Drake in H M S *Elizabeth Bonaventure*, 1585 and '86, which troubled King Philip

The notion that Raleigh was the pioneer of colonisation is so rooted in the modern popular mind, and so picturesquely has he been portrayed as embarking for and landing in Virginia, that to mention that he never at any time set foot in Virginia, is to offend some readers and many more writers The mistake seems to have begun in the 18th century, in *"Memoirs of Sir Walter Raleigh,"* by "Mr Theobald," London, 1719 Instead of recognising that the Earl of Leicester was following the example of his father John Duke of Northumberland in encouragement of maritime enterprise, Theobald accused Leicester of having artfully "promoted Raleigh's" voyage, and pressed the Queen to patronise it, only in order *"to send Raleigh out of her sight and introduce the Earl of Essex to her service"*

It was not necessary to get rid of Raleigh in order-to "introduce" to Her Majesty the near kinsman with whom she was already well acquainted nor was Essex inducted into official duties at the Court in 1584 He was not Master of the Horse until 1587 His first services were to be as General of the Horse in 1585-86, in the Low Country war, in which Raleigh did not fight "Mr. Theobald," however, reiterated that it was in order to clear the way for Essex that Leicester had influenced his Sovereign to send Raleigh away,

> *"on a Voyage to Sea, in which he discovered the Country which in honour of the Queen has ever since been called Virginia* Upon his Return from this Expedition She rewarded him with the Honour of Knighthood, and among other Preferments gave him the Government of Jersey and Virginia"

But it was Grenville who commanded the ships fitted out by Raleigh[4]

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[1] As to spelling Raleigh himself signed as "Rawleyghe" in 1578, and subsequently "Rauley," till June, 1584, from whence "Ralegh" was his custom, though his brother preferred "Rawlygh" The rule for *"Eliz Eng"* (see vol I, p xvi,) is to spell surnames and titles as the present holders spell them, except where quoting from original documents. The late Professor Sir Walter Raleigh, and the present Commander Walter Raleigh Gilbert of Compton, have never used "Raleigh" Stebbing in his Life of Ralegh, p 31, gives many contemporary variations of the spelling; and Dr T N Brushfield, *"Bibliog of Sir Walter Ralegh Kt"* 2nd ed. Exeter (James G Commin, 1908,) gathered together every sort of printed matter he could find in this connection

[2] To King Philip Paris Arch· E 1563 72 Cal S P. Spanish, III p 538 But earlier there are references to a "favourite" unnamed

[3] Cal: S P Spanish (Simancas) III, p 532 Advices attributed to February 1584-5 For actual date, see Metcalfe's *Book of Knights* (1885), p, 135: "Sr Walter Rawley dubbed at Greenwiche on the Twelfth day 1584"(5)

[4] *"An account of the . imployments of the English men left in Virginia by Sir Richard Greeneuill vnder the charge of Master Ralph Lane from the 17 of August 1585 vntil the 18 of Iune 1586, at which time they departed ."* Hakluyt's Voyages, ed: 1810, Vol. III. pp. 311-322· and see E E Vol. V, pp. 253, 266

The name of Virginia seems not to have come into being until after the second expedition, and on neither voyage was Raleigh present in person Moreover the hundred colonists were so unhappy that they besought Sir Francis Drake to bring them all home in 1586, and those sent later in their places suffered grievously, and had no power to affect world politics

After the accession of King James, when the Patent reverted to the Crown, Virginia, under the governorship of Captain John Smith, became a prosperous colony, but not till then Raleigh's appointment as Governor of Jersey at the opening of the 17th century was certainly not a tardy reward for his sending out colonists in 1584-85[1] But Charles Kingsley in *"Sir Walter Raleigh and his Times,"* declared, *"To this one man, under the providence of Almighty God, do the whole United States of America owe their existence"* Upon which text an American enthusiast wrote in 1914,

> " . Raleigh sent out his privateering expeditions against Spanish merchantmen, led the English troops in their attacks upon Spanish towns and Spanish fleets," (*no names of the towns nor dates of these exploits*); "and above all, through his agents, was the leading and most prominent Englishman to raise the flag and introduce the religion of England into the New World. . . . From 1584, when he despatched his first expedition to Virginia, to 1618, when he sailed on his last voyage to Guiana, the efforts of this many sided man were devoted to the furtherance of the great colonial schemes the realisation of which has made England what she is "

This forms part of an argument that Raleigh was the secret and true author of all the dramas produced under the 'pseudonym' of William Shakespeare[2] And in 1868, the biographer Edwards, believed that "it was Raleigh who, *in the teeth of Spain, when in her prime,* laid the foundation of the British Colonies in North America" But how relatively small a part was played by Raleigh in this connection,—his personal energies in 1584-87 being expended upon winning a footing at the Court,—must have been manifest long since if his biographers had not all started their task under the glamour of the pseudo-Raleigh

In November 1585, when over 700 of the gentlemen of England volunteered to arm, mount and equip themselves as Cavalry for the war under the Earls of Leicester and Essex, Raleigh remained behind to keep himself in the Queen's good graces. He took no part in the fighting in 1586 and '87 in the Low Countries, but this has not prevented his being depicted as *"leading English troops,"* while the men who really bore the burden and heat of the war have been either derided or forgotten

That his mature *"History of the World"* is a work of genius, and that his end was tragic, is no adequate cause for loading him in his youth with other men's laurels.[3]

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[1] In Lord Burghley's Chronology, (*State Papers,* ed. Murdin, 1759, pp 782-783), under date of June 4, 1585, occurs the double entry of the Queen contracting to "Ayd" the defenders of Antwerp, and that *"Sir Walter Raleigh had Authority to take up Men and Shipping for his Voyage"* The plight of Antwerp at the moment interested England more than the possible discovery of strange lands. For judicious remarks on the false ideas now current as to Virginia, see A G Bradley's Introduction (pp I-XXX), re-editing Arber's edition of *"Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, President of Virginia and Admiral of New England"* John Grant, Edinburgh, 1910

[2] *"Shakespere and Sir Walter Raleigh . By Henry Pemberton, Jr M.A Philadelphia and London "* p 125

[3] As these sheets were being set up in type, a new life of Raleigh appeared so excessively partial that justice to his contempories is not even attempted, the actual Admirals and Generals are collectively cast into limbo, as follows —

> "Ralegh's failure to win first place as a naval or a military commander need not surprise us. It was not unusual to have a titled blunderer as the nominal chief, while someone like Ralegh was present to provide experience on which that chief could rely"(!)
>
> As Raleigh took no part in the wars covered by Vols V and VI of E E, the question of reliance on his "experience" does not arise But the experience of the Lieutenant-General the Earl of Leicester, had begun as Master of the English Field Ordnance in the siege and battle of St. Quentin when Raleigh was in the nursery (See E E Vol I, Prologue, sec· xiii.)

LAWES
and Ordinances,

set downe by ROBERT
Earle of LEYCESTER,
the Queenes Maieſties
Lieutenant and Captaine
GENERAL of her armie
and forces in the Lowe
Countries:

Meete and fit to be obſerued by all ſuch as ſhall ſerue her
MAIESTIE vnder him in the ſaid Countries,
and therefore to be publiſhed and
notified to the whole Armie.



Imprinted at London by Chriſto-
pher Barker, Printer to the Queenes
moſt excellent Maieſtie.

Title page, now first reproduced, of Lord Leicester's "*Lawes and Ordinances*" of War: absolutely essential to any practical study of the Elizabethan Army.

Invariably overlooked by all the modern censurers of Leicester's actions: who have criticised him without first ascertaining either the terms of his Commission or the rules he inculcated.

The above is from B M. No. C. 33, b.1. Another copy exists in our S.P. Holland, V. 159; but has been calendared (Cal: S.P. Foreign, 1585-86, Vol XX, 1921,) merely as "Printed pamphlet entitled 'Laws and Ordinances set down by Robert Erle of Leycester,' &c., &c, Black-letter, 10 pp" No quotation, no abstract; nothing to show that for lack of examining these Laws, the Elizabethan Army in general and Leicester in particular have been fundamentally misunderstood.



Royal Arms, from Lord Leicester's "Lawes and Ordinances"

A modern biographer of Cardinal Wolsey believed that Wolsey had composed Henry VIII's Laws of War and that they were the first of their kind formulated in England But see EE, p 26 The various written codes of the Plantagenets, most notably the martial laws of Henry V, can be studied in extenso in Grose's "*Military Antiquities*," 1778, (Vol. II, pp 59-85) Even Grose was unaware of Lord Leicester's Laws and Ordinances, nor were they known to the late Sir John Fortescue, or he surely would have published them in his "*History of the British Army*," and have deleted the disparaging references to supposed absence of discipline among Queen Elizabeth's soldiers

The principles of a nation in war and peace are all part of the same innate character and disposition And of many revealing materials now drawn out of oblivion, the 55 points formulated by Leicester should be realised as among the most important

"The Lawes and Ordinances," here reprinted in extenso, EE, Vol VI, pp 27-31, are far superior to those of Henry of Navarre, which will follow in chronological place. It would hardly be possible to overestimate the importance of the resuscitation of this official publication The "Lawes" were reprinted in 1592, and were in use throughout Elizabeth's reign.

Lord Leicester's "*Lawes and Ordinances*" were also issued in Dutch · small quarto · title-page, blank verso, and six B.L. pages of Laws. From a copy at Leyden University, the title is as follows:—

Crijchs-Ordonnantien ende
Rechten, ghemacet ende gheordonneert by
den Hoochgeboren Prince, Robert Graue van Leycester, &c :
Baenreheere van Denbigh, Opperiagher van allen Foreesten,
Bossechagien, Jachten ende Periken vande Con. Maiest aen deser
zijde van Trente, Opperste Stalmeester van hare Deurluch-
tichste Maiest. van Enghelandt, Raedt vanden Secreten Raedt,
Ridder van leyde der Edeler Ordenen vande Jartier, ende S
Michiel. Stadthouder ende Capiteyn generael van hare
Maiest. ouer d'Armeye ende Crijchsvolcke inde Neder-
landen, ende Gouuerneur generael van alle de
ghevnieerde Landen ende Steden in de
selue Nederlanden ende haerlie-
der Bontghenoten ofte
ghealligeerde
Om te worden onderhouden by alsulcken als dienen sul-
len in hare Maiest. armeye, onder zijn Excel in de
voorey de Nederlanden
[Printer's Device]
Tot Leyden,
By Andries Verschout ende Thomas Basson, den 14. Febru.
Anno M D Lxxxvj. de stilo nouo.
Door beuel van zijn Excel dit alleen te drucken [1]

[1] There is in Leyden library a 2nd edition, the same as the first, except that the misprint in the second line of the title "ghemacet" has been correctly printed "ghemaect" In the colophon the date is "18 Febru." And the last line "Door—drucken" has been omitted. Instead of it, the words "Met Prulegie" Basson's name is not given; the printer's line is "By Audries Verschout, Drucker van zijn Excel^tie den 18. Febru."

PART III.

"Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant."

CHAPTER 3

"THIS NOBLE NECESSARY SERVICE."

SECTION I

"To do service to Her Majesty and this Realm."

(The appointment of Robert Earl of Leicester to command the Army for the Netherlands. 1585).

AS the struggle for the Northern Netherlands did not end until forty-five years after the death of Queen Elizabeth, the now accepted notion that her General Robert Earl of Leicester, was "slothful" and "incompetent" because he did not in a few months and with a small army succeed in expelling the Spaniards, is superlatively unreasonable. But this opinion, hastily formed, has been tenaciously held; and there are few circumstances connected with the events which have not suffered distortion. Random retrospective censures and hearsay gossip have been called "evidence"; while little heed has been paid to the large mass of contemporary first-hand material,—some of it so vivid and graphic as to Court and Camp, that we can see the inner relations of one to the other as if we had lived in both.

Misrepresentations were rife even during the war; and evoked protest from Captain Barnabe Riche, whose military career had started nearly quarter of a century earlier, under Leicester's brother Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, "a father to souldiers at this day."[1]

"What action hath there been," no matter how "honorably performed," exclaims Riche, "sithe the noble Earle of Leicester undertook these Low Country services, which hath not been defaced by our slandering Papists." This ebullition is not merely Protestant prejudice, for we shall soon see Thomas Morgan writing to Mary Queen of Scots of his determination "to give Leicester all dishonour" by every possible means.[2]

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[1] i.e 1587 See p 53 [2] *State Papers*, Murdin, pp 494-498.

It is not only Leicester whose reputation has suffered. Stigmas upon him have been extended to cover the army he commanded in 1585-88, and thence the contagion has spread to the entire Elizabethan army during forty-four years: the misplaced scorn culminating in the present century in an academic discourse on the "worthless material" of the Elizabethan forces. This contempt was not evoked by the conduct of the troops in action, or even in garrison, but by the case of one especial wastrel, who could not endure martial discipline and so deserted before he had done any service whatsoever.[1]

Some years ago it was alleged that English men of action never wrote "seriously" of their profession until after 1857.[2] But Elizabethan martial writings are so numerous, and a complete analysis of them in all their moral and historical significance is so "serious" a task, that no military antiquarian has yet undertaken it.[3]

We must discard the idea that in a reign of forty-four years the soldiers were little else than "gaol birds and tavern sweepings." Incidentally, when imprisonments for debt and other minor offences were frequent, a man might be in prison for reasons not incompatible with vigour and efficiency.

The discipline and methods of the Elizabethan Army may to some extent be seen in Riche's *"Pathway to Military practise,"* 1587, dedicated first to the Queen; second to "the most noble Captains and renowned souldiers of England," and third to "freendly Readers in generall."[4]

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[1] Shirburn MS f 194 No XLVII *"A Warning for Souldiers that will not venture their lyves in her Majesty's cause"* embodies *"the lamentation of William Wrench"* On the scaffold he deplored his cowardice, and pointed out that if he had behaved like a man he might have died honourably, instead of coming to a shameful end He admonished the spectators to take warning by him and not attempt to shirk their duty to Queen and country The moral could hardly be plainer But in 1907, in *"The Shirburne Ballads,"* pp 198-203, the editor, Mr Andrew Clark, stated that "on every ground" we "may take the ballad as truthfully depicting the poor quality of the queen's Army," etc. etc

The writers and circulators of the ballad would have been amazed at such an inference In the same collection are ballads depicting the subsequent victorious vigour and valour of our Army under "the Earl of Essex, a prosperous General" in 1596 But the editor argues away the services of Essex as "quixotic" and calls the multitude "unreasoning" for admiring him! Such is the tyranny of a preconceived idea, uncorrected by study of Leicester's and Essex's despatches

[2] Assertion by the late Mr F J Hudleston in *"Journal of Army Historical Research"* This pronouncement by the then War Office Librarian,—to which he adhered in correspondence with the present writer,—was the more surprising as the War Office Library can hardly lack a copy of the excellent *"Bibliography of English Military Books up 1642, and of Contemporary Foreign Works By Maurice J D Cockle, Late Captain 4th Batt Border Regt With an introductory Note by Charles Oman, M A , F S A Edited by H D Cockle London 1900"* Though some of the writers and translators of military books were civilians, Sir Roger Williams and Barnabe Riche and many another experienced officer wrote works which were in their day famous, and should not fall into oblivion.

[3] The nearest approach was made by Captain Maurice Cockle, as above specified.

[4] *"A Pathway to Military practise Containing offices, Lawes, Disciplines and Orders to be observed in an Army, with sundry stratagems very beneficiall for young gentlemen, or any other that is desirous to have knowledge in Martiall Exercises Whereunto is annexed a Kalendar of the Imbatteling of men: Newlie written by Barnabe Riche Souldiour, servant to the right honourable Sir Christopher Hatton Knight Perused and allowed At London Printed by John Charlwood for Robert Walley 1587"* (B.M. No: 8825. b.25) See Appendix, E.E. pp. 51-53.

Summarising the duties of all ranks, it contains many comments which bring home to us the conditions in which the Army toiled and battled during the Dutch war. For example, Chapter 15, *"of a Coronell"*:—

> "The place of a Coronell is of honourable reputation, and therefore besides experience he should be a man of credit and good countenance; and as that most noble gentleman Sir William Russell (a Paragon of Armes at this day)[1] is many times accustomed to say that *he which wanteth liberalitie is possessed with all the vices in the world, so that Colonell that hath not a bountifull minde, and a francke disposition to lend releefe to a poore distressed Souldier, especially of his owne retinue and regiment, is unworthy to have the commanding of men,* and not fitte to have government nor beare office in a Campe "

The unpublished Treasury Accounts attest that a large proportion of the national revenue was spent on defence of the realm.[2] Nevertheless the sums paid under Royal Warrants did not represent the total expenditure upon the Army. The open-handedness of certain noblemen and gentlemen in this connection has yet to be appreciated. One reason why the appointment of Leicester as Lieutenant-General was expedient, was that his reputation for generosity made a magnet to draw recruits; in which respect his mantle afterwards fell upon Essex.

As the devotion of soldiers to Leicester and Essex found expression so often, a now usual belief that these two were mere Court favourites, attractive to the Queen only on the score of good looks, but useless to the country, is a grotesque delusion. The jungle of fallacies which has grown up around Sidney's uncle Leicester, and Sidney's "beloved and much honoured Lord the Earl of Essex," have tended not only to shut out from view Leicester and Essex, but also to obstruct our view of Elizabeth Regina. She is now frequently depicted as a strong-minded woman pursued by two "lovers"; Leicester, depraved, incompetent, heartless, and "swollen with vanity"; Essex, "hasty," "petulant," "impetuous," and pushed into prominent positions for which he had no capacity. It is commentators in the 19th and 20th centuries who have been lacking in care. Not one of our historians who compete in condemnation of Leicester appears to have heard of his *Laws and Ordinances* Yet it is impossible to form an opinion of his administrative principles unless we study them.[3]

Barnabe Riche, nine years before, had complained that the Constables in each County were authorised to "lift" (conscript) whom they pleased: the danger being that "if Maister Constable be in love and charitie with his neighbours" the best were left undisturbed, and *"some odd fellow must be picked out that doth least good in the parish, . . . they thinke he can not be too ill to make a soldier of"*!

Certainly Riche's *"Allarme to England,"* 1578, taken by itself, has given the impression that the Elizabethan Army was made up of shirkers.[4] But the

[1] Son of Francis, 2nd Earl of Bedford

[2] This discovery was made by Captain B R Ward, late of The King's Dragoon Guards, and communicated by him to the present writer.

[3] Printed in extenso, E E Vol VI, pp. 27-31.

[4] *"Allarme to England, foreshowing what perilles are procured where the people liue without regarde of Martiall lawe. With a short discourse conteyning the Decay of warlike discipline, convenient to be perused by Gentlemen, and such as are desirous of seruice."* E.E. Vol V, App. pp. 255-258

"*Allarme*" should be contrasted not only with what actually happened ten and eighteen years later, but even with the exploits of English soldiers in 1586; not as distorted by carping critics, but as described from the front by the Lieutenant-General, who wrote with his own hand many praises of a gallantry the more remarkable after Riche and other old soldiers had lamented the decline of discipline.

Yet even when Riche was deploring too many people living "without regard" to martial matters, a book on "all the famous battells" found patrons and audiences.[1]

The fancy that Leicester "without talent, without courage, without virtue," was appointed to the command of the army in 1585 "because he was the Queen's lover," is the more ill-founded because the initiative for this appointment came not from the Queen but from the United Provinces.

That Leicester's acceptance of the burden laid upon him was a sacrifice, and a heavy expense, appears as soon as we consult his correspondence. As early as the 23rd of June, 1585, Thomas Digges, distinguished for technical military writings, had written to "the Erle of Lester at the Court":[2]

> " . . I find by Mr. Ortely a resolution in the States *most earnestly to crave your Lordship only for the Governor.*" Ortely "faithfully promised me to establish in them and increase the same desire, *hoping your Lordship will vouchsafe to embrace* [*it*], *and not omit so honorable an occasion, in purchasinge the safety of her Majesty and the Country, and relieving the oppressed Christians in those afflicted Provinces, to win yourself also Fame immortal.* Wherein I hope your Lordship shall perceive I have not so vainly spent my Life but I shall be able to do you some service."

Digges encloses notes including "a platt of militare ordinance," which he has set down "for that Army that I hope to see led under your honorable conduit." But as on various points he dissents from what is customary, he is sure to be opposed by such of the Captains as have least knowledge; so he asks Leicester to show the "platt" first to persons capable of forming a wise opinion. Neither notes nor "platt" are now with the letter; but Digges was soon appointed Muster Master to the Queen's Forces in the Low Countries; and we will find his writings among

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[1] The student should note especially Whitehorne's "*The Arte of Warre*" translated from Machiavelli; and John Polman's "*All the famous battels that have been fought in our age throughout the worlde, . .*" dedicated to Sir Christopher Hatton (who was interested in all martial affairs though he had never seen any fighting except in the tilt yard); Thomas Proctor's Discourse "*Of the Knowledge and conducte of Warres . . profitable for suche as delight in Hystoryes, or martyall affayres and necessarye for the present tyme*" 1578, the same year as Riche's *Allarme to England*. And William Bourne's famous "*Inuentions or Deuises Very necessary for all Generalles and Captaines, or Leaders of men, as well by Sea as by Land*" Also in 1579, Geoffrey Gates's "*Defence of Militarie Profession* . ." dedicated to Edward, Earl of Oxford; and the "*Arithmeticall Militare Treatise . . Long since atte*[*m*]*pted by Leonard Digges Gentleman . . and lately finished by Thomas Digges, his Sonne,* ." dedicated to Robert, Earl of Leicester. (All are in the B.M.)

[2] "To the right honorable my singular good Lord" &c. Unpublished holog: Signed "Tho: Digges." Harl. MS. 6993, f. 91. Art. 49. (spelling modernised).

the most helpful for comprehension of the difficulties by which the English army was confronted.[1]

The Queen dallied and delayed; and after waiting nearly ten weeks, Principal Secretary Walsingham wrote from the Court to Secretary Davison that until Her Majesty's pleasure could be known, as to who would be her General, he did not believe the Provinces would hand over any "cautionary towns" into English keeping. *"I see not her Majesty disposed to use the service of the Earl of Leicester. There is great offence taken in the carrying down of his Lady . . ."*[2] Where Lady Leicester had been "carried" is not specified. The Queen's long-sustained resentment against that marriage, which had taken place seven years before, was not yet abated.

On the 12th of September, from Ostend, Captain Erington reported to Walsingham that the desire for the coming of Leicester was porportionate to the lamentation for the death of the Prince of Orange.[3] And in October Count Maurice of Nassau wrote to Burghley as to his hope that the Queen would send Leicester as her General.[4] On the same day, Walsingham was telling Davison that Her Majesty had been *"greatly pressed to give order to the Earl of Leicester to put himself in readiness for the government of that country"*; but she still hesitated.[5]

Her consent being at last obtained, and Leicester's preparations made at racing pace, he was suddenly checked late at night by a letter from Walsingham, announcing Her Majesty's commands that he should do no more until her further pleasure was made known: *". . . How this cometh about I know not. The matter is to be kept secret.* These changes here may work some such changes in the Low Country as may prove irreparable."

> "God give Her Majesty another mind and resolution" lest she "work both her and [her] best affected subjects ruin. And so I most humbly take my leave At the Court, the 26 September, 1585
>
> "Your Lordship's to command,
>
> "FRA WALSINGHAM"[6]

Leicester answered that though he must "obey her Majesty's commandment," he had already "despatched between Thursday night and yesternight [at] four

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[1] Some are printed, but not word for word, in Cal· S P Foreign Vol XX 1921 pp. 43, 175, 177, 191, 213, 278, 283, 437, 439, 680) which Calendar is valuable for study of the general conditions, as now taken in conjunction with the *"Leycester Correspondence"* (Camden Soc:) and with the hitherto disregarded *"Briefe Reporte"* and *"Laws and Ordinances"* Digges's *Arithmeticall "Militarie Treatise named Stratioticos"* dedic to Leicester in 1579, and and ed 1590, is rightly described as Cockle's *"Bibliog of Eng Milit Books," 1900,* (pp. 22-24) as "one of the best military works of the time"

[2] S P 5th Sep 1585. Holland III 58 Cal· S P. Foreign XX p. 8

[3] S P. Flanders 1 39 Cal: S P F. Vol. XX. p 23.

[4] S.P. Holland IV. 5 1 p. French Abstract, Cal· S P.F. XX. p 59.

[5] S.P. Holland III. 71. Cal: S.P F. XX 21.

[6] Orig: Cotton MS Galba. C.VIII. f 168

aclock above two hundred letters to my servants, and sundry my friends, to prepare themselves, according to the order " he had received, " to serve her Majesty in the Low Countries." He had appointed the 18th and 20th of October for these followers to be ready; and had bespoken armour and saddles " as many as must cost me a good piece of money "; and had engaged ships to carry the provisions. Furthermore, at eleven o'clock in the morning he had given audience to the Netherlands emissaries who had implored him to hasten to Flushing. He had reassured them of the Queen's sympathy and his own good will.

" Whereupon this sudden change doth grow, Mr Secretary, I cannot imagine . but must obey Her Majesty's pleasure . . . I can but grieve at the miserable estate of the poor afflicted . . .

" . . . in haste . . . scribbled in my bed this Monday morning almost II aclock.

" Your assured friend,

" R LEYCESTER "[1]

On a separate sheet of paper he added, *" This is one of the strangest dealings in the world."* If the Queen delayed much longer, he feared the troubles " on the other side " might be " past remedy . . . "

" . . *What must be thought of such an alteration? For my part I am weary of life and all* . . If the Queen persist in such a course I can have no heart to come at Court, or look upon any man .

" Send Philip to me, and God keep you, and if you possibly can, learn out the cause of this change

" Your assured,

" R L "[2]

By the next day the Queen had been brought to " gracious dealing " towards Leicester; and though she had not signed his Commission, she allowed him to resume his preparations. But Walsingham warned him that though the Privy Council was " very willing to further anything your Lordship shall require for the advancement of the service," yet if his requests should entail more charge *" though it be for public service, the impediment will be found in her Majesty, with whom I have had very sharp conflicts about the Scottish causes, and all for charges."*[3]

Her mind was running on the case of the Queen of Scots: to which we will soon recur.

Acutely perturbed on account of Her Majesty's continued indecision whether she would or would not permit Leicester to embark in command of her army, Walsingham wrote to him again:

" I find by the Commissioners that they desire greatly your presence on the other side the sea, for that they doubt, in respect of the present confusion of

[1] Orig. Harl 285 135 *Leyces Cor* pp. 5-6.
[2] Orig lb: f 133 *Leyces Cor.* 7-8 [3] Orig Harl 285 f 133.

government, and the practises in hand to draw them to give ear to the Prince of Parma, there may fall out some dangerous alteration . . ."

Leicester replied that he did not intend to make requests necessitating any new charges, but that he must "*go accompanied with such sufficient persons as shall be requisite in so weighty a service . . . . And herein good Mr. Secretary, stand fast to me in deed, for I will seek nothing by my journey in this world but to do service to her Majesty and this realm . . . .*"[1]

The Queen's supplementary instructions were that Leicester must "*bend his course . . . rather to make a defensive than an offensive war, and not in any sort to hazard a battle without great advantage . . .*" ending with the admonition that if the States did not "show themselves forward" to take her advice, "to work among them a fair unity and concurrence for their own defence, in liberal taxations and good husbanding of their contributions for the more speedy attaining of peace, *Her Majesty would think her favours unworthily bestowed upon them . . .*"[2]

(When we remember that she had bargained to hold "in pawn" Flushing and the Brill and Bergen-op-Zoom, and that the pay for her troops, advanced by her, was to be refunded to her within five years after peace, her "favours" do not seem excessive.)

Leicester had set down a list of "what things are most necessary," one of which was "*that he have as much authority as the Prince of Orange had, or any other Governor or Captain General hath had heretofore*"[3]

For him to have accepted the burdensome task upon any other terms would have been to invite disaster. But we will observe the Queen treating him as if he had never made any such proviso. And though she informed the United Provinces that her "affection towards them" was made manifest by her "sending the Earl of Leicester," whom she esteemed above "any of her subjects,"[4] as soon as he was welcomed and honoured, her jealousy surged up against him, with a vehemence for which it is usual to-day to throw the blame upon the victim—whose own explanations of his actions have been pushed aside.

Even after all was settled for Leicester's departure, and Sir Philip Sidney had been sent ahead to prepare for his arrival at Flushing, the Queen unconsciously played the enemy's game by causing further delays, and by still refusing to sign her General's commission, or to allow the Lord Treasurer to conclude the monetary arrangements.

Leicester then offered "to sell unto her for £30,000 or £26,000, lands which

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[1] Orig (N D) Harl 285 f 147

[2] "Abstract of the earle of Leicesters instruccions" Cotton MS. Galba C.VIII f. 119 f 215 *Leycester Corresp* pp 12-15.

[3] Minute, in Leicester's own hand Harl. 285 144 *Leycester Corresp* pp. 19-20

[4] Minute. Cotton MS. Calba. C.VIII. f 115b. *Leycester Corresp* p. 20.

her own officers shall say themselves are worth £60,000 besides the wood which is worth £5000," so that her Majesty "shall gain by him £40,000."[1]

In such fashion was it necessary to deal with the last of the Tudors whom the Spanish Ambassador had described as a "Dynasty of Usurpers": rulers whose ingratitude to their best servants, upon whose efforts and exertions their glory depended, should no longer be concealed. Over and over again the ship of State would have run on the rocks, had it not been for Walsingham's patience and firmness, and Burghley's skill; also had it not been that Burghley, Leicester and Walsingham worked as an organic unity, loyally supporting each other with and to the Queen.[2]

"After long and humble suit of the Estates Generall of the United Provinces of the lowe Countries, it pleased the Queenes Maiestie our Souveraigne to grant unto them a large and bountifull aide of men and money, in such sort and upon such Articles and conditions as in the treaty concluded betweene them bearing date the fourth day of September . . .

"To speake of the magnanimitie, wisdome, bountie, and singular goodness of hir Maiestie in yeelding so great and chargeable a succour, with consideration against whom, upon how necessary and most urgent cause," the martial writer of the *"Briefe Report"* regards as "above the reach of my pen and skill," but proudly declares that "the fact is, and will be, approved and renowned in the world so long as the memorie of wise and good Princes and of true princely actions shall endure"

" in the Treaty named, there is one Article amongst others whereby it is especially required that it might please her Maiestie to send with her forces into those partes a personage of nobilitie, valure and wisdome, of the English Nobilitie, as well to governe her people as also to direct and to deale otherwise, and to use such further pre-eminence and authoritie as is specified in the Treatie "The man for this purpose most desired, and especially chosen by hir Maiestie, was the Earle of Leycestre," who for a "long time" had enjoyed her "especiall favour" and had been blessed "most happily many waies"

When at last on the 27th of November she signed the Commission drawn up on the 22nd of October appointing Leicester Lieutenant General, it gave him powers as ample as any Sovereign had ever conferred upon a subject; including authority over Admirals and Vice-Admirals, and all such ships and men as should accompany the expedition.[3]

"After his Commission was received," relates an officer who served under him in a "good place," Lord Leicester "tooke leave at the Courte, and departed towards Harwich in Essex there to embarque."[4] It was on "the first of December" that he said farewell to "hir Majesty and the Court."

During November "many horses and men" had been "shipped at the Tower wharfe to be transported into the Low Countries"; and now "with his traine (which was great)" Leicester "entered the town of Colchester in Essex, where the bailives and brethren in scarlet gowns, and multitudes of people met him."

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[1] Minute Cotton MS Galba. C VIII. f 118 (no copy taken of the letter itself) *Leycester Corresp.* p 21

[2] See Note, p 68

[3] In extenso, E E. App, pp 19-21.

[4] *"A Briefe Report."* 1587. p.5.

On the 8th and 9th of December the troops embarked from Harwich, and, "to the number of fiftie sailes of ships and hoys," "set forward towards Flushing, with sounde of trumpets and drums, shouts and praiers of the people for happie and fortunate success."[1]

Great was the rejoicing that

> "it pleased her gracious Highness to send now over into the Netherlands the most nobly renowned Lord Robert Dudley Erle of Leicester, Baron of Denbigh, and one of her Maiesties most honorable priuie Councell, etc, with a magnificent and worthie traine of Noblemen and Gentlemen attending upo[n] him into those Netherlands and also with him the Lord Robert Deuoreux Erle of Essex, and other English Nobles and Gentlemen to the number of seven hundred horse "[2]

"There accompanied him in this voyage the Earl of Essex, the Lord Awdley, the Lord North, *with divers knights, and manie squiers and gentlemen, to the number of sixe or seven hundred horse, bravely and soldier-like, all voluntaries and of his owne friends, followers and servants*:"[3] which last statement as to the Cavalry has escaped notice, owing to the rooted idea that the Elizabethan Army was chiefly composed of released criminals. One of the combatants describes the Cavalry as "*a small number, but yet men of such valour as at sundry times . . dared the Prince of Parma's whole power.*"[4] These were the Horse of which Essex was appointed Lieutenant-General at the age of nineteen.[5]

The list of "Voluntary Gentlemen" of whom the Cavalry was composed contains some of the best surnames in England,—such as Cholmondeley, Bassett, Barrington, Paulett; Vere, Arundel, Stapleton, Shirley, Knollys; Sidney, Compton, Cary, Fortescue; Gerard, Berkeley, Blount, Harrington, Harcourt, Fairfax. But unaware that this MS. existed, even the late Sir John Fortescue followed other 19th century historians in describing the military profession as then in such ill-repute, and the Army as so frequently "seething with mutiny and thinned by desertion," that barring a few brilliant exceptions like the Veres, Elizabethan "gentlemen of any self-respect" would not accept commands! Such is now the universal belief;

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[1] Stow's "*Annales*" 1592 p 1205. The list of ships and men was supplied to the enemy Cal S P. Spanish, (1896) III See E E App p 22

[2] Churchyard, "*A True Discourse*" p 75 [3] "*A Briefe Report*" 1587 p 5

[4] George Whetstone "*Sir Phillip Sidney*," [1587] Title page E E p 439

[5] Essex's Commission would be given if discovered, but it is not with his other Commissions, nor is any draft of it in the P R O, for owing to the carelessness of a clerk called Watson it seems not to have been enrolled at the time When Watson died in the 39th year of Q Elizabeth's reign, various Commissions and other Patents which he had neglected to enroll were discovered in his office, and tardily enrolled The Engrossed Calendar of Patents gives for the end of 28 Eliz a number of references as "*enrolled on the roll of Divers years among the rolls of 39 Eliz*", and these include one for the Commission of Leicester to command in the Low Countries Nevertheless this has now been sought in vain on "Watson's Roll" (It is given in E.E from another source) The Commission to Essex is neither calendared as enrolled 28th Eliz nor is it on Watson's Roll, nor is a draft of it among Burghley's MSS now at Hatfield But there is no foundation for the modern assumption that Essex's rank as General of the Horse in 1585-6 was only nominal There was no such thing as a nominal office in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, except that of hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain, whose duty was mainly at Coronations.

but in 1585 (and again in 1588) the Earl of Essex, the Queen's "near kinsman," was proud to accept the command of all the Cavalry; and among those who served under him was "Francis Fortescue," ancestor of Sir John.[1]

When we learn with what "alacrity," and how often, the "gentlemen of England put themselves into the wars" extending across Queen Elizabeth's long reign, (the word "*alacrity*" is that of Essex in 1598, after he had armed, equipped and led them in no less than five campaigns), it will become possible to add an extra volume to Fortescue's great "*History of the British Army.*" Meanwhile, we must discard all preconceived opinions, before mentally embarking at Harwich upon the enterprise which Lord Burghley praised as "this noble necessary service": but which King Philip inevitably called by a different name.

[1] It was not only the Horse that were "voluntaries." In a memo with notes by Lord Burghley, Oct: 15, (S P Holland IV 98) "2000 voluntary soldiers" are mentioned, and (ib: 99) the "voluntaries in the garrisons of Flushing and the Brill" (Cal. S P F. Eliz: Vol XX, p 113) The present writer communicated to Sir John Fortescue these discoveries, which Sir John welcomed graciously, but died before there was time for him to make the additions and alterations which such discoveries necessitated His History is a work of lasting national value, but more helpful as to the 18th and 19th centuries than for the 16th.

APPENDIX

PATENT AND COMMISSION TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER, *2nd and 22nd October, 1585.*[1]

Before attempting to judge the actions of an Elizabethan General, the first step should be to find his Commission, ascertain what power was put into his hands, and for what reasons he was appointed. Hitherto, this process has not been followed by any of our historians.

Previously on the second of October the Queen had appointed Lord Leicester her Lieutenant General, and authorised him to levy a small number of troops As the wording of the Royal Letters Patent was calculated to inspire confidence, Leicester then had reason to hope the delays were at an end, and that having gone thus far, Her Majesty would not draw back.

"Elizabeth by the Grace of God," &c., &c, pronounced that "for divers juste causes" (the usual formula) she "made, constituted, and ordeyned our righte trustie and righte well-beloved Cosin and Counsaylor Robert Erle of Leicester Baron of Denbigh Maister of our Horse, and of the honorable Order of the Garter Knighte, &c, to be our Lieutenant Captayn Generall of all suche Forces as doe presentlie or hereafter shall serve in the Lowe Countries, for the reliefe of the Inhabitants there "[2] Wherefore "to all and singular our Justices of Peace, Maiors, Sheriffs . and all other our Officers Ministers and Subjects" she proclaimed that "for his better ayde and assistance, and for the furderance and advancement of our Service" she had given and granted to "our saide Cosyn" "full and absolute Power and Authoritie to levye and take up in all places within our Realme of England and Dominion of Wales the nomber of five hundred hable and sufficient Men to be taken up of his Tennants and Servantes, to attend the Person of our saide Cosin, during the tyme of the Authoritie which We have given hym in the Parts beyonde the Seas as our Lieutenant and Capteyne Generall, and in his Passage thither and Retournynge from thence, and them and every of them so levyed and gathered otherwise to imploye in that Service, as by the Discretion of oure saide Cosin shall be thought most mete and convenient.

"And our Will and Pleasure and expresse Commandment ys furder, that all suche as shaall be imployed in this our Service with their Reteynews and Followers, and shall have our saide Cosines Warrant under his Hande and Seale signifieing the same, shall for and duringe the tyme he or they shall be soe used and imployed in the same our Service, be received and taken into our Protection for their Bodies, Lands and Goods, any Lawe Statute Acte Provision or Restreynte to the contrarye thereof in any wise notwithstandinge

"Wherefore We will and command you and every of you to be aydinge and assistinge unto our said Cousin and to his Deputie or Deputies in this behalfe . . in the due

[1] The Patent Roll is lost That the draft of so important a State Paper has vanished from the Public Record Office and that the Patent was not enrolled, is astonishing The ensuing is taken from Rymer's *"Foedera,"* vol. XV, pp 800-801.

[2] *"De Capitaneo Generali, ad serviendum in Belgio constituto"* Patent Roll 27 Eliz p 2 m 2 Original sought in vain amongst Longleat Dudley MSS. Only to be found in Rymer's transcript, *Foedera* Vol XV pp 799-801 It is not quoted or editorially alluded to in Bruce's edition of the *Leycester Correspondence*

Execution of this our Commission, as ye and every of you tender the advancement of our affairs or Service, and will answere for the contrarye at your uttermost Perills.

"Witness our selfe at Westmynster the seconde Daye of October, Per Ipsam Reginam."

Nevertheless "*De Comissione speciali pro Capitaneo praedicto*" was not drawn up until the 22nd of October. Nor did the Queen at once authorise Leicester to depart. His Master of the Horse, Sir Christopher Blount, refers to the Commission as not actually signed until the 27th of November.

Now first translated from the Latin, it will be seen as conferring extensive powers, and that the manner of making war was left to his "wise discretion," and the Royal Navy placed at his disposal; facts not hitherto taken into consideration.

"The Queen to all, etc., Greeting.

"Seeing that it has seemed good to Us in response to a humble and urgent Petition from the States General of the United Provinces in Belgium made and exhibited to Us, and in consideration of the old Treaty of amity and mutual trade that has been in force now for many years with Us and our Progenitors, to send a certain Number of Our Subjects both Horse and Foot into those aforesaid Parts, for the Assistance and Recuperation of the Inhabitants of the aforesaid Provinces, and for the expulsion and putting to flight of the Enemies of the said Provinces, who intend and endeavour to devastate and spoil them and to reduce their Populations to perpetual Servitude, which State of Affairs, beyond what in themselves being weighed and considered are altogether regrettable and deplorable, also cannot but be manifestly and *in many ways the cause of grave Dangers and Detriments to Us and to Our Kingdom and Crown*

"Know therefore that We For the better Government of Our Subjects who from time to time may be sent over to those Parts, and for the better Defence and Assistance of the aforesaid Province, *placing entire confidence in the Fidelity, Prudence, Serenity, Industry, Diligence, and Wisdom in Warlike Affairs, and in the Integrity of our most Dear Cousin and Councillor Robert Earl of Leicester Baron of Denbigh,* Master of Our Horse and member of the Most illustrious Order of the Garter, have appointed constituted and ordained the said *Earl* to be OUR LIEUTENANT AND GENERAL COMMANDER of the whole Army and Forces of Our men now stationed in the aforesaid Provinces, or who will from time to time be sent over and stationed there, and by these Presents We do so appoint constitute and ordain him Giving to the same Earl by these Presents Power and Authority, combined with his wise discretion from time to time to call together and assemble all and singular Captains, Colonels, Vice Captains, Lieutenants and other Officers with all Horse Foot and all other soldiers in Our Pay and under their command who have been already enlisted or who will be enlisted during this present commission, and all other Persons of whatever Grade or Condition, either soldiers who have been enlisted or who will be enlisted in Our pay in those parts either for the defence of those Provinces or for the expulsion of persons desiring to spoil the said Provinces; and *to command and cause to be commanded, and to carry out war with the said Enemy in any manner he pleases, and to do all other things for our better service in those parts as it may seem good to the said Earl according to his wise discretion.*[1]

"We also give to the aforesaid Earl full power and authority of issuing whatever

[1] Italicised now because she subsequently, but not justly, criticised the manner of his proceedings.

Orders, Laws, and Proclamations from time to time may seem to him opportune for the good order and discipline of our forces retained in those Provinces.

"And also of appointing all and singular Captains and Officers of our Army and forces in those parts.

"And in addition *we give to the said Earl full power and authority by these presents, according to his wise discretion of honouring and making noble on account of courage and good work, (and of according) to our subjects in those forces marks of merit· that is to say the power of giving and assigning arms and of decorating them with the insignia of Knighthood as belongs to the office of a Captain and Lt-General* or has been accustomed to be done.

"We also give him power of hearing, examining and terminating either personally or by deputy all criminal causes, mutinies, disobedience, and quarrels, from the Captains and Governors of our armies and of awarding the punishment of death and loss of limbs, or other corporal punishments according to their offences as ordered by the laws and customs of war

"And We give him authority to hear and terminate all suits and quarrels of all members of our forces collected in those parts, and of doing all other and singular things which pertain to the office of Lieutenant or Captain General

"And We also give to the same Earl full power and authority as long as he shall exercise the office of Lieutenant and Captain General in lands beyond the sea, from time to time *by his written authority or sign manual to pay and expend such sums of money from Our Treasury for the upkeep of Our forces as shall seem expedient to the said Earl,"* etc, etc, and according to what is customary in the case of the office of a Lieutenant General.

"And We direct all Admirals, Vice Admirals, and Captains of our ships and sailors, soldiers of Our subjects generally who may be from time to time beyond the seas to act under the orders of the said Earl with their ships and forces," etc, etc.[1]

"And in addition by the tenor of these Presents We direct all and singular Captains, Colonels, Vice Captains, Lieutenants, Earls, Lords, Barons, Soldiers, Civilians serving as auxiliaries to Our forces to obey and assist the said Earl," etc, etc

"And in addition We will and concede by these Presents that these Our letters shall be Patent [accessible or open] both to the aforesaid Earl and to all other Earls, Barons, Soldiers, Captains and Our other subjects, etc., etc, for the execution of the aforesaid instructions being a sufficient Warrant thereunto.

"We also will and declare by these Presents that whatever Commission or Commissions of the nature of the present ones or of another territory[2] either the United Provinces or any part of them, or that may have been issued by Us to any Person or Persons beyond the scope and meaning of these Our present Letters Patent, shall at once cease and be of no effect. . .

"Signed by the Queen herself at Westminster on the 22nd day of October."

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[1] "Damus et in mandatis Admirallis Viceadmirallis Capitaneis nostris Navium et Nautis Militibusque, et subditis nostris quibuscumque supra Mare pro tempore existentibus, quatenus ad Mandatum dicti Comitis nomine nostro faciendum, cum suis Navibus et Viribus inserviant auxiliantes sicut et intendes ad pugnandum si opus fuerit cum dictis Inimicis et ad eos debellandum."

[2] *"Parcellae."*

"HIS L(ORDSHI)PES ATTENDANTS INTO THE LOWE COUNTRIES."[1]

From unpublished (Longleat) Dudley MSS Vol III, ff 63, 64, 64b

" A note of the number wch are to attend your Lo in yor Jorney into the Low Countries "

" Barrons 2 theyr servantes 10 knightes and Gent 20 theyr servantes 40 · 72.
[one word illegible] servantes officers and others

1	A Steward	ser 2
1	A Secretaire	1
1	A Threasurer	1
1	A gent of the horse	1
1	A Controwler	1
2	Gent Ushers	2
4	Gent of the Chambr	2
6	Pages	0
4	Gromes of the Chambr	
10	Gent Wayghters	6
2	Devines	2
1	Phisition	1
1	Appotecary	1
1	A Chirurgion	1
2	Cornettes	0
6	Trumpetters	0
6	ffootmen six	0
4	Cookes	0
4	Battery Pantery for the silver scullery	
2	A clarke of the kitchin and cator	1
1	A Harbinger	
1	A yeoman of the horse	
3	Coatchmen	
8	Gromes	
1	A farrier	

The number of the gent officers and yeomen 75
The number of theyr servantes 24
Suma totalis 99

Of these there are to goe with his Lo of

Lods
Knights } 72
Gent:

with theyr servantes His Lopps owne retinue 99
Of the (illegible) his trayne 30
The total some is 227 "

It is significant that the King of Spain had a much more complete list of *" Gentlemen forming the train of the Earl of Leicester, with the number of their horses and servants, and the names of the ships in which each was to embark"* (Paris Arch K 1564. 19 Cal S P S. III pp 554-6) Some of the names are the same as those appearing in our list of Horsemen at the Hague

[1] Endorsed " The names of his lpes attendants " &c , but there are no names of persons, only of the various occupations.

"A CHOICE OF EMBLEMES . . BOTH PLEASANT AND PROFITABLE." 1585-86.

When at last the Queen had issued her proclamation of her reasons for sending her army to the Netherlands, Geoffrey Whitney dedicated a book of Emblems to her General, proclaiming that *"honour, fame, renowne, and good reporte doe triumph over death and make men live for ever"* Also he addressed verses "To the Honourable Sir Philip Sidney, Knight, Governour of the Garrison and town of Vlishing" (beginning "The tramping steede that champs the burnish'd bit")[1] He singled out further, Norris, Stanley, and Russell, but his warmest praise was for "the two noble Earles, Warwick and Leycester", and to Leicester, his own "very good Lord and maister," he apologises for his "lacke of skill to wryte your noble actes . "

The ferocious libel printed abroad against Leicester in 1584, and the French version in 1585, had not deceived any except those who wished to be deceived, and the Allies looked forward eagerly (says Whitney) to the coming of *"so noble a personage, whose heroical vertues so many grave and learned men have eternised to all posterities"*

That "posterities" have ignored the words of the "grave and learned," and accepted the pamphlet denounced by Sidney as immeasurably "vile," is no fault of Elizabethan men of letters, whose tributes to Leicester, Chancellor of Oxford University, are numerous and eloquent

After he had been appointed "Lorde Lieutenant and Captain General of her Matie's forces," many as were the claims upon his energies, "presentlie before his Honor passed the seas into the low countries" he made time to look at Whitney's effort, *"A Choice of Emblemes and other Devises for the most parte gathered out of Sundrie writers, Englished and Moralised And Divers Newly Devised A worke adorned with varietie of matter, both pleasant and profitable "*[2]

This is hardly the theme a General starting to-day for a foreign campaign would have patience to examine, but Whitney "having so often and largelie tasted" of his Lordship's "honourable bountie and favour" did not doubt his welcome Zest for Emblems was then carried into every walk of life; and thirty-four years later, Henry Peacham, looking back upon the "Golden Age" of English literature, still maintained that "Emblemes and Impressas, if ingeniously conceipted, are of dainty device and much esteeme".[3]

> "The invention of the Italian herein is very singular, neither doe our English wits come much behind them, but rather equal them every way The best I have seene have beene the devises of Tiltings, whereof many are reserved in the private Gallery at White Hall, of Sr Philip Sidnei's, the Earle of Cumberland, Sr Henry Leigh, the late Earle of Essex, with many others, most of which I once collected with intent to publish them, but the charge dissuaded me"[4]

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[1] With woodcut of a Roman Cavalry officer Also in same vol. part II, 2 pages of laboured verse with the same heading *"Whitney's Choice of Emblems"* Facsimile ed , H Green, 1866 pp 38 and 109-110

[2] B M No C 57 1 27 (formerly 637 g 20), and G 11 572

[3] *"The Compleat Gentleman by Henry Peacham, Mr of Art Sometime of Trinity Coll Cambridge . . Anno 1622 Imprinted at London, for Francis Constable "* Ch 15, "Of Reputation, and Carriage in generall"

[4] There had previously been issued *"Minerva Britannia or a Garden of Heroical Deuises, furnished, and adorned with Emblemes and Impressas of sundry natures Newly deuised, moralised, and published By Henry Peacham, Mr of Artes London Printed in Shoe-lane at the signe of the Faulcon by Wa Dight"* After "Finis" on last leaf, date "1612"

Entered in Stationer's Register 9 Aug· 1611 It contains devices dedicated (p 19) to Robert Earl of Salisbury, p 21,) William Earl of Pembroke, (p 23,) Henry Earl of Southampton, and (p 114,) "the late Honourable Earl of Essex." (Information from Mr. B. Halliday, Leicester, from a copy in his possession.)

Peacham gives examples also of satirical emblems abroad of "very witty and unhappy libels cast upon the whole Co[n]sistory of Cardinals in the nature of Emblems", and also some "very knavish that were throwne up and down the Court of France, the Escutcheon or Armes of the partie on the one side of a pastboard, and some ingenious device on the other" · which last is a reminder of how every man's arms were then as easily recognised as his name.

Whitney's *Emblems* are now remembered chiefly because at one time erroneously thought to have been the sole English book printed at Leyden by Plantin [1] They were issued in facsimile in 1866 [2] The editor, Henry Green, a careful bibliographer, took History on trust from modern reference books so Leicester was for him a posing "Puritan," and such an incompetent General that it seemed necessary to explain away the admiring tone of Whitney's dedication Green so tempered the dedication with his own disparaging commentary that it has yet to be read in the spirit in which Whitney wrote it

"a Noble and moste faithful Counsellor to her excellent M^tie, a zelous favorer of the Gospell and of the godlie Preachers thereof, a loving patron of learning, *and a bountifull Mecaenas to all the professors of worthie artes and sciences whereof myselfe is a witnes, who have often hearde the same in other countries, to your everlasting memorie* "

" *There needeth no Apologie to bee made unto your honour in the behalf of learning whose noble mind hath bin so addicted to the same these many yeares that divers who are now famous men had been through povertie long since discouraged from their studies, if they had not found your honour so prone to be their patron*"

The historical interest of Whitney's work is less his verses than his dedication to the nobleman whose open-handed encouragement of literature had long since caused him to be elected Chancellor of Oxford, to the great benefit of scholarship, and of many humble but talented men who otherwise might have been impelled by hunger to lower their standard of culture Such temptation was rare among men of letters in Elizabethan England, when the benevolent influence of a dignified, generous, wealthy and powerful aristocracy invigorated all ranks to delight "in learning and chevalrie"[3]

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[1] "*Imprinted at Leyden, In the house of Christopher Plantyn by Francis Raphelengius* MDLXXXVI."

[2] "*Whitney's Choice of Emblems*" ed by Henry Green B M 11626 h 10 Green states (p lvi) that Plantin's edition and his own reprint are the only two editions known

[3] As to the protection of the fine arts by the old aristocracy in the 16th Century, see "*Discursos leidos ante la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando en la recepcion pública del Excmo S^r Duque de Berwick y de Alba*," 25th May, 1924, pp 7-8, emphasising the importance of the appeal to posterity To the decline of this "*sentimiento de perpetuidad*" is to be ascribed the decline of dignity in modern art.

PART III.

"Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant."

CHAPTER 3.

"THIS NOBLE NECESSARY SERVICE."

APPENDIX

"Justice duly administered, and discipline orderly observed."

"We, . . . placing entire confidence in the Fidelity, Prudence, Sincerity, Industry, Diligence, and Wisdom in Warlike Affairs, and in the Integrity of our most dear cousin and Councillor Robert Earl of Leicester, . . . have appointed . . . the said Earl to be our Lieutenant and General Commander of the whole Army and Forces of our men . . . in the aforesaid Provinces, . . . to carry out war with the said Enemy . . . as may seem good to the same Earl according to his wise discretion."

Commission of Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Leicester, 22 October, 1585. Now first translated, ante, pp. 19-21.

". . . there is not any governed Estate, which in peace or warre can be accounted sure, or preserved from dishonour and ruine, unlesse it be supported and borne up by Justice duly administered, and discipline orderly observed. . . ."

Robert, Earl of Leicester, *"Lawes and Ordinances . . . meete and fitte to be observed by all such as shall serve Her Majestie under him. . . ."*

LAWS AND ORDINANCES OF WAR PRIOR TO THOSE OF THE ELIZABETHAN ERA.

King Richard I, 1189, "To all his men going by sea to Jerusalem", etc "Witness myself at Chinon"

King John, "Constitutions made in the Army of our Lord the King"

Richard II, Durham, 17th July, 9th year of his reign · xxvi laws made after "good consultation" with John [of Gaunt] Duke of Lancaster, Thomas Earl of Essex and Buckingham, and others named Item iii forbids injury to churches or women.

Henry V, in Latin and English (for the Agincourt campaign) Richard II's Laws repeated (Later Ordinances, Rouen, 5th May, 1421)

Henry VII, 1486, also orders that "no manner of man, of whatsoever state of degree or condition he be, rob nor spoil any church." Protection of all women, including domestic servants

[*Henry VII,* 1492 A copy presented in 1888 to the Society of Antiquaries, mentioned but not quoted in their *"Proceedings"*, 2nd ser Vol XII, p 2]

[*Henry VIII,* 1513-1514 "This probably unique printed pamphlet, which has all the rarity of a manuscript, was found in one of the old chests in the Muniment Room at Loseley" A preamble and then "Hereafter ensue certayne Statutes and Ordinances of Warre, made, ordeyned, enacted, and established, by most noble, victoryous, and most crysten Prynce, our most Souerayne lorde kynge Henry the VIII" Arms of France and England, and Arms of Castile Various badges XXXIV Ordinances, an Admonition, and Colophon. See Kempe's *"Loseley Manuscripts"*, 1835, pp 105-117]

Henry VIII, 1544 *"Statutes and ordynances for the warre"* Londini, Anno M.D XLIIII B L 4to "Imprinted at London in Fletestrete, by Thomas Barthelet printer to the Kinges highnes, the xx day of June, the yere of our Lorde. m d xliii Cum Privilegio Ad Imprimendum Solum" [Cockle, *"Bibliog of English Military Books"*, 1900, p 6, quotes Collier as stating these Statutes to have been issued first in 1513, printed "in the same year by Pynson" Query, the "next" year? as the copy discovered at Loseley (supra) has a colophon quoted by Kempe as being printed in 1514 "mccccc and xiiij"]

The items in brackets are added, by the present writer, to those given by Grose, *"Military Antiquities,"* 1778

LAWES AND ORDINANCES SET DOWNE BY ROBERT EARLE OF LEYCESTER

THE QUEENES MAJESTIES LIEUTENANT AND CAPTAINE GENERALL OF HER ARMIE AND FORCES IN THE LOWE COUNTRIES

meete and fit to be observed by all such as shall serve her Majestie under him in the said Countries, and therefore to be published and notified to the whole Armie

Forasmuch as there is not any governed Estate, which in peace or warre can be accounted sure, or preserved from dishonour and ruine, unlesse it be supported and borne up by Justice duely administred, and discipline orderly observed And for that no man can be so ignorant as not to knowe, that honor, fame and prosperitie, doe duely followe that common Wealth or Nation, wherein good lawes are established, the Magistrate ministring Justice is duely regarded, and the people fearing to offende, are drawen under the rules of Justice and obedience And seeing that martiall discipline above all thinges (proper to men of warre) is by us at this time most to be followed, as well for the advancement of Gods glorie, as honourable to governe this Armie in good order And least that the evill inclined (pleading simplicite) shoulde cover any wicked facte by ignorance Therefore these martiall Ordinances and Lawes following are established and published, whereby *all good mindes endevouring to attaine honour, may stand armed, and receive encouragement to persevere in well doing, and such as are inclined to lewdenesse, be warned from committing offences punishable* Which being embraced with carefull respect, and followed with obedience, doe promise *good order and agreement amongst our selves, with victorie and good events against our enemies*

1 First, every chiefe Magistrate, Captaine, inferiour Officer, Souldiour, pioner, or what person els receiving her Majesties paye in Fielde or Garison, shall solemnely sweare, and by corporall othe be bounde to perfourme the under written Articles, so farre as to eache in their severall qualities shall appertaine the violating or breaking whereof, is to be punished by the Generalles direction, according to the qualitie of the offence

2 Forsomuch as the holy Name of our most mightie and invincible God, with all reverence ought to be regarded, and that destruction is pronounced to such as blaspheme or abuse the same it is therefore ordeined and commanded, that no person whatsoever, either in common conference or communication, or for any cause whatsoever, shall blaspheme being thus admonished, or take his Name in vaine, upon paine of losse of v s. [5/-] to the releefe of the poore for first offence · for the second, five dayes imprisonment for the third, losse of his place and wages

3 And because the continuall and unspeakable favours of our Almightie God, by our unthankfulnesse may be taken from us, and that no good event of any action can be expected, wherein God is not first and principally honored and served. It is therefore especially ordeyned and commanded, that all persons whatsoever, shall upon generall warning given *either by sound of Trumpet or Drum, repaire to the place appointed, where the Divine service is to be used,* there to heare the same read and preached, *unlesse for the present by sicknesse or other service he be impeached,* upon paine to lose his dayes wages for the first, two dayes wages for the second, and so to be encreased by the discretion of the Judge, and for every such default in the Souldier, as well the Captaine as his inferiour officers, to be punished with like penaltie

4 And seeing it well beseemeth *all Christians, especially such as proffesse the militarie service,* to passe away the time in matters requisite for their profession: And because no time can be more vainely spent then that which is consumed in unlawfull games, besides the breeding of much contention and quarrelles: And for that there be many allowable and commendable exercises for all

sortes of men to use · Therefore it is streightly commanded, that no private Souldiour inferiour Officer shal frequent the playing at *Dice and Cardes,* nor any other unlawfull games, upon paine of two dayes imprisonment for the first time, and for after committing the like, to bee further punished by the Judges discretion

5 And for that it often happeneth that by permitting of many vagrant and idle women in an armie, sundry disorders and horrible abuses are committed Therefore it is ordeined that *no man shall carrie into the fielde, or deteine with him in the place of his garrison, any woman whatsoever, other then such as be knowen to be his lawful wife,* or such other women to tende the sicke and to serve for launders, as shall be thought meete by the Marshall, upon paine of whipping and banishment

6 And insomuch as clemencie amongst men of warre in some respectes is a singuler vertue It is ordeined that no man in any part of this service that he shall doe, shal lay violent handes upon any woman with childe, or lying in childbed, old persons, widowes, young virgins, or babes, without especiall order from the Magistrate, upon paine of death

7 What person soever that shall be commonly given to drunkennesse, or riotously behave himselfe, shall be banished the Armie

8 Whosoever shall conceale, or in any sort keepe secrete Treason, any dangerous Conspiracie, or other practise which may be hurtfull, and may concerne the perill of her Majesties person, or of her General, or the estate of this Armie, and shall not with all diligence reveale the same either unto the Generall, or some other Officer of especiall trust, shall incurre the paines of death with torments

9 No man shall have speeche or conference, send message, deliver or receive letters to or from the enemie, or any his confederates, either secretly or openly, without manifesting the same presntly unto the Generall or Marshall, or having former authoritie so to doe, upon paine of death

10 No man being in this service shal depart y^e^ Camp or place of Garrison for any cause whatsoever, without the Generals especiall Pasport, or other head Officer authorised, upon paine of death

11 No man shall breake out or leave the order of his ranke, being once ordered in the fielde by the Marshall or Sergeant Major, without some great occasion first made knowen unto the saide Officer, upon paine of losse either of life or limme, at the discretion of the Generall or of the Marshall

12 No man appointed to watch or warde, shall shun or depart the place, neither shall sleepe, or neglect his duetie therein, especially after the watch is set and the woorde given, unlesse he be orderly relieved, or for some great occasion enforced, with licence of his Captaine or Officer, upon paine of death.

13 No man shal raise any mutinie, or procure unlawfull assemblies upon private, secrete, or hidden purpose, whereby to disturbe the peace and quiet of the Armie, upon paine of death

15 No man shall lift up his weapon against the Magistrate, his Captaine or Officer, upon paine of death.

16. No man shall quarell, brawle, or make any affray within the Campe or Towne of garrison, upon olde malice, or newe occasion whatsoever, but shall complaine to the Officer, who is to decide the cause and punish the partie offending, upon paine of losse of life or limme, at the discretion of the Generall or Marshall.

17 *And whereas sundrie nations are to serve with us in these warres, so as through diversitie of languages occasion of many controversies may arise or happen to growe It is therefore ordeined, that if any person of English nation shall finde himselfe agrieved with any wrong profered him by any foreiner, that then without profering further revenge hee shall signifie the same unto his Captaine or other officer, whereby order may be taken, so as no further quarrell growe thereof,* but that quietnesse in all respectes may be preserved, upon paine of such punishment as the head officer shall thinke meete, either by losse of life or limme.

18 No man appointed to the defence of any Breach, Trench, or Streight, either Captaine or

Souldiour, shall willingly leave it, or upon any false or imagined excuse shall absent himselfe from the place, without sufficient warrant, upon paine of death

19 No Captaine, officer, or other person, shall receive or entertaine any other mans Souldiour or servant, without consent of his former Captaine or Master, neither shall entice an other mans Souldiour from him, upon paine of losse of a Monethes wages, and to restore the partie to his former Captaine or Master

20 No man shall enrolle his name under two Captaines, nor muster in severall companies at one time, or otherwise passe in another mans name, or lende Armour, weapon, or other furniture upon the muster day, whereby to abuse her Majestie, and weaken the present service, upon paine of a moneths imprisonment, and banishment

21 No man shall embezill or diminish any of his Armour, weapon and furniture, which is appointed him by his Captaine, unlesse he can proove that he lost the same in service And that no man shall take in pawne any Souldiours weapon or furniture, upon paine to the Souldiour of losse of his place, and to the other that shall take it in pawne, the losse of the double value

22 No man shall play away, engage, or lende away his furniture, but shall alwayes keepe his Armour and weapon cleane and serviceable, upon paine of being discharged

23 No man shall deceitfully take away his companions provision, victuals, or furniture, upon paine of imprisonment

24 *No person traveyling, lodging, or abiding in any the Townes or Countreis of her Majesties friendes or Allies, shall in any wise exact or take by force from the people either victuall or other their goods whatsoever, without present payment,* or other sufficient order to the satisfaction of the partie, upon paine of death

25 No man shall forestall any victuals brought for the Campe or place of garrison, but suffer the same peaceably to come into the Market place, there to bee rated and priced by the Marshall or his officer, before he buy the same, upon paine of death

26 No man shall robbe or spoyle any Shop or Tent, or any victualler or Marchant comming for reliefe of the Campe or garison, but in all good sort shall entertaine and defend them, upon paine of death

27 No Souldiour commanded at any time to take victuals for certaine dayes, shall exceede the same dayes, or spend the same otherwise than according to the proportion and time allowed him, upon paine of imprisonment, or other such punishment as the lawfull officers shall appoint

28 No man shall distresse or spoyle any person standing on her Majesties partie, or being under the Generals protection, upon paine of death

29 No man shall disobey or transgresse any Proclamation made by Drumme or Trumpet, set forth by the Generall, upon such paine as he shall set foorth

30 No man shall resist the Provost or his other officer in apprehending of any malefactour, but if neede require, shall ayde and assist him therein, or otherwise if by such occasion any escape be made, it is ordeined that every person by whose defaulte the escape was committed, shall suffer like punishment that the parties so escaped shoulde have endured

31 No man shall molest or trouble any person beeing under his owne regiment, or the leading of any other, once placed by the Marshall forrier, or Harbinger in the Campe or Towne, but quietly to permit and suffer every one to enjoye his severall roome or lodging, unlesse it be by mutuall consent and agreement, neither shall any man lodge out of his Captaines quarter without licence, upon paine of imprisonment.

32 No man contrarie to order shal set on fire or burne any house, milne, or corne, nor at dislodging or remooving shall set the Campe on fire, without speciall commaundement from the Generall or other head Officer present, upon paine of death.

33 No man without great occasion shall make any Alarme, but if any chaunce to arise, then shall every man presently repaire in all haste unto his appointed place, unlesse some true excusable cause doe hinder him, upon paine of death.

34 No man shall harbour or receive into his lodging any person being a stranger, or of our owne nation not being enrolled in her Majesties paye, but shall presently acquaint the Generall or Marshall with his name, countrey, the time of his comming, and business, upon paine of imprisonment, and losse of his place and wages

35 No man shall talke or have conversation with any Trumpetter or Drummer of the enemies, or other sent in message, but such as bee appointed by the Generall, upon paine of death

36 No man shall attende upon the carriages, but such as are appointed to that charge, neither linger, loyter behinde with them to ride or ease themselves, unlesse it be such as by sicknesse, hurtes, or other infirmities knowen to the officers, to be permitted so, upon paine of imprisonment, and losse of wages

37 No man shall attempte to go a forraging, without the officer appointed for that purpose deliver them a sufficient guarde for their defence, upon paine of death

38 *No Captaine shall sende foorth any men to doe and enterprise, without knowledge of the Generall, or chiefe officer appointed thereunto, upon paine of losse of his place*

39 All private Captaines, being no head Officers, shall watch and warde with their Ensignes, unlesse it be by speciall leave, upon paine of the losse of a moneths paye, and for the second time, losse of his place.

40 *Every Souldier shall present such prisoners as are taken, to their Captaine immediately at their return to the Campe, and none shall either kill them, or license them to depart, without commaundement or leave from the Generall, or other head Officer thereunto appointed,* upon paine of being disarmed, and banished the Campe

41 Every Souldier at all times in service shalbe *obedient and faithfull,* as well to their Captaines as other inferiour Officers, and not to refuse direction of any under whom they are appointed to serve, upon paine of imprisonment, and losse of a moneths wages

42 Every man shall support and defende his owne Ensigne both night and day, and shall resort unto the same upon the first warning, and not depart untill it be brought into safetie, upon paine of death

43 Every souldier shal diligently observe and learne the sound of Drums, Fifes, and Trumpets, to the end he may knowe howe to answere the same in his service

44 No man shall slaughter or kill any beast of what nature soever within the Camp or Garrison, but in such places as are appoynted for that purpose, nor shall suffer the garbage to remaine unburied, neither shall any man trouble or defile the waters adjoyning, but in the lower part of the streame some good distance from the Campe, upon payne of imprisonment

45 No man shall ease himselfe or defile the Campe or Towne of Garrison, save in such places as is appointed for that purpose, upon paine of imprisonment, and such further punishment, as shall be thought meete by the chiefe Officers

46 No Captaine shall sell or raunsome his prisoner without license of the Generall, and shall not suffer them to depart without making the high Marshall privie to the same, upon paine of losse of his prisoner, and imprisonment.

47 If any man do take a prisoner or bootie, he shall immediately after hee is returned unto the Campe or Towne of Garrison, make his Captaine or Governour acquainted therewith, and the Captaine shall declare the same unto the Marshall, who every eight dayes shall make certificate thereof unto the Generall, upon paine of imprisonment, and further punishment as the Generall shall set downe

48 In Marching by the fieldes, no man at the putting up of any Hare, or any other beast shal make any shout or crie, whereby to disquiet or stay the rest of the bands, but to use all quietnesse and silence in their march, upon paine of imprisonment

49 No man shall give up or deliver unto the enemies any place left to his charge or keeping, upon paine of death

50 If any man flie to the enemies, or be taken upon his departure towards them, he shall suffer death.

51. Any Captaine finding any Souldier of what band or company so ever, which hath transgressed any of these Lawes and Ordinances, may take him and bring him unto the Marshall to be punished

52. That whatsoever shall be enrolled into paye after the othe be ministred to others and he not present, and if afterwards he shall transgresse any of these Ordinances, he shall be as well punishable by vertue of these Articles, as if he had bene present at the first.

53 That no Captaine shall receive or enroll any person into his paye under him, but that he cause the sayde Souldier to receive the oth, as is set downe in the first Article, upon paine to the Captaine for not observing the same, of losse of a moneths paye

54 That no person whatsoever shal passe by any other way either in Towne or Campe, but at the ordinarie gates and passages, upon paine of death

55 All other offences and Actes that may tende to disorder, not comprised within these Articles, shalbe subject to such maner of punishment, as the Lieutenant Generall shall inflict upon them, as if it had bene specially expressed and set downe [1]

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[1] In Sep 1586, State Papers, Holland, X, 51, 3¼ pp, are "Orders observed by the garrison of the Brill under Lord Burgh [Borough] Deputy for Sir Thomas Cecil," Cal· S P F, Vol XXI, (1927), pp 181-182 Only 12 points are given in Cal out of 40 They are obviously based on Leicester's "Laws and Ordinances." Figures now added in brackets refer to Leicester's Laws.

(3) 1 Regular attendance at Church.

(4 & 7) 2. Against swearing, dicing, or being drunk

(41) 3 Due attendance upon superior officers

4. Strangers to be sent under escort to the Marshal.

(20?) 5 No one to take any man's weapon except his own.

(16) 6 Against affrays in the town

— 7 All to be quiet after the Watch

(5 & 6) 8 "No man to keep any woman within the town . except she be his wife Every rape shall be punished by death."

(19) 9. No Captain shall receive another one's soldiers

(21-22) 10. Weapons and furniture not to be "laid to gage"

(34) 11 No stranger shall lodge in the town save with the knowledge of the Marshal or his officer.

12. No soldier to live out of his quarters.

NOTE ON "A BRIEFE REPORT OF THE MILITARIE SERVICES DONE IN THE LOW COUNTRIES, BY THE ERLE OF LEICESTER:

Written by one that served in good place there in a letter to a friend of his Imprinted at London, by Arnold Hatfield, for Gregorie Seton, 1587."
(B M. No C.32. d.2.).

"Note that the account of the daies, monethes, yeares, and miles is to be made alwaies in this letter after the stile and measure of England"

(Dedication) "To the Right Worshipful my especial good friende Sir I A. Knight."

Occasionally quoted in notes to the *"Leicester Correspondence"* (1844) But the D N B, by dismissing it as a 'eulogy' of Leicester, gave the impression that it was a mere panegyric Even were this the case, a contemporary's praise would be of practical value "What I write, either I saw, or I have it by the credible report of . the doers" The "Report" is an officer's narrative, concentrated upon martial facts He does not treat of "the estate of Religion, justice or civill politics", nor even describe the gallant deeds of particular persons There having been enough such actions to make a "reasonable volume," he would not care to depict some and omit others His aim is to give an outline of the operations from January 22nd till November 23rd, 1586, with the reasons why certain strategy and tactics were necessary and efficacious

Studied in connection with letters from the front, the *"Briefe Report"* enables us to participate in the campaign almost as if we had been in it ourselves

It apparently was overlooked even by so careful a student as Captain Maurice Cockle, who, in his *"Bibliography of English Military Books"* (1900), described as a "monumental work" on the Low Country wars the *"General Historie of the Netherlands"* translated by Grimstone But as the inaccuracy of that History is nearly always to the detriment of the English troops, it should be contrasted with the *"Brieje Report"*

This latter is in preparation to be issued as a separate volume, edited by the author of *"Elizabethan England,"* and illustrated with maps new and old The probable identity of "one that served in good place," and also of the Knight to whom it is dedicated ("Sir I A") will then be discussed Meanwhile quotations in the ensuing sections will show the quality of the narrative.

In blackletter, set close and solid, it is fatiguing to the eyes, and so the reprint will not be in facsimile but in the same types as *"Elizabethan England"*

Tested by the present writer, during the last fourteen years, in relation to our State Papers Foreign, the accuracy and acumen of the summary become apparent. Had it been known to the late Sir John Fortescue, he would have been able in his great *"History of the British Army"* to do justice to a war in which, as yet, nearly all modern English commentary has embodied variations upon Motley's *"United Netherlands"*

Motley's work is marred by fundamental distortions of the character and actions of Lord Leicester, the mistakes being partly due to the over-confidence which so often makes fluent writers pass hasty judgments upon military actions they have not sufficiently examined

The ensuing elucidations of the main issues are a necessity if we wish to know the actual Robert Earl of Leicester, who in English history, from the 17th century onwards, has been buried under a mausoleum of calumny and confusion

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UNPUBLISHED PATENT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH APPOINTING SIR PHILIP SIDNEY GOVERNOR AND CAPTAIN OF FLUSHING

(Patent Roll 27 Eliz: pt. 13 m.20).

Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England France and Ireland etc

D[e] con[cessione] ip[ec]ial[i] p[ro] Ph[ilipp]o Sidney mil[itt]

To all to whome these presents shall come greetinge Whereas by vertue of a treatie latelie made and concluded betwene the Commissioners appointed by vs and certeine deputies sent hither vnto vs from the States generall of the Vnited provinces of the Lowe Countryes there ys deliuered into the handes of our trustie and welbeloved seruaunte William Davison Esquier to our vse the Towne of Flysshinge to be kepte in our possession vpon suche condicions as are conteyned in the saide treatie and the same to be furnished from tyme to tyme withe suche nombers and sort of martiall men as by vs shall be thoughte meete knowe ye that we for the speciall truste we have reposed in the fidelitye and sufficiencye of our trustie and welbeloved Sir phillippe Sidney knighte have made speciall choyce of hym to supplye the place of our Governor and Capteyne of the saide Towne Wherefor we doe by these our lettres patent make ordeyne and constitute the saide Sir Phillippe Sidney Governor and Capteyne of the saide Towne and forts therto belonginge and of all the garrison and souldiours that nowe are and hereafter shall be there placed for our seruice and garde of the same Towne and forts To have holde and exercise and occupie the office of our saide Governor and Capteyne of the saide Towne and forts by hym selfe or by hys sufficiente deputie or deputies duringe our pleasure Geuinge vnto the saide Sir Phillippe Sidney full power and auctoritye by these presents to take the oathe and oathes of all Capteynes and souldiours nowe serving and that hereafter shall serve in the same Towne and forts as in like cases ys requisite And from tyme to tyme to remove oute of the saide garrison suche as by hym shall be thoughte vnfytte to serve vs there And likewise to receve and admytte from tyme to tyme into the saide garrison suche persons as he shall thincke convenyent for our better seruice And alsoe to punyshe by lawe martiall and otherwise as cause shall require suche of the saide Garrisons and souldiours servinge there and other persons resortinge or remaininge there as shall be any wayes offendors either by deathe or other corporall or arbitrarye punyshmente accordinge to the qualitie of theire offence Witness our selfe at Westmynster the VIIJth of November.

p(er) br(ev)e de priuato Sigillo etc [1]

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[1] Greville, *"Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney,"* Ch. xi, (writing in the reign of James I,) refers to Sidney as "made for Garrison Governor of Flushing, and for the Field, General of the Horse." But the present writer can only find his patent as Governor of Flushing; and the sole General of the Horse in the Muster Rolls is the Earl of Essex. Sir Philip appears only commanding a Cornet (i.e troop) of Horse

The point of interest in the above Patent is that it authorises Sidney to govern Flushing either by himself or by deputy Obviously, therefore, it was intended to employ him in the field.

APPENDIX.

THE GOVERNOR AND CAPTAIN OF FLUSHING, 1585.

In describing Sir Philip Sidney's ideas, policy, and convictions, Fulke Greville long afterwards emphasised that his labours and aims were not for "Friends, Wife, Children, or himself, but above all things the honour of his Maker and the service of his Prince or Country"[1] Possibly this was meant to account for the fact that Sidney made his plan for leaving England with Drake when his young wife was expecting her first baby, whose birth would thus have taken place when Sir Philip was at sea, cut off from news of her. This child, if a boy, would be heir presumptive to the Leicester and Warwick possessions, for Ambrose Earl of Warwick was childless despite three marriages, and Lord Leicester's adored "Noble Imp Robert of Dudley Baron of Denbigh" had been dead sixteen months

When Lady Sidney, at Walsingham House, gave birth to a daughter, this must have been a disappointment to everybody concerned But the Queen apparently had pardoned Sidney for marrying She was so far gracious as to give her name to the infant, and present gratuities to the nurses

A Latin ode by Scipio Gentilis, "*Nereus, sive de natali Elizabethae, illustris Philippi Sydnaei filiae Londini, 1585,*" is not in the British Museum, nor the Bodleian nor Cambridge University Library Collins saw it in 1746, and noted its authorship, date and title[2] But it is now one of many lost Elizabethan works, for which search has been made by the present writer in vain[3]

The previous year, Scipio Gentilis had published a Latin work upon the Platonic philosophy, also a Latin paraphrase of the Psalms, both dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney Having rejoiced that Sidney's distinguished birth was adorned by graces and talents worthy of such a heritage, he refers to "your genius in childhood" as "capable of all philosophy", and writes of "Your honourable embassy undertaken in your youth, and the experience obtained from visiting the Cities and viewing the manners of so many countries, the exhibition of your personal valour and prowess in the public spectacles and equestrian exercises in your manhood" Much as these are applauded, the chief reason why Gentilis not only admires but "loves and venerates" Sir Philip, is "because you regard poetry so much as to excel in it nor will I omit any opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to you"[4] As none of Sidney's poetry, nor his *Defence of Poesie,* had been published, this is one of many reminders how reputations in Queen Elizabeth's day were made without recourse to print

Before this date, Sidney had been at work on his translation into the "vulgar tongue" of his old friend Duplessis's historical treatise on the truth of Christianity. But "intending a higher kind of service towards God and his Prince, he went "from the companie of the Muses to the Campe of

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[1] "*Life of the Renowned Sr Philip Sidney,*" ch iv [2] "*Letters and Memorials of State,*" vol i, p 113

[3] The warning of the late Keeper of the MSS at the B M (Mr Julius Gilson) not to rely implicitly on the D N B for dates, is here exemplified Although the natal ode is dated 1585, D N B gives the date of the baby's birth as January 1583-4 an extraordinary statement, considering that the marriage was only four months earlier! But there need be no scandal; for the parish register of St. Olave's, Hart Street (the church nearest Walsingham House), still possesses the entry of Baptism · "*1585, November 15 Elizabeth, d of Sir Philip Sidney, Knight*" (Her portrait and other particulars will ensue in E E. under their dates)

[4] Zouch's translation "*Memoirs . of Sir Philip Sidney,* 1808, p. 308) from Latin dedication of "*Plutonis concilium ex initio quarti libri Solymeidos, Londini, 1584*" The other work was "*Scipio Gentilis in 25 Davidis psalmos epicae paraphrases,*" 1584 Zouch did not state where he saw these

Scipio Gentilis was also author of "*Orationes rectorales . I Pro C Caesare II De Re Militari Romana et Turcica III De Lege Regia, Addita et Edicta Paul Kauffmann Noribergae 1600*" *8vo* (B M) Captain M. J D Cockle's *Bibliog of Eng. Milit. Books . . . and of Contemp Foreign Works 1900*" No. 925 p. 238.

Mars,"[1] leaving his manuscript with Arthur Golding, whose first translation from French had been dedicated to the Earl of Leicester in 1563 when Philip Sidney was nine years old

As expressed by one of the most ardent admirers of Sidney's "vertuous, godly and learned life," whose "poor distressed Muse" soon mourned his "untimely death," —

"About this time the Right noble by birth and for Vertue renowned Knight Sir Philip Sidney (sonne and heire of that most noble Sir Henry Sidney, Knight, sometime Lord Deputie of Ireland, and then Lord President of Wales) was by her Maiestie sent over after the said Generall Norice on the tenth day of October" [should be November] "who arriving in safetie at Flushing, was on the nineteenth of that moneth by the States established Lord Governour of Flushing in Zeland . . ."[2]

His farewell letter "to the Queen's most excellent Majesty" is dated "At Gravesend the 10th of November," from which it appears that he had started for the Netherlands five days before the baptism of his daughter The Queen had given him permission to write to her direct in emergencies, and after reference to a cipher, he adds,

"if there come any matter to my knowledge the importance whereof shall deserve" so to be treated, "I will not fail (since your pleasure is my only boldness) to your own hands to recommend it In the meantime beseech your Majesty will vouchsafe legibly to read my heart in the course of my life, and, though itself be but of a mean worth, yet to esteem it like a poor house well set

"I most lowly kiss your Hands, and pray to God your enemies may then only have peace when they are weary of knowing your force . . .

Your Majesty's most humble servant

PH SIDNEI"[3]

His next letter, dated "at Flushing. This 22nd of November, 1585," is to Leicester [4]

"Right honorable my singular good Lord

Upon Thursday we came into this town, driven to land at Ramekins because the wind began to rise on such sort as our masters[5] durst not anchor before the town,—and from thence came with as dirty a walk as ever poor Governor entered his charge withal

I find the people very glad of me, and promise myself as much surety in keeping this town as [word illegible] popular good will . may breed me, for indeed the garrison is far too weak to command by authority which is a pity, for how great a jew[el] this is to the Crown of England and the Queen's safety I need not write to your Lordship who knows it so well, yet I must need say the better I know it the more I find the preciousness of it"

He meant from a military point of view Though Flushing was at this time weakly fortified, and very different from what it subsequently became, its geographical position made it the key to Flanders Sidney enters into details as to his arrangements for his officers, he has to be careful not to cause "jealousies" among the Dutch, whom he thinks are "carried more by shows than substance"

"I mean to innovate as little as may be till your Lordship's coming, which is here longed for as Messias is of the Jews: but indeed most necessary it is that your Lordship make great speed to reform both the Dutch and English abuses . the people show themselves far more careful than the Governors in all things touching the public . . . ."

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[1] Golding's dedication Particulars, E E, vol VII

[2] Churchyard· *"True Discourse Historicall . 1602"* (B.M No 154 1 17) p. 62 Translated from Van Meteren, *"Hist Belgica"* Lib 10

[3] Hatfield MS. 14 19 Begins "Most Gratious Sovereign" No date of year, by the context, 1585 Endorsed in a later hand "Nov. 10. Sir Ph Sidney to Q Eliz· P about supplying her wth a Cypher." In margin "5A, presumably part of the cypher 363"

[4] Spelling modernised from B.M. Cotton MSS. Galba C VIII. f. 213. [5] Shipmasters.

Some of the English Companies of Foot he finds "well and soldierly governed" by Edward Norris; but looking "very sickly and miserable."

"Good my Lord, haste away, for all things considered I had rather you came [not] at all than came not quickly, *for only by yo[ur] own presence those courses may be stopped whic[h] if they run on will be past remedy . . .*"

He fears the people are so "weary" of the war that "*if they do not see such a course taken as may be likely to defend them the[y] will in a sudden give over the Cause*"

"They h[ave] newly made Count Maurice Governor of Holland and Zeeland" This appointment of the young son of the late Prince William is only, says Sidney, because of the delay in Leicester's arrival (delay for which the Queen and not Leicester was responsible). Count Maurice meant "wholly to depend upon your Lordship's authority" There was no prospect of Maurice "crossing" Leicester or wishing to diminish his power

Sidney sighs for £3,000, to enable him so to equip himself and his soldiers as really to command Flushing, for in the existing circumstances he feels he commands only in name The enemy continues potent, and "threatens divers places," especially Ostend and Sluys, "but yet we have no certain news what he will attempt"

Sidney understood the odds too well to be light-hearted He was not even sure of the English garrisons for "the soldiers are so evil paid," and so ill provided "of everything that is necessary," that he could see only disaster ahead, unless many reforms could be carried But he is "yet so new here" that he refrains from saying more,

"but humbly leave you to the blessed protection of the Almighty . .

Your Lordship's most humble and obedient nephew

PHILIP SIDNEI "[1]

On the 25th of November 1585, Don Bernardino de Mendoza from Paris had sent news to King Philip of Dom Antonio's arrival, at a house the Queen had prepared for him nine miles from London, where he had been visited by the French Ambassador. The Queen had seen Antonio four times "*for which purpose he had come to London, and stayed in the house of a Portuguese Jew physician named Lopez, where the Queen visited him, and gave him some money*"

(In religion, Lopez was not a Jew, but of "New Christian" ancestry, and he had been baptised The prohibition of King Edward I against allowing Jews into England was still in operation)

Dom Antonio was sending to Paris for the necessary "paraphernalia for saying Mass" (which he was permitted to have privately in his house like the foreign Ambassadors) His expectations were high; and "Diego Botello has written letters full of hopes that they will soon go to Portugal "[2]

Actually the projected "Portingale Journey" was not destined to materialise until 1589 But in the same month that Sidney's Patent was signed as Governor of Flushing, there had been issued in English "*The Explanation*" *of* the "*Right and Tytle*" of Anthony King of Portugal, translated by the same French scholar who had dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney his translation of the manifesto of Henry of Navarre This Portugal pamphlet appeared also in Dutch, French, and Latin, with peroration admonishing all Princes of Europe—in their own interests—to beware of the growing power of Spain[3]

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[1] His next three communications, short notes to his father-in-law Walsingham, 23rd Nov[r], 27th Nov[r], from Flushing, and 1st Dec. from Middleburgh, are in the same tone *State Papers, Foreign, Holland,* Vol. II. f 102 endorsed, "From Sr Philippe Sydneye in favor of certeine Burgesses of Flushing," and f. 118

[2] Paris Arch: K. 1563 161 S P S. Cal: III p 552.

[3] Full particulars, with title pages, E.E vol. IV pp. 24-25, 39-44 The present writer is the first to examine this work, and to have discovered that the English version nominally printed at Leyden was issued in London under the auspices of an English peer (un-named), early in November, 1585

NEWLY DISCOVERED PLAN OF FLUSHING 1585

Sent by Sir Philip Sidney to Sir Francis Walsingham

Signed below "*The Scale of Yardes*" "*Roberte Ada*[*ms*] *Authore , 1585*"

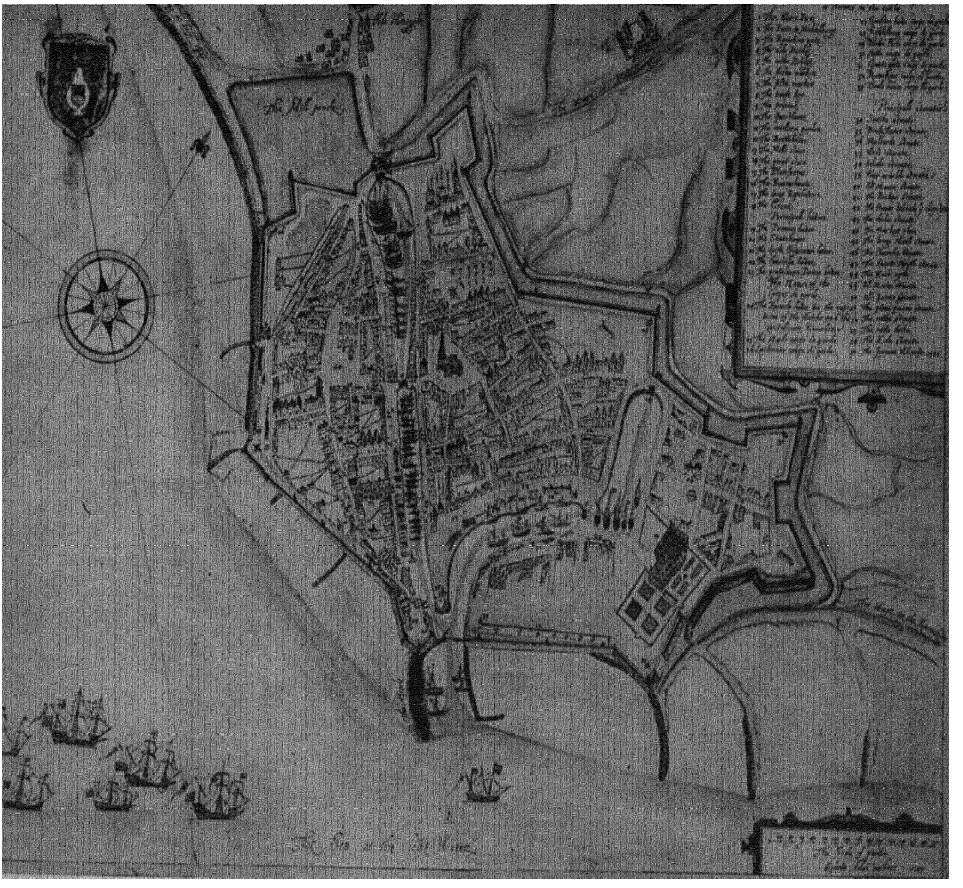
Inscribed on back "*Vlissinge Mecaenati suo optimo do Francisco Walsinghamo*"

Water colour Size $12^{8}/_{10}$ x $15^{10}/_{12}$ inches

From the original at Hatfield House, in possession of The Marquess of Salisbury, K G, P C, &c.

With list of "The Names of the Principall partes or streetes in the towne" (55 reference numbers) In the foreground "The Sea at the lowe Water", English and Dutch ships, the English shown by th St George's Cross"

There is a pictorial plan of this town in Guicciardini's Description of the Low Countries, editio of 1580 In the later edition of 1609 the picture has been replaced by a plan apparently based on tha of Robert Adams, the original of which was discovered by the present writer among the 1st Lor Burghley's papers



AN UNMERITED REBUKE:

Sir Francis Knollys to the Earl of Essex, 1585

On the 14th of November, Sir Francis Knollys, Treasurer of the Royal Household, wrote from the Court an indignant letter to his grandson, Robert Earl of Essex, protesting vehemently against the expense Essex incurred in regard to the Cavalry raised for aid of the United Provinces:[1]

"My Lord,—If I should not love you, I should be unnatural; again, if I should flatter youthful humours in you, I should be guilty of the ruinous race of your undoing; wherefore you must give me leave to say unto you that wasteful prodigality hath devoured and will consume all noblemen that be wilful in expenses, before they have of their own ordinary living, to bear out such wilful and wasteful expenses.

"You are so far off from being beforehand in land and living, left by your father to you, that by unhappy occasions your father hath not left you sufficient lands for to maintain the state of the poorest Earl in England. And also you are so far from goods and riches left unto you by your father, that you are left more in debt than one quarter of your land to be sold by you is liable to discharge the debt."

This, be it remembered, was not due to any personal extravagance of Walter, Earl of Essex, but was the price of serving the Crown in Ulster. an undertaking which had compelled him to borrow from the Queen at ten per cent.[2]

When Robert Viscount Hereford, aged not quite ten, had succeeded to the Earldom in the year of the sack of Antwerp, his father's friend and servant, Edward Waterhouse, besought him to resist those who blamed his father for having diminished his estate Waterhouse adjured him rather to follow Earl Walter's example, and make generous sacrifices, as became "Her Majesty's near kinsman by many alliances" and "the son of a most noble father."[3]

This advice was literally followed; to the extreme annoyance of Knollys.

"Now for to put yourself to one thousand pound charges (as I hear you have done, by borrowing reckonings) vainly beforehand, for your journey into the Low Countries, by levying and carrying with you a furnished band of men, needless and causeless, which band of men also do look to be recompensed with the spoil of your leases and livings, now if I should flatter you in this wasteful spoiling of yourself, then I should justly be accounted guilty of your ruinous race.

"I do like very well your desire to see the wars for your learning; and do like your desire much the better that you do take the opportunity of honouring my Lord of Leicester with your service under him. But this might have been done without any wasteful charge to yourself; for my Lord of Leicester doth set much by your company; but he delighteth nothing in your wasteful consumption."

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[1] "Your Lordships assuredly F. Knollys At Rychmond, 14th Nov 1585" Orig Lord Bagot's Blithefield MSS, "*Memorials of the Bagot Family*," 1824, pp 32-33, and Devereux, "*Earls of Essex*," 1853, Vol. I, pp. 178-179.

[2] E.E. Vol. II, p 40.

[3] MS. in possession of The Viscount Hereford, E.E. III, pp. 47-49.

As to "wasteful consumption," the soldiers called the "good Earl's" expenditure by a very different name, and remembered it long after his death. But whereas Sir Francis Knollys's letter has served over and over again to feed the notion that Essex was rash and extravagant,—and in the *Dictionary of National Biography* we are told that against his generosity we must set his "prodigality,"—the large number of contemporary MS and printed tributes to his "noble bountie" and "good government" have long slept undisturbed.

The "furnished band of men" in 1585 was not "needless and causeless." The need for assistance to England's allies had been defined in the Queen's Proclamation.

Though this letter was published 113 years ago, none of those who echo the condemnation have paused to remember that Lord Burghley had the management of all Essex's affairs until he came of age, and Essex had only passed his nineteenth birthday four days, when his grandfather Knollys deplored his "wasteful youth" (for which read "early shouldering of responsibility"). Burghley—so misrepresented in our day as a hater of soldiers—must have countenanced the transactions for raising money on the Devereux "leases and livings" Otherwise Essex, who was his ward,—and a ward of the Crown,—would not have been able to borrow £1,000, relatively a much larger sum then than now

Though it has sounded plausible to say that Essex must have been a "prodigal" from his earliest youth as even his own grandfather called him so, this is an example of what erroneous deductions can be drawn from a single letter, if the circumstances are not understood.

Knollys concludes. "I do say no more, but I beseech our Almighty God so to assist you with His heavenly grace that youthful wilfulness and wasteful youth do not consume you before experienced wisdom shall have reformed you . "

But that "experienced wisdom" in the person of Burghley must have endorsed this disinterested expenditure, should surprise us the less in that Burghley himself was to raise a troop of Horse on a later occasion;—and neither then nor thereafter did his influence take the form of desiring Essex to evade what he conceived to be his duty.[1]

[1] Sir Francis Knollys must have been well aware that the term "prodigality" was not applicable In *"The Institution of a Gentleman,"* 1555 (dedicated to Viscount FitzWalter, subsequently Earl of Sussex whom Essex's father bade him imitate), the contrast is drawn between liberality and prodigality·

" liberalitie is to helpe and succour with worldely goodes the man whyche is poore, . . . or to give a thing where it maye be well bestowed Prodigalitie is to bestowe money or goodes in banketing, festing, . or any other lyke thyng of whyche there can remayne no gret fame or memory "

It is necessary to "knowe the ryght valew of thinges"; not to be niggardly and covetous or wasteful, but spend well for the honour of the Sovereign and for the good of others. This is precisely what Essex from first to last set himself to do, "liberalitie and bountie" being then defined as among the primary characteristics of a nobleman.

NOTE. "COMPARISON OF THE EXCHANGE."

Sir Francis Knollys's Discourses on English and Foreign Money.

(1564-5—1587).

Though now remembered chiefly for a controversy with certain Bishops, (in consequence of which the term Puritan is mistakenly applied to him), Sir Francis Knollys, K G, near kinsman of Queen Elizabeth and Treasurer of her Household, was in his own day chiefly noted as a financier

He wrote "*A Conference of Waighes, Bolyon, and Values of the siluer moneyes of England, and of the silver moneyes of the lowe countreys, with a comparison of the exchange vsed to and fro betwene the Burse at Antwerpe and Lunbarde streat in London wherein is discussed not only howe much a pounde of Englishe money is worthe of Flemmishe money, but also howe the sleightes and cunning of the usage of the exchange hathe byn and may be to the great losse and hindrance of the common weale of Englande And how the same may be remedied, mett withall, and turned to the benefitt of this realme of England Written vppon occasion of a Commission graunted by her Ma*^{tie} *vnto my Lorde Thresorer, and to Sir Francis Knollys, Sir Walter Myldmay, and Sir William Cardwell, Knightes . . and finished in the moneth of February Anno 1564 and in the seventh yeare of her Ma*^{ties} *reigne*"

In 1913 a copy was in possession of Messrs Ellis, 29, New Bond Street, W, and was described by them as "English Manuscript on Vellum, of the XVIth Century, beautifully written in a bold Roman hand on 26 leaves, with additions dated 1578, 1585, etc, in a different hand, on 5 other leaves, and a preface 'newly added' on the first leaf, also a Table of Interest Folio, in a fine contemporary binding of calf, with gilt corners and centrepieces" ("*Ellis's Catalogue of Choice and Valuable Books and Manuscripts* ." No 150, Item 87, pp 42-43 Messrs Ellis, who then priced the MS at £40, do not know its "present whereabouts")

On f 28 appeared this note.

"And nowe to the ende that no man shall nede to doute of the true author of this booke of exchange wth the discourses of the mynts and of the opynyon for syzing of the wayghtes, laste before mentioned: Therefore I Francis Knollys Knyghte, Tresor of hir Ma^{ties} householde, do acknowledge my selfe to be the authore of the hoole booke aforesayde"

Subsequently, in 1924, Mr C L Kingsford discovered that Sir Henry Sidney had possessed this work, "*A Discourse of Exchange*" followed by "*A treatise concerning the myntage of the monies necessarily depending upon the banke of Exchange The Controversy betwixt her majestie and the Stillyard men, written the 8th of Aprill 1578,*" and "*touching the vente of English clothes, written the 9th of October 1587,*" folio, 60 pp See Hist MSS Com *Rep on the MSS of Lord De L'Isle and Dudley* Vol I 1925 p 303

Knollys's book was not published in print but copied in MS See p. lix, No 1218, "Sir Walter Rawleigh Book on Exchange," with a note, by the first Sidney Earl of Leicester, "This booke I borrowed of my Lord of Northumberland, who had it of Sir Walter Rawleigh, whose arms were upon the cover, and it was copied for me by Thomas Ludwell at Penshurst Feb: 1629 Leycester" And in another hand, "This book is the same as the book entitled a Discourse by Sr F. Knowles"

The authorship cannot have been ascribed to Raleigh; for Knowles's statement that it is his own work appears clearly on f 19 of the Penshurst MS

PART III.

"Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant."

CHAPTER 3.

"THIS NOBLE NECESSARY SERVICE."

APPENDIX.

"Bravely and Soldier-like: All Voluntaries": Commanded by Robert Earl of Essex.

Unpublished Names and Numbers of Horsemen "Taken over with the Lo(rd) Generall unto the Low Countries," 1585-86.

"The man for this purpose most desired of the Estates . . . was the Earle of Leycester . . .

There accompanied him in this voyage the Earle of Essex, the Lord Awdley, the Lord North, with divers Knights, and manie Esquires and Gentlemen, to the number of sixe or seaven hundred horse, bravely and soldier-like; all voluntaries and of his owne friendes, followers and servants."

"A Briefe Report of the Militarie Services done . . . by the Erle of Leycester. . . . London . . . 1587." p. 5.

"and five from the Lord Treasurer."

William Lord Burghley, K G., P.C Marginal addition by him to his son Sir Thomas Cecil's list of 45 *"names of such gentlemen as go voluntary with me and find lances of themselves."* (1585-6). (S P Holland, Vol. VI).

". . . the honble charge of Generall of the horse in a fayre armye when I was but XIX yeares old, . . . when I saw the State of England not only disposed to great accions but engaged in them."

"An Apologie of the Earle of Essex against those wch falselye and malytiously taxe him to be the only hynderer of the peace . . ." (1598).

"Brave troupes of horse he bravely led,
And thus at first his fame was spread."

R. P[ricket]. Describing Essex's services to the Crown; in "Honour's Fame in Triumph Riding." 1604.

ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX

From a painting formerly in possession of the Lord Stafford at Costessy Hall

Now in the National Gallery of Ireland Reproduced by permission of the Board of Governors and Guardians.

In oils, on panel 44 in H, 33 in (1 11 x 0 86) Described in "*Clar de Phictuurs etc etc Catalogue of the National Gallery of Ireland and the National Portrait Gallery*" Dublin, 1928, pp 268-269 Item 283

Wearing a black surcoat richly embroidered in pearls and gold, his right hand resting on a white baton Thick brown hair, brown eyes (Some of Essex's pictures make his eyes a very dark grey which has the effect of brown)

In the "*Catalogue*" (p 269) it is questioned "whether this picture really represents Lord Essex," it being considered "unlike other portraits of Essex while it closely resembles Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy" This opinion, however, was expressed before it was known that the present writer had studied and classified over thirty portraits of Robert Earl of Essex Though rejecting some of those hitherto going under his name, as, for instance, two miniatures in the collection of The Duke of Buccleuch, an oil painting at Ingatestone belonging to Lord Petre, one at Bayons Manor, the property of Mr Tennyson d'Eyncourt, another at Warwick Castle, likewise a drawing at Queen's College, Oxford (MS No 273 f 14), none of which resemble Essex either in features or expression,—it seems probable that the Costessy picture is genuine But the scroll inscribed "*Robert Devereux Earl of Essex, 1590*" must have been added later The date is erroneous, for in 1588 (23 April) Essex was elected a Knight of the Garter No K G then was ever depicted without the "George", which the Garter Statutes enjoined was to be worn perpetually, even in sickness or on a journey, as a constant reminder of the obligations of a Knight of the Most Noble Order

This picture may have been painted either in 1585, after Essex's Commission was signed as General of the Horse, or on his return from the Low Countries at the end of 1586 On 10th November 1585 he had his 19th birthday The face in the portrait is boyish and a resemblance can be traced to the miniature (E E Vol III, plate 10,) showing him in childhood

What seems conclusive against this Costessy picture being Charles Blount Lord Mountjoy, is that Mountjoy was never entitled to a General's baton in his youth His first independent command was in Ireland subsequent to Essex's execution He was a pupil of Essex in the arts of war, (as will be described in due sequence)

Moreover, in the picture by Gheeraedts of the Peace Conference in 1604, Mountjoy, then Earl of Devonshire, has a short face and a nose inclined to be upturned The oval face in the Costessy portrait appears to be actually Essex, now that a sufficient number of his portraits have been brought together for comparison

Though as a work of art it is inferior to the dated Rowland Lytton, 1585, (E E Vol VI, plate 8), Lytton's lance in his hand is that of a "Voluntary Gentleman of the Horse", one of many hundred, whereas Essex's white baton denotes the authority he was proud to wield as Cavalry General second only to the Queen's Lieutenant and Captain-General Robert Earl of Leicester (his step-father) and taking precedence of the third General, Norris, who was in command of the Foot

For the above reasons, submitted to the Director of the National Gallery of Ireland and approved, the Dublin Robert Devereux Earl of Essex is now reproduced for the first time in any English historical work



"BRAVELY AND SOLDIER-LIKE ALL VOLUNTARIES."

Unpublished Names and Numbers of Cavalry under Robert Earl of Essex, Lieutenant General of the Horse, 1585-86.

"The whole nomber of horsemen at the Hage the Xth of Januarie, 1585, and w^ch then receaued paye accordinglie"[1]

The Lo Northe	22	Thos Arondell	5
The Lo Awdeley	4	Edwd Pincheon	2
S^r William Russell	6	*Jn Fisher	5
S^r Thomas Shurley	4	Jn Robinsone	3
S^r Arthure Bassett	4	Jasper Dringe	1
S^r Robt. Jermyne	25	Michl HareCourte	10
S^r Robt Stapleton	4	Arthur Atue	4
S^r W^m Knowles	9	Richard Boulde	4
S^r *Robt Sidney*	6	Edwd Trafforde	4
S^r *George Digbie*	10	W^m Tatton	3
S^r *Hen Goodiar*	7	Geo. Leicester	3
Sr *Philip Butler*	8	Jn Glaseor	2
S^r Geo Farmer his uncle and brother	17	*Hugh Cholmeley*	6
S^r John Paiton	8	Roger Breerton	3
S^r Edmd Carie	3	Thos Laighione	2
S^r Hen Barkeley	5	Frauncis Bromeley	2
S^r Robt Stapleton	1	Walter Lewsone[2]	5
S^r *Richard Dier*	4	Frauncis Trentam	2
S^r John Harrington	4	Raulffe Sneade	2
W^m Bassett	4	Nicholas Brytten	2
Richard Warde	8	John Brock et soc	2
Captain Selbie	12	Clemente Fyssher	4
Thos Shurley	9	Geo. Kevett	2
Thos Parker	3	W^m Goodiare	4
Henry Barringtone	3	John Fulwoodd	3
Hampden Powlett	3	Xofer Wrighte	3
John Britten	5	Ralffe Hubandes	5
Thos Smythe	6	Edwd Boughtone	2

[1] 5½ pages of unpublished MS S P Holland VI 9 ff 22-24^b Numbers in original are in Roman figures These, being trying to the eye, are changed to Arabic numerals Names starred * are of individuals commended for gallantry in George Whetstone's *"Sir Phillip Sidney"* &c. (circa 1587 Title page E E VI, p 439) Names now italicised are those which reappear in the List of *"Knights made by Robert Erle of Leicester,"* which list includes the General of the Horse the Earl of Essex, and George Lord Audley, also Edward Stanley who won his spurs in storming the "impregnable" Zutphen forts.

Where the same name recurs with different numbers—as for instance in the first section of the first list "W^m Goodiare 4" and "Tho^s Shurley 9" (f 22), and under "A supplie of more horse" (f 24) "W^m Goodiar 1" and "Tho^s Shurley 7," this means that these horsemen brought extra followers after their first coming in; not that there has been a repetition of the names

[2] Levison, ancestor of the Duke of Sutherland.

Wm Peersone	2	Wm Greene	2
Jn Wake	4	Edwd. Avelyne	2
Thos Catesbie	3	Fras Castilion	1
Wm George	3	Edwd Barowe	5
Jn Wattes	5	Jn. Knight	2
Edwd. Watsone	4	Xopher Pescott	1
Thos Stavertone	3	Jn Lamplewe	1
Wm Downall	1	Thos Chattertone	1
Ambrose Butler	2	Jn. Mervyne	2
Wm Clarke	2	Geo Turbervyle	3
Wm Rowse	1	Wm Rogers	2
Walter Parsons	2	Jn Hatche pro Hixe	1
Geo Ferne	2	Robt Hill	2
Silvan Scorie	4	Robt Fulforde and his brother	2
Jerome Markehame	1	Thos Powlewhile	1
Wm Walshe	3	Xopher Goldinghame	2
Fras Clare	3	*Barnard Whelstons[3]	3
Ric Actone	3	Alxdr Morgan	2
Geo Boothe	4	Jn Jobsone	2
Geo Harnie	3	Hen Barker	2
Chas Actone	2	Hugh Veer	2
Wm Hortone	1	Robt Springe	2
Jn. Hornedge	1	Geo Brooke	4
Walter Comptone	3	Wm Hoptone	1
Jn Pointes	3	Wm Helmes	3
Nicholas Pointz	3	Hen Apleyard	1
Wm Woodd	1	Edwd Lomner	3
Wm Chester	2	Wm Haydone	3
Wm Goslett	3	Wm Waightes	2
Jn Lea	3	Jn Digbie	1
John Tracie and Gi Tracie	2	*Jn Hinde	3
Wm Pointz	1	Wm Skipwithe	3
Edmd Bowser	1	Ralffe Selbie	2
Philip Babingtone	2	Robt Dymocke	2
Wm Harmone	3	Jn Leventhrope	4
Wm Butle[r]	2	Walter Tooke	1
Edwd Cave	1	Robt Sinjan(?)	1
John Moore	3	Steph. Thornixe	2
Fras Fortescue[1]	3	Ferdinando Clarke	1
Humfrey Stafforde	2	Geo Ashebie	1
Richard Westone	4	Thos Fowler	2
Ric Holney	1	Peirce Hollande	1
Thos. Challenor[2]	2	Thos Salisburie senior	1
Anthony Nott	3	John Wynne Edwardes	1
Jas Hobsone	2	Kadwalleder Price	2

[1] Ancestor of The Hon. Sir John Fortescue, author of the great *"History of the British Army,"* who however, did not devote his attention to the Elizabethan army, and died soon after the present writer communicated to him some of these new discoveries.

[2] Son of Sir Thomas Chaloner who had been Ambassador to Spain, Ob. 1565.

[3] Clerical error for Whetstone As "B W" he contributes to George Whetstone's "Sir Phillip Sidney," E E VI, pp 439, 447

Jenkyne Lloyd	2	Thos. Parker	1
Thos. Price	2	Jn. Arondell	3
Hen. Vaughane	1	Edmde. Lomner	1
Wm Penren	1	Gilbarte Gerarde	2
Richard Morris	1	Thos. Chetwyne	1
Henry Jones	7	Wm Blacknoll	1
Thos. Smythes[1]	1	Geo Tippinge	1
Wm Clavell	1	Ric Holte	1
Wm Cowper	1	Philip Lappe	1
Robt. Williams	1	Wm Hartoppe	1
Nicholas Hardelowe	1	Jn Flackett	1
Edwd Barker	7	Thos Ferfaxe	1
Henry Daie	1	Thos Leighe	1
Michl Dormer	10	Edwd Jobsone	2
Thos Denys	5	Edwd Graie	1
Jhon Wattes	3	Chas Walcotte	2
Arthur Longefelde	2	Edwd Awbrey	2
Isaacke Wincoll	2	Thos. Harrisone	1
Geo Nowell	4	Reignolde Hollingworthe*	3
Hen Iseley[2]	1	Thos Penystone	2
Wm Walker	1	Thos Turner	1
Anthony Pulestone	1	Anthony Flowerdewe	2
Thos Ferfaxe	3	Xopher Sawnder	2
Geo Turvile	7	Richard Flowerdewe	2
Geo Binghame	1	Xopher Sawnder	2
Mr Carell	2	Richard Hodges	2
Thos Bickeley	2	Wm Boughtone	2
Laurence Fenwicke	1	Peter Boiles	1
*Jn Fyssher	1	Ambrose Rogers	1
Wm Jermyn	7	Edmd. Stafforde	2
Edmde Bowser	1	Edwd Blounte	3

Md this DCXIX were all paied sauing the fyve last the Xth of Januarie 1585 as by a particular accompte set downe by Mr Auditor Hunt appereth.

Summa DCXIX And *The Erle of Essex lt " (50)

" A supplie of more horse that were in paie from the Xth of Januarie 1585 ['86, N S]

Sr Thomas Parrott	5	Thos Shurley	7
Symone Killigrewe	4	Xofer Blounte	6
Bernarde grenefeilde	2	John Wake	1
George Brooke	2		35
Henrie Jones	3	And more of the horse of the Lo. generalles	xLtie
Wm Goodiar	1		
Clement Fisher	1		
Thos Storie	3	Tot[a]lis of all the horse	DCCXLIIIJ

Docketed " 10 Jan 1585 The nombers of horse taken over wth the Ld generall into the Lowe Countries and paid at Leyden the Xth of Januarij 1585." (Ib N S)

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[1] Query, Smithies, a name still in the Army List.

[2] Against this entry " vlt(ime) Ve antea." Henry Iseley was a cousin of Lord Leicester, in whose will of 1581-2 there is a bequest to him His father Sir Henry Iseley was executed for his share of Wyatt's rebellion. E.E. Vol. I pp 42, 57.

As Essex's brother-in-law Sir Thomas Perrott heads this addendum "*supplie of more horse that were in paie from the X of Januarie 1585,*" we would suppose he and his men had been inspected with the rest at the Hague, were it not that a letter of Burghley to Leicester two days later shows Perrott and Sir Thomas Cecil had "been on the seas three or four sundry times and put back either with a change of wind or lack of winds"· "The contrariety of the winds stayeth us from sending to your Lordship not only letters but of men horse, victuals and money"[1]

As Sir Thomas Cecil's "*gentlemen as go voluntary with me*"[2] do not seem to be identical with the "more horse" (unnamed) and again "more" above mentioned, Cecil's fifty added to these will bring the total up to 794, prior to the active operations Even if some uncertainty remains as to the exact numbers, the point hitherto ignored by all our 18th to 20th century historians is that the Cavalry in 1585-6 consisted of "Voluntary Gentlemen", and that though they "received paie" at Leyden on the 10th of January, they had been previously equipped and armed in England at the private cost of subjects of Queen Elizabeth a large proportion of the expense having been met by the Earl of Leicester, and by his step-son Essex who had "the honourable charge of Generall of the horse" when he was "but XIX yeares old" [3] and in that capacity was to win the respect not only of the men he led but of the enemy he opposed [4]

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[1] Orig. 12 Jan[y] 1585-6. Cotton MS. Galba, CIX. f 15 "*Leycester Corresp*" pp. 50-56.
[2] S P Holland VI, Cal: XX.
[3] MS "*Apologie of the Earle of Essex*" &c. 1598 (more fully given under date)
[4] Latin epistle of Albericus Gentilis, in "*De Jure Belli*" 5 Oct. 1588. (E E. under date.)

CAVALRY REFERENCES IN THE STATE PAPERS FOREIGN, 1586-1587

Subsequently to vol VI of *"Elizabethan England"* being written from uncalendared State Papers Foreign, the Calendar, vol. XXI, Part II, 1586-1587, was issued in 1927 the correspondence of Leicester with the States and the Privy Council, &c, &c during seven months filling 440 closely printed pages Even so, some of the documents are only epitomised, though other most valuable letters are given in extenso The editors, the late Mrs Sophie Crawford Lomas, F R H S, and Mr Allen B Hinds, M A, were careful to point out where they issued for the first time any MS of which Motley gave only a portion in his *"United Netherlands"* They also noted where the materials they handled had already been published in Dutch by Dr Japikse and other eminent archivists Mrs Lomas died before the publication of this volume, the evidential value of which it would hardly be possible to overestimate

The present writer has drawn upon it for amplification of the case of Sir William Stanley and Rowland Yorke, (1586-7), also for further light on Queen Elizabeth's underhand negotiations for peace behind the back of her General

A remarkable omission from the Calendar Index must be mentioned The word CAVALRY does not occur, nor do we see under HORSE any reference to Essex's Horsemen, nor to any Cavalry operations whatsoever.[1] Nor are such mentioned under ARMY But in studying the Calendar page by page, the present writer compiled the undernoted Addenda Index, which will be found helpful towards a fuller appreciation of the contents of this exceedingly important volume

CAVALRY, ours, of *Gertrudenberg* took 16 of the enemy p 87 Sir Thomas Cecil's, to "succour *Berck*," p 127.

£10,679 16 9 paid to p 199 Pay and imprests of p 202

13 Companies of Lances p 202 40 enemy, attack and capture people of *Venendael*, p 256

"List of numbers" of Horse in the pay of the United Provinces, "Companies" of Count Hohenlo, Count de Moeurs, Count William of Nassau, Prince d'Epinoy, Count Oversteyn, Sieur de Villars, Colonel Schenck Bax, Grunevelt, and others 1000 English (1586) p 301

HORSE, English, p 10 Lances and others, 2000 p 32 Norris's 200 p 47 1000 Horse appointed for relief of *Venlo*, p 54 Prince of Parma "twice as strong" as Leicester in Horse p 55 2000 enemy p 88 600 enemy. p. 95 £8000 paid for levy of 99

In the Queen's pay, Sir Tho. Cecil, Sir John Norris, Capt Butler, Capt Dormer. 270 p. 129

In the States pay, 480 (names), p 129; 800 Horse raised for relief of *Berck*, p 133. Horse-bands not properly listed or mustered, p 133 3000 requisite, money for laying p 140 200 at capture of *Doesberg* p 152

German, "not coming so soon as looked for" p 156 "only 150 English horse" in the charge at *Zutphen*, when the enemy had 1200 Horse p 165.

30 Cornets (2235 men) in camp before *Zutphen*, 26th Sept 1586 p 167. Not yet mustered p 167

"In her Ma^{tie} pay" (numbers and names) pp 175-6 Pay of 19 Cornets. p 176. Figures of May and June, 1586 p 192 Payment to 15 Cornets p 199 False account of Cavalry charge at *Zutphen*, alleging "all the English nobility" killed. p 200 Payments of p 216 1000 perused by Her Ma^{tie} p 221 1000 still in pay 16 Nov. 1586 p 232. Payment for Leicester's own Cornet of £6,746 7 4 p 244 Pay of p 244.

Present at the muster, Sep· 1586, "His Lordship's Cornet" Captain Thomas Sherley's, the Earl of Essex's (91); at *Amesford*, Lord North's, Sir Wm Russell's, 154; Sir John

[1] The only index entry under Horse is p 481, "horse, mares, hackneys, geldings, gift to Davison, 207, marquis of Renty desires from England, 407"

Only horse entry under *Army* is "appeal to Nienwenaar for horse of."

Norris's, *Doesberg*, 80, Sir Robert Sidney's Captain Michael Dormer's, *Arnhem*, 115, Sir Wm Knowles, Sir Philip Butler, *Lochem*, 80. (S P Holland XI 66) p 268

52 Companies of the enemy's Italians, Albanians, Burgundians, Walloons [with officers names] 1586 (S P Flanders I 109[a]) p 299

Sir John Norris departs with 500 horse and 3000 Foot to assure the town of *Wesel* p 321

"Young Bax's Company of Horse" intercept letters from Duke of Parma to King of Denmark

Lances in the Queens pay, 11 Jan· 1585,—12 Oct 1586. p 325

Complaint of no Muster of Horse or Foot p 335

Spanish Governor enters *Zutphen* with 3 Cornets of Horse (and 15000 Foot) p 337

Cornet of enemy's Horse defeated by garrison of *Berghen-op-Zoom* p 343

1000 Horse, distribution of p 383

List of Horsemen, Earl of Essex's and others, Feb 1586-7 p 384

"Your Lordship's (Leicester's) Cornet"; Cornets of the Earl of Essex, Lord North and others "about *Iselstein*" (March 1586-7), p 404

Garrison, *Utrecht*, Horse and Foot, p 406, Horse in *Deventer*, p 419

Sir Roger Williams states 1500 Lances to be necessary p 435

HORSEMEN, "God send us some reasonable number," Leicester to Burghley, 18 June 1586 p 27

HORSES Leicester to Walsingham, Mr Smith has been "at great charge for horses", Mr Dormer also commended for furnishing a Company of Horse p 1

"TO THE FRIENDLY READERS IN GENERAL":

Captain Barnabe Riche on "Lawes, Disciplines and Orders," 1587.

Dedicated first to the Queen, and secondly to "the most noble Captaines and renowned Souldiers of Englande," there was a third dedication "To the friendly readers in general," explaining the uses of this Treatise: "*A Pathway to military practise Containing Offices, Lawes, Disciplines and Orders to be observed in an Army, with sundry Stratagems very beneficiall for young gentlemen, or any other that is desirous to have knowledge in Martiall Exercises Whereunto is annexed a Kalendar of the Imbattelinge of Men Newlie written by Barnabe Rich Souldiour, servant to the right honorable Sir Christopher Hatton, Knight At London . 1587*" (B M 8825 b 25)

The statements and commentaries are those of an experienced officer "It is now 24 yeres ago sith I first undertooke Armes and served at Newhaven under that most honorable Earle of Warwick, a father to Souldiers at this day."[1]

There ensue a series of short chapters defining the duties of each rank

1 "*a Generall*"
2 "*The Lord high Marshall*" (performs duties now carried out by Staff Officers)
3 "*The Provost*" (discipline)
4 "*The Generall of the Horse*"
5 "*The Colonell General of the footemen*"
6 "*The high Treasurer*" (paymaster)
7 "*The Sergeant Major*" (A commissioned officer His work related to tactical formations, numbers, and returns)[2]
8 "*Master of the Ordenaunce*" "This Office is of great reputation, and asketh both judgment and experience He taketh charge of the Artillery and all the munitions, the which in the Camp he must see safely entrenched, and in the daytime conveniently guarded with a ward, and in the night time as surely watched He must have knowledge in fortification, to plant his ordnance in places of most advantage He must not only have his ordnance well and strongly mounted, the carriages and wheels surely bound with iron, but he must be likewise furnished with spare axle trees, wheels, carriages, He must have from the Marshall pioneers and labourers to go with the ordnance, as well to make or mend ways through moors or fens as they shall happen to pass, but also if by casualty a piece should be overthrown there may be help to mount it engineering, mining, trenching and suchlike, are to be directed by the Master of the Ordnance" (Page F 2)

(Such had been the duties of Leicester—then Lord Robert Dudley—in the St. Quentin Campaign of 1557)

9 "*The Master Gunner*" ". . an officer depending on the Master of the Ordnance he ought not only in himself to be exactly perfect in his piece, but also make trial of the rest"
10 "*The Trench Master*" (lays out the parallels).
11 "*The Munster Master*" (Muster Master: makes out the returns)
12 "*The Scoute Master.*" (Arranges night patrols in and near Camp).
13 "*The Forage Master*" (Collects forage near Camp)

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[1] and dedication The D N B is mistaken in alleging Riche to have begun his service in 1557, for the above definitely fixes his first campaign in 1562-3.

[2] A famous book on the duties of Sergeant Major had been dedicated to the Duke of Alba, and was subsequently to be translated into English Particulars under date of translation.

14 *"The Carriage Master"* (Transport officer)
15 *"Of a Colonell"* " besides experience, he should be a man of credit and good countenance a bountifull minde and a francke disposition . "
16 *"Of a Captaine"*
17 *"Of a Lieftenant"*
18 *"The Ensign"* " resolute rather to loose his life than to loose hys Cullours."
19 *"Of the Sarjeant"*
20 *"The Drummer"* (Each Company had two drums, one with the Colours and one with the men They sounded the calls charge, retreat, etc)
21 *"The Chyrurgion"*
22 *"The Clarcke of the Band"* (Q M Sergeant)
23 *"The Corporall"*
24 *"Of a private Souldiour"*

Then follow diagrams for "Forms of Battels" variations of squares, including a table of square roots from which to deduce the number of men in the front rank, and the depth But it is the chapters above specified which would have prevented confusion, if they had been read by Froude and other impetuous historians, who rashly attempted to criticise Generals and elucidate battles without even an elementary knowledge of the conditions of an Elizabethan soldier's life Riche's books, though emphasised as by a veteran, were never addressed only to those of his own calling His aim was to show others, who stayed at home in ease, that a well-ordered and loyal Army was vital to the security of the whole nation His *"Pathway to Military practise,"* taken in conjunction with Lord Leicester's long ignored *"Lawes and Ordinances of War,"* and Leicester's excellent despatches, should help us to form a clear idea of the "faire Army" in which Essex was so proud to be the Cavalry General at nineteen years of age

NOTE. "MERCURY AND AN ENGLISH SOULDIER."

Riche's first adventure in print had been in 1574, "*A Right Excelent and pleasant Dialogue between Mercury and an English Souldier, Contayning his Supplication to Mars Bewtified with sundry worthy histories, rare inventions and politike devices, written by B Riche Gen 1571*" (B M C 58) a 40 This was dedicated to his "very good Lord Ambrose, Earle of Warwike Generall of the Queenes Maiesties Ordinance" He gave classic examples of the "heroicall," and "described what mildness should be mixed with this manhood, with many more examples of humanity and sundry other virtues wherewith noble captaines should be endued" (His own words when in his second and more important effort he was referring to his earlier work) His next was "*Allarme to England with a short Discourse conteyning the decay of warlike discipline 1578* (B M 9 5528)[1] But by the time he published his "*Pathway to Military practise,*" many of the abuses he had deplored had been remedied

His favour with Leicester and Warwick was in his martial capacity He appears to have lived outside the charmed circle of the Court, for his dislike of courtiers is expressed with the vehemence of ignorance not least in his "*Farewell to Military profession*" But the paragraph which has so misled posterity occurs in the "*Allarme*" of 1578 Soldiers "thrive so ill-favourdly in their occupation" that gentlemen "rather seeke to indeavour themselves where there is either pleasure or profite to be gained which is not in souldierfare," and therefore men who consult their own interests prefer to be "Courtiers, Lawyers, or Lovers"

To class the third with the two first indicates that in 1578 "Barnaby Riche, Gentleman" had no very exalted idea of the ladies, for it would be difficult to surpass his contempt for the sophistries of lawyers and the affectations which he imagined to "consume the days" of courtiers "The Court I confesse is a place requisite for gentlemen to know", but not in such fashion as to fill their heads with "toyes" till "there will be no roome lefte" to consider matters of import

> "Most in number of our young courtly gentlemen thinke that the greatest grace of courting consisteth in proud and haughty countenances" They like "to seeme to talke of farre and straunge countries" and are "able to dispute of all things, but in deede to know nothing" They "apply their pleasant wit to scoffing, quipping, gybing and taunting, whereby they may be accompted merrie conceipted gentlemen They must be rash in their judgments, curious in their conceiptes, they must be bold, saucie, and mallapert, readie to espie every mans faultes but not to see their own follie"

This is more illustrative of Riche's temper than of the actual Court, where the standard of culture and manners was high, as many a foreign visitor recorded But Riche's "young courtly gentlemen" who inspired this diatribe may have been no more habitués of the Court than they were travellers in foreign countries[2]

He had complained also that "our captaines" are "many times appointed more for favour than for knowledge, more for friendship than for experience, and more for affection borne them by some noble man than either for valiance or virtue" This was in 1578 No such statement could reasonably have been made in 1585-86, for although several "private quarrels" and jealousies arose between the Norris brethren and others, the martial quality of Leicester's officers was admirable, and their services so brilliant that we will find him hesitating to praise one more than another, because they "all did so well"[3]

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[1] See E E Vol V, pp 255-258

[2] Riche himself wrote on foreign themes, such as "*The straunge and wonderfull adventures of Don Simondes, a gentilman Spaniarde by Barnabe Riche gentilman Imprinted at London by Robart Walley, dwelling in Paules Churchyard 1581*" (B M No C 57 b 2) Dedicated to his "Maister Sir Christopher Hatton, knight, Captaine of Her Majesties Guard, Viz (sic) Chamberlain to her highnesse, & one of her Majesties Most Honorable privy councell", with a 2nd Dedic to the "noble gentilmen of Englande" 2 vols in the style of "*Euphues and his England*"

[3] The Lt General's despatch E E VI, p 193

PART III.

"Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant."

CHAPTER 3.

"THIS NOBLE NECESSARY SERVICE."

SECTION 2

"Honourable entertainments I find in all places."

(The welcome to Lord Leicester by the United Provinces, Dec. 1585, Jan. 1585-6).

". . . so noble a personage, whose heroicall vertues so many grave and learned men have eternised to all posterities . . . a most faithfull counsellor to her excellent Matie, a zealous favourer of the Gospell . . . a lovinge patron of learninge and a bountifull Mecaenas to all the professors of worthie artes and sciences."

Geoffry Whitney, to his "*singular good Lorde and Maister, Robert Earle of Leycester, . . Knight of the most noble orders of the garter and of saincte Michael, Maister of her Ma^tie^s horse, one of her most honorable priuie Counsaile, and Lorde Lieutenant and Captaine General of her Ma^tie^s forces in the lowe Countries*", presenting to him (in MS) "*A Choice of Emblemes . . . Englished and Moralised . .*"
Dedication dated from London, 28th November, 1585 (B M. No C 57 1 27, and G.11.572)

". . . to assist us with counsell, aid, and advice, according to his great experience, policie and wisdome in the direction of publike affaires . . ., as well as touching the feats of warre."

"*A Placard . Given by the States of the Low Countries, vnto the Mightie Prince, Robert Earle of Leicester,*" *&c., &c. Translated out of Dutch into Englishe.*" From the Hague, 6th Feb., 1585-6 E.E., pp 93-94

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THE same day that Leicester landed at Flushing, an English merchant arrived at Dartmouth from Lisbon, upon the "Xth of this present December at night," and at once gave information:[1]

"... there is in Lisbon 80 sail of hulks from one hundreth tons to eight hundred tons," from Holland, Zealand and Hamburg. "And there is above twenty Galleons of the King's between five and three hundred tons, and forty sail. Report goeth that there cometh to Lisbon thirty thousand Tudescos, twenty thousand Italians sent by the Pope, and five thousand Spaniards, old soldiers and gentlemen; seven thousand Portingales granted by the Chamber of Lisbon. And that *this Navy are making ready with all expedition, and minds to come, as they say, for England; and that their first port shall be the Isle of Wight.*"

The merchant "saieth that at Seville they be making ready of tents and partitions fit for the army," such as indicate "some great enterprise," intended.

This was the force which the captive Queen of Scots hoped would effect her deliverance; her devoted supporter Thomas Morgan calculating that the absence of Leicester with the Army would facilitate the Spanish invasion of England.

To the Queen of Scots he wrote that though "Leycester is entered with all

[1] S.P.D. Eliz· CLXXXV, No 16 Copy endorsed "10 December 1585. Spanish Advertisements," by "a merchant that came from Lysborne, one Walker Squior" Only epitomised in Cal: 1581-90, p. 291. *Supra* taken from orig: (spelling modernised).

magnificence to Holland and Zealand," he has "with him many honest personages, which will never return with him or serve him there": meaning by "honest" that they were traitors to Leicester, and secretly addicted to the cause of the Queen of Scotland.

This letter was intercepted;[1] and Leicester's brother subsequently wrote and warned him to beware of "false boys" around him.

From Middelburgh, 14th December, Leicester reported to the Privy Council:

"Coming to Harwich on Wednesday the 8th of this present, I embarked the same evening, and the next night having wind and weather somewhat favourable put to the seas and arrived at Flushing the day following, which was on Friday last; where I stayed that night to inform myself thoroughly of the estate of that garrison and to give such direction to my nephew Sidney for the supply and re[e]nforcing thereof as I found expedient

"The same evening the Count Maurice with others of the Council deputed from the General Estates came unto me, both to congratulate with me her Majesty's gracious resolution in sending me hither, and mine own safe arrival, and to acquaint me summarily with their estate . . . greatly declined, as they confess, by lack of authority . "

The state of Her Majesty's forces "appear to be some 5,600 sick and whole . .

"Finding Ostend in dangerous terms, I have taken some order for assuring it (as I have more particularly told her Majesty). it being a place that imports greatly to the whole cause."[2]

Ostend, "between a ridge of sand hills or dunes," was certainly menaced, with the town of "Nieuport to the south and Blankenburg to the north" both "possessed by the enemy." The old Ostend had been "ruinated" in the wars, and the citizens had removed to a new town; but even that was now becoming "dispeopled," and so desolate and miserable as it "would move any man's heart" with grief to see it.[3]

Because the state of the country was so desperate, the warmer was the gratitude to Leicester, demonstrated in one "triumph" after another. At Rotterdam, after a passage by river during which sudden storms "put the small vessels in great danger," he was met on the water

". with three barges of pleasure, in every of which was 12 sailers, the first all in blew jerkins and venetians . the second 12 all in buffe. In the third 12 all in shag thrummed silke very brave, with their oares red and white In these boates were great store of fire works and rockets to cast into the aire, and at the stern of every one were cressets, which towards night were lighted, and on the water made an excellent show. Thus with trumpets sounding all the way was he brought to Rotherdame by water to his lodging in the middle of the town.

"On the other side of them on the banks stood ranks of soldiers all with musket shot;

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[1] *State Papers*, Murdin, (1759) p 478

[2] S P Holland V 112 Cal S P Foreign 1585-86. pp 213-214. Followed by another letter, 15th Nov p 216 See also from Middelburgh $\left\{\begin{matrix}25\text{ Dec.}\\4\text{ January}\end{matrix}\right.$ Jehan d'Egmont to Sec· Walsingham as to the joy of all the people at the arrival of the Queen's General. Ib: V. 137. Cal. p. 236.

[3] Robert Adams to Sir F Walsingham Flushing, 28 Dec: 2 pp S P. Holland V. 133 Cal: S P For pp 248-249. Thos. Digges to Lord Burghley on the condition of Ostend, says the same. S.P. Holland VI. 7.

betwixt every fower of them was placed a torch or cres[se]t burning: and thus he entered his lodging where the States accompanied him to supper that night."

all the inhabitants being "joyfull of the English mens coming, . . ." and extending to Leicester's train the same cordiality as to himself.

The past was not forgotten; for "the Townesmen had made very memorably in the middle of the marketplace the whole proportion of Erasmus in a pulpit as though he were preaching, holding a booke of the paraphrasis on the Gospels in his hand . . ."[1]

On Christmas Eve at Delft a banquet was given by the States, at which they displayed a device "of incredible workmanship":

"a castell of cristal founded on a rocke of pearle, about the which flowed silver streams in which lay foules, fishes, and beasts of all kinds: some hurt, some slaine, and some gasping for breath, on the top of the which was a faire virgin lady leaning and giving her hands over the castell to succour them, . . "

a palpable compliment to Queen Elizabeth.

"The Earl to requite the States" gave them on Christmas Day a banquet as sumptuous as befitted his reputation: and "on Saint Stephen's day he entertained the widow Princess of Orange": daughter of the Grand Admiral de Coligny-Chastillon who had been murdered in Paris thirteen years before.

As related in one of Leicester's unpublished letters to Burghley telling him of "the honorable entertainments I find in all places, which very greatly testify the good affection borne to her Majesty in these Countries,"

"The other towns I have passed by are very goodly towns, but this [Delft] is the fairest of them all: And doth stand exceedingly well, within 3 English miles of the Hague, and we may go as well by land as water thither. This morning I am going thither being glad that my lets[2] by the way were such as may yet give me hope of the coming of S^r W^m Pelham and Ha[rry] Killigrew in some good time. . . ."

Telling Burghley that he has as yet "no man either for war or for peace a sufficient Councillor here, nor men of any experience," he gives high praise to "Mr. Davison," "who indeed is a very able and sufficient Gent[leman], and without him I had been able to do nothing."

The now universal delusion that Leicester was of a jealous and grudging temper, keeping other men back and concentrating all attention on himself, can best be contradicted from his own letters. Of Under Secretary William Davison he says,

"he hath done her Majesty as much honour and service here as any Ambassador that I have known in any foreign place. *He had exceeding great credit among all sorts here, and* [*is*]

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[1] "*The Annales of England, faithfully collected out of the most authenticall Authors, Records, and other Monuments of Antiquitie, from the first inhabitation untill this present yeere 1592, by John Stow citizen of London Imprinted at London by Ralfe Newbery. Cum privilegio Regiae maiestatis* 1592. B.M. No. G 5971. p 1203, 206, et seq.

[2] Delays, hindrances.

acquainted almost with all persons, as he is with all places in this country. He hath been through all Holland, Zealand, Brabant and Flanders. There is not a town but he knows it, in all these provinces, and hath observed, every way, what hath passed since his first employment here. . .

". . . I trust her Majesty shall never have cause to repent her dealings to show favour to these Countries. . . ."

We shall see how ill the Queen requited Davison; but meanwhile Leicester's remarks are due for special attention. There seems not to be a single modern English historian who writes of him without rhetoric as to his exaggerated self-esteem; but Leicester in real life was totally different from the individual who nowadays passes under his name. Actually he told Burghley that if there had been a fault in English policy, extra to delaying the aid, it was the not sending of some one "more sufficient than myself, or at least better assistance for so great and weighty a service as this is: which if your Lordship were here to see it, [you] would think that both Sir W^m^ Pelham and my Lord Grey too" were few enough to help "to wade through the dealings that we should and must have . . ."

"And great pity" (he thinks it) that such "noble provinces" and "goodly towns with such infinite ships and mariners should not be always, as they may now easily be, at the assured devotion of England. In my opinion he can neither love Q[ueen] nor Country that would not wish and further that it should be so *And seeing her Majesty is thus far entered into the cause, and that these people comfort themselves in full hope of her favour, it were a sin and shame if it should not be handled accordingly, both for honour and surety.*

"You see, my Lord, that the matter resteth now upon my well doing. not one being here, if God call me, that I think her Highness will commit this charge unto

"It had been fit, if so it would have pleased her Gracious Majesty, that there had been some one other such here, also, as might have been acquainted not only with the estate but ready at hand to have supplied my place"

(This implies preparedness for two possible events: his own sudden death, or the Queen requiring him back in England.)

"Surely my Lord, if this matter be cared for and considered as it should be, ye will think, I doubt not, this I speak of meet to be done and the sooner the better I am not to direct her Majesty, yet always I trust with reverence I may be bold to discharge my conscience, and in this matter I am persuaded that if she had all the lands and goods that both Pelham and the L[ord] Grey have, [it] could not be so profitable to her coffers as their services here might be beneficial to her Majesty and her Realm."

This was because the Queen refused Grey and Sir William Pelham permission to leave England.

As to the cautionary town of Briel, Leicester states that the people "long for your son,"—Sir Thomas Cecil (waiting weatherbound at Dover, with Rowland Lytton of Knebworth and other voluntaries). Leicester prays "that the next good wind will bring him. God send him safe and well."

"We all here, God be thanked, have our health exceeding well, and the Country doth hitherto agree well, and nothing so rheumatic as we thought it, but the contrary, all men

less troubled with it here than in England: yet all our travels have been by water both fresh and salt.

"Thus praying God to bless Her Majesty and govern her with his holy spirit, I will take leave of your L[ordship] for this time.

"At Delph this Monday morning the XXVII of December.

Your L[ordships] assured friend,

"R. LEYCESTER."[1]

This was just as Leicester was starting for the Hague, where the "Estates generall and Provinciall came unto his Excellencie, friendly embraced him," and greeted "him and all his train with surpassing joy and welcome": such as we can see depicted in a series of twelve engravings issued soon after by his entertainers: "*Delineato Pompae Triumphalis qua R^tuo Dudleius Comes Lecestrensis Hagae Comitis fuit exceptus.*"[2]

Stow, who derived his information from Mr. Henry Archer, a "Gentleman of His Excellencies Gard," relates how Lord Leicester "according to his accustomed disposition" was so gracious on his arrival, and "demeaned himselfe so humbly, that he purchased to himselfe no lesse love and good liking" from the Dutch than from the English.

"The next day, after a Sermon had, and dinner ended, hee took shipping and sailed towarde Middleborough," inspecting Ramekens on the way. At Middleborough "over the gates by the port" he found "the red Crosse of Englande" painted in his honour; and after he and his whole train passed under

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[1] S P Holland Vol V No 146 Endorsed "27 December 1585 E of Leicester The good seruice of Mr Dauison Desireth ye sending out of L Greie and S^r W^m Pelham" Calendared S P. Foreign, Vol XX (1921), but not published in extenso.

[2] B M No C 43 d 29, a perfect copy, formerly belonging to Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford The title is printed in large letters across the top of a long panorama in 12 sections, without letterpress except the names of personages, or mottoes set up on stands.

The twelve plates are as follows

Nos 1 and 2 "*Cives Hagiensis,*" in procession, with standard bearers and drums: passing a stand of musicians

3 "*Cives Delphenses,*" with standards and drums.

4 "*Aulici Comitis Leycestrensis*" passing under a triumphal arch.

5 "*Prefectus maris cum ducibus suis*" passing under a great Tudor Rose, lighted with candles

6. "*Senatus hagienses*" followed by musicians.

7 "*Hollandiæ Nobiles*", and another triumphal arch.

8 "*Ordines Hol*" greeting "*Rob: Dudlei Co Ley*" followed immediately by the "*Elector Colo·*(gne)" *Co. Maurit*(ius), "*Co Hohenloo,*" all having passed under an arch hung with lanterns.

9 The rest of the procession, passing under two similar arches.

10 The led horses, passing a pageant (That the Earl of Leicester and other great personages dismounted and walked is elsewhere remarked as a special courtesy)

11. Fire works.

12 "*Platium Comitem Hollandiae*" A crowd at the waterside looking at ships

Henry Green's reference, in 1866, to *Pompae Triumphalis* as an illustration of Leicester's vanity and thirst for adulation is misplaced; for it was not his publication but that of the United Provinces. That the States wished to give a dignified welcome to the Queen of England's General, and to commemorate and "eternise" his arrival at the Hague, an important event in the history of their country, is no just cause for derision either against him or them.

the gates he stood "more than two howers . . . to see the soldiers marching, and [observe] their strengths."

The "great joy and continual triumph" with which he was "by all men acclaimed" was typified in the motto "fastened to the English arms" and those of the Provinces "linked together, *Quos Deus conjunxit, homo non separet.*" Actually many men, in the persons of Spanish diplomats and secret agents, meant to do their utmost to separate the Allies. But at this stage we hear only of favourable omens and magnificent entertainments. The Queen's General was "garded through a lane of musket shot . . . . almost a quarter of a mile" to his lodging, with banners borne before him, and drums and trumpets sounding.[1]

From the Court, Dr. Lopez wrote to Lord Willoughby that the Earl of Leicester had been welcomed "royally" in the Low Countries, where he had received ample authority and was conducting himself very prudently, to the satisfaction of the Queen and the States.[2]

In the predicament wherein the Allied Provinces found themselves, they wisely conferred on Leicester, "as to her Highness Lieutenant General of all her forces there, the Government of those United Provinces."[3] *In the words of their own proclamation.* "to honour his Excellency with greater authority" over Her Majesty's Admirals and ships of war,—also in "that his Excellency . . . being minded to show the effect" of the good will which he had so long borne "to these countries, and the preservation thereof . . ." has willingly "yielded himself" to be used to this purpose,—the States notify to "all men" that they constitute him Governor General with supreme power both military and civil.[4]

He is described as not only having come at the head of English martial reinforcements, but "*to assist us with counsell, aid, and advice according to his great experience, policie, and wisdome in the direction of publik affaires of the land, as well as touching the feats of warre.*" It was after "good and ripe deliberation" that the States besought him to accept the office of "Governour and General Captain over all the United Provinces . . . ."[5]

At his installation there were present "the Prince of Portugal," (Dom

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[1] Stow, pp 1203-1209

[2] Italian, 2 pp Epitomised. Hist. MSS Comm Rep of MSS of the Earl of Ancaster, 1907 p 17.

[3] "*A Briefe Report*" 1587

[4] Proclamation {Jan[ry] 27 / Feb 6} —1585-6 S P Holland, English translation, Vol. VI. No 57 (Calendared but not printed S P Foreign XX 1921) Also S P Holland VI. 38 French version of "*The act of y[e] states for ordeing of ye Earl of Least[r] to be governor Generall,*" thus endorsed by Lord Burghley, who made brief marginal notes.
Latin and Dutch versions of the Act are preserved in same Vol. VI. S P. Holland

[5] See Holinshed, ed: 1808, Vol IV, pp 648-649 in extenso, "*A Placard contenning the Authoritie Giuen by the States of the Low Countries, vnto the Mightie Prince, Robert Earle of Leicester, Baron of Denbigh, &[c] for the gouernment of the said Low Countries Translated out of Dutch into Englishe.*" Dated from the Hague, 6th February E.E. p. 93.

Emmanuel, the seventeen-year old elder son of King Antonio,) "the Lord Morley, master Noris Governor of Munster, Sir W. Russell and Sir Robert Germin (on his right hand"), the late Prince William's youngest son "the Grave Moris next the Earl of Essex, and Sir W. Stanley, Sir Robert Stapleton" and Essex's brother-in-law Sir Thomas Perrott on his left.[1]

So reasonable appeared the arrangement of putting the chief authority into the English General's hands, and so pressing was the necessity, that neither Leicester nor Sidney foresaw the outburst of fury which was to arise from "the most renowned Virgin Queen," as soon as she heard of it.

The current misunderstandings now are the less reasonable, in that although some of Leicester's most important letters have lain over three centuries unpublished, Stow's *Annales* have been available since 1592, and give vivid particulars derived from eye-witnesses. Yet the editor of a reprint of Sidney's *Arcadia* refers to Sidney as having "roused his uncle Leicester out of his sloth":[2] whereas at no time whether in peace or war, had slothfulness been Leicester's characteristic. It is his commentators who have been so slothful as to judge his career without examining it. Among the last words of Sir Philip Sidney from his death-bed were assurances of his "great love and devotion" to his uncle; so it is the more incongruous that Sidney's present admirers compete in condemnation of the leader whom he revered. "For my part I hope and am almost assured to do you good service, and my heart burns to do it," he wrote, praying for Leicester's "long and prosperous life, with victory."[3]

Though hoping in Leicester's ability to overcome the difficulties, Sidney, as Governor of Flushing, in his private letters did not conceal his own troubles. His appointment to the Colonelcy of a Zeeland Regiment of Horse was a burdensome compliment. He had no proper quarters for the Regiment, and it entailed upon him expenses he could ill meet; but in confiding his predicament to Leicester he repeats that he is "so far from desiring gain" that he is "willing to spend all I can make."

From Middleburgh on the 14th of December, he had written to Sir Francis Walsingham, describing the adverse conditions;[4] shortage of men, troubles about money, disgust against the heapers up of "private Lucre,"—distress on behalf of "the poor soldiers," concern for friends, and for his servant Stephen imprisoned at Dunkirk. After acknowledging letters from Walsingham, he repeated that Flushing was under-manned:

"My Company I look and long for, and am sorry the levy is not made of the whole

[1] Stow's *Annales*, p. 1209.

[2] Ernest Baker, M A *"Arcadia,"* 1907 p. xvii.

[3] "To his Excellencie my singular good Lord the Earl of Leicester" Holograph Cotton MS Galba. C. IX. f.56.

[4] Orig· Harleian MS 285, ff 164-165 Begins "Right Honourable" (Spelling and punctuation modernised.)

number of 700; for we want men exceedingly, and although I had not kept them all in mine own hand yet might I very well have helped my other Companies with them . . .

"As concerning victuallers, for aught I can yet perceive I may better furnish myself either here or in England than by tying myself to any one: and for Brown and Bruin I assure you, Sir, they do as yet but badly satisfy the soldiers, and in my opinion are merely hurtful, . . . by means of friendship of the officers forcing the poor men to take it dearer than they might provide for themselves. Great abuses have been here, which I hope now my Lord of Leicester will remove.[1]

"A very evil turn it is that Sir William Pelham and Mr. Killigrew come not with him [2] for as for Dr. Clerke he is one of those great clerks that are not always the wisest, and so my Lord now too late finds him[3] . . Mr. Davison doth good service here, I would he might be suffered to remain"

Finding the situation "so intricate both in matters martial and politic," Sidney especially deplores that the Treasurer of the United Provinces "pays our Zeeland soldiers in Zeeland money, which is 5 in the 100 loss to the poor soldiers, who, God knows, want not such hindrances, being scarcely able to keep life with their entire pay . . ." The Queen, he thinks, ought to be informed "what loss it is to the miserable soldiers." Like his uncle Leicester, he took to heart every injustice to the men.

"For myself," he remarks sarcastically, "I am in a garrison as much able to command Flushing as . . . . to answer for London." The agreement is that "there must be five thousand men kept for the defence of the country, besides the garrisons"; but he has not such numbers; and his position will be intolerably weak "if I be not increased by at least 400 men more than yet I have." If necessary he will himself write to the Queen and the Privy Council. Meanwhile he pleaded for one of the officers:

"Colonel[4] Morgan, whom I find indeed a sufficient man in government, humbly beseecheth you, for God's sake, that whereas his brother is dead in Her Majesty's service,—who was deeply bound for him by likewise serving Her Majesty,—and that his son and heir, your servant, is now also with Sir Francis Drake, that one Cooper, to whom Edward Morgan was bound for his brother, may not be suffered to take advantage . . . of his lands . . If there be a general commandment given that none trouble his lands till the young gentleman return, I think it will be a very good course"

Although before Sidney had been long in command of Flushing he became honoured and trusted, the beginning was not happy: "You told me, Sir," he protested to his father-in-law, "I should be free of excises for my own house, and have access to the town Assembly as an assistant; but as yet I find neither: they

[1] Elizabethan victuallers were defended in 1902 by Mr. M Oppenheim, editing Monson's *Naval Tracts*, (Navy Records), but without evidence to support his opinion.

[2] Sir Wm Pelham was in debt to the Queen, and she at first refused him leave to accompany her General.

[3] Dr Bartholomew Clerke, translator into Latin in 1571 of Castiglione's *Courtier*. (Title page, E E. Vol II, p 178)

[4] "Coronal". the early and then usual form, from Spanish, *Coronel*

affirming that none but the General and the Earl that came with him have to enjoy that privilege. My Lord of Leicester will needs have me with him to help his settling. I leave the best order I can."[1]

Brown, the victualler already mentioned, had been trying to obtain his custom; "but I have refused it." Asking Walsingham not to forget "poor Stephen," his imprisoned servant, whose case he commits "to your good care and favour, hoping thereon as greatly as indeed I want his service," he ends "with my most humble commendations to my best mother, and my prayer for your long and happy lives . . . ."[2]

There was even more cause for uneasiness than Sidney knew; Spanish agents were persuasive; Spanish gold was plentiful; and the rumour was soon to arise in the United Provinces that the Queen of England intended to abandon them and compound with their adversaries: and that she had only sent Leicester over as her General as the cover for an underhand Treaty of Peace with Spain.

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[1] His Patent authorised him to govern either in person or by a "sufficient deputy" (E E p 34).

[2] Fragments of this letter were quoted by Zouch, "*Memoirs of the Life of Sir Philip Sidney*," 1808, p 244, in such distorted fashion that he alleged Sidney to be "extremely dissatisfied with the military administration of his uncle", and added "it is obvious from these letters that the commander did not conduct himself with a sufficient degree of prudence and discretion"! On the contrary, it was to Leicester that Sidney looked to overcome all difficulties and drawbacks

UNPUBLISHED CHART OF THE MEDITERRANEAN, 1586.

Inscribed on the face *"Fatte Perio Hercules Doran italiano Figliolo Edward Doran irlandese alle 22 Demarsso 1586 en la citta di Londra."*

Now first reproduced from the original in possession of The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G, P C, &c

Water colour size 2 feet 5, x 2 feet

That in 1586 the Low Countries were the seat of the war, did not divert Lord Burghley from increasing his knowledge of other parts of the world We have seen (E E Vol II, plate 10) his notes on the Fleet and Army of the Holy League, prior to the victory of Don John of Austria, and also how the Catholic defence of Malta in 1565 had excited interest and sympathy in official Protestant England (E E Vol I, pp 260-276)

In the 1586 Portulano, the Italian cartographer in London was only concerned with the Mediterranean, and did not attempt to incorporate knowledge acquired by others in exploration of the North of Europe His division of England and Scotland by a strait, his incorrect coastline of Flanders, and his defective configuration of the Scandinavian countries, are copied from earlier cartography in a style dating back to A D 1300, and repeated until the epoch of the great explorers In relation to this, Professor Geoffrey Callender, F S A (Director, National Maritime Museum), remarks

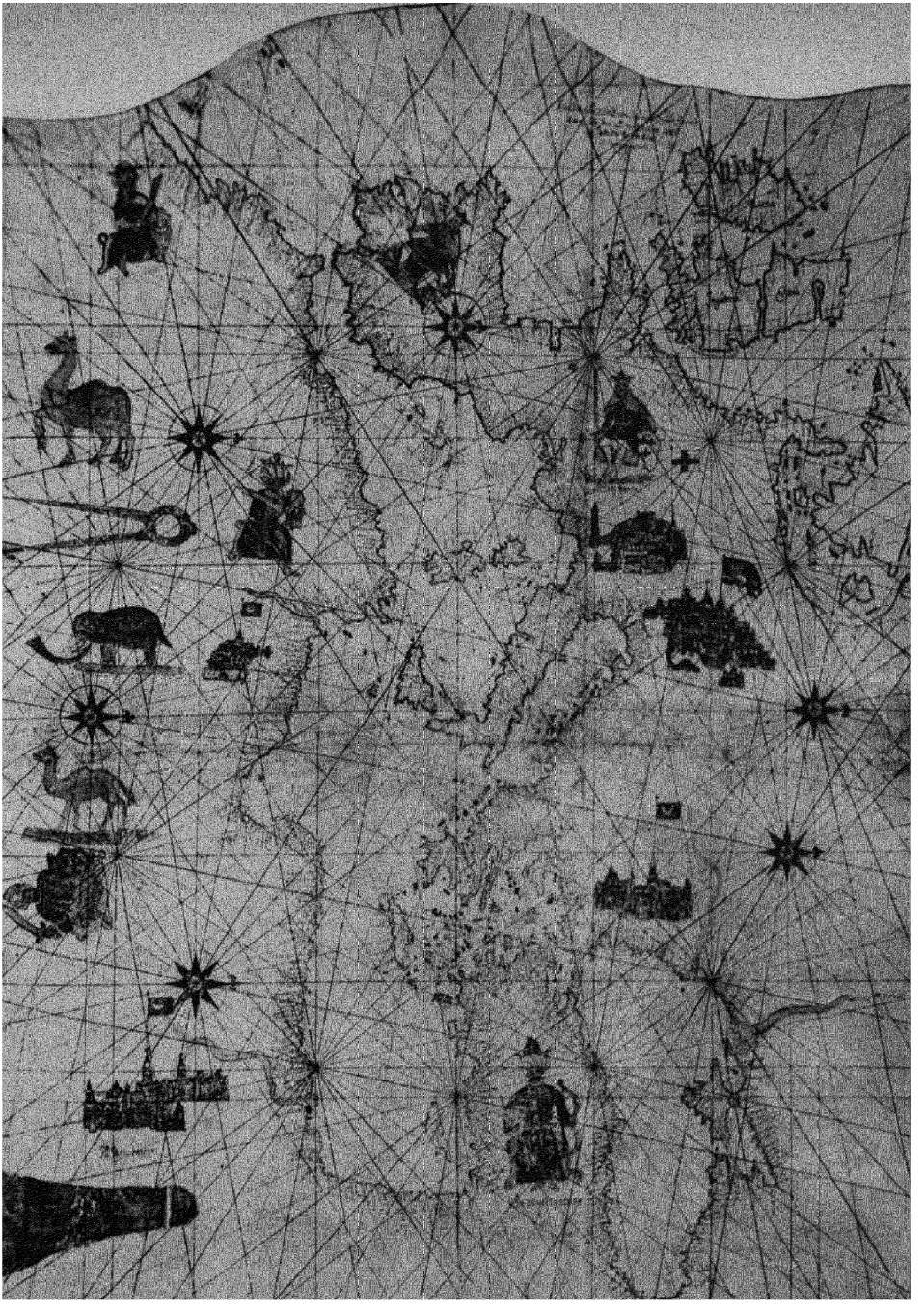
"There was then [i e on the 14th and 15th centuries] no direct navigation as between the Mediterranean and the Bay of Biscay, nor the North Sea, nor the Baltic In northern Europe there was no cartography, and the Southerners knew little beyond the shape of southern England and Wales, i e, the English Channel and the Bristol Channel, up which they were often blown by mistake An exception must be made in regard to Ireland, which is well represented by the Mediterranean cartographers from an early period Here again occasional voyagers to the Netherlands were perhaps blown off their course, and took the necessary observations

Knowledge of the Scottish Coast and Scandinavia began with the search for the North-East Passage by Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor" (See E E Vol I, pp, 82 85)

"If this chart had been made by anyone but an Italian cartographer, it would not in 1586 have ignored the accumulation of knowledge by then available" (Letter to the Author, 7th Oct 1935)

Though Ptolemy, A D 150, had realised that Scotland was not an island, the fashion to depict it as such not only lingered long in Italy, but even Sebastian Cabot in the map he published in 1544 repeated this mistake,—which did not prevent Edward VI conferring a pension upon him in 1548

In 1583, in Paris, the Cosmographer to the King of France, Nicolay d'Afreville, published an excellent chart of the Scottish Coasts, based on the work of Alexander Lindsay, 1540, pilot to James V (father of Mary Queen of Scots) See reproduction, in Shearer's *"Old Maps and Map Makers of Scotland,"* (Stirling), 1905, p 26, also of Ortelius's "Scotia," from *"Theatrum Orbis Terrarum,"* 1570



PART III.

"Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant."

CHAPTER 3.

"THIS NOBLE NECESSARY SERVICE."

SECTION 3.

"The Queen and her Nature."

(Lord Leicester's tribulations, January—March, 1585-6).

". . . there are many difficulties, both for your Lordship there and for us here, to concurr to the furderance of this noble necessary service under your chardge . . ."

The Lord Treasurer (Burghley) to General the Earl of Leicester, 12 January, 1585-6. Orig. Cotton MS. Galba C.IX. f 15. *"Leycester Correspondence"* XXI, p. 50.

". . . although I for my own part adjudge this action both honorable and profitable, yet Her Majesty will not endure to hear any speech in defence thereof. Nevertheless I hope small time shall alter this hard conceit, whereto I have already and shall not desist to oppose myself with good and sound reasons . . ."

The same to the same, on Leicester's acceptance of the Governor Generalship of the United Provinces 7th Feb· 1585-6. (Ib. p. 71)

"Your Lordship is like to have a very poor supply of money at this time. . . . I fear she groweth weary of the charge, and will very hardly be brought to deal thoroughly in the action. . . . Your Lordship is exceedingly wise. . . . You know the Queen and her nature best of any man. . . . Your Lordship can judge the sequel by this . . ."

Sir Thomas Shirley to the Earl of Leicester. From the Court 14 March, 1585-6. Orig: Cotton MS Galba. C IX. f. 128.

NOTE: "UNSCRUPULOUS COURTIER" VERSUS "PATRIOTIC STATESMAN".

(A mistaken antithesis, 1925).

Had Leicester, Burghley, and Walsingham schemed each for his own advancement, instead of all three combining in the service of Queen and Country, England's story would be very different from the tale now to be told In 1925, however, Dr Conyers Read stated, in his life of Walsingham, that the "partisan spirit" in Elizabeth's Privy Council has been "slighted too long,"[1] and that it "*happened to find the most striking expression in the inveterate antagonism between Leicester and Burghley*"

If we study the correspondence of Leicester and Burghley, the most "striking expressions" therein are of satisfaction in their "thirty years friendship" That Burghley's plan of 1579-80 for the French marriage was at first unwelcome to Leicester is undeniable, but this difference of opinion did not quench the regard of one statesman for the other; especially as Leicester soon withdrew his objections: a fact which Burghley recorded in his own hand [2]

The labours of Burghley and Leicester are so intermingled, that the difficulty sometimes is to distinguish which was the originator of measures supported by both for example, the "*Instrument for the Preservation of Her Majesty's Royal Person*"

Permeated with Froude's prejudice, and believing the Privy Council to have been rent in twain by hatred of Leicester for Burghley, Dr. Read adds.

> "since Leicester was a selfish unscrupulous courtier and Burghley a wise and patriotic statesman, historians have not hesitated to define the issue between them in terms of their personal characteristics"

Certainly, for the last three centuries, "historians have not hesitated" to heap aspersions upon Leicester without examination of his words and actions And the tribute of Dr Read to Burghley's wisdom and patriotism is unfortunately coupled with a fundamental misconception of his policy, and oblivion of his actual relations with Leicester [3]

The story of discords between Leicester and Burghley was extensively circulated in the 1584 anonymous libel, in the hope of creating mutual distrust and envy What our historians so strangely overlook is that Burghley himself was one of the principal contradictors of the libel,[4] and that during the Low Country war, Burghley, as Lord Treasurer, threatened to resign his office if the Queen did not pay the troops, and behave fairly to her General. The ensuing section should dispel many a delusion.

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[1] "*Mr Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*" Oxford, 1925 Vol I. Preface

[2] E E Vol IV, pp 153-154

[3] A letter from Mendoza 10 Nov· 1582, Cal: S P S. III p. 412, repeats gossip as to Burghley being opposed to "Leicester and his gang" This may have helped to mislead Dr. Read. But the dealings of English Privy Councillors should be taken from their own correspondence, not from Mendoza's *on dits*

[4] E E Vol V, pp 151, 155.

MINIATURE OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, (circa 1586?)

Painted in tempera on chicken skin Size 6¼ x 6 inches

Formerly in possession of Mrs J Seymour Lucas who acquired it at the Spixworth Park sale Subsequently purchased by the late Prince Frederick Duleep Singh, of Blo' Norton Hall, Diss, Norfolk

Prince Frederick Duleep Singh understood that the Longe family, of Spixworth, obtained this miniature by purchase early in the 18th century when the contents of Oxmead Hall were sold

Despite the absence of regal insignia, the late J Seymour Lucas, R A, F S A, was convinced that this miniature represents Queen Elizabeth, painted from life The present writer pointed out that the carving on the frame is based upon a medallion of Queen Elizabeth giving aid to the Low Countries, which was extensively circulated during the campaign of 1586-87

The miniature was reproduced in 1912 as frontispiece to "*The Triumph holden at Shakespeare's England on the eleventh day of July in the third year of the reign of King George the Fifth*" [Tournament Book, "devised by Mrs George Cornwallis-West, C I, R R C and Mr J Seymour Lucas, R A, F S A"]

The face in the miniature bears some resemblance to the features and expression in the portrait of Queen Elizabeth at Gorhambury, in possession of the Earl of Verulam, concerning which there have been many controversies The Gorhambury Queen Elizabeth, three-quarters figure, is a pair with another panel (44 x 35 inches) purporting to represent Robert Devereux Earl of Essex

On this last is painted "Anno DNI 1594", but the picture could not have been made from life at that date, as it lacks the Garter insignia Essex had been elected K G 23rd April, 1588, and it would have been contrary to the Statutes of the Order as then in practise, for a K G to appear or to be painted without his "George" pendant, which it was obligatory always to wear, even in illness or on a journey

The material of Essex's garments and of the Queen's are so similar as to suggest that the same hand painted both pictures, retrospectively Numerous portraits of historical personages were produced in the 17th century for the collection of Lord Verulam's ancestor Sir Harbottle Grimston, and some of the Gorhambury pictures of Elizabethans, notably Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, can be identified as copies from originals elsewhere located But neither originals nor copies of the Gorhambury Queen Elizabeth and Earl of Essex have been found The inference by the late Countess of Verulam was that these two belong to the series painted for Sir Harbottle Grimston, and that the faces were taken from actual 16th century pictures, but the figures devised by the (unnamed) copyist

Neither the miniature nor the Gorhambury picture can be called beautiful, and both are in striking contrast to a conventional miniature by Georges de la Mothe, dated 1586, in an illuminated panegyric presented by him that year to Queen Elizabeth, now in the Bodleian Library

As it was her habit to "call in" and destroy such portraits of herself as she considered unattractive, Mr Seymour Lucas in 1912 suggested to the present writer that possibly the Spixworth miniature would have been painted by stealth, and never shown to Her Majesty It is included now in deference to the opinion of that artist, who regarded the "Rainbow" and "Diana" pictures (now F E frontispieces, Vols III and V) as the ideal, and the Spixworth miniature as the reality



PART III.

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CHAPTER 3

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SECTION 3

"The Queen and her Nature."

(Lord Leicester's tribulations, January—March, 1585-6).

ON the 10th of January the English Cavalry were mustered and reviewed at the Hague.[1] No letter can be found in this connection from Essex their nineteen-year-old General; but he wrote to Burghley soon afterwards in terms of disappointment at not yet being allowed to lead them against the foe.

"My very good Lord[2]

"Could my service be as often employed and commanded by your Lordship as both your Lordship doth continue to be favourable and I strive to be thankful, I might answer some part of that debt which, since I never can satisfy, I will ever owe, and, as far as my stock and ability will stretch, desire to repay unto you

"News as yet I can send none worthy of your Lordship's reading, for we have been idle all this while."

(The conditions which Essex regarded as "idle," many found sufficiently strenuous):

"only preparing to be able this summer to look upon the enemy, and in the meantime everyone to defend his garrison and the country about him.

"When there falleth out any good news I shall be most ready to advertise your Lordship, and of anything else which I can think may be welcome and acceptable.

"And so wishing your Lordship all honour and true happiness, I commit you to God's happy protection

"Hag[u]e this 29 of Jan. 1585.

"Your Lordships most assured at comand,

"R ESSEX"[3]

Previously "from Leyden this XIIII of January," Leicester had sent Walsingham

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[1] List first published, ante, p 45-47.

[2] Unpublished orig (holog) S P. Holland VI 61 (Only summarised in Cal S P Foreign, XX)

[3] Directed "To the right honorable my very good L. the L Burghley high Tresorer of England" (wafer seal of arms). Docketed in contemporary hand "29 Jan. 1585. E of Essex from y^e Hague."

a graphic account of his reception at the Hague, and of the urgent entreaty of the representatives of all seven Provinces that he would be "absolute Governor both of war and peace" over them all.

On New Years Day "in the morning they came all to me and brought with them a herald and trumpets," their intention being that "as soon as they had delivered their speech, . . . which was to offer to me with many good words for Her Majesty's sake, the absolute government of the whole provinces," they would "proclaim the same immediately."

As they thronged into Leicester's "great chamber," he "made haste to go to them"; but finding the room crowded, and thinking it better to "deal more privately," he escorted the delegates into his bedchamber. Whereon the Chancellor, "after a long discourse of Her Majesty's goodness and of the love of the country to her, of the trust they had in her above all the world, of the necessity they had for safety," explained that as she had herself refused the sovereignty they offered, they desired to have as Governor some personage who had been many years in her service, as from her own commendation in her letters and from their emissaries in England they knew to be the case with Leicester.[1]

> "They did not know any person whom they could desire so much to take this office in hand as myself, and therefore with one whole consent they did there beseech me . . . that I would take the place and name of absolute Governor and General of all their forces and soldiers, with their whole revenues, . . ."

He did not give answer, except "to thank them for their earnest good wills and great affection borne to her Majesty," and to say that his own desire was to serve them to the utmost.

The following morning, as he relates, six emissaries of the States came to him again; and went into particulars. The difficulties were enhanced by "the season of this time, which is such as we cannot, till the weather break, send by water or land almost to any place. I could not hear out of Zeeland but by long seas; all the rivers be icy and frozen," but not yet to such extent "as to bear any horse or carriage . . . The poor garrison men . . . suffer presently the greatest misery in the world," and yet are very loyal; and all look to the Queen for aid and relief.

> "All the Lords here have been in like sort with me, and all the Captains and Governors and Magistrates of towns, pressing me most earnestly, if I love Her Majesty, if I love the good of England and this country, to take it . . .
>
> "Thus it standeth; . . . either all must be hazarded and lost or else I must take it. As far as I can see, and all here with me, the case enforceth it," and it "must needs be best for Her Majesty's service every way."

[1] The first offer of Sovereignty to Queen Elizabeth from the Northern Netherlands had been so early as January 1575-6 Described by Lord Talbot, to Earl of Shrewsbury: "From Hampton Court, this 4th of Janry 1575" Talbot papers, Vol. F. f. 121. Lodge's *Illustrations*, Vol. II (1838) pp 58-61.

Refusal would be dangerous; because it would probably mean that the hard-pressed Provinces would lose heart and despair of victory. Further details "Mr. Davison shall deliver you."[1]

To Walsingham, Leicester wrote the following day, pleading that "for the honour and service of Her Majesty" the money due for paying the forces "shall be sent over," and the Queen be persuaded to "continue her favour and good countenance to this cause."[2] Again two days later, on the 17th of January, the Lieutenant-General had to implore for "this money for relief of the soldiers not paid; . . . *no man knoweth better than I the difficulty to get money from Her Majesty*", yet "I must let you know . . . that if her Majesty do not deal now graciously and princely" with her Allies in her own interests—only at the "expense of a little money" and that sum "no more than she hath already contracted and agreed for,"—the Dutch will be justified in "a mortal hate for ever to our nation. . . . For God's sake let her comfort all here."

As for Davison "who hath done Her Majesty notable service," he should be sent back quickly, "for without him I confess myself quite maimed. His credit is marvellous great here . . . And my nephew Sidney, I assure you, is notably esteemed."

But the enemy was setting it about that the Queen "makes but a show of war" while intending to force a peace. This, if believed, must appal the Allies, and undermine their trust in England.[3] Leicester implores that Her Majesty may realise how much is at stake, not only of honour but of safety.

Though he kept up the Queen's reputation to the States, by alluding to her love and sympathy for them, he was himself desperately alarmed lest she should delay fulfilment of what she had "agreed for."

Owing to the bad weather, communication from England had been slow and difficult. On January 12th Burghley had written that in this "noble and necessary service, . . . there is no one thing that more annoyeth the expedition than the adverse winds that sometime keepeth us from understanding of your proceedings not many days but many weeks. But, what most grieveth us, the contrariety of the winds stayeth us from sending to your Lordship not only letters but of men, horse, victuals, and money."

Burghley's eldest son Sir Thomas Cecil—who had been appointed Governor of "the Brill,"—and Essex's brother-in-law Sir Thomas Perrott, had "been on to the seas three or four sundry times, and put back either with change of wind or lack of winds, and at this present we have had these five or six days constant easterly

[1] Orig Harl MS f. 176 Printed in *Leycester Corresp* pp 57-63, where it is wrongly headed by editor as "to Lord Burghley," which is impossible as it begins "Mr Secretarie" (i.e. Walsingham).

[2] Harl. MS No 285 f 180 orig. *Leycester Corresp* pp. 64-65

[3] To Walsingham. Holograph 22 January, 1585-6. Harl MS. 283. f. 182 *Leycester Corresp.* 67-76.

winds with frosts." Burghley pleads for his son that Leicester should "be good to him for allowances," as Thomas Cecil has been keeping "at his charge" two hundred Foot; and with servants and voluntaries has had "above three hundred mouths" to feed.

Such "a great number" of English ships had "*gone with Sir Francis Drake, from whom, since he departed from the coast of Spain we never heard word,*" that it would be the more necessary for Leicester to find out the resources of the Navy of the Allies, which might be required in the Narrow Seas to join with Her Majesty's ships.

As for Sir William Pelham, whom Leicester urgently needed, the Queen continued her refusals to permit him to leave England; and this although Burghley "never ceased" for three days "intreating of Her Majesty to show him favour." Pelham was in debt to the Queen, and had not succeeded in selling his lands to pay her. His distress at her harshness had been such that "the poor gentleman . . . fell suddenly and dangerously sick." When Burghley urged the Queen to "have pity," she said she would have the debt "stalled,"—that is would not press him for instant payment,—but she refused to remit any part of it, or allow Pelham to join Leicester. This Burghley related, "scribbling" from his bed where he had spent the last couple of days, exhausted.[1]

Considering that part of the detailed correspondence of Leicester with Burghley and Walsingham has been in print since 1844, it is remarkable how little attention has been paid to its most interesting points. To reiterate Leicester's alleged "incompetence" and blame him for "vanity" in accepting the Governorship of the Low Countries has been the invariable formula. But Leicester's own statement is clear: ". . . the States here in every place, from my first arrival, received me as well for their General and Governor as for Her Majesty's: pressing upon me very earnestly, at my coming to the Hague, to take upon me the same absolute Government of all these Provinces united." After informing himself as to the conditions and circumstances, the reasons which impelled him to "accept this place" were these:

"By Her Majesty's appointment I was her General of all her forces in these countries; and by a contract likewise General of their Army, and their first Councillor:" The confusion into which the States-General had been plunged after the murder of their Prince, "the discontentation of the Captains, Governors and soldiers in all places, become desperate for lack of pay; the ill-employing of their treasure, whereby all matters most necessary for the wars and defence of the country" were "utterly neglected,"—had brought them to such a pass that they would have been obliged to elect someone else as their Governor if Leicester had refused. Or lacking a Governor they might have made peace with the enemy on the enemy's terms, which would have been calamitous for England.

If they "had any other Governor than myself, it is most certain Her Majesty

[1] 12 Jan 1585-6 Cotton MS. Galba: CIX f 15 orig *Leycester Correspondence*, pp. 50-56

could not have these countries so fully at her commandment as she is now like to have." And it would have been unbecoming for the Queen's Lieutenant-General to serve under another Governor, who could have negotiated treaties independently of England.

These, says Leicester, were his main reasons for accepting the heavy responsibility.

If Philip of Spain could procure the whole of the Netherlands to be at his disposal, we should "find, as the world now standeth," that he would next try and force the Queen of England to be his vassal. With Spain as his base of operations in the west, and the Northern Provinces of the Netherlands in the east, then English seamen and traders would be able to "traffic no further" in any of these seas and ports than Spain "shall give leave."[1]

As Leicester had been sent to the Low Countries to aid in repelling the Spanish invader, the main hope of success lay in his being given sole command. Prince Maurice of Nassau (though destined to leave a great name as a soldier,) was then still in his teens; and as his brother-in-law Count Hohenlohe, though a gallant fighter, was not always sober, it is difficult to see who could have been chosen for the Governorship, if not Leicester.[2]

The contemporary "*Briefe Report*" takes his acceptance as a matter of course:

> "Upon the 22 daie of January . he received the government of those Countries, with the tytle of Governor and Captaine Generall of Holland, Zealand, and of the United Provinces and of their associates" that is to say of the Duchy of Guelders, with the countries of Zutphen, Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, "and the countries adjoining of Frizeland between the river of Emes and Lawers, Flanders also, and Brabant" for such of the towns as were allied to the United Provinces parts of which territories were held by the Spaniards
>
> "In Holland, Zealand and Utrecht the enimy had cleerly nothing in Frizeland also nothing, saving the city of Gronningen and that part of the country called Omelandes . ", but "in Gelderland he had a good part"

In Brabant, Bergen-op-Zoom was free of King Philip; Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, being Governor for the Queen of England. The States held Saint Gertrudenberg, Huesdon, Grave, and "Wowe castle with the fort of Lillo." Otherwise the Spaniards or their Dutch subjects were in occupation. In Flanders the Allies possessed the ports of Sluys and Ostend, and the fortresses of "Terneuse, the Dole, Lyskershooke and Saint Anthonieshooke." All the rest was in possession of Spain,

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[1] Orig Feb 1585-6. Cotton MS Galba C IX. f 68: *Leycester Corr* pp 80-82

[2] A present biographer, though by way of defending Leicester, heaps him with opprobrium in this connection. "Removed" from the Queen's "corrective society and relieved from her disciplinary conversation, Leicester developed an exaggerated ego His pride and self-esteem stopped short only of the point of insanity . His exaltation of mind over his attainment of a practical sovereignty lasted sufficiently long for him to cheat himself with a vision of Elizabeth on her knees before him, worshipping that wonderful thing a Governor General created by a power extraneous to her own" Mrs Aubrey Richardson, "*A Lover of Queen Elizabeth, being the Life and Character of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester*" (Werner Laurie) p 337 Mrs. Richardson refers to the *Leycester Correspondence*, it would have been more to the purpose had she quoted from that correspondence Leicester's own reasons for accepting the Governor-Generalship.

" with all the other of the seventeene Provinces, except the whole almost of the Countrie of Overissell, which in a kind of newtralitie seemed to favor the Estates partie, but indeed did greatly aide the enimie with victuals and provisions, and had manie secret intelligencies with him.

These Provinces, their estate, and the people of them, did the E[arl] of Leicester at this his first arrivall, and acceptance of the government, find in great confusion The common people without obedience, The soldier in misery and disorder for want of paie, The governors wearie and tired for lacke of good assistance and due obedience, The provinces themselves staggering in their union . "

Moreover the towns which were near the enemy were in such dread of the Spanish troops *" triumphant now with continuall victories,"* and the Dutch were so sad and depressed because of the recent capture of Antwerp,—*" so little was their hope of their own ability to resist, and so many were the enemies deepe and secret practises,"*—that taking over the government of such a country was calculated to tax to the utmost Leicester's strength, ability, sympathy, judgment; and not least his purse.

Not only had the King of Spain the finest fighting forces in Christendom, not only had he the whole of the Southern Netherlands from which to draw immediate resources for reinforcing his armies in the rebel Provinces; not only did the Spaniards hold some of the strongest positions in the north, but the underhand negotiations of Queen Elizabeth were to produce further complications.

Whereas Leicester's shouldering of responsibilities merited the Queen's best thanks, she was highly offended: and Sir Thomas Heneage was commanded to take to Leicester a furious letter:

" How contemptuously we conceive ourself to have been used by you, you shall by this bearer understand," was her way of acknowledging to her General the news of the burdensome compliment paid to him by the States.

She " could never have imagined, had we not seen it fall out in experience, that a man raised up by ourself, and extraordinarily favoured by us above any other subject of this land," would have been so " undutiful," and inflicted upon her " so great a wrong . . . "

" And therefore our express pleasure and commandment is that all delays and excuses laid apart, you do presently, upon the duty of your allegiance, obey and fulfil whatsoever the bearer hereof shall direct you to do in our name: whereof fail you not, as you will answer the contrary at your uttermost peril."[1]

This to the son of the proud John, Duke of Northumberland, had he not been inviolably loyal, would have been enough to exasperate him into resigning from active service of so discourteous a mistress: especially as the messages sent through Sir Thomas Heneage were yet more vehement and vituperative in regard to what Her Majesty absurdly described as a " notorious contempt " for herself. That she had twice refused the Sovereignty of the Netherlands, being unwilling to incur the obligations, caused her to be the more furious that her " creature "

[1] 10th Feb 1585-6. Cotton MS. Galba CVIII, f 29.b (draft). *Leycester Correspondence*, p 110

had accepted the position of Governor which she chose to regard as amounting to Sovereignty. She declared herself deeply "wronged" by the States making such an offer to one of her subjects.[1]

Let us ask what was behind this explosion of temper; for the actual and alleged causes of anger are not invariably identical. The worst troubles of the Queen's best servants were often not due to their own fault but to the mischief-making of stay-at-home courtiers, who knew how to work upon the Queen's jealousy against those whose services they were unable to rival.

"It was told Her Majesty that my Lady" (the Countess of Leicester) "was prepared presently to come over to your Excellency, with such a train of ladies and gentlewomen, and such rich coaches, litters, and side saddles as Her Majesty had none such, and that there should be such a Court of ladies as should far pass Her Majesty's Court here

This information (though most false) did not a little stir Her Majesty to extreme choler and dislike of all your doings there: saying, with great oaths, she would have no more Courts under her obeisance but her own, and would revoke you from thence with all speed"[2]

Here we have the real reason why Queen Elizabeth's thunders had burst on her Lieutenant General's head.

Burghley was one of the three Councillors who discovered, and informed Leicester's friend and "servant" Thomas Duddeley, exactly what had provoked the Queen's outburst. *"Unto them all I answered,"* relates Duddeley, *"that the information was most false in every degree, and that there was no such preparation made by my Lady, nor any intention in her to go over; neither had your Lordship any intention to send for her, as far as I knew."*

Her Majesty had not waited to ask Lady Leicester whether there were any truth in the rumour.

Burghley "most honourably" assured her it was an invention. This "did greatly pacify her stomach." But, even so, Duddeley had to warn Lord Leicester that the Queen *"hath these ten or twelve days devised and been in hand with many courses how to overthrow that which your Honour to your infinite fame and Her Majesty's greatest safety and service . . . hath most gravely and politicly begun."*

The Vice-Chamberlain, Sir Christopher Hatton, advised Duddeley to suggest to his Lordship to *"bestow some two or three hundred crowns in some rare thing for a token to Her Majesty,"* as more likely to prevail than argument.

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[1] Instructions to Sir Thos Heneage, 10 Feb Draft. much corrected by Walsingham S P Holland VI, 109. Also see Nos. 110 and 111. Cal: S P. Foreign, Vol XX, 1921, pp 364-366 corrects misprintings of this in *Leycester Correspondence*, ed: Bruce, pp. 105-110 where it is taken from a copy. Cotton MS. Galba, CVIII. f.24.

[2] Tho. Duddeley to the E of Leicester op. cit. p. 47

Some of the trouble had been made by women about Her Majesty; and Leicester's men friends were "at their wits end" what more to say; especially as they believed Leicester not to have written to the Queen in his own defence; or, if he had, the letter had not been received.[1]

To the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, Leicester had written that England's Dutch allies had suffered so many afflictions, and so many Spanish agents were working "to have drawn them to a reconciliation with Spain," that they have been at the point of despair. But since his arrival "they have taken new spirits," and shown great trust in Her Majesty by committing to him the charge of "Governor and General absolute" of their Provinces, thus putting themselves *"at the commandment of no Prince but Her Majesty only . And surely so long as these countries may be held in their earnest good will, I warrant you in England may sleep quietly . . ."*[2]

The citizens of London realised the value of the alliance; but Elizabeth lost sight of the main issues in her annoyance at being told that Leicester was addressed as "Excellency." Leicester replied that all foreigners had so called him ever since he was first created an Earl. "I refused a title higher than Excellency, as Mr. Davison, if you ask him, will tell you."[3]

At the time of writing this, he had not yet heard of the Queen's fury; but the next day he had to write to her Privy Councillors as to his "great discomfort" in learning through them of her displeasure. He protested that when he has put his "own poor estate, both life and all" to "infinite hazards" in her service, she should have at least waited to hear his reasons from Davison whom he had sent over fully to explain the situation.

> "I have done nothing in this matter but to my judgment of such consequence for Her Majesty's service, besides the furtherance of the cause here," that "if life, land and goods had lain upon it I must have adventured it as an acceptable service .
>
> "I have no cause to have played the fool thus far for myself first to have Her Majesty's displeasure, which no kingdom in the world could make me willingly to deserve: next to undo myself in my later days, to venture all that should have kept me all my life in one half-year And so much gain have I hereby by it as I have lived and spent only of my own since I came . . ." (That is, he had been paying the Queen's troops out of his own pocket)
>
> "If I have not done Her Majesty good service at this time I shall never hope to do her any; but will withdraw me into some out-corner of the world . praying only for Her Majesty's long and prosperous life"

He had been "driven to this choice,"—either to do his best for the Queen's advantage, or lose her that advantage which if "let slip" could not be gained

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[1] Duddeley to the Earl of Leicester, dated "Leicester howse, this XIth of Februarye 1585" (1586 new style), Cotton MS. Galba. CIX. f 79. orig *Leycester Corresp* pp. 111-114

[2] The Hague 3 Feb· 1585-6. Harl. MS. 6993 art. 66 copy *Leycester Corresp* pp. 83-85

[3] 7 Feb 1585-6 Harl: MS 285 f.200. orig· *Leycester Corresp:* pp. 92-94.

again. Before now, Her Majesty should have received his letter; and he relies on Burghley and Walsingham to use "honourable and friendly means" on his behalf, knowing him as they do to be *"most faithful and loyall to my most dread Sovereign Mistress, and so will be to my life's end."*[1]

The Queen being unjust, he was "not only grieved but wounded to the heart." It was "worse than death" to him that she should thus misinterpret his actions. As the States had offered "great advantages to one of her own, methinks it should not receive so hard a construction," especially as it so signally benefited herself.

> "I am now sorry that ever I was employed in this service . . . for my faithful, true and loyal heart to Her Majesty and my country I have utterly undone myself. For favour I have disgrace, for reward utter spoil and ruin . . . And I am not so rich but I might both well have spared my charge and saved the labour of so dangerous a journey . . . .
>
> *"If to make Her Majesty to have the whole commandment of all these provinces, of their forces by sea and land, of their towns and of their treasure, with knowledge of all the secrets of their estate,—yea, and to have brought her what peace she would, besides divers ways and means likely to have eased a great part of her charges,—only by taking upon me the name of Governor, is so evil taken as it hath deserved dishonour, discredit, disfavour, with all griefs that may be laid upon a man, I must receive it as deserved of God, and not of my Queen whom I have reverenced with all humility and loved with all fidelity."*

If she still imagines he seeks rather his own glory than her service, he prays she will send over another to take his place, and let him live "in some obscure corner of the earth." This request he sends through Secretary Walsingham because "writing to herself" would only trouble her if she thinks so ill of her devoted servant.[2]

Burghley the previous day had written to warn him that *"although I for my own part adjudge this action"* (of the acceptance of the Governorship) *"both honourable and profitable, yet Her Majesty will not endure to hear any speech in defence thereof Nevertheless I hope a small time shall alter this hard conceit."* And with *"good sound reasons"* Burghley promised to try and *"move Her Majesty to alter her hard opinion."*[3]

That Burghley is always classed in "Modern History" as the adversary of Leicester is the more strange considering that he did his utmost to prevent the Queen from discrediting England in the eyes of the world by recalling her General. It was in spite of the Lord Treasurer's pleadings that she sent Sir Thomas Heneage to Leicester with the irate letter already quoted.

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[1] Orig Harl. MS 285 fo. 205 *Leycester Corresp.* pp. 103-104.

[2] The Hague 8 Feb 1585-6. To Walsingham. Harl: MS 285 f. 202 orig *Leycester Corresp* pp 99-103.

[3] Cotton: MS. Galba. CIX f 71. orig. *Leycester Corresp.* pp. 103-104

When William Davison subsequently arrived at Court after a long delay at The Brill owing to adverse wind and weather, he found Walsingham "utterly discomforted with Her Majesty's hard opinion." On hearing that the Queen intended to compel Leicester to resign his post, and that she meant to "protest her disallowance to the States," and further that she was enraged against Sir Philip Sidney and against Davison for having approved Leicester's acceptance of the Governorship, Davison was "amazed." He wrote to Leicester that he had told Walsingham "what reasons and necessity had drawn both the States to press your Lordship's acceptance of the Government, and yourself at length to yield unto it": assuring him that "if Her Majesty took the course she pretended, not only yourself should be thereby most unhappily and unworthily disgraced, but *the cause withal utterly overthrown, with perpetual stain on her honour and detriment to her estate.*"

Walsingham then secured Davison an audience of the Queen. "She begun in most bitter and hard terms against your Lordship." Davison replied by a lucid account of the conditions in which it had been necessary for the States "to set some person of wisdom and authority at the helm."

To his description of the situation and the "increase of honour, profit and surety" to the Queen herself, which he "proved unto her by a number of plain and particular circumstances, . . . she could in truth reply little."

Little to the purpose, that is; for she broke "many times forth into her former complaints: one-while accusing you of contempt, another while of respecting more your particular greatness than either her honour or service; and oftentimes digressing into old griefs, which were too long and tedious to write."

In spite of Davison's explanations, she dispatched Sir Thomas Heneage "in great haste" with her rebukes to Leicester.

As soon as Davison heard this, he "repaired again to her," and "*besought her to be better advised, laying before her the dishonourable, shameful and dangerous effects*" of her injustice, and begging her to "forbear to take a course so violent" against one "she had heretofore so highly esteemed."

On being pressed to read Leicester's own letter, which she had previously declined to receive, she vouchsafed to open it, but put it in her pocket to read at "leisure": Davison meanwhile depicting to her anew the plight of her Allies, who, "from the lack of order and authority" since Prince William's death, had been compelled to appeal to Leicester; which they had done "from a singular affection, confidence, and devotion to her Majesty."

Although Burghley told the Queen how untrue it was that Lady Leicester had intended to go over to the Hague and outshine Her Majesty, her anger once roused was not easily dispelled. To Davison's further representations "she had little else to reply than her alleged complaints"; so Davison asked leave to retire from office.[1] "And thus ended my second day's audience; which, howsoever

[1] Op: cit. p. 54.

she disguised the matter, wrought this much effect that the same night late she gave order to stay Sir Thomas Heneage till he heard her further pleasure."

Next morning Davison reported all this to Burghley, who "laboured" to persuade the Queen not to send Heneage at all. On her rejecting this advice, he urged that she should at least cancel the letters against Leicester which she had addressed to the United Provinces.

The Lord Treasurer then procured Davison a third audience: after which Davison wrote to Leicester,[1]

> "your Lordship's supply of men and money hath been cooled and hindered . . . yet live I in good hope that Her Majesty will go through with her promise, and give order for your satisfying, when this storm is a little more overblown. . . .
>
> "Of Sir William Pelham coming over I wot not what hope to give your Lordship; he is now at his house in the country, afflicted both in body and mind, . exceedingly troubled with the strange and hard measure he hath received, enough to break the heart of any gentleman in the world of his sort and deserving that were not armed with his virtue and constancy."

This was on the 27th of February (1585-6). Five days previously, Leicester, though still kept in suspense whether he was to continue his service or be openly disgraced by the Queen, sent further particulars to Walsingham; and persevered in all his exertions on behalf of the States, with characteristic energy and efficiency. His long report to the Principal Secretary cannot have been read through by our historians who have indulged in epigrams as to his "indolence."

He pleaded to Walsingham "how greatly her Majesty may further both her own service and the service of Christendom, if it shall please her. *And because she hath always harped upon a peace, let all wise men judge whether there be any way in the world for her Majesty to have a good peace but this way*": (and he adds,) "*I beseech you, Mr. Secretary, let not the poor soldiers be forgotten.*"[2]

Again he implores that he may have Sir William Pelham sent over. As to foreign allies "the Count Hollock[3] is a most willing and obedient servant, and surely will do well" now he begins to "leave his drinking."

Meanwhile the condition of the army was woeful: "I find by the Muster-Master that the bands be wonderfully decayed . . . a very wise and stout fellow he is and very careful to serve Her Majesty."[4] This was Thomas Digges. (Leicester never lost a chance to say a good word for his subordinates.)

"*Forget not money, money,*" he implores; "*and I will never press for more than Her Majesty hath promised these countries already for this year.*"

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[1] "To his excellency my singular goode Lorde . ." Cotton MS. Galba CIX f 82. *Leycester Corresp* pp. 117-126.

[2] Harl: MS. 285. f. 215. orig: *Leycester Corresp* pp. 131

[3] Philip, Count Hohenlohe (usually called "Hollock" by the English, from the Latin version of his title, "Hollachius.")

[4] His report is in Cotton MS. Galba CVIII. f. 37.

Walsingham four and a half years previously had written to the Queen from Paris, "*. . . if this sparing and improvident course be holden on still, . . there is no one that serveth in the place of a Counsellor, that either weigheth his own credit or carrieth that sound affection to your Majesty that he ought to do, that would not wish himself rather in the farthest part of Ethiopia than to enjoy the fairest place in England.*"[1] This rebuke was ever more applicable in 1586 than in 1581.

Far from the "Earl-General" Leicester deserving the three centuries of obloquy which have been his ironical reward, he should be commended for the steadfast manner in which he laboured while "expecting still" to hear "her Majesty's pleasure from England." Whether she meant to withdraw his Commission or not, he would "not neglect the service of this afflicted country, which God I trust will prosper, if not by me, yet by some other that Her Majesty shall appoint more fit . . . . I am threatened to be used as the Prince of Orange was"[2] (that is assassinated,)—which threat did not lessen his exertions.

By the 28th of February, Davison was able to report that the Queen, "though she will not yet seem satisfied," is calmer; and that the Lord Treasurer and Secretary Walsingham have both continued "honest and honourable defences of your doings." Davison advises Leicester to "entertain" Her Majesty oftener with letters.

As to the Countess of Leicester, "I have not seen my Lady this ten or twelve days . . . . I found her greatly troubled with tempestuous news she received from Court; but somewhat comforted when she understood how I had proceeded with Her Majesty.

"*It hath been assured unto me by some great ones, that it was put into Her Majesty's head that your Lordship had sent for her,*" [Lady Leicester] "*and that she made her preparations for the journey; which, added to a number of other things cast in by such as affect neither your Lordship nor the cause, did not a little increase the heat of Her Majesty's offence against you*"

"These passions overblown, I hope Her Majesty will have a gracious regard both towards yourself and the cause."[3]

Sir Thomas Heneage arrived at Flushing on the 3rd of March, having left England on the 28th of February. The extreme slowness of communication added to the difficulties. Those who blame Leicester for taking responsibility in a crisis without waiting for the Queen's opinion, forget that by the time he had received her consent the States might have lost patience. Ambrose, Earl of Warwick—disgusted with "our Mistress's extreme rage," in "giving out great threating words against you,"—wrote to warn Leicester not to trust "her oath; for that her malice is great and unquenchable; . . ."

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[1] "12 September 1581" Hatfield Cal II MSS, 1044. E E, Vol. IV, p 114

[2] *Leycester Corresp.* p. 141

[3] 28 Feb 1585-6. Cotton MS. Galba CVIII. f. 46. orig: *Leycester Corresp.* pp 142-145.

"wherefore, my good brother, repose your whole trust in God; . . . and let this be a great comfort to you, and it is likewise to myself and all your assured friends, and that is, *you were never so honoured and loved in your life amongst all good people as you are at this day: only for dealing so nobly and wisely in this action as you have done; so that whatsoever cometh of it, you have done your part.* I praise God from my heart for it."

"Once again, have great care of yourself, I mean for your safety; and if she will needs revoke you to the overthrowing of the cause, if I were you, if I could not be assured there, I would go into the furthest part of Christendom rather than ever come into England again. . . . Take heed whom you trust, for that you have some false boys about you . . God bless you and prosper you in all your doings. In haste this present 6 day of March.

"Your faithful brother,

"A. WARWYKE"[1]

Warwick, Master General of the Ordnance, had commanded in Havre, 1562-3, and thirty years later was still remembered as one of "the most famous and best renowned soldiers that in our times have been noted."[2] His words as to his brother's services, and how they were then estimated by those most capable of judging, ought long since to have been set against the modern random rhetoric about Leicester's "contemptible failure."

On the same day that Warwick had written thus, Burghley, from bed, where he was laid up from the results of a fall, wrote to Leicester that the Queen would not even listen to any speech as to things needful; and that it was impossible to answer Leicester's letters favourably "for lack of Her Majesty's good disposition."[3]

While expressing his distress privately to Walsingham and Burghley, and imploring them to use their influence to get adequate pay for the "souldiers," Leicester contrived to keep up the Queen's prestige with her Army, and to make her seem in their eyes the symbol of benevolence, constancy, and every other regal virtue; while actually a large share of the expenses came out of his own private purse.

Serving the Queen was almost to ruin Leicester financially; but by his judicious expenditure—inclusive of the pomp and pageantry expected of one in his position,—he cheered the hard-pressed Northern Netherlanders. The main obstacle to progress was the Queen herself. On the 14th of March Sir Thomas Shirley wrote to Leicester of her "bitter words against your Lordship," and of his own efforts to

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[1] Orig. Cotton MS. Galba. CIX f 113 *Leycester Corresp.* pp. 150-151.

[2] "*Foure Bookes of Offices Enabling Privat persons for the speciall service of all good Princes and Policies Made and devised by Barnabe Barnes London 1606*" (B M No. C48 k 4.) p 209 "Ambrose Dudley, the old Earl of Warwick" heads the list, and it is carried on to "the two noble and unfortunate Earls of Essex, both deceased . . ." See also dedication to Warwick in 1587 as "General of the Queenes Maiesties Ordinaunce within her highnesse Realme and Dominions," by William Bourne, of "*The Arte of Shooting*" (B.M. No 1398 b 8.) "I present the same unto you, for that I knowe your Lordshippe can truly discerne and judge in these causes . . ."
For Warwick's defence of Havre, see E E. Vol. I, pp. 213-236.

[3] Orig: Cotton MS Galba. CIX f 15. *Leycester Corresp* pp. 152-153.

soothe her. He complimented her as if she were everything her servants desired her to be. But on finding "all my speech was in vain,"

> "I told her Majesty that the world had conceived a high judgment of her great wisdom and providence, which she showed in assailing the King of Spain at one time both in the Low Countries and also by Sir Francis Drake . . . . one of these actions must needs stand much the better by the other."

If Sir Francis prospered, "then all was well." But even if Drake's expedition did not answer her hopes, the "hold" which Leicester "had taken for her upon the Low Countries would always assure her of an honourable peace, if it should at any time stand so with Her Majesty's pleasure . . . .

> "To this she said she could very well answer for Sir Francis: 'but if need be,' she said, 'the gentleman careth not if I should disavow him.'"

It may be a misreading of this conversation which gave rise to the now universal notion that Sir Francis Drake's expedition in 1585-86 was "piratical." But whatever Her Majesty might say to try and distract Shirley from the main point, *he and everybody else knew that Drake had hoisted his flag in a ship of the Royal Navy. No "pirate" could have gone to sea in command of H.M.S Elizabeth Bonaventure.*

Shirley tried to touch the Queen's heart by pointing out that Leicester was working not only against heavy difficulties and his distress at her displeasure, but that his health was giving him trouble, whereon she expressed regret, and was willing to send him her own surgeon. But immediately afterwards she broke again into a repetition of all her former complaints.

> "I have told you all and every part of the speech that I have yet had with her Majesty," wrote Shirley (towards the end of a long letter), "saving some speeches of my Lady your wife, not material to write of . . ."

While the Queen was giving elaborate reasons of State for her annoyance, she was actually still moved by her jealousy against Lady Leicester.

> ". . . As far as I can gather, your Lordship is likely to have a very poor supply of money . . . To be plain . . . I fear she groweth weary of the charge, and will very hardly be brought to deal thoroughly in the action."

Secretary Walsingham "is a noble good and true friend," but the Queen will scarcely "endure" him to speak to her of the supplies requisite:[1] so the case would be desperate were it not that the Lord Treasurer also would plead.

Six days later there follows a melancholy letter from Walsingham telling Leicester of the continued obstacles put by the Queen in the way of reinforcements.

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[1] "At Coort this XIIIJ of March 1585" (6). Orig: Cotton MS. Galba. IX f. 128 *Leyces: Corr·* pp. 171-176.

He ends by praying God that such "lack of feeling and compassion of others miseries" may not draw some heavy punishment from a justly incensed Deity.[1]

Though she had resisted his arguments, he appears to have made more impression than she allowed him to know, for the next day "this XXJ of March" Sir Thomas Shirley was able to send good news:

> "... her Majesty signed a warrant yesterday for four and twenty thousand pounds to be presently sent unto your Lordship, and her Majesty is pleased that your Lordship shall have one thousand men, and perhaps more, out of Ireland."

She still, however, refused her consent for the English voluntaries to go over. But "it is hoped by your Lordship's friends that upon your next letters unto her Majesty she will stand better qualified towards you," especially as Mr. Secretary and Mr. Vice Chamberlain persist in their efforts "for your Lordship and the cause." Shirley was prepared to stretch his own credit to the utmost to help in the recruiting as soon as the Queen would permit it to go forward:

> "And I trust your Lordship will be well pleased that such gentlemen as shall be willing and able to bring men shall have your Lordship's countenance and good favour to be Captains over such as they shall bring ... My Lady of Warwick will send your Lordship one company of her procurement, under the conduct of a kinsman of hers ...."

He ends with the renewed hope that the Queen may soon be in a better frame of mind about the voluntaries; and at least "she forbeareth any evil speech of your Lordship openly, ever since I spake with her Highness."[2]

As Leicester had spent fifteen thousand pounds of his own money on paying the troops, to send him twenty-four thousand was not as magnificent as might appear; and it was less than the Lord Treasurer and Principal Secretary considered reasonable.

On the 24th of March, from the Court, telling Leicester of a rumour from Spain "that Sir Francis Drake hath 6000 Semironets repayred unto him, who have chosen and crowned him for King," Walsingham thought this "too good to be true ..."[3]

> "I would to God her Majesty would put on a good countenance for only four months, and I doubt not but Spain would seek peace greatly to her Majesty's honour and advantage."

Four days later, Walsingham was able to state that the arrival at the Court of letters from Leicester, brought by "Mr. Vavasour, a person very agreeable to her Majesty," had "wrought in (her) a better conceipt towards your Lordship than any other sent ..."

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[1] "At the Coorte, 20 Marche 1585 Your lordships to commaunde Fra. Walsyngham." Cotton MS. Galba C.VIII f. 63. Orig: *Leyces Cor.* pp. 178-180

[2] Orig: Cotton MS. C IX. f 136 *Ley: Cor* pp. 180-183

[3] Cimmarones, or Maroons, who had established themselves in the isthmus of Darien, and had welcomed Drake on his earlier voyage.

Vavasour "performed the charge committed unto him" in "so good sort as our storms begin to calm, so I hope I shall have cause to change my style . . .

"The treasure departs hence to-morrow, but no increase of the sum, nor do I look for [it] howsoever the storms be overblown. If the inconvenience likely to ensue thereby be not helped through Sir Francis Drake's good success, . . . I fear your Lordship shall receive very scarce measure . . . for you will not believe how the sparing humour doth increase upon us":

"us" being Her Majesty, who, Walsingham adds, "hath put on a very hard conceypt" of Sir Philip Sidney. And the Queen's notion that Walsingham was over-partial to Leicester and Sidney was being "continually nourished" by foes at the Court: "which maketh me weary of the place I serve in . . ."[1]

Some of Leicester's friends suspected that Sir Walter Raleigh was influencing the Queen against him; so on the 29th of March, Raleigh wrote "To the right honourable my singular good Lord the Earl of Leicester, Governor of the Low Countries for Her Majesty." As to the "pioners" his Lordship wished sent over, though on speaking to the Queen, Raleigh had "found her very willing, in so much as order was given for a commission," nevertheless "the matter is stayed, I know not for what cause."

". . . Your Lordship shall find me most assured, to my power, to perform all offices of love, honour, and service towards you. But I have of late been very pestilent reported in this place to be rather a drawer-back than a furtherer of the action where you govern."

A whisper of his being favourable to King Philip had been set about:

"Your Lordship doth well understand my affection towards Spain, and how I have consumed the best part of my fortune hating the tyrannous prosperity of that estate; and it were now strange and monstrous that I should become an enemy to my country and conscience."

(Raleigh's complaint as to "pestilent" persons who represented him as of Spanish leanings, was to recur with tragic emphasis in 1603.)

Pleading with Leicester to "deal directly with me in all manners of suspect[ed] doubleness, and so esteem me as you shall find me deserving good or bad," he hopes no "poetical scribe" will be allowed to create doubt as to his good wishes and attachment.

At the side he squeezes in a postscript which might well have come in the body of the letter:

"The Queen is in very good terms with you, and thank[s] be to God well pacified, and you are again her sweet Robin."[2]

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[1] 28 March Orig Cotton MS. Galba. C VIII f 66 *Leycester Cor.* pp. 190-192.

[2] Orig: Harl. MS. 6.994 f 2. and *Leycester Corr* pp. 193-194.

But the Queen's humour was far other than Raleigh represented it; and on the 31st of March, Thomas Vavasour wrote "from the Court"

"to advertise your Excellency, if you know it not already, that I gather by her Majesty that an indifferent peace will not be refused, whereof you are only used for an instrument; for talking with her Majesty of the necessity to put men into the field, to the which I found her ears altogether stopped, [she] especially blaming the charges, *'and what,'* quoth she, *'if peace should come in the meantime?'*"

Vavasour had dared to point out that she was in no case yet to make a victorious peace; and that the King of Spain might daily look to her own "slackness" to "give her an overthrow."[1]

An undated letter from Leicester in his own hand, apparently to Walsingham, seems to have been written while he was waiting in suspense for news from England whether he was to be continued in his office or not.

It was a warning of plots against the Queen's life; and to urge that though she should not be allowed to know of the danger, he should "get her from London into some county well affected, for this summer, and the sooner the better . . . . I hear it is meant now to use some stranger(s), under colour of merchants to make suit at the Court . . . ."

An Italian who came from Antwerp had informed him "that there were two Jesuits of Bruges," who had "undertaken a great enterprise in England . . . ."

"and *albeit she is placed in the hands of God, yet it is good to avoid the most likeliest places for harm.*"

We shall soon see how she was trying to make a treaty with the General she had sent Leicester to confront. In February from Antwerp these transactions had begun. But Leicester wrote to Walsingham,

"If her Majesty mean to use my service I trust you will send some body that it may appear here to men that you set a little more store by me than hitherto there is cause for them to think: for there was never yet so much as a letter written, to any person here, of any thanks for those courtesies I received. . . . And how ill soever her Majesty may conceive of me, yet these men have deserved great thanks for their good will as ever people could do. . "[2]

On the 3rd of April he wrote again to Walsingham that "If God would put it into her Majesty's heart to go princely forward in this cause" much might be yet achieved.

". . . I have more warning from the Prince of Parma's Court, and from Antwerp, and out of Germany, that there was some hired to poison me." But "Her Majesty's displeasure, and the fear of the ruin of this noble cause is all my care and fear; for other perils I rest upon the providence of God.

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[1] Orig: Cotton MS Galba C IX. f 153 *Leycs Corresp.* pp. 194-195.
[2] Orig: Harl 285. f. 157.

"Thus . I do bid you farewell, praying you to let me hear sometime of your advices In haste to Utrecht, this 3 of April Your assured friend."[1]

Two days later he still had no news from England; but he writes to Walsingham of an attempt made by the enemy to get Ostend betrayed for £30,000. Of this he was warned in time to frustrate it; but he hears it has been set about, though by whom he cannot yet discover, "that her Majesty had not this long while any liking for me;

"that I was in no credit with the Council of England, " that the Queen "had refused to send any more men over, nor any more money that shall pay them only until this time that my estimation in England was nothing, and that I had consumed all my living and was now a bankerout . that the Queen's Majesty did wish her men at home again . . and that she did not care for the losing of me, nor any that is now with me, but rather glad that she had such a cause to be rid of me when she sent me hither . "

He had been asked the question whether the Queen had written or sent thanks or commendations either to him or to the States: and he could not say that she had. He goes on to describe further how it is set about that the Queen would do nothing, and that she had forbidden any more men coming over, "specially noblemen and gentlemen." It had been put into the heads of some of the people that she had sent him over as "a disgraced man to abuse them or to entertain them *whilst she wrought a peace . . .* " If she so acts, *" it will be remembered to the end of the world,"* and the Northern Dutch will *" never abide the name of England again."*

Such was the panic caused by these rumours which were said to come "out of England," that they had almost caused "a common mutiny." The notion that the Queen "would send no more money" had been the most damaging of all. This was why Leicester "disbursed among her soldiers here £15,000 of my money" to silence the murmuring. A month ago the people had been "forward and joyful," believing the Queen their friend, but now this story circulated that she did not intend to keep faith with her Allies, had placed Leicester in a desperate predicament. "You may see, Sir, what I am subject unto . . . . *I beseech God to make her Majesty do one thing or other, for her own best service,* either to disgrace me clean, or discredit these lewd bruits and devices . . ."[2]

The same day he wrote again, and added a postscript:

"I pray God you do not defer matters so long, as you lose all here: for my part I am at my wits end . . . God send some of you better comfort when you shall be in service so far off."

He thinks it "strange" that "a General, a Councillor, a true man, for so I will be in despite of all malice," should be kept so in the dark.

While Leicester thus acutely distressed, was carrying on his work even against such appalling odds, Burghley who had not been able to prevent the Queen from listening to "peace" overtures, had nevertheless laboured to overcome her jealousy.

[1] Copy Ouvry MS. 1. *Leycester Cor* pp. 211-213

[2] "At Vtrecht this 5 of April" Copy. Ouvry MS 2 Ib pp 214-219

He relates the circumstances himself to Leicester. Though his letter has been available for over ninety years it seems not to have been read by our historians, or it should long since have dispelled the fancy that Burghley and Leicester spent their time opposing each other instead of combining in the interests of their country.

"My very good Lord.

"Although of late many crosses or storms have happened to trouble your Lordships mind, to the hindrance of the common utility of the service of God and of her Majesty in that country, yet since your conscience doth testify and warrant your doings to have been meant for the furtherance of the weal thereof,—and the success also, excepting the thwarts from hence, do make good proof that your actions do prosper,—I wish your Lordship to continue your disposition, and to comfort yourself with your own integrity"

With appreciative reference to Leicester's patience, he adjures him still to have "fortitude of mind to continue well doing" even if he suffer "reproof for a time."

It would hardly have been possible for any civilian Minister to give to a much-harassed General a more whole-hearted assurance of approval; but Burghley did more than this: "Thus much for a small preface," he says, "and now to the matter." Although he, with Leicester's other friends did not "omit any opportunity" to deal with the Queen, they had made little headway, until the arrival of Mr. Vavasour:

"... upon such conference as I had with him, ... I in presence of Mr. Secretary used some boldness with her Majesty, *and protested to her as a Councillor, that for the discharge both of my conscience and of my oath of her Councillor, I could not forbear to let her know that this course she held against your Lordship was like to endanger her in honour, surety, and profit.*"

If she meant to continue this evil course, he requested "*that I might be discharged of the place I held; and both afore God and man be free from the shame and peril that I saw could not be avoided.*"

"I used boldly such bold language, ... as I found her doubtful whether to charge me with presumption,—which partly she did,—or with some astonishment of my round speech, which was truly no other than my conscience did move me, ... And then her Majesty began to be more calm than before, and, as I conceived, readier to qualify her displeasure and her opinion."

Burghley bade Vavasour write to tell Leicester that "*matters would not continue in that evil state*" in which they had been. Since then, however, (and before Vavasour could send this letter,) "to my great grief . . , *I and Mr. Secretary found her gone backward.*"

They conjectured that she "*had been by some adverse counsel seduced.*"

"*But yet I did not leave the matter; and so yesterday Mr. Secretary and I adventured very boldly to declare our censures of peril to come, which no council nor action should recover.*"

This persistent firmness had its reward, for the Queen then gave a more "favourable answer," even though not yet to their entire satisfaction.

At this juncture there arrived a messenger from Leicester with a letter from him "to Mr Vice Chamberlain, wherewith he made her Majesty acquainted." She told him she had already "declared her resolution" to the Lord Treasurer and Mr Secretary. They, however, grasping this "new occasion to seek a better resolution of her Majesty,

> "all three went to her Majesty, and there I told her very plainly that I did see that *if she used not speed to content the States and the people of those countries, she would not only lose them but* [*lose*] *her honour in the world,* and she should find certainly as great danger from those countries as she had looked for comfort.
>
> "Herewith she was greatly troubled; and so being thereto moved, she assented to do anything that she might with her honour.
>
> "In fine, *we moved her to assent that your Lordship should continue your office for some time* . . and so letters were appointed to be speedily written both to your Lordship and the Council of the States . . ."

More letters arrived from Leicester, enclosing one to Burghley for him to give to the Queen: "which I speedily delivered," with "good speeches." Her Majesty read it; and seeing her "in this sort calmed," Burghley "thought good to hasten her resolution, which your Lordship must take now to come from a favourable good mistress."

He did not take to himself the full credit of bringing the Queen to reason, but let Leicester know that Mr. Secretary and Sir Thomas Shirley and Mr. Vice-Chamberlain [Hatton] had also "very honestly behaved," and had faced "*many stormy speeches.*"

He advised Leicester to "throw over your shoulders that which is past." But the Queen's harshness had too "deeply wounded" him for her tardy fair words to work an immediate cure.[1]

Burghley went away from the Court for a night. Next day he wrote again to explain that "*coming back this morning I found by Mr. Secretary*" *another change in her Majesty,* and that she had gone back again upon her promises.

How entirely Burghley trusted Leicester's discretion may be deduced from his putting on paper to him that the Queen's behaviour in this crisis was both "*absurd and perilous.*"

> "And so this morning at sermon time, we came to her Majesty, and for mine own part I told her Majesty that I marvelled she should so change to the worse. But, after many arguments, she yielded [to] alter again her former resolution, as by the letters sent both to yourself, to Sir Thomas Heneage and to the Council of [the] States may particularly appear: which though all be [not] as I would, yet it is as near thereto as her Majesty can be brought into."

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[1] "Your Lordship must add to this your own fortitude of mind. And so I most heartily wish you to be strengthened by God's special grace Your Lordships most assuredly W. Burghley. 31 Martii 1586." Orig: Cotton MS. Galba. C.IX. f. 149. *Leycester Cor* 196-202.

She at first insisted that Leicester should summon the States General and in her name request them to reduce his powers and title. Burghley saw this as *"perilous and absurd."* His previous reference to the Queen's speeches had been as *"absurd and perilous."* But when speech threatened to be translated into action he set the peril first.

He so far prevailed that she consented, as he told Leicester, "that you continue in your office until the Council and States could devise how to qualify this matter."

> He adds consolingly, *"And for that I presume that* [*they*] *cannot in any congruity, nor with the good quietness of their State,* devise any such [qualification], I rest satisfied in *opinion* [*that*] *the country shall continue in your government, for the most benefit of the country itself."*

The "treasure" (overdue payment for the troops) "is ready to be embarked this evening." He had not waited until then to realise the miseries of shortage of money; but it was brought home to him anew by the arrival of Sir Thomas Cecil at Gravesend, "not able to come to the Court . . . He sendeth me word that for want of money he hath left a lamentable Company of his soldiers at Brill and he hath disbursed of his own so much as he came home with £5" only in his pocket.[1]

The same messenger who carried the Queen's angry letter over to Leicester, brought him also the explanation from Burghley already quoted, written early in the morning of April 1st, and a note written later in the day from Walsingham, reporting that the Queen had now "assented" to the "voluntaries" being sent though she was still chary of "supply of treasure."

> "[Your] Lordship shall do well by your letters to herself to lay [before] her the disprofit she [receiveth] by sending over treasure [in such] scant measure as there [can be] no full pay made."

He corrects Leicester's supposition that Davison had not put his case to the Queen most fully and judiciously:

> "At such time as he [arrived] her Majesty was so incensed against your Lordship as all the arguments and orators in the world could not have wrought any satisfaction, and it [may] be there hath been some [ill] report made unto your Lordship of the poor gentleman from hence.
>
> "At the time of her Majesty [sig]ning of the despatch she let me understand that Rawley, hearing of some [rumour] given out here in Court [that] he had been an ill inst[rument] towards her against [your] Lordship did humbly desire [to] have been sent away w[ith this] despatch,"

to have justified himself, and shown the falsehood of any "sinister information" against him. "By her Majesty's commandment" Walsingham was bidden to state that "in the time of her displeasure he dealt as earnestly for you as any other . . ." (This rests on the Queen's authority only, as Walsingham intimates.)

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[1] "From Greenwich, primo Aprilis 1586" "To the right honorable my very good lord the erle of Leicester lieutenant and governor general . . ." Orig: Cotton MS. Galba C IX. f. 163. *Leycester Corresp.* pp. 204-205.

"Touching the qualification her Majesty so greatly affecteth" (in regard to Leicester's title of Governor), Walsingham fears that "such a motion at this present may breed in the peoples heads there some unnecessary jealousy" (suspicion). He advises setting down on paper reasons to show the "inconveniences likely to arise upon such a motion . . . . ."

> "And so, praying your lordship to excuse these scribbled lines, written with both a tired head and hand, I most humbly take my leave. At the Court, the first day of April 1586 . . . ."[1]

On the same 1st of April the Queen wrote to Leicester; and although opening with recriminations, she condoled with him on his "greved and wounded mind," which had more need of "comfort than reproof." The reproofs ensue none the less; but after many reproaches she remarked that she forebore "to dwell upon

> a matter wherein we ourselves do find so little comfort, assuring you that whoever professeth to love you best taketh not more comfort of your well-doing or discomfort of your evil doing than Ourself."

With many repetitions and circumlocutions, the gist of her letter is that though she is much offended, she will permit Leicester's "continuance" as Governor, and "*tolerate the same for a tyme*", though she requires him paradoxically to arrange with the States some means by which his own "absolute title" as Governor General "may be qualified," though only "in such sort as the authority may notwithstanding remain . . . ."[2]

Burghley's pungent private words in relation to the Sovereign's conduct at this juncture have been in print since 1844, but have as yet produced no effect on historians, who as to the 1585-6 crisis have ignored all the evidence of those mainly concerned, and have chosen rather to echo Camden; or copy the 19th century editor of the "*Leycester Correspondence,*" whose Introduction consists in setting up his own opinions against the matter in the text, and who rapturously commends the Queen for curbing Leicester's "ambition." But as Leicester's ambition was to

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[1] Orig. Cotton MS Galba C IX f 157 *Leycester Cor* pp 205-208

A considerable amount of matter bearing on Lord Leicester's administration was published in the 3rd ed of "*Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra Mysteres of State and Government, in Letters of Illustrious Persons . The Second Part . original Letters and Negotiations, never before published .*" London, 1691 These were from the Yelverton papers, and the volume was dedicated to Henry Yelverton, Lord Gray de Ruthyn, Viscount of Longueville etc by the stationers Thomas Sawbridge and Matthew Gillyflower, who added a misleading introduction based on Camden's rendering of events, i e that the reception given to Leicester in the Low Countries made him "Take upon him as if he were a Perfect King" The Queen is described as having "nipped the Man at unawares in his Swelling Pride Vide Cambden, p 327", and this phrase about Leicester's "swelling pride" has echoed and re-echoed, but Camden neither had the materials for describing the political and military events of Leicester's administration of the Provinces, nor was competent to deal with these large issues, having resolved not to pry into "Princes' purposes" For editors to cling to Camden's opinions and append them to MSS which should serve to correct Camden is a fault not confined to Messrs Sawbridge and Gillyflower.

[2] From Greenwich. "By the Queen" 1st April. 28 Eliz. Cotton MS. Galba C IX. f 167 (copy).

repel the enemy, and thereby minister to the safety of England, that his worst handicap came from his own Sovereign is no just cause for adulation of Her Majesty.

Burghley's remonstrances have been ignored hitherto, because fatal to the convention that Burghley was the foe of Leicester. In English "History" when once a false notion becomes a "standard" belief, the tyranny of established opinion is potent to build a wall between past and present. There is, however, to-day, in Spain a teacher and exponent of history who, in matters of State, endeavours to penetrate to the essentials of good government and draw therefrom a permanent moral. Remarking that flatterers abound in palaces, he points out the debt of monarchs to a few honest and fearless Councillors, "*convinced that truth is the firmest support of thrones and the best guide for the ruling of people.*"[1]

Though these words relate to the dealings of the 3rd Duke of Alba with his King, they are no less applicable to the steady determination of Burghley and Walsingham, at no matter what cost to themselves, not to permit Queen Elizabeth to make herself and England ridiculous in the eyes of Europe by recalling her General.

Our historians from Camden, in James I's reign, up to the present moment have rashly loaded Leicester with rebukes for accepting the Governor Generalship: not one of them having ascertained the nature of the Commission given to him by the Queen. She had empowered him "*to carry out war with the said Enemy in any manner he pleases, and to do all things for Our better service in those parts as it may seem good to the said Earl according to his wise discretion.*"[2]

Leicester judged his acceptance of the Governor-Generalship not only necessary for the practical administration of the Seven Provinces, but essential in the best interests of England. That in this he had the concurrence not only of Walsingham and Hatton, but of Burghley,—all of whom risked incurring the Queen's heavy displeasure by defending him,—is a basic fact which has too long been ignored.

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[1] "*Discurso del Excmo Señor Duque de Berwick y de Alba*" Madrid, 1919. p 63

[2] " . tam in Defensione Provinciarum praedictarum, quam ad Expulsionem at Profligationem Inimicorum Populos et Provincias praedictas depraedare volentium, ducendi et duci faciendi, *et cum dictis Inimicis quibuscumque modis Bellum Gerendi, et omnia alia faciendi et exsequendi pro meliori Servitio nostro in eisdem, prout eidem Comiti, juxta sanam Discretionem suam, melius videbitur*" &c.

By the Queen Commission dated Westminster, 22 Oct· 1585 (*Foedera*, Vol XV, now first translated, E E. ante, App pp 14-15)

ST. GEORGE'S DAY, 1586.

At Utrecht on the 23rd of April, in his double capacity of a Knight of the Garter and the Queen's Lieutenant General, Lord Leicester held a festival in honour of St George[1] There was a procession through "large and faire" streets to the Cathedral First the trumpeters "apparelled in scarlet, laid with silver lace", then "the gentlemen, captains, colonels," and others, about forty horsemen, "richly adorned" Next rode six Knights, and four Barons, "with the Council of the States, and then the Earl of Essex, accompanied by the bishop of Cullen [Cologne] Prince Elector"[2] The "Prince of Portugal" (Dom Antonio's eldest son) rode by himself; next came the Captain of the Guard, the Treasurer and Controller of the Household, the Gentlemen Ushers, and Portcullis [Herald] in his tabard.

"Then came my Lord, most princelike" in his robes as a Knight of the Garter, escorted by the chief burghers, and by his own Guard of "forty halberds in scarlet clokes . "

After the service, at which an empty chair higher up than Leicester's represented Queen Elizabeth, "his lordship returned as he came, leaving behind him the Earle of Essex and certeine gentlemen to accompany the princes and the ladies . . ."

Leicester had chosen for his quarters "a faire and very large house belonging in times past to the Knights of the Rhodes" (Knights of St John of Jerusalem). In the great hall, which was hung with tapestry, stood at the upper end a sumptuous chair of state "for the Queenes Majestie, with her arms and stile thereon," and a table in front of it "covered with all the things requisite" as if she had been there On the left side was "my lord's trencher and stoole, for he would have no chaire"

Before the banquet began, he knighted Martin Schenck for "manifold services" to the Low Country[3] Then "the ushers marshalled the feast. At the table on the right sat the yong Prince of Portugall, the prince Elector and his wife, the Princess Semele [i e Chimay], the Earle of Essex, and Graue Morris and his lady,[4] and between every lady was an English lord or Knight . "

On the left sat the burghers, and the Grand Prior of Amerfort They feasted, to the accompaniment of music, and the heralds "pronounced the Queenes Maiesties usual stile of England, France and Ireland" in Latin, French and English

After the banquet there was "daunsing," and other exercises and sports, until supper Then after supper, a tournament in which "the Earle of Essex behaved himself so towardlie that he gave all men great hope of his noble forwardness in arms"[5]

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[1] Ceremonies as described by Wm Seager, Portcullis (Herald) who took part in them. Holinshed's *Chronicles,* Continuation, 1586-7 (ed. 1808), Vol IV, pp 658-659.

[2] Concerning when see E E Vol V, pp 134-137.

[3] Called "Skinke" in op. cit. p. 659 See E.E. p 106

[4] Not his wife, as he was unmarried.

[5] Shouldernote op. cit p 659: "The earle of Essex commended for chivalrie."

PLACCAET

Vande Generale Staten der ghevnieerde Nederlandtsche Provincien/ Aengaende het Gouvernement ende Capiteynschap Generael vande selve Provincien den Doorluchtighen Hoochgheboren Vorst ende Heere/ Heeren Robert Graue van Leycester/ Baroen van Denbigh/ &c. ghedefereert.



TOT DELF,
By Aelbrecht Hendricxz. Drucker Ordinaris der Staten s'landts van Hollandt. 1586.
Met Priuilegie.

"Ordinance of the States General of the United Netherlands Provinces, concerning the Government and Captain Generalship of the said Provinces transmitted to the Illustrious High-born Prince and Lord, Lord Robert Earl of Leycester, Baron of Denbigh," &c. "At Delf[t] By Aelbrecht Hendricxz. Printer in Ordinary of the States of Holland, 1586. With privilege."

" EXPERIENCE, POLICIE, AND WISDOME."

In the official announcement by the States (title-page overleaf,) Leicester is described as having come not only at the head of martial reinforcements but "to assist us with councell, aid, and advice according to his great experience, policie, and wisdome in the direction of publike affaires of the land, as well as touching the feats of warre" And that he might have the greater authority, the States resolved "with good and ripe deliberation" to request him to accept the office of "Governour and General Captaine over all the United Provinces "

See Holinshed's Chronicles, Continuation, 1586. ed 1808, vol iv, pp 648-649, in extenso "*A Placard conteining the Authoritie given by the States of the Low Countries vnto the Mightie Prince, Robert Earle of Leicester, Baron of Denbigh, &c for the Government of the said Low Countries Translated out of Dutch into English* " (Dated 6th February from the Hague)

ABRAHAM ORTELIUS'S MAP OF ZEELAND:

No 18 of "Theatrum Orbis Terrarum," 1570

Reproduced to show the two "Cautionary Towns" held by Queen Elizabeth's forces, Flushing (Vlissingen, in the Island of Walcheren), and Bergen-op-Zoom, of which Sir Philip Sidney and Peregrine Bertie Lord Willoughby d'Eresby respectively were Governors

Comprehension of the movements of our Amy in 1586 will be easier if we note which were "the United Provinces and their associates," as defined in "*A Briefe Report of the Militarie Services done in the Low Countries by the Erle of Leicester written by one that served in good place there London 1587*", pp 5 6 (B M C 32 d 2)

> "The Duchie of Gelders with the Countie of *Zutphen*," the provinces of *Holland, Zeeland,* "*Vtrecht* and the countries ajoining of *Frizeland,* between the rivers of Emes and Lawers, *Flanders* also and *Brabant* for the townes of those countries that then helde with the other united Provinces"

When on 22 January 1585-6 Lord Leicester received the title of "Gouvernour and Captaine Generall", Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht were entirely clear of the enemy In Frizeland the foe held the "citie of *Gronningen* and that part of the country called *Omelands*" In Guelderland and Zutphen the Spaniards possessed "a good part" (including Zutphen the capital city of the county of that name), and in Brabant the Estates controlled only "*Bergen apzom, Saint Ghertrudenberg, Huesden, Grave,* and *Wowe castle,* with the fort of *Lillo*"

In Flanders, England's Allies held *Sluys* and *Ostend,* "and the forts of *Terneuse,* the *Dole, Lykenshooke,* and *Saint Antonieshooke* all the rest were the enemies, together with all the other of the seventeen Prouinces, except the countrie of *Ouerissell*" which affected neutrality but had "manie secret intelligences" with Spain


ZELANDICARVM
INSVLARVM EXAC
TISSIMA ET NOVA
DESCRIPTIO, AVC
TORE D. IACOBO
A DAVENTRIA

PART III

"Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant."

CHAPTER 3

"THIS NOBLE NECESSARY SERVICE."

SECTION 4

"Actions here in Flanders," and other Provinces.

(Labours of the English forces, March—May, 1586).

" We shall have a sore war upon us this summer."

Sir Philip Sidney, Lord Governor of Flushing, to Sir Francis Walsingham, Principal Secretary of State, 14 March, 1586 (Orig. Harl MS 287 ff 1-2)

[In] " our actions here in Flanders, . . . our sharpest enemy hath been the cold, which some have fought with loss of health, and some with loss of lives. . . . But now that skirmish is past, and we begin to think of other adversaries. . . ."

Rowland Lytton of Knebworth, to his "Very good Lorde the Lord Burghley, lorde hyghe treasorer," etc 18 March, 1585-6 S.P H. VII, 38

" The general hope is here to have more men and more money, that our force may be able to keep the open field. . . ."

The same to the same, 27 May, 1586 S P H. VIII, 51

ROWLAND LYTTON OF KNEBWORTH, Aet. 24, 1585

From the original at Knebworth House, in possession of his descendant, The Earl of Lytton, K G , P.C , G C.S I., G.C.I E.

This remarkable portrait, never reproduced until selected for "*Elizabethan England*," is by an unknown artist The significance of the date 1585, and the reason why Rowland Lytton chose to be painted lance in hand, have not been understood, so completely have the Cavalry of the Earl of Essex, recruited in 1585 for the Dutch war, vanished from memory during the 18th to 20th centuries

Born in 1561, Rowland Lytton was son and heir of Rowland Lytton of Knebworth, by his second wife Anne, daughter of George Carlton of Brightwell Manor Rowland Lytton the elder succeeded his brother Robert in 1551, and died in 1582 He was buried at Knebworth

Our current Peerages all make the younger Rowland Lytton Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners, a position he never occupied, and Commander of the Hertfordshire troops in Tilbury Camp in 1588, whereas he was Captain only of one of several Companies from Herts His actual service in the Dutch War is omitted from the Peerages, although there exists a holograph letter from the General, the Earl of Leicester, commending him to the Queen, from the scene of operations

He was among the "voluntaries" who joined Sir Thomas Cecil's troop, and paid for their own arms and equipment His letters to Lord Burghley, quoted in the ensuing section, are of considerable human interest, and he in particular and the Cavalry in general are now restored in "*Elizabethan England*" to the place they held in actual life

Rowland Lytton remained true to his first General of the Horse, Robert Earl of Essex, in connection with whom he will reappear in later volumes He survived to be knighted by King James I, and lived until 1615



PART III.

"Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant."

CHAPTER 3

"THIS NOBLE NECESSARY SERVICE."

SECTION 4

"Actions here in Flanders," and other Provinces.

(Labours of the English forces, March—May, 1586).

ON the very same 18th of March, 1585-6, on which the Queen's General wrote to her Lord Treasurer, "I have great cause to thank your Lordship, for I understand from my brother and all my friends how honourably you have dealt,"—and, in thanking him for his faithful aid, implored him anew to "be good" to the "poor soldiers,"[1]—young Rowland Lytton of Knebworth,—one of the "Lances" who had accompanied Sir Thomas Cecil,—wrote also to the Lord Treasurer. Let us contrast with the cares and torments of the General, the observations of a "voluntary Gentleman" who knew nothing of the political troubles by which his leader was beset; and therefore thought the worst enemy the English had yet encountered was the weather.

"My most honorable good Lord [2]

"Though our actions here in Flanders[3] do not yet bring forth such novelties as are worth the presenting unto your Honor, and that if I should adventure the signifying of some small accidents my advertisements might come too late for news, yet can I not want occasion to write only in remembering my duty, and humbly requesting the continuance of your wonted favour towards me

"The service hath been so small since coming over that there is little to be said of it

"Our sharpest enemy hath been the cold, against which some have fought with loss of health and some with loss of lives Our country men for the most have been touched with the change of air, which was here most extremely piercing. But now that skirmish is past, and we begin to think of other adversaries, I hope my next letter shall bring your Lordship other news.

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[1] Orig S P Holland VII 34 Cal S P F Vol XX (1921), p 457

[2] Holog Addressed "To the ryght honorable my Very good Lorde, the Lord Burghley, lorde hyghe treasorer of England," and endorsed "18 Martij, 1585 Mr Rowland Litton from Utrecht" Spelling and punctuation modernised, but exact words now given from orig S P Holland VII No 38. (Calendared only in abstract S P Foreign. Cal Vol XX).

[3] "flawnders"

"For the place there is nothing justly to be misliked by them that before their coming were rightly persuaded to follow the soldier's life The country, as your Lordship knows, is fruitful, the towns fair and rich; the people most dutifully affected in all love to Her Majesty, and notwithstanding former ill-entreaty, they are kind and friendly to such as use them well.

"The prices of things are somewhat dear by reason of the strange and great excise which they pay to the war. but to such as know how to make their best provision, there is little difference between the Low Countries and England."

(This last opinion he was to qualify later, after he saw the ravages wrought by the prolonged struggle.)

"I see no cause to be weary yet, and till summer be past I will not think of home.

"I would be glad, since by misfortune I have lost my horse, that I might by your Lordship's means be employed afoot. *It is both wished and expected to have some greater numbers sent over* among which if it so fall out, I beseech your Honor to reserve me a place I desire that it might be of three hundred, as diverse gentlemen have in this country and I doubt not so to demean myself as your Lordship shall think me worthy of that charge [1]

"Thus with my most humble duty I leave beseeching Almighty God to prosper your Lordship in all happiness

"From Utrecht this XVIIJ[th] of March stilo vetere.

"Your Lordship's most humbly to command,

"R LYTTON"

The happy condition of being a single unit without large responsibilities partly accounts for Lytton finding "nothing justly to be misliked" and having no cause yet to be "weary." But for Sir Philip Sidney, Governor of Flushing, and in the close confidence of the General, aware how heavy were the odds, and how contrary the humour of the Queen, the situation was less cheerful. He had been out of favour with the Queen ever since she heard he had urged Leicester to accept the Governor Generalship; a measure which Burghley considered "both honourable and profitable." To Burghley, accordingly, Sir Philip appealed in private to supplement his letters to the Privy Council.

"Right honourable my singular good Lord [2]

"I have written to my singular good Lords of the Council in answer of theirs, where because I was fain to be long, I will not trouble your Lordship with any repetition, but only

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[1] Companies of 300 Foot were frequent on the Continent But Leicester's device was to increase the sum total of Companies by reducing the numbers per Company. A Captain he considered should have on an average 100 to 150 men As each Company carried an Ensign, when the foe strove to estimate numbers by counting the Ensigns, Leicester thus made his troops look more numerous than they actually were

This system, which entailed paying more Captains than hitherto, aroused the wrath of Sir John Smith, whose censures upon Leicester have been blindly accepted without enquiry into the circumstances, and Smith, who in his own day was rarely taken seriously, has been elevated in the 19th and 20th centuries into an "authority"

[2] Addressed *"The right hono my singular good Lord The Hy Treasorer of England"* Endorsed by Lord Burghley *"18 Martij 1585 S[r] Ph sydney by John Adams from Amsterdam"* (S P Holland VII 37) Printed in Cal S P. F 1585-86, pp 458-459, without address and endorsement, but with a note added "Holograph, Add Seal of arms Endd. by Burghley Quoted by Motley, I. 421, but the order of the phrases altered." Now given from orig: but spelling modernised.

humbly beseech your Lordship to give your hand to the helping of the moneys sending over, for truly, my Lord, else there will be some terrible accident follow, particularly in the caution towns, if her Majesty mean to have them cautious.

"The news here I leave to Sir Thomas Heneage, who hath with as much honesty, in my opinion, done as much hurt as any man this twelve month hath done with naughtiness. But I hope in God, when her Majesty finds the truth of things," she "will not utterly overthrow a cause so behoveful and costly unto her: But that is beyond my office; I only cry for Flushing and crave your favour: which I will deserve with my service, and pray for your long and happy life.

"Fr. Amsterdam. This 18th of March, 1585

"Your L(ordshi)ps
"humblie at commandment
"PH. SIDNEY."[1]

We should now see Muster-Master Thomas Digges's unpublished description of "*The Imperfections of the present fortifications of Vlishinge,*" 1585-6, and thereby judge what were the conditions with which Sidney as Governor of that town had acute cause to be dissatisfied.

So early as the 2nd January, while Sidney was away with his uncle Lord Leicester, and Erington was acting as his Deputy, Digges wrote from Flushing to Sir Francis Walsingham of his "hope that his Excellency will shortly establish such good orders . . . that these weak bad-furnished ill-armed and worse trained bands may shortly prove as complete and gallant companies as shall be found in any garrisons of Europe."

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[1] This characteristic appeal to the Lord Treasurer to support the representations to the Council, has been blamed by Sidney's latest biographer, Professor M W Wallace, "*Life of Sir Philip Sidney,*" 1915 p 357 He extracts two fragments, total forty words, in comment whereon are sixty-five words which embody misunderstanding of the position

"One of the chief weaknesses of Sir Philip's temperament was a certain impatience with the world of things as they are, a tendency to waste his energies in criticism and exasperation rather than to husband them for more constructive work It is the weakness of the idealist who learns hardly the lesson of compromise between what ought to be and what may be."

"*One* of the chief weaknesses of Sir Philip's temperament" is a phrase implying that Philip was compounded of weaknesses, whereas he was "England's Mars and Muse," known far and wide as one of the clearest of thinkers and most efficient and uncompromising of "doers" "*A certain impatience with the world of things as they are*" is not to the purpose, for Sir Philip's objection to not receiving the necessary means to carry on his work is not part of a metaphysical thesis but a statement to the Lord High Treasurer of a fact affecting the Queen's service

Also mistaken is the rebuke as to "*a tendency to waste his energies in criticism and exasperation rather than to husband them for more constructive work*"

There are no energies wasted; nor is there "exasperation," but expression of hope that "when her Majesty finds the truth of things" she will refrain from overthrowing the labours of her servants As for "*more constructive work*"—namely meeting and beating the enemy,—this is precisely what Sidney was anxious should be accomplished Professor Wallace's words as to "*the weakness of the idealist who learns hardly the lesson of compromise between what ought to be and what may be,*" are surprising; for a military Governor who sits down content with a dangerously inadequate force and omits to warn the Treasury of the possible consequences, is not learning "the lesson of compromise" but failing in his duty.

Sir Philip Sidney was no dreamer, but a former Ambassador, appointed to a post of danger and honour on the strength of proved abilities, high prestige, sound judgment, and some previous military experience.

The Muster Master was confident that the Governor would issue such "ordinances for the reward of well-deservers and the punishment of offenders as will shortly breed a marvellous alteration"; but at present most of them "especially the shot" are in such miserable condition and so unskilled that if brought into action they would prove more dangerous to their own companions than serviceable against the enemy.[1]

As to the fortifications, Digges's report enables us to put ourselves in Sir Philip Sidney's place and understand how much reason he had to plead, with Burghley and Walsingham in particular and the Council in general, for the necessary money to repair the conditions Digges deplored:[2]

"The chief and greatest (imperfection) of all is even in the very form and proportion of the whole circuit, wherein two notable errors are committed

"First that the Walls are superfluously enlarged with such excess of length as they require far greater numbers of men to guard and defend them, and far greater charge in making of them than otherwise had been needful[3]

"Secondly the Curtens are laid in such form as the capacity of the town is greatly straightened,[4] and much ground lost that might have been employed to very necessary and commodious uses, and have yielded great rents toward the maintenance of the public works

"The third and chief defect is that in the whole circuit of this town there is not any one close flanker where ordnance may be placed in safety to secure the Curtens[5]

"The Vamures also are too low generally to cover Shot that shall be sent for the guard of them

"The Rampiers also are made with so great a scarpe that they are [as]saultable of themselves upon any approach without battery So that I may briefly conclude *the only strength of this town doth consist in the natural seat the ground round about the town for a great distance being so low that it may every spring tide be drowned with the sea*

"But because the Enemy may find many means, notwithstanding that strength, to make his approaches, if at any time he shall be of such force by sea as to supply victuals to his Army, *I would not wish too much security reposed on that natural strength, but such farther art used as with least charge might best supply the defects before recited*

"And first I would wish all the platforms for the Ordnance to be well repaired, the [gun] carriages amended, the Ordnance well-mounted, and some convenient number of gunners appointed to give their attendance on their pieces

"Then so soon as the season of the year will permit, that the Vamures and ruinate[d] Rampiers be re-edified and well sanded round, that the soldiers may march dry upon them

"The Corps du Guards and Sentinels also to be repaired, and some severe Orders to keep them clean and sweet, and not in such loathsome manner as at this present they are

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[1] Vlissinge, $^{3}/_{13}$ January 1585-6 S P Holland, VI 3 Partly printed in Cal S P Foreign Vol. XX (1921) p 278

[2] *"The Imperfections of the present fortifications of Vlishinge"* S P Hollande VI 7[a] Endorsed "15 Januarij 1855 Mr Tho Digges Touching the fortifications of Vlissinghe The State of Ostende" Calendared S P Foreign XX First published E E, from original (Spelling modernised)

[3] See plan of Flushing sent by Sidney to Walsingham Plate 4, facing p 38, ante

[4] narrowed, cramped

[5] "scour" is the word whether it is an abbreviation for "s(e)coure" (secure the curtens,) or "s(uc)coure" (succour) might be queried.

"But if the state of this Town determine to be at charges to fortify the same, in royal and assured manner (as I partly understand their meaning already is) in time to vamure these works round with stone, then would I wish that they should by no means waste their money so vainly as to bestow such charges in performing this platt, forasmuch as a new form and platt of fortification may be delivered unto them" (we may suppose drawn by Digges himself,) "that shall be far stronger and embrace so much more ground within the walls as shall yield them a very great annual revenue toward the maintenance of their charges and yet be sufficiently guarded with a few or fewer soldiers than these present walls can be"

Ultimately many of these suggestions were to be carried out, and Flushing under an English Governor was to become as formidable a stronghold as Digges desired; but Sir Philip Sidney did not live to see it.

On the 14th (24th) of March Sidney wrote to his father-in-law:[1]

"Right Honourable

"I receive divers letters from you, full of the discomfort which I see and am sorry to see you daily meet with at home, and I think such is the good will it pleaseth you to bear me that my part of the trouble is something that troubles you. But I beseech you, let it not.

"I had before cast my count of dangers, want, and disgrace, and before God, sir, it is true in my heart *the love of the cause doth so far overbalance them all, with God's grace, they shall never make me weary of my resolution*

"If her Majesty were the fountain, I would fear, considering what I daily find, that we should wax dry[2] But she is but a means whom God useth, and I know not whether I am deceived but I am faithfully persuaded that if she should withdraw herself, other springs would rise to help this action For methinks I see the great work indeed in hand against the abusers of the world, wherein it is no greater fault to have confidence in man's power than it is too hastily to despair of God's work

"I think a wise and constant man ought never to grieve while he doth play as a man may say his own part truly, though others be out, but if himself leave his hold because other mariners will be idle, he will hardly for[give] himself his own fault

"For me, I cannot promise of my own course, no nor of the [illegible word],[3] because I know there is a higher power that must uphold me or else I shall fall, but certainly I trust

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[1] This letter is given by Professor Wallace, *"Life of Sir Philip Sidney,* 1915, p 357, as from "Holland Correspondence Vol VII Draft copy fol 1 March 2nd Final Copy fol 3 March 10" But the reference is misplaced, and applies to draft letters from the Privy Council to Sir Philip, the second with alterations by Walsingham when the Queen had changed her mind since the first had been written by L Burghley (E E p 104) Being a private letter from Philip to his father-in-law, and especially as containing candid criticisms of the Queen, that of 24th March was unlikely to have been placed with official correspondence now in the State Papers, Foreign, Holland (which is what Professor Wallace means by "Holland Correspondence") There are not any "drafts" or "copies" of it in the Record Office, but the *original* is in the British Museum, Harl MS 287 (ff 1-2), addressed "The right hono(rab)le Sir frauncis Walsingham knight principal Secretary" etc, and endorsed "24 March 1585 From Sr Ph Sidney" Parts of it have been torn and badly mended Where Professor Wallace gives dots for illegible words, the missing words have now been deciphered and filled in, all except one Wallace also has a few trifling verbal errors, "should" for "would," "I think" for "methinks," "Will" for "William (the jesting player), "man" for "one," and "Burlay" for "Burlas" (another person). As now given in *Eliz Eng* it has been retranscribed from original, but divided into paragraphs, and such contractions as "yt" and "ye" printed as "that" and "the"

[2] "wax dry" altered by Sidney from "want."

[3] The paper is torn and shows only "i my."

I shall not by other men's wants be drawn from myself. Therefore good sir, to whom for my particular I am more bound than to all men besides, be not troubled with my trouble, for I have seen the worst in my judgment beforehand, and worse that cannot be *If the Queen pay not her soldiers she must lose her garrisons, there is no doubt thereof But no man living shall be able to say the fault is in me What relief I can do them I will I will spare no danger if occasion serve, I am sure no creature shall be able to lay injustice to my charge,* and for further doubts truly I stand not upon them.

"I have written by Adams to the Council plainly thereof, let them determine [1]

"It hath been a costly beginning unto me this war, by reason I had nothing proportioned unto it, my servants unexperienced, and myself every way unfurnished, and no helps but hereafter If the war continue I shall pass[2] much better through with it

"For Berghen-op-Zome I delighted in it, I confess because it was near the enemy, but especially having a very fair house in it and an excellent air, I destined it for my wife, but finding how you deal there, and that ill payment in my absence thence might bring forth some mischief, and *considering how apt the Queen is to interpret everything to my disadvantage, I have resigned it to my Lord Willoughby,* my very friend and indeed a valiant and frank gentleman, and fit for that place [3] Therefore I pray you know that so much of my regality is fallen I understand I am called very ambitious and proud at home, but certainly if they knew my heart they would not altogether so judge me.

"I wrote you a letter by William my Lord of Leicester's jesting player, enclosed in a letter to my wife, and I never had answer thereof It contained something to my Lord of Leicester, and counsel that some way might be taken to stay my Lady there I since divers times have writ to know whether you had received them, but you never answered me that point

"I since find that the knave delivered the letters to my Lady of Leicester, but whether she sent them you or no I know not, but earnestly desire to do, because I doubt there is worse interpreted thereof"

(We know not whether "William my Lord of Leicester's jesting player" was William Shakespeare or William Kempe. Though the name of William Shakespeare did not first come into print until seven years later, there is some possibility of his having been a juvenile member of Lord Leicester's company of actors in 1586, perhaps playing the women's parts. But whoever the "jesting" William was in March 1585-6, the Governor of Flushing was wrath with him for delivering to the Countess of Leicester letters he had been bidden to take to Lady Sidney.[4])

"Mr Errington is with me at Flushing, and therefore I think myself at the more rest having a man of his reputation, but assure you, sir, in good earnest I find Burlas another manner of man than he is tak[en] or I expected I would to God Burn[am] obtain

[1] The plan of Flushing by Adams was discovered in 1927 and is now first published, plate 4, ante

[2] This word almost illegible

[3] Unpublished plan of Bergen-op-Zoom is forthcoming in Vol. VII

[4] Professor Wallace considers that the words "something to my Lord of Leicester" should be altered to "something *from* my Lord of Leicester" But by the context it would seem as if Sidney had heard the rumour as to Lady Leicester intending to come to the Low Countries; and that, believing it, he sent Lord Leicester a letter—and to Walsingham a copy of the same—with the advice that Lady Leicester would be wiser to remain at home.

his suit · he is honest but somewhat discouraged with consideration of his estate Turner was good for nothing, and worst for sound of the harquebus [1]

"We shall have a sore war upon us this summer, wherein if appointment had been kept and these disgraces forborne which have greatly weakened us, we had been victorious.

"I can say no more at this time, but pray for your long and happy life.

"At Utrecht this 14th of March, 1585(6).

"Your humble son,

"PH SIDNEY"[2]

". . . if appointment had been kept, and these disgraces forborne which have greatly weakened us" refers presumably to the trouble made by the Queen in obstructing Leicester and railing against him, and keeping both him and Sidney waiting for the soldiers' payments. When Sidney refers to "you" as taking an unsatisfactory course, he does not mean Walsingham, but is alluding to the Queen's hampering of the "cause." He adds a postscript:

"(I) know not what to say to my wife's coming till you resolve better, for if you run a strange course I may take such a one here as will not be fit for any of the feminine gender"

"I pray you make much of Nichol Gorge"[3] "I have been vilely deceived for armours for my horsemen If you could speedily spare me any [torn, query 'more'] of your armoury I will send them you again as soon as my own be furnished There was never so good a father had a more troublesome son

"Send Sir William Pelham, good sir, and let him have Clerke's place, for we need no clerks and it is most necessary to have such a one in the Council" (as Pelham)

The uneasiness Sidney expressed seems to indicate that it was rather Walsingham who wished his daughter to join her husband than Sidney who pressed for her coming. But the project for sending Lady Sidney to Flushing was no secret; Colonel Morgan writes to Walsingham, 27th February, "I thought to have been an assured man with the Lord Governor of Flushing, and of the suite of Madame your daughter, but it is his Excellency's pleasure that I should not remain there."[4]

It may appear strange that Sir Francis and Lady Walsingham were not only willing but eager for their daughter to be with her husband under conditions so far from suitable. Sidney's accounts of the state of the Low Countries in general

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[1] Digges had warned the Council that some of the "shot" were so unskilled as to be more dangerous to each other than to the foe (p 100) Professor Wallace's version gives the words of Sidney about Turner as "worst with the sound of the . . "and then a gap But the MS is discernable as "worst for y^e^ sound of y^e^ *harkabus*"

[2] His name here spelt with a y, but sometimes spelt by him "Sidnei"

[3] Name blank in Professor Wallace's version (For Nicholas Gorge's services, see Lord Burghley to the E of Leicester, 26 Dec 1585 *Leyces Corres* pp 38-44)

[4] "Je cuydoz avoir este ung homme assure chez Monseigneur de Governeur de Flissingues, et de la suytte de Madame vostre fille Mais le bon plaisir de son Ex^oie^ est que je n'y demeuray" S P Holland VI 135 $\frac{\text{Feb } 27}{\text{March } 9}$ 1585-6 Endorsed "9 Marche 1585 From Coronell Morgan" Why it is in French there is nothing to explain It has the same signature ("Tho Morgan") as letters in English to Walsingham S P Holland VI 1, 12, etc (Calendared in English S P Foreign, Vol XX)

and of Flushing in particular, Muster-Master Digges's report on the inadequate defences of Flushing, Rowland Lytton's description of the miseries caused by the "piercing cold" during winter and early spring,[1]—and the fact that though Sir Philip Sidney held Flushing and Sir Thomas Cecil governed "the Brill" for England, the enemy forces garrisoned many a substantial town in the Northern Provinces,—would make it seem the last place to which to send a young married woman. And that the Queen—who at first frowned upon Sidney's marriage, and who threatened to recall Leicester on the mere rumour that his wife was setting out for the seat of war,—would permit Lady Sidney to go to her husband is remarkable, especially as Walsingham wrote to Leicester that Her Majesty "is very apt upon every light occasion to find fault with Sir Philip . . . ."[2]

What Sidney actually thought of his Sovereign can be inferred from his private letters to Walsingham to the effect that if the cause depended solely on the Queen it would be in a sad way. He had availed himself of permission to write to her direct: but not with any result. Her habit of delaying important business while she asked needless questions, on matters already well explained, was enough to have tried a more patient man than Sidney. In reply to his representations about Flushing, she had bidden the Council request him to obtain Leicester's further approval of his plans, and also to find out if Leicester could have the "charges" paid out of Dutch customs duties.

One of Sidney's main wishes was to build barracks for his soldiers, he strongly disapproved of quartering troops on the townsfolk. The first draft of the Privy Council reply is "We think Her Majesty . . . . will herself yield some portion for the accomplishment of so necessary a service." This in Burghley's hand is endorsed by his clerk "2nd March 1585 "(6). But Her Majesty objected; so there had to be another draft composed, cancelling the reassurance, and conveying instead the Queen's reproaches that Sidney had not "sooner acquainted her" with the conditions· by which presumably she meant that he should earlier have written to her privately. Digges's report of the state of Flushing had been sent to the Council in January: and Sidney's appeals had been many.

No man had protested more pungently than Walsingham against the Queen's untimely "sparing"; and his loving admiration for Sidney was boundless, but even he was obliged to convey to his son-in-law an official rebuke according to Her Majesty's will and pleasure.[3]

Despite the acute distress which Leicester had suffered under her unreasonable huffs and threats, he worked gallantly to cope with all the complicated difficulties which had arisen since William the Silent had fallen victim to an assassin. And

[1] p 97, ante

[2] *Leycester Corresp* p 345

[3] Lords of the Council to Sir P. Sidney, draft in Ld Burghley's hand, 4 pp is S P Holland VII (1) 2 March Ib· (2,) endorsed March 10, is fresh draft corrected by Walsingham Cal S P Foreign XX 1921 pp 407-408, wherein also is much other correspondence showing the difficulties and delays

"the civill government being first in some good sort well settled" under his direction, "he applied himself forthwith to the military service." The most pressing necessity was the relief of Grave in Brabant: which matter has been so much misunderstood that we must now give it our attention.

The town belonged to Prince Maurice of Nassau; and was besieged partly for that reason. The officer organising the defence was his brother-in-law, Count Philip Hohenlohe, "or Hollocke, a German, who had long served the Estates." "Hollocke" (as the English nearly always called him) had put into Grave as military Governor a Dutch Baron, Hemert, and a garrison of about eight hundred. Though the town was not large it had been "fortified of late and made verie strong by the Prince of Orange, whose patrimonie it was." The reason for strengthening its defence was

> "because standing upon the river of Mase it hindereth the free passage of that part of the river neare it Otherwise, for trade, territorie, wealth or anie other commoditie, it is not to be much accounted of
>
> "Alexander Farnese Prince of Parma, Governor then for the King of Spaine in Brabant, Flaunders, and those parts of the lowe Countries that acknowledge the King of Spaine, had sent the Count Charles Maunsfelt to beleaguere this Towne, and to besiege it somewhat a far off which he accordingly did, by erecting around about it foure fortes with fifteene hundred souldiers in them, and having neere him within one English mile all the Spanish Regiments to the number of five thousand footmen"[1]

Mansfelt had "lain there from December till about the beginning of March," when news came to Lord Leicester at the Hague that the besieged were in "distress for lacke of men, victuals, and other provisions": so His Excellency decided to march to their aid. Accordingly

> "he moved his headquarters from the Hague to Utrecht; and from thence he presently sent his horsemen . . . about thirteene or fourteene hundred, to encampe at Nyckvicke in the province of Vellowe in Gelderland"

To Count Hollocke, with John Norris, "Coronell General of the English Infanterie," he allotted two thousand Foot; but no Horse, because the country was not suited to Cavalry operations. Their orders were to get in through the besiegers and re-victual the besieged.

This entailed considerable fighting, during which our men captured "one peece of the enimies ordinance" with which the foe had intended to batter the English provision ships. "Sir John Norris was hurt in the brest with a pike: Sir John Boroughes had a finger str(ic)ken off with a musket shot", but the General's commands were successfully carried out; the boats got twice up the river, and not only did Count Hollocke provision the garrison sufficiently to last nine months, but reinforced them with "newe men."

Having achieved this, he and Norris "in the verie view and force of the enemie" came away "with great honor."[2] Further details appear in a letter of

[1] *"A Briefe Report,"* 1587, p. 7. [2] Ib pp. 8-9

Dr. D'Oyley to Lord Burghley, when sending him a map of the town with the forts and sconces. Hollocke having

> "commanded the dykes (which are the banks or causies to bay up the water from drowning the meadows,) to be pierced on Brabant side, over against the sluice and the trench where Mr Norreys was first charged, the waters did so swell, and drown the mainland, that there went a hundred and eight boats with flat bottoms, and carried great store of victual and munition, *in so much that Monsieur Hemart, Governor of the town, requireth no more*
>
> Parma, "seeing that by famishing he cannot prevail," was now "marching with the cannon to batter it .
>
> *"Monsieur Hemart assembled the burghers of Grave and swore them to keep the town during life for the Estates and her Majesty of England, and licensed those that would not to depart the town."*[1]

(The sequel to this promise we shall presently examine.)

Reckoning Grave secure,—and having good reason so to believe,—Count Hollock and Colonel Norris returned to headquarters.

It was shortly before this that the Dutch Colonel Shenck had achieved the celebrated capture of "Wearle, a great town in Westfalia" for which Leicester knighted him and gave him a gold chain. "The Prince of Parma (as it was reported to us) was much kindled with this overthrow at Grave," and "with the taking of the castles." He was surprised that the town could have been victualled. So "about the beginning of Maie" news reached the English Camp that the famous enemy General had set forth with twelve thousand Foot and some four thousand Horse, "towards Grave."

Leicester's troops were not then such as could hope to meet Parma on equal terms; but with "the entent to be neere at hand with such forces as he had," namely some 3,000 Foot and 1,000 Horse, "he passed in person the river of Rhyne at Arnham in Gelderland" meaning to approach Grave as best he could. This could not be managed without fighting on the way: and so Leicester decided to attack the "fortes of Luytesforte and Barschodfe, and the two castles of Alon and Bemell,"—though they were "very strong, well manned, and sufficiently provided of all necessaries." His soldiers rose to the occasion: "his Excellencie himself ordering the batteries, . . . and without respect of travell or danger, putting his owne hande to the trenches and other works," till his purpose was victoriously effected.[2]

After this preliminary success "another thing of good importance" remained to be done: namely to capture a certain island in the Rhine, where the river

> "dividing himselfe, taketh the right hand course downe to Arnham, and retaineth still the name of Rhyne, and on the left passeth to Newmegen and is in Latin called Vahalis, in vulgar Dutch the Wale. The Island is called Graveswert, and, being fortified, might commaund both the rivers of Rhyne

[1] S.P Holland, VIII 10. 7th May. Cal XX. 612 [2] *"A Brefe Report,"* pp 14-15

and Wale from that place downward, that nothing could passe to Arnham or Newmegen.

It was thought very important to surprise this Islande, and to builde a forte in it: but the matter required celeritie, secrecie, and good strength of men, bicause the enimie were neere."

The officer selected to lead the attempt was the new knight, Sir Martin Shenck; who "whiles his Excellencie was occupied in winning the forts and castles, took the Island, built the forte," and "having left it defensible and well manned, returned againe to his Excellencie, who having now gotten the forts and castles so cleered the whole province of Bettowe, and left not one enimie in it, thought fit to proceede in his principal intent of drawing neere the enemie at Grave."

Thus relates the officer who compiled the *"Briefe Report"* But, John Bruce the nineteenth century editor of Leicester's Correspondence, alleged on the authority of that very Report that at this time "Leycester, Hohenlohe and Schenck were scattered about the country each occupied with a separate object of comparatively trifling importance."

The *"Briefe Report"* on the contrary shows the actions of all three as part of the same plan of campaign. Bruce further misunderstood the narrative when he added that the Prince of Parma at Grave "outgeneralled" the Allies.

The loss of Grave did not turn upon generalship, but upon treachery.

Only a few days before it was betrayed, Rowland Lytton was writing to Lord Burghley of the fitness of that "very strong" and "well manned" town to endure a long siege.

Lytton's unpublished letter, "From the camp before Nimegen the XXVII of May" shows us how the situation then appeared:[1]

"My most honorable good Lord, ever remembering my humble service, as duty becometh me

"I received the XXVth of this month your Lordship's letter dated the XXXth of April Wherein I found myself greatly happy to be remembered with so much favour at your Lordship's hand[2] I know I neither have nor can tell how to equal my deserts unto your Lordships continual goodness towards me, but this I beseech your Honor to be assured of, that while I live, in my whole power and ability I will be ever at your Lordships devotion

"Some effects have been wrought, since the writing of my last letter the two sconces[3] which our forces lay before, are taken in. that before Nimegen upon condition that they should depart with bag and baggage and their arms like soldiers. the other upon mercy Nimegen sconce was entered the XXth of May: there were in it twenty-eight soldiers[4] The

[1] Addressed "To the right honorable my very good Lorde the Lorde Burghleye Lorde Hyghe Treasorer of Englande give these" Orig holog Sealed with the Lytton arms Endorsed "27 May 1586. Mr Rowland Litton to my L" S P Holland VIII. 51 Calendared S P For Vol XX, but not verbatim

[2] This letter is not now to be found

[3] forts.

[4] "VIIJXX soldyers."

chiefest cause why they did render was want of victual, for we had so trenched and planted a few pieces of artillery between the town and them that boats could hardly pass and of itself the piece was not strong by reason the ditch was dry

"We found two pieces of artillery left in it"

Usually what seems surprising in sixteenth century fighting is the relatively small number of casualties; but on this occasion the English losses out-numbered the survivors in the enemy garrison:

"We lost thirty soldiers before it, three Lieutenants and a Captain called Sims

"The other sconce at Barkshoofe[1] stood out till the cannon was brought and shot seven or eight times

"Then finding their weakness they cried out for mercy, which was granted them, but not without a little blood Grave Hollocke caused two or three of them to be put to the sword, that they might hereafter learn to yield before the cannon play There were twenty-three[2] and odd in it."

"Grave Hollocke" (Count Hohenlohe) was by no means always congenial to the English as to his methods and actions. We shall presently notice that Lytton, who had set out disposed to take a favourable view of all with whom he came in contact, was shocked by the German troops preying upon their allies almost as much as upon their enemies.

"Now is the Bettoe cleane freed of the enemy, but there is small difference to the country between the enemy and the friend, for being of itself the most rich and fruitful soil[3] in Guelderland, it is so wasted and spoiled with war as it is desolate, and almost no inhabitants left in it the muffs[4] that serve us are the greatest thieves and stealers in the world, they respect neither friend nor foe, so he have a cow, a mare, a pan, a featherbed, or any thing worth a stiver not so much as the iron bars of windows can scape them This I write which I have with grief and pity seen.

"I think the camp shall stay awhile in this place both to watch Nimegen, and for the comfort of Grave where the Prince of Parma lyeth in great strength He hath by report brought twentyeight cannons before the town, and there is hot shooting, but I think he hath not yet begun his battery, for we should hear the 'tyars' go roundlier off, but this I heard between V of the clock at night on Whitsun Monday, and five the next morning. near two hundred[5] great shot which I heard since was upon the planting of the Prince's artillery, the town sallying forth, as it is said they slew many of the enemy

" . it is very strong, well manned, victualled for three or four months[6] There is nine hundred soldiers in it, besides burghers, who will fight unhappily, being well backed"

("Unhappily": i.e., the burghers are not skilled in fighting, but consent to it now that they are supported.)

The fate of Grave was far other than the English or Count "Hollocke" expected.

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[1] Altered from or to "Barkshove"
[2] IIIXX [3] "style" in MS but presumably a clerical error.
[4] German troops (See Cal S P. Foreign, XX. 1921)
[5] IIC [6] Actually for nine months.

"It seems the Prince is resolved to give great attempts, and so he must look to receive great slaughters, for it is like to cost him dear if he win it."

It did "cost him dear"; but not in the sense Rowland Lytton used that phrase. Spanish blandishments were to have an astonishing effect upon the Governor, Baron Van Hemert. But nobody in the English camp suspected him, and Lytton ends on a cheerful note.

"The general hope is here to have more men, and more money, that our force might be able to keep the open field without seeking ground of advantage, which yet we are hardly able to do" but since the capture of the sconces "we now have the help of a good river, where the enemy will be well troubled and I hope beaten if he should attempt to go over.

"Thus I cease further to trouble your Honour at this time beseeching the Almighty God to send your Lordship long life and all happiness.

"From the camp before[1] Nimegen the XXVII of May

"Your Lordships most
humbly to command,

"R LYTTON"

A few days later, a rumour reached the camp that Grave had surrendered to the Prince of Parma: but this "seemed so strange that it was not at the first believed"; for not only was the place "known to be of great strength" and well victualled, but Leicester had received two letters, from

"Baron Hemart, captaine of Grave, the one the daie before, the other the same day, wherein Hemart wished his Excellencie to do what else he thought convenient, and to *have no care of Grave,* for *he was able to defend it against al men for one halfe yeere.*"[2]

These letters the "Earle-General" had sent to Queen Elizabeth; but he had soon to follow them with news of such "traitrous dealing" that it seemed almost incredible.[3]

As the 19th century editor of the *"Leycester Correspondence,"* whose animus against Leicester was vehement and irrational, threw the blame on him, and sentimentalised over the traitor, and thus set a fashion for later writers,—we should now clear these events from distortion; which can effectually be done by attending to what was said and written at the time.

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[1] Altered from "at"

[2] *"A Briefe Report"* p 11

[3] E of Leicester to Lords of the Council, via Sir Thomas Heneage S P Holland, VIII, 61 (Cal S P F. Vol XX. p. 695)

PART III.

"Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant."

CHAPTER 3

"THIS NOBLE NECESSARY SERVICE."

SECTION 5.

"Expression of the Truth, and Condemnation of the Untruth."

(Baron Van Hemert's surrender of Grave, and the penalty, 1586).

". . . a printed thing [issued] at Antwerp, entitled a Discourse of the taking of Grave, full of untruths. . . . And we think it necessary that some counterbuff be given thereto, with expression of the truth, and condemnation of the untruth. . . ."

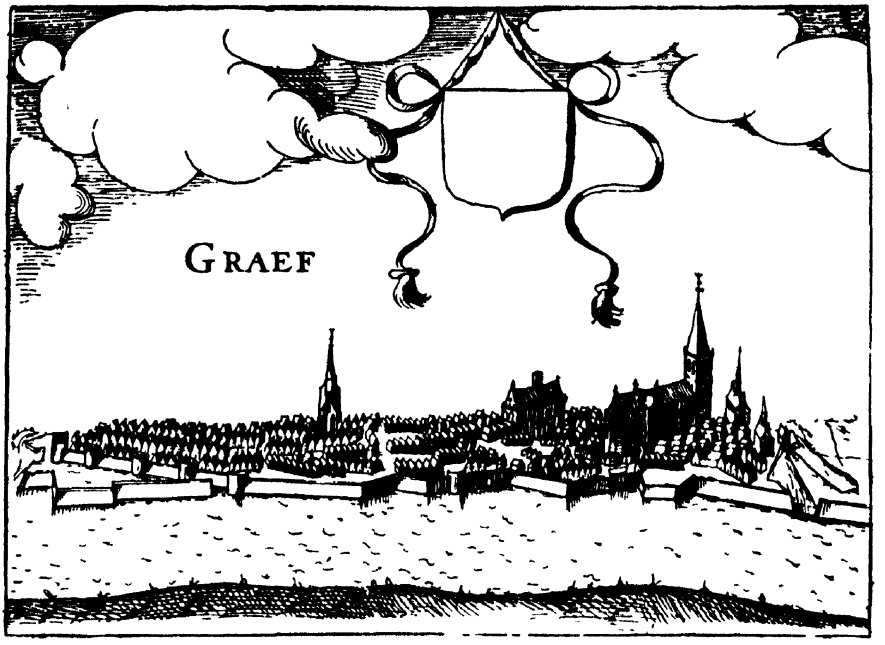
Lord Burghley to General the Earl of Leicester. 17 June, 1586 (S P Foreign. Holland VIII, 97).

" Truly your Lordship hath cause to be grieved, and to complain to us; but not to be grieved with us, or complain of us. . . . [We] heartily desire that the common cause might be defended and upholden by your service."

Lord Burghley, Sir Francis Walsingham, and Sir Christopher Hatton to the Earl of Leicester 19 June, Ib

" Till the melancholy news of Grave were thoroughly digested, I could find no joy to write unto your Lordship: but now justice is done upon those cowardly offenders, honest men are discharged of blame, and our nation hath sufficiently testified their disdain and hate against all such dishonourable dealing."

Rowland Lytton to "my very good Lorde Burghley," &c. 19 June, 1586. (S P F Holland VIII, 103).



GRAVE *from "Description de touts les Pays Bas par Messire Loys Guicciardin G H Florentin*

Avec toutes lest Cartes Geographiques desdits Pays et plusieurs pourtraicts de villes nouvellement tiere et en belle perspective, par M Pierre du Keere Derechef illustrée de plusieurs Additions remarquables, par Pierre du Mont L'an Cl Il IICXII [1613] Arnhemi apud Joannem Jansoni et Petrum Koerium Amstelodamum" p 195 (6½ x 4½)

(B M Maps 12 b 38 Earliest edition in B M, of a work first issued in 1567)

As described in *"A Briefe Report of the Militarie Services,"* &c (1587), p 7.

"Grave is a Towne in Brabant, belonging to Count Maurice of Nassau, seconde sonne to William Prince of Orange deceased But it was then [1586] in the government of Count Philip of Hohenlohe or Hollocke a German, who had long served the Estates, and had placed [as] governour in this Towne Mounsieur Hemart, a Baron of these Lowe Countries, with garrison of about eight hundred Dutch and Netherlande soldiers

"The Towne is not great, but fortified of late, and made verie strong by the Prince of Orange, whose patrimonie it was It is of some importance, because standing upon the river of Mase, it hinderth the free passage of that part of the river neere it Otherwise, for trade, territorie, wealth, or anie other commoditie, it is not to be much accounted of

"Alexander Farnese Prince of Parma, Governor then for the King of Spaine in Brabant, Flaunders, and those parts of the lowe Countries that acknowledged the king of Spaine had sent the Count Charles Maunsfelt, to beleeguere this Towne, and to besiege it somewhat afar off, by erecting round about it, foure forts, with fifteene hundred souldiers in them, and having neere him within one english mile all the Spanish Regiments, to the number of five thousand footmen"

(The Spaniards did not use the term "Regiment" but "Tercio", but the writer of this Report was an Englishman)

The story of the siege of Grave is continued in the ensuing section.

PART III.

"Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant."

CHAPTER 3.

"THIS NOBLE NECESSARY SERVICE."

SECTION 5

"Expression of the Truth, and Condemnation of the Untruth."

(Baron Van Hemert's surrender of Grave, and the penalty, 1586).[1]

WE have seen how when Count Mansfelt was besieging Grave for the Prince of Parma, Lord Leicester had sent Count Hohenlohe and Sir John Norris to take boats up the river, to revictual the garrison; and also to reinforce them with more men: "a hundred and eight boats with flat bottoms," bringing such "great store of victual and munition" that the military Governor Baron Van Hemert said he required "no more," and "swore to keep the town during life for the Estates and (for) her Majesty of England."[2]

Nothing is easier than for armchair critics today to blame Leicester for believing Van Hemert's reassurance that he could hold out without further aid for at least another six months. But the strange thing would have been if Leicester had doubted it. In days when the word of a nobleman was supposed to be inviolable, and also when to all appearance it was not only to Van Hemert's honour but to his interest to keep Grave for the United Provinces,—nobody (so far as can be ascertained) dreamt of distrusting him. The selling of Deventer to Spain by Sir William Stanley did not take place until the following year; and though the yielding of other fortresses and towns by Dutch garrisons had occurred in circumstances little to the credit of those concerned, it is entirely unreasonable to blame Leicester for not knowing by instinct that Van Hemert was a double-dealer. Hemert had been selected for his post by Count Hohenlohe; who knew him well; and who, however hot-tempered, was devoted to the cause of his own brother-in-law Count Maurice of Nassau, to whom the greater part of Grave belonged.

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[1] Van Hemert in Dutch But in nearly all Elizabethan MSS and printed matter, "Hemart" is the spelling The disparity (sec 5) between the text (Van Hemert) and the quotations ("Hemart") is not a misprint, but is in accord with the rule defined in E.E vol I, p xvi.

[2] 7th May, 1586 S.P. Holland, viii, 10 (E.E. ante, p 106).

When a rumour reached Lord Leicester that the Prince of Parma had entered Grave, this seemed a fantastic tale; for Parma could not, even with his heavy artillery, have reduced it so quickly. That Spanish gold might have been more potent than Spanish guns did not at first occur to him; and even when the news of the surrender was confirmed, Lord North wrote to Lord Burghley that it was not certain whether "the Governor Emart," a gentleman "of Guelder, of great kindred, living, and acquaintance," had been guilty of "a treacherous practise with the enemy," or "the most vile cowardice, mixed with such negligence as is unspeakable." But he had heard that Van Hemert during the siege had spent his time mostly indoors in his own house, "fellowed with his harlot"; and when he emerged he could not be persuaded "by captains, soldiers or burghers to do anything for defence of the town," but pretended to have scruples against causing "the blood of so many innocents to be spilt . . . and sent a drum to the enemy for parley."[1]

"I trust the traitrous loss of Grave shall not gather any ill opinion of us here," wrote Leicester to Walsingham: "for my part I have a clear conscience.[2] I have three times been only the help and relief of it, besides mine own coming in person now to give all assistance to it," (i.e. he was on the way there when the news came of the surrender). ". . . being the best fortified place thoroughly, of all this province none like it, being fully manned, victualled, and stored with all manner of artillery and munition, having but three hours battery laid to it, and a show of assault upon Thursday last in the morning," it surrendered the same afternoon.[3]

Hemert had not even the grace to be ashamed. As Lord North wrote to Lord Burghley:

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[1] S P Holland, VIII, 93 Cal S P F xxi (ii) 1927, pp 18-20

[2] Quoting only these words and not the explanation ensuing, the editor of Cal S P Spanish, III (1896), p 586, added, "The loss of Grave was a serious blow both to the cause of the Netherlands and to Leicester's generalship As a matter of fact both he and Count Hohenlohe had been completely outgeneralled by Parma See *Leycester Correspondence*" But Leicester's own correspondence shows no such thing, it is the editor, John Bruce (1844), p 284, who alleged, "It is clear that the Prince of Parma outgeneralled them", and then makes a series of assertions which can be contradicted out of the very letters he was supposed to be editing In the 93 years since that publication, no English writer until now (so far as can be discovered) has examined into the events it has been easier to echo that Leicester was "outgeneralled" Thus by a random word are reputations established or disestablished in what is called "history"

[3] Ouvry M S f 22, copy, *Leycester Corresp* p 284 The editor, John Bruce (having misapplied the term "outgeneralled" to Leicester), embroidered the events thus (p 284)

"the Prince suddenly drew his forces together and came down upon Grave the soldiers animated by the presence of their general, attacked with a fury which entirely confounded the young and inexperienced Hemart " Having excited sympathy for him by fanciful imputing youth, Bruce added, "Hemart's courage failed him before the moment of extremity arrived, and suddenly forgetting the boastful letters he had written to Leycester up to that very day, in a sudden fit of despair he offered terms of surrender, which the prince was delighted to accept"

Bruce does not explain what the terms were which made a military Governor surrender his charge in three hours after having sworn (not "boasted") to hold it six months, but he adds, "See *Briefe Report*, Sig. B" From this we would infer his blame of Leicester to be based on the *Report* by one of Leicester's own officers But we have seen (E E. p 107) that the *Briefe Report* entirely exonerates Leicester It shows up (p 12) Hemert's "sudden yielding without good cause" while "sufficiently furnished with all necessities."

"After the delivery of the town he came with three Captains to my Lord's camp before Nimegen very boldly," whereupon Leicester ordered him to be arrested, with these officers, that they might all be brought to justice: "for which purpose his Lordship granted a Commission to the Count Hollock, the Earl of Essex, with sundry of the Dutch to hear and examine him and his cause . . ."

Leicester brought Van Hemert from Bommel to Gorcum, and from thence to Utrecht, "where he meaneth to follow the cause by the advice of the States and their Council . . ."[1]

Two days later, Leicester wrote from Utrecht in his own hand to Burghley, "Grave was most villainously given over; and this very morning Hemart lost his head for it, with two other Captains."

"*. . . This is the first man that hath been executed this twenty years for loss of towns, and yet hath there been twenty towns naughtily given up.*" The custom had been to make show of justice, and "bring the matter to dilatory dealings by advocates," and allow the offenders to escape. "But I could not suffer this man to pass so." His punishment was "most earnestly desired of all good people to have justice, and a good example it will be. We proceeded by martial law, giving a commission to the Count Hollock, the Count Neuman and divers others, Colonels and officers of the field." Hemert was "openly arraigned before these," and was found guilty; and these other Captains with him. One of these "for a very just cause I have spared, the others were executed this morning, nine aclock, with the greatest satisfaction to the people that hath been seen."[2]

One of the Captains admitted that the Spanish battery had not even made a breach in the walls, but that the Prince came in through the gate, after some of his men had been "helped up" by Governor Van Hemert to climb the walls,—"some with ladders . . ."[3]

The previous October a Spanish Captain Martino, when a prisoner in Grave, had "practised" (conspired) with certain of the officers; which fact Lord Leicester had discovered at the time, and had at once warned Hemert. But "this Spaniard, Martino, notwithstanding, found such favour with Hemart" that he "gave him liberty *as is told me now,* and made him go to feasts with him, and to go freely round about the town."[4]

On the 20th June, Leicester wrote to the Queen, from Utrecht:[5]

"My most gracious Lady

"Of my great comfort received by your most favourable lines written with your own sacred hand I did most humbly acknowledge, . . . albeit I can no way make testimony

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[1] 16th June, S P Holland VIII 93 3 pp Holog A long letter, of which only a paragraph is quoted by Motley (U N II 19), nearly the whole printed Cal S P Foreign XXI (II) 1927, pp 18 20

[2] Postscript, "I will send her Majesty the examinations and confessions of all the Captains and soldiers against Hemart" (showing there was no excuse for his conduct) S P Holland VIII 99 Orig 5 pp Cal XXI(II) pp 22-28 [3] Contrast Bruce's "fury" fiction, ante, note 3, p 116

[4] Ouvry MS f 22, b copy *Leycester Corresp* pp 87-89

[5] Holog 2¾ pp S P H VIII 107 Cal S P F 37-39

oft enough of the great joy I took thereby. And seeing my wounded heart is by this means almost made whole, I do pray unto God that either I may never feel the like again from you, or not to suffer me to live, rather than I should fall into these torments of your displeasure.

"Most gracious Queen, therefore I beseech you, make perfect that you have begun . . My strong hope doth begin now to assure me, as I have almost won the battle against despair, . ."

He warns her how Paul Buys is "secretly working" against her:

"he dealeth naughtily with your Majesty and dangerously with this State he caring for nothing but only to bear the sway and to grow rich, one that dealt even in the same sort with the Prince of Orange as he doth with your Majesty, and because he could colour his doings, he is first about to make the Count Maurice and the Count Hollock discontented"

Buys had been insinuating into many men's minds that the King of Denmark vould be a better patron than Her Majesty: and if this should come to pass it will ›e Denmark and not England that will be *"Lord and Commander over the ıarrow seas and all your traffics east and northward . . . ."*

He tells her that the punishment of Hemert and the others for the surrender ›f Grave has been a source of "contentation" to "all the people and better sort," hough there was "much ado" about it first.

Rowland Lytton wrote to Lord Burghley on the same theme:

"My most honourable good Lord [1]

"Till the melancholy news of Grave were thoroughly digested, I could find no joy to write unto your Lordship but now that justice is done upon those cowardly offenders, honest men are discharged of blame, and our nation hath sufficiently testified their disdain and hatred against all such dishonorable dealing

"The Governor called Hemart with 11 Captains were executed the xvii of this month [2] They protested upon their deaths that they had in no way confederated with the enemy, neither were guilty of any treason, but only that contrary to the law of arms they had delivered up the town while it was yet defensible"

As to the treason, Lytton does not go into details, because "the process and ›leading I know is sent unto your Lordship; therefore I will not say further of it."

"The Prince of Parma lyeth before Venloe and keepeth Schenck[3] from coming in. He gave a good attempt about x days ago, when with twenty-six horse he brake into the whole camp, and charged to the Prince's own tent but he prevailed not in his purpose, for that towards the town the Guard was so strong that he could not break through them · and in the retreat we lost some men.

"Since that time it is here reported that he hath surprised a town called 'Kesars

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"from Utrecht the XIX of June." Holog · Addressed "To the right honorable my very good Lord the Lorde Burghley The hyghe treasorer of England these." (Armorial Seal) Endorsed "19 Junij 1586 Mr Rowland Litton from Utrecht" S P Foreign Holland VIII. 103 Epitome with some verbal extracts in Cal · S P Foreign In E E from orig: (Spelling modernised)

Altered from "XIXth of Maye" (at which time Grave had not yet surrendered The capitulation was on the 31st May)

Spelt "skynk."

wearte,' a place above Venloe, from whence the enemy had much victual But the Prince continueth his siege still. and hath begun to batter iii days ago. The grief is that we should see and suffer our towns to be thus besieged, and are not able to relieve them [1]

" Our camp is now passing over into Brabant, about 'sertingane buss,'[2] where it is advertised that the Prince hath laid x Cornets of Horse, and three or four thousand Foot to encounter them."

" Their purpose is to spoil his harvest; but the service cannot be great on our side *till the forces are stronger. This is but to win time, and, in seeming to do somewhat, to make our friends less weary of us.*"

This is less than just to what had already been done; but Lytton, with no official responsibility, seems hardly to have realised the weight of the burdens borne by those who had laboured to evolve order from chaos. On the eve of a succession of important events, he regarded the war as languishing, and so says

" I have thought good to use the advantage of this vacation for the dispatch of some business which require my presence in England, and therefore unless your Lordship's direction do otherwise appoint me, I mean to come over about the end of this month

" Thus beseeching God to prosper your honour with health and all happiness, I humbly take my leave

From Utrecht the xix of June.

" Your Lordships most humbly to command,

" R LYTTON "

However much it might seem a " vacation " for Rowland Lytton, it was for Lord Leicester a period of incessant toil and trouble. A long joint letter from his three most faithful friends in the Council, Burghley, Hatton, and Walsingham, first condoles with him on *" the hard success you have had in lacking comfort and allowance of her Majesty for your Lordship's service from the beginning, notwithstanding you otherwise have had very good successes there by many victories, and winning of places from the enemy,"* and secondly answers Leicester's request that unless his service is more agreeable to the Queen he may have leave to resign from it.

" For the first, . . . your Lordship hath no small cause of complaint . . . . we have ourselves been greatly grieved in mind," and often endeavoured to bring Her Majesty to a different humour: " . . . if we should by writing repeat our sundry and large arguments, we might fill many sheets of paper . . .

" Truly your Lordship hath cause to be grieved, and to complain *to* us, but not to be grieved *with* us or complain *of* us, . . . that you received no letter from us, in the space of five months, of encouragement or advice, but altogether discomfortable.

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[1] He alters this from *" dare not relieve them "* for it was not a question of lack of courage Moreover relief had been sent to Grave to enable the town to hold out at least six months, and yet this had not prevented the surrender.

[2] s'Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc)

"Our answer is that if your Lordship mean that we did write anything with intent to discourage you in your service, your Lordship surely doth greatly mistake us; . . . we did always conceive comfortably and honourably of your services, and *did always and do still allow, yea, heartily desire that the common cause might be defended and upholden by your service; not knowing in very truth how without your Lordship's perseverence it would stand for any short time.*"

But so long as the Queen was "contrary," all they had been able to do was to use such arguments with her as might in the end prevail. They could not give him reassurance as long as she had remained deaf to their representations, as to the necessity for sending "sufficiency of men, both for defence of your towns, and to be also strong in the field": without which "*the cause will fall, the enemy will rise, and we here must stagger, if we do not worse. And surely whatever speeches be blown abroad of parleys of peace, all will be but smoke for any good thereof to follow.*"

That these words are in Burghley's hand in a private letter may be taken as settling for ever the question whether he had faith in the secret negotiations which the Queen insisted on conducting with the Prince of Parma We should therefore read his letters to Parma's agent Andreas de Loo in the light of what Burghley here tells Leicester. How little he expected peace is further clear from the way he advises Leicester to "deal earnestly with the States" that he be furnished with money to pay the troops. What the sum may be "we can rather conjecture than express." He and Hatton and Walsingham consider "that your Lordship should not have less for your Army for the field, besides the towns defended, than ten or eleven thousand Footmen, a thousand Pioneers, and two thousand Lances, and as many other Horsemen."

As for Leicester's wish to return home, had the Queen persisted in her previous attitude they would have supported his request:

"But now that her Majesty is not only minded, but . . . . resolutely determined, yea persuaded fully, that it is necessary for your Lordship not only to continue in that government but to have it more amply established, and perfected to all purpose for your credit and strength, and especially with money and men for the maintenance of these countries against the enemy, we should greatly err if we would at this time (specially whilst the summer lasteth) move her Majesty to assent to revoke your Lordship."

This disposes once and for all the plethora of assertions as to Leicester's excessive ambition and insistence in clinging to a high office for which his modern critics allege him to have been unfit.[1] The three most astute of the Queen's Councillors, Burghley, Hatton, and Walsingham, rise from their graves to answer

[1] Especially Mrs Aubrey Richardson in what purports to be a biography of Leicester, but is largely a revival of all the slanders, scandals, misapprehensions and vituperations heaped up by her predecessors.

Leicester's accusers; and show how they themselves persisted until they brought the Queen to assent to his continuance in the work from which she had threatened to recall him. That they refused to forward his resignation, and whole-heartedly appreciated his service, should for ever terminate the standard delusion as to Leicester's "incapacity" and Burghley's leadership of an "opposite faction."

> "And for her Majesty's resolution to allow of your government we know your Lordship shall by her letter to that Council" (of the States) "see a full satisfaction for yourself . . . ."

Burghley adds then to the corrected draft of the joint letter:[1]

> "We have showed to Mr. Aty a printed thing [issued] at Antwerp, entitled a Discourse of the Taking of Grave, full of untruths as we are assured. And we think it necessary that some counterbuff be given thereto, with expression of the truth, and condemnation of the untruth in the same book, with also some publication of the process against the traitors, the Governor and his Captains, which being circumspectly compiled, we desire it may be also published in English."

Though the "discourse" thus condemned is preserved in Leiden University Library, the English "counterbuff" is not; and to this day *"expression of the truth and condemnation of the untruth"* is still needed.[2]

It was on the 19th of June that Burghley assured Leicester that the peace talk would end in smoke. Therefrom we can infer in what frame of mind the Lord Treasurer would have read the letter addressed to him by Parma four days later.[3]

Writing in his native tongue, the Prince avoids the main point, viz: concession as to religion. But nothing could be more courteous than his manner. Having stated that Andreas de Loo had reported what orders he had "from your Lordship,"

> "having shown me the instructions given him by you and Mr Controller, and put before me what more he thought needful for me to understand of the continuation of the good inclination which you show towards peace, I cannot but accept kindly of the same good will,

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[1] S P Holland VIII 97 7 pp 17 June Draft in Burghley's hand of letter from himself and Mr Vice Chamberlain (Hatton) and Mr Secretary (Walsingham), Ib 102 Copy, 7 pp corrected by Burghley, and dated 19 June First published 1927 Cal. S P F XX(II) pp 28-32

[2] The pamphlet to which Lord Burghley was alluding is an anonymous 4to (4½ pp of text,) *"Beschrijvinghe Oft cort verhael vande harde belegheringhe ende inneminghe vande Stadt ghenaemt de Graue Aldus sterckelijc beleghert ende victorieuselijck ghewonnen door onsen ghenadigen Heere den Prince van Parma, etc Stadthouder ende Gouuerneur generael ouer dese Nederlanden, van weghen onsen ghenadigen Erf-here den Conick van Spaengen etc"* Woodcut 6 x 7 cm representing the entry of troops into a fortified town *"Gheprint Thantwerpen by my Mattheus de Rische, op onser Vrouwen kerckhof onder den Thoren, inden Gulden Sampson Anno 1586"* (Description or short account of the hard siege and seizure of the city called Grave. In this way strongly besieged and victoriously won by our gracious Lord the Prince of Parma, etc Stadholder and Governor General over these Netherlands by authority of our gracious hereditary Lord, the King of Spain, etc.")

[3] 23 June o s 3 July n s. Endorsed by Burghley as "from the Prince of Parma sent by And de Loo" Italian ½ p S P Flanders I. 88. Trans. in Cal. XXI(II) p 45

and exhort and pray you not to grow cold therein, but rather to embrace this holy and Christian cause, being assured that on my part I will be answerable thereto with such sincerity as shall be known by its results, whenever occasion shall be given me and the way open to it as you will understand from the said De Loo more particularly And as I can enlarge upon this no further until I have a reply to what Graffigno and Bodenham took over, I will end by praying God to preserve you.

"Camp at Venloo 3 July, 1586.

"ALLESSº FARNESE"

Had Burghley been the "Polonius" of modern criticism, he would have been completely deceived. But his subsequent language as to Parma's dealings is exceedingly pungent. Meanwhile let us notice the place and date, "Camp at Venloo. 3 July 1586." The people of Venlo on the Meuse, one of the frontier towns of Cleves, had expressed due horror at the cowardly behaviour of Governor Van Hemert at Grave: and swore to hold out to the last. None the less they "surrendered without sustaining any assault or even battery except the first volley of the cannon."

It was not the garrison which behaved in this ignoble fashion; but the townsfolk, who banded themselves against the soldiers and insisted upon "composition," so that the siege did not last fifteen days, though the town had stores for fifteen months. An anonymous account of the circumstances in French (endorsed by Burghley "3 July 1586. Copie of a lettre from Brussels to Paris in favor of the Pr: of Parma,") most unjustly blames Leicester for the fall of Venlo, but adds that the close-fistedness of the States, and the fact of the Dutch forces being badly paid and "badly led" brings about such surrenders; whereas the enemy Prince's army is "on quite another footing," being as well paid as they are well led, never having to fear the loss of a farthing of their pay, which is never lacking, either to themselves or their heirs. This keeps them to their good behaviour . . . . and exact observation of military discipline. I only wish this were an example to our men."

The Queen of England is described by this commentator as caring little about the sufferings of the States, and as rumoured to be making a secret alliance with the Prince of Parma.

Leicester himself announced to the Queen how Venlo surrendered (even as Grave did,) without any battery more than one day, or any assault or breach. The townsmen had written to ask him to come to their relief within twenty days, and had promised to hold out: "I did send them such as I was able within three days," and had appointed eight thousand Foot and one thousand Horse to follow; but these townsfolk as soon as they heard the English reinforcements were coming, most treacherously "opened a gate and let in 800 Spaniards and 300 Horse; and so entrapped the poor soldiers."[1]

The following day, 27th June, Leicester wrote to the Queen again, warning her

[1] Utrecht 26 June Orig· Holog. 7 pp S.P Holland VIII. 120 Cal. XX(II) pp. 51-54

"what conceits have been taken of late" even among "the higher and wiser sort" as to her "cold favour": and "*It hath almost broken their hearts to think your Majesty should not care more for them. For my part I have done and daily doth my whole uttermost to make them think the contrary*" He explains the situation anew, in the hope that she may yet by "gracious dealing" comfort and reassure her Allies. But he feels obliged to tell her that reports given out from England and from merchants in Antwerp and even from the Prince of Parma himself

> "*that a peace was in treaty between your Majesty and him, . . . hath been the cause, these two months past, of all the revolts of alterations of this state . . . .*"
> and is likely to cause "utter confusion: . . . wherein I shall be most chiefly sorry . . . . for your Majesty's sake, for the King of Spain coming in on that manner will bring no small danger to your estate."

He beseeches her to have compassion on her soldiers: "As for the allowance for myself, I trust your Majesty will not have me to be a General of your army and to have no allowance."

He had spent £20,000 of his own for her in seven months; and from the States he had not received above £1000 for "after they heard of your Majesty's displeasure" they no longer troubled to pay him.

He will be forced to sell the greater portion of his lands as it is, to meet the expenses already incurred: "I am sorry to have joined your General and your poor soldiers together, but God doth know I take as much care for them as for myself."[1] Actually he took more care for them; and before we proceed with matters of state, let us notice Rowland Lytton of Knebworth. After Lytton's description of the surrender of Grave his communications to Lord Burghley cease. We would not be aware how gallantly he had fought, were it not for his Commander-in-Chief's anxiety to extract from the Queen a few words of praise to him on his return.

"May it please your Most excellent Majesty[2]

"I have no matter at this time to trouble you withall, yet seeing it pleaseth your Majesty to bear with mine oft writing, I am bolder now to presume upon gracious acceptation And for that this honest gentleman Mr Lytton of Hertfordshire, through some hard estate of his body is driven to repair into England, I thought it my part to recommend the forwardness and towardness of this gentleman to your Majesty's good favour, assuring your Highness that he is like to prove an able servant as any that came hither. and hath suffered as much hardness and taken as great pains as the meanest soldier.

"It will greatly encourage him but to receive a good countenance of you, and if God

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[1] Holog 5½ pp Utrecht 27th June S P Holland VIII 123 Cal· XXI(II) pp 62-66

[2] All in Leicester's own hand Directed "To ye Q most excellent Ma^tie" S P Holland IX No 3 f 5

A brief abstract of this is given in Cal XXI(II) 1927, p. 72, in which volume the editorial preface, while disparaging Lord Leicester for alleged incapacity, describes him as favourable to his own "creatures" The insulting custom of alluding to gentlemen who followed Leicester and Essex into the field for the Queen's service, at their own expense, as the "creatures" of these Generals, ought to be discontinued

send him health I think he means to return to your service here again I would have had him gone sooner by a good while, but as long as he saw any service present in the field he would not leave it

"Thus meaning to send further one expressly to your sacred Majesty with all reverence in humblest wise I kiss your feet. From Dordrect, being newly returned from a journey I made to Berges-op-Zoom and to Zealand this 4 of July

"By your Majestys most faithful and most obedient servant,

"R LEYCESTER"

The publication of this letter serves the double purpose of bringing to light the forgotten services of the ancestor of a famous house, and of illustrating the trouble taken by the Queen's General gently to remind Her Majesty of her duty to her servants. Whereas the Leicester of the 1584 and '85 libels, and of modern histories based thereon, is a self-centred debauchee, with no intelligence, no heart, and neither courage nor talents (*nor even wit enough to recognise his own "incapacity,"* as lately re-alleged,[1]) the Leicester of the actual State Papers is most courteous, patient, open-handed and unselfish;—qualities which would have been recognised long since, were it not that no independent examination of the war has been made by any modern English historian until now.[2]

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[1] By editor of Cal S P. Foreign, 1927

[2] Hard pressed as he was with the double labours of Governor General and Lieutenant General, the amount of correspondence performed with his own hand is astonishing But instead of pointing out to the student the importance of letters which upset conventional history, one of the editors of *State Papers Foreign* refers to Leicester's communications as long and "voluble" which latter word is not, as we might suppose, a misprint for "valuable," because the same editor declares that these papers throw no light on what he regards as the "ambiguous" character of the peer to whom he refers as "Robert Dudley," after he had been an Earl for over twenty years

The editorial commentary manifestly is influenced by the work from which all British students commonly derive their ideas of this war, viz —*"History of the United Netherlands from the death of William the Silent to the Synod of Dort, with a full view of the English-Dutch Struggle with Spain, and of the Origin and Destruction of the Spanish Armada,"* 1860, 4 vols , by John Lothrop Motley, D C.L But, though entertainingly written, it is not a "full view," and is so unfair to Leicester and to the English Army that it needs re-writing in nearly all parts relating to Queen Elizabeth's General and troops.

PART III

"Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant."

CHAPTER 3

"THIS NOBLE NECESSARY SERVICE."

SECTION 6

"Let all wise men judge."

(The Earl of Leicester's defence of his services, 1586).

". . . the Earl of Leicester, in whom to his other heroic qualities are so ripely joined both age and judgment."

The Elector of Cologne to Queen Elizabeth Leyden, Jan. 1585-6 S P German States, IV 4. Cal S P Foreign XX. p. 345

". . . And because she hath always harped upon a peace, let all wise men judge whether there be any way in the world for her Majesty to have a good peace but this. I beseech you, Mr. Secretary, let not the poor soldiers be forgotten."

General the Earl of Leicester to Sir Fra Walsingham 22 Feb. 1585-6. Harl MS 285 f. 215

" There is no doubt but if you suffer my Lord of Leicester to go forward as he hath begun, he will do that honour to God and service to her Majesty as no subject ever did better or the like. Truly he is a man of exceeding travail of body and mind, of marvellous dispatch and very resolute . . ."

Roger, Lord North to the Lord High Treasurer Burghley. Arnhem, 29 May, 1586. Orig S P. Holland, VIII 56 Cal: XX p 687

" I have great cause to thank your Lordship, for I understand from my brother and all my friends how honourably you have dealt . . . Though I cannot requite you, yet you shall do like a nobleman to defend an innocent . . . Good my Lord help me hence, and be good to your soldiers here . . ."

Robert Earl of Leicester to Lord Burghley Endorsed in Burghley's hand, "18 Martii 1585 Er. Leicester. Thanks." ½ p. S.P. Holland VII 34 Cal. XX. 457.

PART III.

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SECTION 6.

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(The Earl of Leicester's defence of his services, 1586).

IN honour of Queen Elizabeth's aid, the States struck a medal; two hands holding a crowned heart; with inscriptions, "*Cor Nobile afflictis opitulator*" and "*Spes*", and on the reverse "*Belgica Hisp. Tyrannide oppressa porta subita,*" etc.[1] But how scant was her power of sympathy is revealed by her behaviour to her General. With steadfast devotion, Leicester concealed her limitations and endeavoured to keep up her reputation for "compassion."

If we were only to see her in the last seventeen years of her reign, during which she often caused needless distress to her most devoted servants, we might marvel at their continued patience. But Leicester's memories reached back to her youth, when she had said she loved him as a brother. Her outbursts of antagonism had begun from the time of his marriage with the widow of Walter Earl of Essex (1578). Such jealousy was the more unjust in that Leicester defined his duty as "*first* her Majesty;" and "*next,* my dear wife,"[2] and his most important services were rendered subsequent to this marriage.

As he had accepted his task for the Netherlands only on condition that he should have as much authority as the late Prince of Orange,[3] it was most unreasonable of the Queen to make a grievance of his accepting from the States the position of "absolute Governor both of war and peace." But despite all the defence made for him by Burghley, Walsingham, Hatton, Vavasour and others, Leicester was obliged to continue soothing and coaxing Her Majesty:—

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[1] Dated 1586 Described as "Très beau. Rare," in Cat. of "*Collections d'un Amateur Portugais Distingué,*" &c. Sold at Amsterdam, 31 Oct to 2 Nov 1927 by J Schulman. p. 5, item 37, from "ancienne collection J. van Doornick, Archiviste a Deventer." And No 38, A D 1586, same subject

[2] Orig· Longleat MS His holograph Will; unknown until quoted in E E., Vol III, pp 163-164, and plate 29

[3] E E ante, p. 15

"If it hath not been (my most dear and gracious Lady) no small comfort to your poor old servant to receive but one line of your blessed handwriting in many months for the relief of a most grieved wounded heart, how far more exceeding joy must it be in the midst of all sorrow to receive from the same sacred hand so many comfortable lines as my good friend Mr Gorge hath at once brought me . . . The beginning and scope of all my services hath been, is, and shall be, next God, only to content and please you And if I may do it, then is all sacrifice, either of life or whatsoever, well offered for you"[1]

He then deals gently with the misunderstandings:

". . . you are persuaded that by some other name or under some other condition I might have the same and as much authority as by the name of General Governor I have . . . . But . . . . *it was not possible to have the authority which your Majesty could like I had, without the name of absolute Governor.*" Not that he was called Absolute Governor, but was a Governor with absolute authority voluntarily granted to him. If this had not been accepted, Count Maurice of Nassau, Count William, and Count Meurs would all three have been his "superintendents and governors in deed: and no other way in the world to control it but this . . . . and I am assured your meaning never was to have me here your General at their commandments."

Some of his difficulties arose from her not having supported him in this matter. The payments from the States had of late been "very slack":

"if your Majesty will pardon me, . it grew only upon Sir Thomas Heneage coming with the message of your displeasure, for from that time till this, they have not only sought to hinder that agreement but to intermeddle wholly again with all things which did appertain to my office and place they gave me." Moreover they now diligently set to turn this to account "*for a shift to save that vile traitor Hemart, that so villainously delivered Grave into the enemy's hands They have alleged by his friends that I am no competent judge to direct his cause, not being Governor of the Provinces, your Majesty having disavowed it to the States* ."

Earlier in the same letter he pleads again for her to let him have Sir William Pelham as Marshal; the lack of Pelham being "not only an insufferable want to all our people, but the *enemy hath bragged of it*. . . . I know the Prince of Parma hath spoken of it some months past, that he was sure that neither Pelham nor the Lord Grey should come, nor that any more men by your license and muster should pass."

(Leicester, while kept without his chosen Marshal, was doing the Marshal's work himself.)

"But if yet either Pelham or my Lord Grey, or rather both may come, I trust your Majesty may reap the greatest honour and good by it But first Sir William Pelham . . for God's sake and your own honour's sake, let him come. We have . . . no man fit for such a government as Sir William Pelham is able to discharge I beseech your Majesty trust me and believe me, there is not one, no not one for it, whatsoever you have heard or may hear . . . ."

Though there are "many worthy and very valiant gentlemen" (and Leicester is "loth to

[1] Holog 7 pp S P H VIII 85. Extracts printed by Motley, "*United Netherlands*," I 454 458, II 23, 24, 38, but whole letter not till 1927, Cal. S.P. Foreign, XXI (II) pp 10-14

hinder any man" and wishes that "*all men may have their deserts,*") it is Pelham he requires in haste, "with that worthy gentleman Sir William Stanley."

As to Stanley's character, Leicester and Walsingham were to prove extraordinarily mistaken; but Pelham, whom the Queen at last licensed to cross the seas in her service, was to fulfil Leicester's expectations, though not without meeting difficulties from Sir John Norris.

Meantime the underhand peace talk was going on; and the merchant Andreas de Loo in London was writing direct to her "sacred Majesty" (in Italian,) apologising as "a poor worm" for his boldness in addressing her; praying her to grant him a passport to Calais, Zeeland or Holland, that he might help to "avoid the shedding of blood," and, by negotiation through his friend Carlo Lanfranchi in Antwerp, bring about a good peace.[1]

But while De Loo and Lanfranchi were endeavouring to traffic in the affairs of nations, the "news from divers parts" which came in to Burghley, via Rome, told of the King of Spain's wrath at the exploits of Drake in the Indies. "... this will be as it were a goad to incite his efforts against the English Queen; but by insidious methods rather than by open war."

With "the Marqués de Santa Cruz made General of the Fleet, and Ferdinand de Toledo the Commander on land, ... the Pope puts all his authority on the side of the King of Spain against the English Queen ...."[2]

From Spain, in a letter by an Englishman, came further references to Santa Cruz, who was there regarded as the destined conqueror of England. The "proud Spaniards" were celebrating their victory in advance:[3]

> "... they say that upon London Bridge they will measure out cloth by the pike length ...."[4]
>
> The next year, they say, we shall to the pot; and with no less than a thousand sail of great ships, they will into England ....
>
> They say our men be no soldiers by land, and that our shot is calivers and not musketry. Many scarecrow terms they do use ...."[5]

and such terms were more representative of the intentions of Spain than the smooth epistles of De Loo, alleging that a treaty easily could be arranged, as the King of Spain and his nobility were yearning for peace!

Lord Leicester, who in his youth had served under the King of Spain, had no illusions; and having been counselled by his friends at the Court to write oftener to the Queen, he sent her from Arnhem on the 23rd of May his further defence of his acceptance of the Governor-Generalship.

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[1] 8 May, 1586 S P Flanders I 81 Ital. Cal. S P.F XX. pp. 616-617 Docketed by L[d] Burghley

[2] This was old news Santa Cruz was commissioned 23 June, 1584 See E E, ante, Vol V, pp 186-187

[3] Latin 2 pp Newsletters XCV 30 Cal IV pp 609-610

[4] This is printed as "pick length" in Cal

[5] Advertisements from Spain, of May 19/20, 1586 Newsletter XC 29. Cal. S P F pp 642-644

". I had not particular respect to or thought in the world of myself, to be either advanced or bettered by it; but to advance your Majesty's service and the cause I was sent for .

"*I was not ignorant before I took this journey in hand that I had left many enemies behind me* there was none other worldly cause could have made me either have left your Majesty's presence or take so hard a journey upon me, but only your Majesty's state and preservation, as it so seemed not only to myself but to all your Majesty's most wise Councillors . Yet grievous this way is to me, that having left all, yea all that may be imagined, for your Majesty, you have left me for very little, even to the uttermost of all hard fortune . . .

"For all other matters, . . I trust there is no enemy able to charge me with any lack in service here, neither yet, Almighty God be thanked, with any ill success to your Majesty's dishonour, or to the hindrance of these countries But contrariwise, *from my first arrival, all within my charge hath been safely preserved, as well the people as the towns of seven Provinces, and there is recovered sundry forts and castles out of the enemy's hands, and divers overthrows hath been given him to the loss of at least five thousand of his men* . .

" . *these countries under my charge were not these many years so strong nor* [*in so*] *quiet state as they be at this day*. neither was the enemy so unable every way to annoy these countries as he is this day .

"*I have been a faithful servant both to your Majesty and to those you have commanded me to have care of*

"And my most dear and gracious Lady, . give me leave to have a little care for myself, seeing all my care and service here doth breed me nothing but grief and unhappiness, having never had your Majesty's good favour since I came into this charge "

Referring her for further matters of State to Sir Thomas Heneage, he begs to "return to my home service with your Majesty's favour."[1]

The Queen then commanded him to stay where he was.

On the 27th of May he had had cause to remonstrate with her anew; for, after sending him a "comfortable letter," she had again changed her mind.

He reminds her what her troops had achieved:

". in these parts we have now cleared the river of Rhine, taking the last fort the enemy had upon it, Berks Hoffe, all other Castles and holds which he had also in the Betawe, which is a larger and most fruitful country, we have likewise taken; and *not one enemy left within the whole circuit of that country* which is near as big as Hertfordshire, and environed with the great rivers of the Waal and the Rhine. . . .

"The winning of the two great forts which kept the rivers for the enemy hath encouraged many of the country people

"I have received even now word from my Lord Willoughby, that upon Tuesday, hearing of a great convoy going to Antwerp of four hundred and fifty waggons he went himself with two hundred Horse and four hundred Footmen, and met with them, being a thousand footmen, and set upon them, slew three hundred, took eighty prisoners, and destroyed all their waggons, saving twenty-seven he carried away for his soldiers relief[2]

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[1] Holog S P Holland 37 In extenso Cal IV pp 644-656 (Much garbled by Motley, "*United Netherlands*," I 450)

[2] See also "*A Briefe Report*" &c (1587) and E.E, p 164

"This is a notable piece of service, and puts Antwerp in danger of present revolt. . ." Leicester even hopes Antwerp may be brought to abandon the Spanish cause ". . . The enemy had taken a good while before my coming a place called Caysars Wort[1] toward Cologne. This day I have received word that it is taken again by the garrisons I have in those parts, and so the enemy hath not one hold between this and Cologne. And failing of Grave, as I doubt not of it at all, he is shut quite out of these parts and must go back again, which if he do, Nimeguen, Zutphen and Groningen will all soon yield up so it shall yet appear you have not sent in vain to the relief of those poor afflicted countries. . . . Thus have I troubled your Majesty overlong, but will never cease to pray for your long and happy preservation. . "[2]

Drafting the Queen's letter to the States, 15th June, 1586, required much ingenuity on Burghley's part, that the wording might satisfy her, and yet not do too much mischief to Leicester. She wished to acknowledge letters of the States seeking to excuse their "urging of our Cousin the Earl of Leicester into accepting a title of more absolute government" than she intended, "which you pretend to have proceeded of the abundance of the goodwill you did bear us, the great liking you had of our said cousin, and also of the very necessity of your estate . . ."

Though she accepted their apologies for acting in this matter without asking her permission, she considered that the "common cause" had little profit from Leicester's title. She nevertheless (inconsistently) required them to *"strengthen his authority in truth and substance"*

As rumours of her secret dealings with the enemy had been widely circulated, she adds, *"we do not deny that there have been sundry overtures both from Spain, and from the parts on that side the seas now held by the Prince of Parma, made unto us of peace,"* to which she had listened; but always on the understanding that only a peace to the liking of her afflicted neighbours would content her. The States General are to be assured, no matter what "forged reports" are in circulation, that she would never hearken to any pacification unless it were "accompanied by the common surety of us and these countries."[3]

She rebukes circulators of "malicious and cunning bruits" and "sinister conceits" which have led to misunderstandings, and refers them "both to our Cousin the Earl, and to the bearer of this letter" (Sir Thomas Heneage) who knew her mind.

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[1] Kaiserswerth

[2] Hol S P H VIII 50 4 pp Cal pp 677-679 First part (compliments and emotions), quoted by Motley (I 452) but all the important last part, reporting military success, omitted By quoting Leicester's personal expressions of affection for the Queen, and omitting his descriptions of the excellent work of the Army, it was easy to make him appear a failure as a General The editor of the Cal S P F XX (1921), Mrs. Lomas, draws attention in general terms to Motley's tendency to "alteration" and "variation" It should be added that the nature of the omissions is in many cases enough of itself to reveal the prejudices of that eloquent but unreliable historian

[3] This letter to the States General in Latin, Greenwich, 15 June 1586, 7 pp (S P Holland VIII 88) with a draft in English, Ib 89) much corrected by Burghley, is dated by him "15 May 1585" (slip for 86) No 90 Ib reduced to 5 pp, in English, further corrected by Burghley, redated June, 1586. This is printed nearly in full, Cal. S P F XXI (II), pp 15-17, 1927.

On the 28th June, Sir Philip Sidney was on his way to meet his wife at Flushing, as shown in a letter to his father-in-law:—

"Right Honorable.

"My cousin Sr Richard Dyer is gone home with resolution and leave to bring over 500 men The gentleman is very valiant and supplies all other things with diligence . . I beseech you both countenance and favour him.

"I am presently going toward Flushing whence I hear that your daughter is very well and merry

"I know not how long this letter shall be in the way and therefore I will no further trouble you at this present but with my most hearty prayer for your long and happy life.

"At Utrecht This 28th of June, 1586.

"Your humble s[on],

"PH SIDNEY"[1]

The exigencies of the service did not permit Sidney to stay long with his Lady. Leaving Errington as his Deputy, he went to the aid of Leicester, who was beset by difficulties on all sides. The persistent rumour that the Queen of England was negotiating a peace underhand, and that she had merely sent her troops as a subterfuge to cover her machinations, had the inevitable result of causing many of England's nominal friends to attempt placation of Spain. Many efforts were made to sow discord between the Dutch, English, and "Almaynes"; but a letter of Leicester to Maximilian Bax, Marshal of Ems, shows with what a combination of firmness and courtesy the Governor-General strove to overcome the troubles.[2]

"Noble and dearly beloved friend,

"We understand that some in your jurisdiction have secretly obtained (or are seeking to obtain) safeguards from the enemy, and that you are on good terms with these very people Such communications must not be allowed So it is our earnest desire that you shall carefully gather information about this, and write to us by the post what you have discovered

"God be with you, noble and beloved friend

"Written at the Hague July 21st, 1586

"Your good friend,

"R LEYCESTER"

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[1] Holog slightly damaged by damp S P. Holland VIII 131 (old notation f 316) Addressed [To the] "right honorable [Sir Fra]ncis Walsingham principal Secretary" Endorsed "28 June 1586 From Sr Phillip Sidney Recommendeth Sr Richard Diar to heue the levieng of 500 men for the Low Contries"

[2] Orig (in French,) in possession of Messrs. Maggs Bros Translation supplied for E.E. by the late Mr Maggs.

NOTE· "THE EARL OF OXFORD'S ANNUITY, 26th June, 1586."

A remarkable discovery was made, in 1926, by Captain B. M Ward, late of The King's Dragoon Guards, during a general examination of unpublished Privy Seal Warrants. viz. that at Greenwich, on the 26th June, 28th Elizabeth (1586), at the very time the Queen was complaining bitterly of the "charges" in the Low Country War, she conferred upon Edward Earl of Oxford an annuity of "One thousand pounds good and lawful money of England . . . during Our pleasure "[1]

When we consider that Oxford held no official position,—except that of Great Chamberlain which was hereditary and unpaid,—that he was never a Privy Councillor, and never commanded any naval or martial expedition, the question is why did he receive £1,000 a year, when the salary of the Principal Secretary of State was only £100 per annum, and that of the Master of the Horse £66 8s 6d , and even Lord Henry Howard, so late as 1599, though in high favour, received only £200 a year from the Crown out of the confiscated estates of his nephew Philip Earl of Arundel?[2]

Captain Ward discovered that not only did Lord Oxford draw the annuity as long as Queen Elizabeth lived, but it was continued by James I, till Oxford's death in 1604

During the eighteen years Oxford was thus pensioned, he seldom appeared at the Court, and only attended the House of Lords on fourteen occasions His inherited dignity of Lord Great Chamberlain entailed duty solely at Coronations.

Captain Ward judges that the £1,000 a year cannot have been Secret Service money Nor was it a personal allowance for the education of the children, for they were brought up at the expense of their grandfather Lord Burghley[3] Captain Ward therefore infers that the allowance was first given to help to meet the expenses of Lord Oxford's Company of Players. In the anonymous *"Arte of English Poesie,"* 1589, usually attributed to Puttenham, but believed by Captain Ward to be the work of John, Lord Lumley,[4] the phrase occurs, *"For Tragedy the Lord Buckhurst and Master Edward Ferrys do deserve the highest price the Earl of Oxford, and Master Edwards of her Majesty's Chapel, for Comedy and Enterlude"*, and Francis Meres in *"Palladis Tamia,"* 1598, also stated that *"The best for Comedy among us be Edward Earl of Oxford . "*[5]

The late Sir Sidney Lee's idea that actors were only under the "nominal" patronage of noblemen, was a misapprehension. By Statute Law they could be licensed solely if enrolled

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[1] *"The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford 1550-1604, From Contemporary Documents. By B M Ward, London, John Murray, Albermarle Street"* 1928. pp 257-263.

[2] Cheyney, *"A History of England,"* (1588-1603) Vol I p 50, quotes Manningham's Diary as alleging the Lord High Admiral and the Chief Secretary to be worth respectively a little more "and little less" than £3000 But Manningham was nothing to do with the Court, and much of his diary is mere gossip The figures for salaries, when taken from official sources, are so small that obviously Queen Elizabeth did not intend politics to be a lucrative profession

[3] Ward, p 262, inference from Latin inscription on the Burghley memorial in Westminster Abbey, translated by the late Colonel B R Ward, C M G , R E

[4] *"Review of English Studies,"* July, 1925

[5] See Ward, pp 264-282 for many interesting details.

as noblemen's servants Sir E K. Chambers, in his four substantial volumes on "*The Elizabethan Stage*," has made manifest from many documents that the Stage in actuality, and not by any mere convention, owed its dignity and prosperity to the aristocracy [1] To this question of how Lord Oxford spent his time, and why he received this mysterious allowance, we will recur at later date The numerous dedications to him of books of many different sorts prove nothing beyond that he took the open-handed interest in literature which his position as one of the old nobility then made obligatory [2] As to the theory of Professor Lefranc, in "*Sous le Masque de William Shakespeare*" (1919), that the Earls of Derby and Oxford were connected with the authorship of Shakespeare's plays, Captain Ward (p. 328) states "controversial matters that cannot be definitely settled by contemporary documents" are outside the scope of his biography of Lord Oxford. He believes, however, that some of the lesser dramas, such as those of Lyly, may have been produced under Oxford's superintendence, and possibly with his collaboration; and that the £1,000 a year is most likely to have been conferred for services in connection with the stage, after it was recognised as a potent element in education.

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[1] See also E E, Vol V, p 51 n 3

[2] "*Euphues & his England*" was dedicated to Lord Oxford, and (in 1580) "*Zelanto The Fountaine of Fame*," &c, "*Given in a freendly entertainment to Euphues*," &c, "*By A(nthony) M(unday) Seruant to the Right Honorable the Earle of Oxenford*" (Bodleian Douce, M M 476)

The undernoted are also dedicated to him (all printed in London)

1571 "*The Psalmes of Dauid and others*," &c, Translated by Arthur Golding. B M. 3090. bb 20

1573 "*Cardanus Comforte translated into Englishe*" (by Henry Bedingfield) "*and published by commandment of the right honourable the Earle of Oxford*" B M C 38 d 4

1574 "*The Composition of the most excellent and pretious Oil called Oleum Magistrale First published by commandment of the King of Spain*," &c, &c Translated by George Baker, Chirurgeon B M C 31 a 17

1575 "*Golden Epistles Morall, Philosophicall, and Diuine*," from Latin, French and Italian By Geffrey Fenton Dedic to the Countess of Oxford

1567(7) "*The newe Iewell of Health*," of Dr Gesnerus Trans by Geo Baker, and dedic to the Countess of Oxford

1577 "*The Staffe of Christian Faith*" from French into English, by "Iohn Brooke of Ash neare Sandwiche" B.M. 3901.b 19

1579 "*The Mirrour of Mutabilitie*" selected by Anthony Munday, out of "The Mirrour for Magistrates"

1588 [1st ed 1584] "*Diana or The excellent conceited Sonnets of H C augmented with divers Quatorzains of honorable & lerned personages*" (The Quatorzains are not in this edition, B M C 39 a 60, nor in the other editions of Constable's Sonnets; B M. 1078 g 121, and 11611 c.15; nor C 99 f 16, nor in the 1818 reprint)

1588 "*A Banquet of Dainty Conceits*" B M Huth, 38

1599. "*The practise of the new & old Physicke*"

1599 "*The First Set of English Madrigals*" John Farmer. B M K 3. m.7 (first published 1591).

1603 "*Grenes Carde of Fancie*" B M. 95 6.19

THE

ENGLISH

Secretorie.

VVherein is contayned,

A PERFECT METHOD,
for the inditing of all manner of Epi-
ſtles and familiar Letters, together with their
diuerſities, enlarged by examples vnder
their ſeuerall Tytles.

In which is layd forth a Path-waye, ſo apt, plaine
and eaſie, to any learners capacity, as the like whereof
hath not at any time heretofore beene deliuered.

Nowe firſt deuiſed, and newly publiſhed by
ANGEL DAYE.



Altior fortuna Virtus.

AT LONDON,
¶ *Printed by Robert Walde-graue,*
and are to be ſolde by Richard Iones, dwel-
ling at the ſigne of the Roſe and the
Crowne, neere vnto Holburn Bridge.
1586.

Title-page of first edition of an erstwhile popular but now very rare quarto, teaching th arts of familiar and formal correspondence.

Dedicated to Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, with his Arms and motto on verso

The author had been bound apprentice for twelve years from Christmas Day, 1563, to stationer (printer and publisher) in London, Thomas Duxsell *See overleaf for other work from the same pen*

"FOR THE INDITING OF ALL MANNER OF EPISTLES"

A Spanish admirer of England has emphasised that in Elizabeth's day a love of learning united high and low [1]

It is typical of the universal passion for the graces that a London prentice, son of a parish clerk, aspired to compile a "perfect method for the inditing of all manner of Epistles"

He recognised that a well or ill written letter might mark the turning point of a man's fortune

Characteristic also of the time is the cheerful confidence with which the book was dedicated to one of those who had least personal need of it,—"Edward de Vere, Earle of Oxenford, Viscount Bulbeck, Lord Sandford and Badelsmere, and Lord Great Chamberlain of England" relying upon his "exceeding bounty."

Albeit Lord Oxford's infancy had been "Sacred to the Muses," and his "great and forward excellence" required no proclaiming, yet Day offered to his "curteous vew the first fruits of these my foremost labours," hoping that "your gentle acceptance may be an encouragement to my after endeavours," that they might be the "protected"

Presumably this appeal succeeded, for *"The English Secretorie"* was reprinted the following year, 1587, and again in 1592, and 1599, and three times reissued after Lord Oxford's death

In 1587 there appeared "At London, printed by Robert Walde-grave," a B L quarto called *"Daphnis and Chloe Excellently describing the weight of affection, the simplicitie of love, the purpose of honest meaning, the resolution of men, and disposition of Fate, furnished in a Pastorall, and interlaced with the praises of a most peerless Princesse, wonderfull in Maiestie and rare in perfection celebrated within the same Pastorall, and therefore termed by the name of the Shepheards Holidaie By Angell Daye Altior fortuna virtus"*[2] This was dedicated to Sir William Hatton, who had won his knighthood in the famous fight outside Zutphen, 22nd September, 1586

According to the D N B (article by A H Bullen, Vol XIV, p 230,) Angel Day was also author of *"Wonderful Strange Sightes seene in the Element and other places,"* no date, and of "a poem in six line stanzas *'Upon the Life & Death of the most worthy and thrice renowned Knight Sir Philip Sidney,' 4to 6 leaves."*

Neither are in the British Museum nor the Bodleian *"The English Secretorie"* is the only one of Day's works in B M, except some verses he prefaced to *"Nennio,"* a treatise on Nobility, 1595 which we will consider under date of issue

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[1] Alvaro Alcalá-Galiano, (Marqués de Castel Bravo), *"Isabel de Inglaterra y su tiempo"* (essay on Vols I to IV of *"Elizabethan England,"*) in *"A B C"*, Madrid, 28 May, 1935, p 32

[2] "Sold . in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Crane. 1587" (Huth, no: 37) Not in B M

" THE INTENTIONS OF HIS HOLINESS AND THE KING ? "

The English Catholics and Spanish assistance

Shortly after the victory of the Marqués de Santa Cruz at St Michaels, the Queen of Scots (29th July, 1582) had written to the Spanish Ambassador in London,

> " I do not know how to express my thanks for all your good offices and affection towards me and my affairs, especially for the promotion of the enterprise To the Catholic King, and all other Christian Princes if necessary, I will always acknowledge that the principal merit and praise in these negotiations belong to you "[1]

(This gratitude is an illustration of her character, not of his, for we shall see, later, how indifferent he was to her sufferings It was not her interests but solely those of Spain he had in mind)

> " I have fully considered your statement of the great tasks your master already has on hand," continued Mary, " but I am of opinion that our enterprise will be instrumental in frustrating a good part of those plans, or at least those of them that originate with people here, as indeed they nearly all do[2] So that when I bear in mind the old age of His Holiness [Gregory XIII,] who may be succeeded by another Pope of quite different views, the age of my good brother your King, whose affairs will never be in better condition than during his lifetime, my own continual indisposition, and the prospect of leaving behind me a son infected with heresy, the lack of men in Scotland if the Duke of Lennox abandons the government, the possibility of the Duke of Guise changing his mind, and the constant attempts made to weaken the Catholic party here, as has been done in Scotland, so that as time passes they may be less and less able to rise, I am extremely afraid that if we let this opportunity pass of re-establishing religion in the island, in face of the above-mentioned circumstances we cannot hope to recover such a chance I therefore beg you more earnestly than ever not to leave hold of the good work, but to promote the execution of it with all possible diligence "

At that time King Philip's main forces were required for subduing the Azorean resistance, and this was why, in 1582 and 1583, the " English enterprise " had been postponed[3]

As an eminent Catholic antiquarian in our own day attributed Queen Mary's worst misfortunes to her being no " judge " of the character of men,[4] we need to remember the heavy disadvantages under which she laboured, and ask ourselves who in captivity could have done better or so well as she in estimating the persons and probabilities?

Early in 1582-3 (28th February) she had deplored to Mendoza that she " received no advices for the last five months " from her ambassador[5] about the negotiations in France, Rome and Spain, respecting the " enterprise ", and so she was " ignorant of the present conditions thereof . . "

> " Even in Spain, I have been quite unable to get him to enter into communication with Sir Francis Englefield He will not endure the Bishop of Ross either (who has done me very great service),[6] or any other of my special agents . In order to forward my affairs I have had

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[1] Cal S P S III, pp 392-394
[2] English plans on behalf of Dom Antonio
[3] E E, Vol IV, pp 198-232, 294-304
[4] Fr J H Pollen, see E E, VI p 293
[5] Beaton, Archbp. of Glasgow.
[6] See E.E, Vol V, pp 29-31.

communication with my cousin M de Guise by an English gentleman named Morgan,[1] and although my Ambassador has done all he could to obstruct him, I have determined in future to communicate with my cousin only through this Morgan who has served me long and faithfully there" [in France] " I have therefore given Morgan orders to try and open up a correspondence with you, and I assure you he may confidently be trusted with the most important matters touching my interests"

After bidding Mendoza trust Morgan "as if it were myself," she added, as to Lord Harry Howard,—"I will write a word by Lord Harry to assure you that you may safely send by him any letters to me, . . . *but do not trust him with anything of importance*"[2] (Here is an instance of very astute instinctive judgment)

In the same letter the Queen shows herself aware that all depended, for her, upon the actions of Spain. The English Catholics were doubtful what to expect, and "until they know the foreign troops are embarked and on their way, there is no possibility of getting them to pledge themselves They say that in the last Northern Insurrection the fine promises given to them, and unfulfilled, were the cause of their destruction "

This, we have seen, was literally the case,[3] but it was courageous of the Scottish Queen to say so to Mendoza, and to state plainly that because of this bitter disappointment, the Catholics "consequently will make no engagement until they are quite sure of the intentions of his Holiness and the King"

On 15th July, 1583, shortly before the battle of Terceira, Mendoza from London wrote to King Philip about the jealousy between Spain and France, when both aspired to the domination of England He related how he had been dealing with the Queen of Scots "*in a way which will force her to cling to your Majesty's side,* and her adherents, Catholic and Protestant alike, to join you also,"[4] as the one "of whom they may be certain that his sole aim is to set her at liberty and establish the true faith " The Queen of Scots, after being freed, undoubtedly will "lean upon your Majesty's arm as her chief support, as you will have rescued her from her miserable state" Also because of the Queen Mother's anger against her, and the hatred of the Bourbons and Montmorencies towards her kinsmen the Guises, Mendoza told her she could depend less upon France than upon Spain

Actually it was the leaning upon Spanish support which was to bring ruin to her and her adherents, for King Philip (it must be reiterated) was no Knight Errant rescuing the distressed To him and Mendoza the deliverance of the captive Queen was merely a pretext for the conquest of England So not only had Mary the most resolute and ruthless opponents, but her allies were thinking

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[1] Described by Murdin, *State Papers* (1759), p 439, note a, as "a Welshman born" Educated "for a time in the University of Oxford, but in what House, unless in Oriel College or in New Inn, is not known After leaving the University without a Degree, he was taken into the service of Mary Queen of Scots, and by her made one of her Secretaries. His fidelity being great she sent him into France, and by her commission made him her Receiver of the Profits of her Dowry there, she being Queen Dowager of France . For a more particular account of him vid Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses,* p 263"

Morgan himself wrote to Queen Mary from Paris, 9 April, 1585, (Murdin, p 444), "I recommend to your Majesty my poor family and two brothers of mine, the one named Henry, who hath lovingly remembered me in this banishment, my other brother is a man of the Church, and prayeth for your Majesty wheresoever he be Rowland Morgan, Thomas Morgan, Edward Morgan, Edmond Morgan, Rice Morgan, and Thomas Lewes be the Gentlemen of my Name and Blood, which I recommend to your Majesty, being all well placed in their country, and I hope will some time serve your Majesty" (He recommends to her also "Francis Throgmorton's Wife and his only Child, and Thomas Throgmorton his only brother," and others)

[2] Cal S P S III, p 448.

[3] E E, Vol II, pp 21-40.

[4] Cal S P S III., p 493 By "Protestant" in this case Mendoza must mean "Schismatic" See E.E, Vol VI, p 288.

solely of themselves. And in 1586 (22nd July) King Philip had again impressed upon his Ambassador at Rome, the Conde de Olivares, that the Pope must not be allowed in his "zeal" to devise any other successor to the Crown of England than Philip himself.[1] Olivares had orders to try and throw the chief financial burden upon Pope Sixtus, "I am more bound to ensure my own dominions than to undertake such foreign enterprise ." Asserting that he already possessed enough both of reputation and territory, Philip added that he did not want men from Italy "If the Pope persists in offering troops" (instead of cash), "you will try and show him what a noise this would make, and how much easier it is to raise troops and fleets in Spain, under pretext of the Indies, than to send forces from Italy, of which the object would be public "[2]

[1] Cal S P S. III, pp 593-595.

[2] In revising in 1937 the ensuing section, written in 1923, it was found best to transfer some of the correspondence to Part IV where it bears directly upon the charges made against the Queen of Scots at Fotheringhay This is to save the reader from either carrying a number of points in memory or having to turn back and re-read

PART III.

"Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant."

CHAPTER 3

"THIS NOBLE NECESSARY SERVICE."

SECTION 7

"As thinges have fallen out in England."

(The hopes of Queen Mary of Scots; and the return of Drake, 1586).

"I have written to the Lord Harrye Howard to have a speciall Eye to your Majestys Service . . .

. . . as Thinges have fallen out in England since Leycester his Departure for Holland and Zealande, onless I be much deceaved the Lord Harrye shall have good Meanes to doe your Majesty Service."

Thomas Morgan to Mary Queen of Scots 1st March, 1585-6 *"State Papers left by William Cecil, Lord Burghley"* Published by Murdin, 1759

"The King of Spayne prepareth greatlye to the Sea, and principally to meete with Drake . . ."

The same to the same Paris, 29th May, 1586

"My very good lord, ther is now a very great gappe opened, Very lettell to the lyking of the Kyng of Spayne. . . . It restethe therfore in your wysdoms to consyder and in lyke sort to derecte spedelly what course we have to follow."

Sir Francis Drake "To the right honorable the lord high treasurer of Yngland . . . with sped." 26th July, 1586. Holog: Lansdowne MS. 51. f. 27

"You cannot imagine how the news of these exploits of the Earl of Leicester, and Drake, lifts up the hearts of his Majesty's enemies all over Christendom."

Mary Queen of Scots to Don Bernardino de Mendoza, 27th July, 1586 (Cal: S.P S Simancas, III, p 597)

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS AND CHARTLEY, 1585—1586[1].

The Chartley of today is not the Chartley of Mary Queen of Scots, but the present Hall is on the site of that former manor house, which was destroyed by fire in 1781 The deerpark still exists, and the ancient ruined castle on the hill Built by Ranulph de Blundeville, Earl of Chester, circa 1220, the fortress was dismantled prior to Queen Elizabeth's accession · a comfortable dwelling having been erected in a more sheltered spot This black and white house, built round a large courtyard with a fountain in the centre, had wooden gables, tall chimneys, and many windows Familiar through a sketch made in Charles II's day, and engraved for Plot's *History of Staffordshire*, at first glance it looks singularly unsuited to be used as a prison But being built on a small island, it could be closed against egress or ingress, as desired

The first suggestion to move Queen Mary and her suite from Tutbury to Chartley seems to have been early in the autumn of 1585[2] Queen Elizabeth—entertained there in 1575 on her way from Kenilworth,—recalled it as "strong, in that it is enclosed with water" Sir Amias Poulet was bidden to inspect the place and "certify" how he liked it His report was highly favourable He added grimly that the indisposition of the Queen of Scots, and "the great pain in her legs" were "no small advantage to her keeper"[3] But Robert Earl of Essex, Viscount Hereford, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, on hearing what was contemplated, wrote in dismay to his Staffordshire neighbour Richard Bagot, "I received news that Sir Amias Poulet was at Chartley to prepare for the Scots Queen whereupon I sent with speed to the Court, to some who moved the Queen" to admit that the choice was unsuitable Lord Burghley, Leicester and Walsingham all reassured Essex that the order should be countermanded[4] But Poulet demurred to any change of plan He had already caused wood to be cut at Chartley in readiness, and he was aggrieved that Essex still objected, and (as Poulet phrased it) dealt "hardly" [harshly] with him Queen Mary's gaoler had no more sympathy with the feelings of Essex than with those of the captive So Essex, 28th September, 1585, from London, appealed "to the Honble my very good grandfather, Sir Francis Knollys, Treasurer of Her Majesty's Household "[5]

> "Sir, I am so much moved to think that my poor and only house should be used against my will, that I make all the means I can to prevent any such inconvenience . .
>
> And one reason which may persuade [for] it to be spared is that it is the only house of him which must, if that be taken, live at borrowing lodgings of his neighbours "[6]

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[1] No Elizabethan drawing or plan of Chartley is known, but a sketch of the ruined Castle, made in 1813 by W Carter, was engraved for *"The Beauties of England and Wales,"* from the original in the William Salt Library, Stafford This Library also possesses a sepia drawing made in 1777 by W Boutley, "showing much more than is now standing of the castle and walls" Other sketches, including "a remarkable oak tree in Chartley Park," are to be seen also in the 5th volume of *"Staffordshire Views"* in the Salt Library ff 47, 48, 50, 51, 54 (Information from the Librarian, Miss H L E Garbett, William Salt Librarian, 10 Aug 1937) It was originally intended to print a list of all the MS references to Chartley, from September, 1585, until Queen Mary was taken to Fotheringhay But much space being needed for elucidation of the main issues, minor details about Chartley have been deleted There exists material to reconstruct the daily life of the captive in many particulars during her ill-starred sojourn in Essex's house This was partly done a generation ago by Fr John Morris in *"The Letter Books of Sir Amias Poulet"* (1874)

[2] 13 Sep Cal M Q of S VIII, p 102 [3] Cal 24 Sep · pp 109-110

[4] Blithfield (Bagot) MSS *"Earls of Essex,"* Devereux (1853), Vol I, p 173 Walsingham's letter to Poulet is dated 26th September, from Nonsuch (the Court). The Ferrers of Chartley peerage came into the Devereux family through marriage with Anne, sister and heir of the last De Ferrers, Lord Ferrers (descended from the Ferrers Earls of Derby). See E E. Vol. III, p 168

[5] Bodleian Tanner MS 78, 12 Devereux, op cit, pp. 173-174.

[6] Only house in England In Wales he owned Landfey (Lamphey Palace), but his uncle George Devereux was living in it.

Essex was so annoyed at the prospect of "foregoing of my house," and at "the spoil of my wood, the marring of my little furniture, the miserable undoing of my poor tenants," that he besought his "good friends to be a mean to the contrary, and as chief of them your honourable self, whose help herein I humbly crave. Thus wishing you the continuance of honour and increase of happiness, I commit you to God . ."

Knollys sent this letter on to Sir Francis Walsingham, and added in the margin,

"Master Secretary, I pray you move Her Majesty to have some compassion on the miserable poor Earl of Essex, who hath but one house freely his own, from which he cannot well be barred to look into it And it is no policy for Her Majesty to lodge the Queen of Scots in so young a man's house as he is 5th of October.

Yours assuredly,

F KNOLLYS"

This seemingly produced the requisite result, and Essex as General of the Horse embarked on the 1st of December with Leicester, for the War, under the impression that his home would not be any further molested But, as was to happen to him often again during his series of martial services abroad, whenever he was expending his resources in what he conceived to be the interests of his Sovereign, his absence allowed of other influences being brought to bear upon her On 12th December, Poulet wrote to Walsingham that within eight days Chartley would be ready And while Essex at the Hague was reviewing the Horsemen raised largely at his own expense,—the Queen of Scots was transferred to Chartley, Poulet complaining that she had so many books and so much apparel that at least four carts were required for her luggage[1] At Chartley she was to plan her escape, and to receive overtures from Anthony Babington, whose hopes were inspired by confident expectation of reinforcements under Alexander Prince of Parma on behalf of mighty Spain

[1] Cal. VIII, p. 170.

PART III.

"Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant."

CHAPTER 3

"THIS NOBLE NECESSARY SERVICE."

SECTION 7

"As thinges have fallen out in England."

(The hopes of Mary Queen of Scots; and the return of Drake).

WHEN Queen Elizabeth had been increasing the difficulties of her General by making overtures behind his back to the Prince of Parma, the English Catholics at home and abroad were hoping the time was near when Parma would invade England, and, with or without the help of France, deliver and enthrone the Queen of Scots.

To this end they had been persistently working, believing their spy system to be secure, when actually the espionage of the Privy Council was by far the more elaborate.

In 1585 the partisans of Queen Mary had contrived that one of their spies named Poley, should become "Sir Philip Sidney's Man":[1] but when Sir Philip departed to the war, Poley had next been "placed with the Ladye Sidneye, the Dowghter of Secretarye Walsingham."[2] This was to enable the plotters "to picke out many Things to the Information of your Majesty" through Poley being 'ordinarylye" in Walsingham's house.[3] In the same letter, Morgan, from Paris, tells how

"Leycester hath taken the Government of Hollande and Zealande in his own Name, . . . *whereupon she of England stormed not a little, terming himm by the name of Traytor and Villayne, now in his absence And there be Instruments that helpe to pushe forward this Subject to his Ruine* "

Morgan wishes himself at liberty and leisure "to put any helping Hande to theyrs, to to some good Office against Leycester " He was ready with his "*poor Advise and*

Thomas Morgan to Q Mary of Scots, 28th January (no year but apparently '85-6) *State Papers*, Murdin, p 480 Letter intercepted

[1] There was a second Lady Sidney, Barbara, the wife of Robert Sidney, hence the need to specify which lady.

[2] The same to the same "the last of March" Ib: p. 499.

Labor to give Leycester all dishonour, which will fall uppon him in the Ende with Shame enough, though for the present he be verye stronge in the Felde and in the Towns of that Countrey . . "

The best fighting men being thus away, Morgan remarks that "in the olde Time" Scotland would have taken the opportunity to make "some Incursions and Warres upon England."[1]

Remembering the assertion of the Spanish Ambassador to King Philip that Lord Henry Howard was most useful because of his close acquaintance with the Ladies of the Privy Chamber, it is no surprise, fifteen years later that Morgan informed the Queen of Scots that he had written "to the Lord Harrye Howard to have a speciall Eye to your Majestys Service, for I understand that he hath convenient Libertye . . . . as Thinges have fallen out in England since Leycester his Departure for Hollande and Zealande, onless I be much deceaved the Lord Harry shall have good Meanes to doe your Majesty Service, and therefore your Majesty shall doe well to revive your Intelligence with him."[2]

Morgan was "crediblye informed that the Countess of Arundel has good intelligence" with Lord Harry.

As Lord Harry was her husband's uncle, Lady Arundel naturally was well acquainted with him; but nothing has been found to show that she was ever concerned in, or allowed to know about, the schemes for dethroning Queen Elizabeth. Her correspondence with Lord Burghley is that of a great lady, who says what she means, and would scorn to play a double part. Both she and Arundel were of frank and open natures. But Morgan's tone is patronising:

"The Erle Arundell is now a sound Catholike, and his Affliction, which followed in short time after his Reconciliation to the Catholike Churche, hath without Doute done him infinite Good . . . . "

Some people, continues Morgan, believe that Lord Buckhurst—recently appointed to the Privy Council—is a "Catholike in his Harte; but if he be, he dissembleth the matter egregiouslye." Nevertheless his son and heir "is married to the sister of the Erle of Arundell that now is, and by that alliance Buckhurst" is made "neare to that Family, by meanes whereof the Lord Harrye may worke moch with Buckhurst." So he did, in the end; but not till long after Queen Mary's day.

Lord Henry Howard, taking warning by his nephew's fate as a prisoner in the Tower, never openly declared his adherence to the Church of Rome until

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[1] March 1st Murdin, pp 494-495

[2] Ib p 488 The correspondence of the Queen of Scots with Spain, published in 1896 in "*Calendar of Letters and State Papers relating to English affairs preserved principally in the Archives of Simancas,*" (ed Martin A S Hume, Vol III, 1580-86) includes various references to Morgan The same volume contains particulars of King Philip's secret payments to Lord Henry Howard for his services as a spy upon Queen Elizabeth, and while showing the sufferings of the English Catholics, shows also how Mendoza was plotting against Queen Elizabeth and hoping for her downfall, and how Lord Henry was playing a double game

he was on his deathbed. He thus for a long lifetime escaped paying the fines for recusancy, and kept the trust of those whose confidence enabled him to intrigue against them. Leading a pleasant life, he armed himself only against political danger. He was one of the very few able-bodied noblemen who in an age of warfare never volunteered for service in the field, nor raised troops at his own expense, nor served any cause—not even that of Spain—except with tongue and pen. To play off one country against another, to stir up mischief while affecting to be of a pacific disposition, to rhapsodise about Queen Elizabeth, flatter and cajole her, adhering secretly to her foes, was the system under which he prospered. While hoping to undermine Walsingham's policy he had dedicated a book to Walsingham with most exuberant expressions of devotion.[1]

In the same letter wherein Morgan reports to the Queen of Scots his own appeal to "the Lord Harrye," he alleges that "Sir Philip Sidney hath been a good while sithence in Germanye to draw some from thence by the Instigation of England to assist the French Huguenots." (Actually it was over nine years since Sidney had been in Germany). Morgan mingles gossip with politics:

> "Eyther Rawley, the Mignon of her of England is wearye of her, or else she is wearye of him, for I heare she hath now entertayned one Blount, Brother of the Lord Mountjoy, being a younge Gentleman whose Grandmother she may be for her age and his"

But again Morgan is wrong, for Raleigh was then high in favour.[2] Morgan descants upon

> "Christopher Blount who is for the present in Hollande with Leycester He hath some Charge and Creditt where he is, and his Meaning is for the service of God and the advantage of the King of Spaine . to do great service to all Christendome by ayding the Expulsion of Heretikes"

This, unless there were two Christopher Blounts, proved a vain hope; for Christopher Blount, Lord Leicester's Master of the Horse, was to become a notable fighter against Spain: and when he was to die at last on the scaffold in 1601, it was

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[1] See E E, Vol II, pp 148-150

[2] Some months after this, Mendoza from Paris (28 Nov 1586) reported to King Philip a talk he had had with Pedro de Sarmiento, lately a prisoner in England "Walter Raleigh has granted him his liberty . he arrived here poor and destitute," etc, etc "He has given me an account of English affairs He also repeated to me what had been communicated to him by the Queen, the Lord Treasurer, and Walter Raleigh *It will be advisable for your Majesty to grant the latter the favour he requests, thanking him for the willingness he expresses to be of service to your Majesty*" Mendoza adds that Raleigh, "entirely possesses the Queen's heart, and can consequently divert the fitting out of pirates, the machinations of Don Antonio and other things that are constantly causing expense to your Majesty and delaying your designs"

Mendoza's gossip is by no means to be taken as gospel For this and other references to Raleigh see Cal S P S (Simancas) III (1896), pp 501, 520, 532, 538, 668-9, 520, 532, 536, 539, 543, 552, 599, 661, 666, 623, 669.

How much the above assertions as to Raleigh's Spanish inclinations may be worth is a matter on which it is best not to offer a verdict. As it was Raleigh's fate more than thirty years later to be sacrificed by James I, to please the then Spanish Ambassador, his modern biographers have not taken seriously this alleged underhand traffic with Spain in 1586 Unauthorised dealings with the enemy in time of war were high treason Penalty, death But it seems most unlikely that Raleigh genuinely intended service to King Philip (If anything of interest is discovered in this connection, it will be added in a later volume)

to be for trying to aid Leicester's stepson who was known far and wide as the active opponent of King Philip. But Morgan in 1586 wrote as though he held Christopher Blount at his commandment:

> "If I find it confirmed that Blount (my Lord Mountjoy his brother) is still in the good Grace of her of England, . . . I thinke it shall be necessarye to revoke Christopher Blount out of Holland to serve your Majestys Turn, by meanes of the Amitye and Creditt he hath with the other Blount . "[1]

Morgan on the same day composed a "Letter to be sent to the Contesse of Arundell from the Queen of Scottes"[2] and enclosing it to Queen Mary, superfluously informing her of the proper "superscription" for a Sovereign to an English Countess. On the 8th of April he had again pressed that the Queen of Scots should "enter into Intelligence with the Countess of Arundell." His remarks imply that Queen Mary had not yet done so.[3] But her regard for her informant and adviser appears in a letter to Sir Francis Englefield to whom she states that "poor Morgan" is "the chiefe and almost the onlye finder out and director of all the Intercourse of Intelligence I have had these many yeares past."[4]

Though Morgan thought it was better for her not to know everything he and others intended to do, his letters show how she was the centre round which the Catholics were invited to rally. And Charles Paget in the early summer wrote to her that the time was opportune for a rebellion, "*the Erle of Leycester having all the best of the Protestantes Captaynes and Soldiers with him.*"

Not realising that Parma was kept far too busy to leave the Netherlands, Paget hoped the Prince would land suddenly at "Newcastle, Hartlepool, or Scarborough," and astonish and "wonderfully vexe" Elizabeth. Manifestly he had no idea how fully informed her spies kept her; for he felt sure "that she will never so much as dream of that course, but thinke whatsoever is intended will be performed from Spayne . . . . the Spanish Embassador hath already advertised the King of Spayne in general termes what Ballard came for."[5]

This was Father Ballard, who counted upon the North of England rising anew in rebellion if assured of co-operation from the Prince of Parma.

> "The Spanish Embassador telleth me he hath a warrant to deliver 4,000 crowns to your Majesty, and the rest of the 12,000 shall come after . . .
>
> "The Lord Paget hath had but very colde Entertaynment at Rome. I pray God he may spede better in Spayne . . .
>
> "*The King of Spayne prepareth greatlye to the Sea, and principally to meet with Drake, who was in St Domingo and hath taken great Treasure*
>
> "I have told the Spanish Embassador that if the King of Spayne do not apply himselfe this yeare to do some what agaynst the Queen of England, it will be to[o] late
>
> "Sent from Paris the 29th of May Your Majestys most humble and faithful Servant during my Life to command "[6]

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[1] Murdin, pp 501-502 [2] In extenso, Ib. pp 503-506 [3] Ib p. 505

[4] "At Chartley, the 20th of May" (no year, 1586) *State Papers*, ed· Murdin, p 514

[5] Ib p 517.

[6] (Charles Paget) Ib: p. 519. As these letters are now at Hatfield House, the inference is that they were found when Queen Mary's papers were seized at Chartley See E E VI, pp 275-277

On the 4th of July, Morgan wrote to Queen Mary again, and (correctly on this occasion) described Leicester as hoping for German reinforcements: also that "she of England" had "lately sent" money to pay the troops.

Morgan urges upon the Scottish Queen that "*it is yourselfe that must by your owne penne talk to His Holinesse, and to the Kinge of Spayne*"; in which case he hopes King Philip may "enterprise at this present" on her behalf. Although Drake's exploits had impeded Philip, now is the time to take action, while *England "is left the more naked" because of "Leycester his Departure to the Low Countries."*

"But here, which is a pityfull Case," Elizabeth "hath entered into a League with the King your Sonne, which is wickedly founded and therefore like to have the less Continuance . . . ."[1]

One of the heaviest sorrows of Mary was the realisation that her son was in the hands of those who used him against herself. But the confirmation of previous negotiations with Scotland was highly pleasing to Elizabeth's defenders; and "From ye Court of Richmond," the Earl of Rutland wrote to his "very good Lord and Cosen the Erle of Leicest[r] her Ma[ts] Lieutenant Generall of all the forces in the Low Countreys,"

> ". . . . I dou[b]t not But y[t] y[r] Lp is advertised of the League concluded on betwixt Her Mat[te] and y[e] King of Scotts, wherein her Mat[te] Employed me w[t] others . . . ."[2]

This was the more important in that the Catholic preparations for a rising in the North were being renewed. On the 9th of July, Morgan had reported to the "Queene of Scottes" that he had "told Mendoza erstwhile . . . . *that yourself would be able with the King of Spayne's lively Assistance, to make a good Partye both in England and Scotland to embrace any good Enterprise* . . . .

> "Leycester his Affayres in Holland go still backwardes, thankes to God; he lost not long since a Towne called Grave . . . . and now agayne . . . . another Towne called Venloz and 2,500 Englishmen."

It was not Leicester who lost Grave, but Baron Van Hemert who betrayed it; and for Venlo Leicester was in no way responsible;[3] nor had he lost 2,500 men. But Morgan, though often deceived in military matters, came near the truth when he added that Queen Elizabeth "would profit the King of Spayne's service" by the animus she had been showing against her own General.

> "Sir Philippe Sidney his Wife is by this Time gone to her Husbande who is with Leycester . . " continues Morgan. "The Earle of Arundell, as I am informed, might have

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[1] Ib p 524. See E E, V, pp 215, 293-294

[2] Holog. Unpublished Longleat Dudley MSS, Vol II f 22[b] a short note, wishing him "successe in all y[r] honourable Affayres This 7 of August 1586 Y[r] Lp assured friend and loving kinsman E Rutland."

[3] "*A Briefe Report*," (1587), p 32.

Liberty if he would consent to go to theyr Churche, which I heare he yet constantly refuseth, though my Lord Harrye Howarde, and other his Friends, labor with the sayd Earl to go to theyr Church heretical!"

"Don Antonio," continues Morgan, "is still in England, and is writing a Book to the Queen, and would have her Support of 10,000 Men to assist him to enter into the contest with Spain"

(No such troops were to spare; so Antonio had three more years to wait before he could attempt to deliver Portugal from his cousin Philip.)

Queen Mary herself gave clear warning that unless the Pope and the King of Spain meant to take decisive action on her behalf it would be futile for the English Catholics to try so to do. What she says is eminently practical, and also shows her anxiety lest they might suffer for her in vain.

". . . . if ever the Pope and the King of Spayne have had Intention to provide for this State, the Occasion is now offered very Advantageous . . . ." were her words to Paget: "There resteth only to pursue, so hotly as can be, both in Rome and Spayne their grawnt of the Support requisite, as well of Horsemen and Footemen as of Armour, Munition and Mony."[1]

But she deprecates the habit of "drawing Thinges to length by artificiall Negotiation and vaine Hope, as have been done hitherto."

"I have written to the sayd Catholikes that before they have sufficient Promise and Assurance of the Pope and the King of Spayne for accomplishing of that which is required of them, nothing be stirred on this side. For otherwise they shall but overthrow themselves without any Profitt."

Having seen a battle lost at Langside, she understood the risks vividly, and was by no means so confident as Morgan and Father Ballard that the Prince of Parma would be able to "spare as much as were necessary for the sayd Enterprise on this side." Her solicitude for her followers contrasts favourably with what Burghley had privately described as the "absurd and perilous" behaviour of Queen Elizabeth in relation to Leicester.

The spirit of the imprisoned Queen even in time of acute suspense, was ever valiant; and she rallied from her recent illness. On the 27th of July, from Chartley, in comment upon a rumour of her death, untruly alleged to have been circulated by Lord Burghley, she wrote to Morgan that she was not yet "sett so lowe but that I am able to handle my Cross-bowe for killing of a Deare, and to gallop after the houndes on Horseback, as this Afternoone, I entende to do within the Limittes of this Park; . . . . and co[u]ld otherwhere, if it were permitted.[2]

"And could otherwhere if it were permitted." Behind these words are all her long-baffled hopes of a return to the opportunities and powers of her rank. And who shall say what might not have come to pass if King Philip had sent

[1] Murdin, p 531. [2] Ib: p. 534.

his Armada against England while Drake was far distant and Leicester and the Army in the Netherlands. That Burghley and Walsingham were looking anxiously for the home-coming of Drake is manifest from their own letters. And at last, in that same month of July wherein Queen Mary was hoping for succours, Sir Francis Drake anchored in Plymouth, in the *Elizabeth Bonaventure*, back from victorious raids upon his Spanish Majesty's dominions. Jubilantly he wrote to Burghley:

"Right honorable,[1]

"Having yet in remembrance your Honour's wish in your last letter that the receipt of my letter, which I had written unto your Honour a little before, had been dated rather from Cape Finisterre than from Plymouth, I cannot omit to give your Honour now to understand that as we then lacked no possible diligence which might any way belong to the handling of so great a dispatch, so let me assure your good Lordship that I will make it most apparent unto your Honour that it 'scaped us but twelve hours the whole treasure which the King of Spain had out of the Indies this last year the cause best known to God, and we had at that instant very foul weather"

The previous September, Burghley hoped for Drake to waylay and capture the Spanish-Indian fleet, then due to be returning to Spain via the Azores. (And though Drake had failed of that purpose, there was no fear of Burghley casting blame unjustly upon him; for Burghley well understood that the sea was a "wide place," upon which two fleets could be afloat at the same time and not come within sight of each other.)

The manner of Drake's letter shows so good an understanding between him and the Lord High Treasurer, that a persistent present fallacy as to Burghley's dislike of the Navy in general and Drake in particular is the less accountable. But the fundamental mistake of Corbett in alleging that "a state of war did not exist" between England and Spain in 1586 (he seemingly having forgotten that Leicester as Lieutenant-General was in the field for no other reason,) caused him in 1898 to suppose he required to apologise for Drake at this juncture.

"My very good Lord," continues Drake on the 26th of July, "there is now a very great gap opened, very little to the liking of the King of Spain. . . These gentlemen, the bearers hereof have been actors [in] and eye witnesses of all that is passed, and can fully certify your honour of all particulars better than can be written; for which cause I thought it most meet to send them as also more especially to declare the present estate of our ships, munition and men, being as I judge, of no small value to perform any good service if her Majesty have occasion of future employment It resteth therefore in your wisdoms to consider and in like sort to direct speedily what course we have to follow."

Anything less anticipatory of a cold reception it would hardly be possible to conceive from an Admiral to a Privy Councillor.

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[1] Orig Holog· Lansdowne MS 5 f 57 Issued in facsimile among publications of the British Museum. Spelling modernised supra, Drake's orthography being distracting "Venester" for Finisterre, and "hooll" for whole, etc

Strictly speaking the letter should have begun "My singular good Lord" or "Right Honorable My very good Lord" not merely "Right Honorable" as to a Privy Councillor who was only a Knight "Your Lordship" not "your Honour" would have been suitable· but force of former habit would account for this, Drake's acquaintance with Burghley having begun prior to his elevation to the peerage

"And further I humbly beseech your good Lordship to afford us your honourable good favour that some monies may be had with some expedition for the present dispatching of the poorer sort of men, whose travail and long absence desireth a speedy dispatch. The sum requisite for this dispatch would be no less than six thousand pounds, and in lieu thereof there shall be either by land or sea sent to the Tower, or where or when your Lordships shall take order, bullion for it

"And so, humbly taking my leave of your good Lordship until such time as your Lordship shall command me to wait on your Lordship, when I shall give your Honour something to understand, I hope in God to your Lordship's good liking.

"From aboard her Majesty's ship the Elizabeth Bonaventure this 26th July, 1586

"Your Honour's most bounden,

"FRA DRAKE"

The "corsair" view of Drake, re-advanced in 1915 by Sidney's latest and best biographer,[1] would have collapsed had the last lines of this letter been observed; for pirates did not go to sea in Her Majesty's ships: nor is any seaman a "pirate" when his expedition is authorised by his Sovereign, nor is there anything "piratical" in the Queen's maritime champion descending upon the King of Spain's ports and putting the inmates to ransom, when the same Queen's Lieutenant-General was conducting a war by land against the forces of the same foreign Sovereign.

It is not necessary to recapitulate details of "*The Famouse West Indian voyadge made by the Englishe fleete of 23 shippes and Barkes, wherein were gotten the Townes of St Iago, St Domingo, Cartagena and St Augustines, the same being begon from Plimouth in the moneth of September 1585 and ended at Portsmouth in Iulie 1586*",[2] for none—not even those who call Drake a "corsair"—dispute his courage, gallantry, vigour "dash and daring." What is now misunderstood is the relationship of his expedition to the war as a whole.

Burghley and Walsingham had been counting on the return of Drake with rich treasure, for the soothing of Queen Elizabeth's humours and the calming of her annoyance as to the "charges" of the war by land. The ransoms obtained by Drake at St. Iago, San Domingo, and other ports he captured, had a salutary effect upon "the Queen and her nature." This voyage is one of the exploits to which Fulke Greville—in his Life of Sir Philip Sidney—is less than just: the explanation of his disappointment being that the brilliant achievements of Drake represented only part of what Sidney had planned. Sidney's hope, when he undertook to associate himself with the expedition, had been not merely to raid the King of Spain's ports in the New World, but there to have established a permanent foothold for England.[3]

Drake with the means at his disposal in 1586 could not possibly have done

[1] Professor M W Wallace, "*The Life of Sir Philip Sidney*," Cambridge, 1915

[2] Inscription with the map of the Atlantic Ocean, by "B(aptista) B(oazio)" with plans of S Iago, S Domingo, Cartagena and St Augustine "*A summarie and true discourse of Sir Francis Drakes West Indian Voyage*, the whole course of the said Voiadge beinge plainlie described by the pricked line" (In the B M).

[3] "*Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney*" See E E., Vol V, pp 277-279.

more than he did; but Greville's slightly disparaging tone breathes of sad regret that Drake and Sidney had not together carried out their oft-discussed plans for curbing the power of Spain. But Englishmen in general were satisfied with Drake's achievements; for even though these exploits did not add one acre to the Queen's territories, they greatly enhanced her prestige; as popular versifiers were eager to proclaim:

"Through scorching heate, through coulde, in stormes and tempests force,
By ragged rocks, by shelfes and sandes this knight did keepe his course:
By gaping gulfes he pass'd, by monsters of the flood,
By pirattes, theeves, and cruell foes, that long'd to spill his blood:
That wonder greate to scape: but God was on his side,
And through them all, in spite of all, his shaken ship did guide,
And to requite his paines *By helpe of power divine,*
His happe at length did answere hope, to find the golden mine."

It was claimed that Drake is much more of a hero than Jason; because whereas Jason had Medea to "inchaunt" the dragons who guarded the golden fleece,

"hee of whom I write, this noble-minded Drake,
Did bring away his golden fleece while thousand eies did wake."

Those who seek "forreine landes" and those "that live at home and cannot brook the flood" are alike admonished to

"Geve praise to them that passe the waves, to doe their countrie good:
Before which Sorte, as chiefe, in tempest and in calme,
Sir Francis Drake, by due deserte, may weare the golden palme."[1]

Previously the Queen of Scots, 27th July, 1586, from Chartley had written to Mendoza,

"You cannot imagine how the news of these exploits of the Earl of Leicester and Drake lifts up the hearts of his Majesty's enemies all over Christendom, . . .

[1] By Geoffrey Whitney, one of Leicester's warm admirers, who dedicated to him *"'A Choice of Emblemes and other Devices Englished and Moralised And Divers newly devised,"* Plantin 1586 See E E Vol VI, pp 23-24 This work is in two parts, the Preface "to the Reader" of Part I being dated "At Leyden in Hollande, the IIII of Maye, MDLXXXVI," and the dedication to the Earl of Leicester written "At London the XXVIII of November Anno 1585" As verses in *"The Seconde Parte of Emblems,"* address as "Knight" Sir Hugh Cholmondeley who won his title in the battle of Zutphen, 22 Sep 1586, it seems that the praise of Drake in the same Part II must have been added after his return home in July of that year

This "Seconde Parte" (which begins with a woodcut of Lord Leicester's badge, and verses to him and to his brother Ambrose Earl of Warwick,) ends with another tribute *"Ad Illustrissimum Heroem D Robertum Dudlaeum, Comitem Lecestriae"* etc, etc, and rededicates the work to him

"I here doe ende this simple book,
And offer it unto your Lordshippes sighte,
Which, if you shall receive with pleasinge looke,
I shall rejoyce and thinke my labour lighte
And pray the Lorde your honour to preserve,
Our noble Queene and Countrie long to serve"

I will freely confess to you that I myself was so discouraged at the idea of entering into new attempts, seeing the failure that had attended previous ones, that I have turned a deaf ear to several proposals that have been made to me during the last six months by the Catholics."[1]

Although this letter has been in print in English for forty years, the words "exploits of the Earl of Leicester and Drake" escape notice; "standard" writers having assumed that Leicester was "no General," that Drake was "a pirate," and that England and Spain were not at war in 1586. It is therefore the more remarkable that Leicester's achievements, forgotten or distorted today, could in his own time be assessed correctly even by so bitter an enemy as Mary Queen of Scots.

On 13th August, from Paris, Mendoza wrote to King Philip,[2]

"There are many letters from London dated 3rd instant, giving particulars of Drake's arrival in Plymouth with 32 ships and a great treasure, and this is the news that is being spread all over the country. The merchants are bringing in an enormous number of hides, and they are already encouraged by Drake's return to talk about fresh expeditions. They say the Queen will make him a Lord."

[1] Cal S P S III p 597 (and in Labanoff) [2] Ib. p 611

To RICHARD DRAKE *Eſquier, in praiſe of Sir* FRANCIS DRAKE *Knight.*



THROVGHE ſcorchinge heate, throughe coulde, in ſtormes, and tempeſts force,
By ragged rocks, by ſhelfes,& ſandes: this Knighte did keepe his courſe.
By gapinge gulfes hee paſſ'd, by monſters of the flood,
By pirattes, theeues, and cruell foes, that long'd to ſpill his blood.
That wonder greate to ſcape: but, GOD was on his ſide,
And throughe them all, in ſpite of all, his ſhaken ſhippe did guide.
And, to requite his paines: *By helpe of power deuine.*
His happe, at lengthe did aunſwere hope, to finde the goulden mine.
Let GRÆCIA then forbeare, to praiſe her IASON boulde?
Who throughe the watchfull dragons paſſ'd,to win the fleece of goulde.
Since by MEDEAS helpe, they weare inchaunted all, Ouid.
And IASON without perrilles, paſſ'de: the conqueſte therfore ſmall?

From Geoffrey Whitney's ' Choice of Emblemes," *Second Part Published at Leyden, 1586*

This woodcut, headed by Drake's motto, depicts the new crest granted to him in 1581, in honour of his circumnavigation voyage (1577-1580) See EE Vol IV, pp 99-100

But a strange mistake was made in 1870, in Henry Green's "Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers" *Marvellously learned in the bibliography of Emblems, Green was so absorbed in literature that he neglected history, and so mistook Drake's crest for Whitney's special invention,—*

"One of Whitney's finest Emblems, in point of conception and treatment peculiar to himself, one of those 'newly devised,' founded on the sentiment 'by the help of God'" (p 413, and pp 414-415) *"In this Emblem we may note the girdle by which Drake's ship is guided may it not have been the origin of Puck's fancy in the* 'Midsummer Night's Dream'. *'I'll put a girdle round the earth in forty minutes'?" &c (This is part of an unconvincing argument that Shakespeare derived ideas from Whitney).*

APPENDIX

DRAKE AND SPAIN, 1585—1586

One of the most dramatic chapters of Corbett's "*Sir Francis Drake*," Men of Action Series, ndon, 1898, "The Dragon loosed," treats of Drake's descent on Vigo, and attack on Santiago (Cape erde Islands), and describes how he surprised San Domingo in Hispaniola, despoiled it, and put it to nsom, and appeared as suddenly before Cartagena,—destroying the shipping, capturing the town, and acting a heavy ransom

While it would hardly be possible to overrate Drake's skill and daring, the pity is that Corbett variably underestimated the strength of Spain, and also had made up his mind that England was t at war in 1586[1] He treats the above exploits as the adventures of a "corsair." While (p 99) entioning Drake having "hoisted his flag at Plymouth on the *Elizabeth Bonaventure*," Corbett esumably did not realise this as a Royal ship, for, after enumerating the forces, he added, "No such ivateering squadron had ever been seen before" The word "privateering," besides being inapplic-le, is an anachronism It did not come into the English language until the middle of the following ntury Whereas we have seen how Drake in 1585 was commissioned "Generall of Her Majesty's avy,"[2] Corbett says that "far and near the seas were swarming with English privateers"

This is followed (pp 112-113) by the assertion that Drake's deeds "changed the destinies of irope" in 1586, and "stemmed the tide of the Spanish Empire," etc, etc, "whirling into oblivion undred intrigues and bending the prestige of Spain like a reed" Actually the "intrigues" were doubled But Drake's words, "There is a very great gap opened, very little to the liking of the King Spain," are expanded by Corbett thus —

"The limitless possibilities of new-born naval warfare had been demonstrated, and the lesson startled Europe like a revelation An unmeasured force was added to statecraft, and a new power had arisen The effect was immediate Men saw the fountain of Spanish trade at England's mercy, they knew how narrowly the Plate fleet had escaped, and a panic palsied Philip's finance

"Parma was appalled With his brilliant capture of Antwerp[3] he had seen himself on the brink of that great exploit with which he hoped to crown his career, and now instead of a host armed at all points for the invasion of England, he saw around him a broken army it was impossible to supply

"In Germany the Protestant princes raised their heads, and seeing dawn at last, began to shake off the lethargy into which despair had plunged them England was wild with joy Burghley himself was almost startled from his caution and cried out with half a shudder that Drake was a fearful man to the King of Spain"

However sincerely Corbett believed all this, it is historical romance rather than history Neither ilip nor Parma showed personal discomposure, nor was Parma's army "broken," nor had the Protestant princes" been inert,—the Elector of Cologne was even then on active service under Lord icester,—nor was Burghley "startled" by what he had calculated upon and waited for

Neither Drake nor the Privy Council in 1586, assumed Spanish power to be collapsing For ough King Philip had incurred losses in "gold and gear" and in ships, and England had gained itimate loot and an increase of glory, Philip was not deprived of any territory. Drake's expedition, ough most valiant, and, within its chosen limits, successful, was not a conquest but a raid

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[1] E VI, p xxxii [2] E E. Vol V, pp 279, 281-284.
[3] Which had taken him over a year; less "brilliant" than persevering E.E. Vol V, pp. 269, 275

The laurels of England's greatest seamen will not be withered by setting his career in the actual world of his time, and not in this imaginary region of a "half"-shuddering Burghley, panic-stricken financiers and a paralysed Spain Corbett did lasting service by interesting our public in maritime history, and we all in our youth have enjoyed his writings. But, in matters of war and diplomacy, the first principle for a retrospective historian should be to try and ascertain the real character of both sides in a contest Otherwise his conclusions will be fair to neither Corbett continues

"But so tumultuously was the great epic now hurrying to its catastrophe that Drake could not be spared for a moment from the scene In the midst of the ovation with which he was received, the great Babington Plot was disclosed. It was known that Philip by a combined operation from Lisbon and the Netherlands had intended to invade England the moment he heard Elizabeth had been assassinated, and many believed he would persevere in spite of Babington's failure and Drake's triumphant return The imprisonment of Mary Stuart for her complicity in the plot was followed by a threat of war from France"

But Queen Mary had already been nineteen years imprisoned, and she utterly denied "complicity" in the murder plot Far from "a threat of war" from France at this juncture, the French remonstrances were worded without any such implication The invasion by the Duke of Guise had been no open "threat" but a secret, the success of which was to depend upon surprise The intention was discovered only by means of intercepted correspondence [1]

"Nobody could tell what Scotland would do," says Corbett On the contrary, the treaty made by Elizabeth in 1585 had been amplified in July, 1586, and she knew very well what Scotland would and would not do [2]

Corbett deplored that Drake did not receive any new honours in reward for his services of 1586 "Peerages and pensions the Faery Queen kept for her carpet knights," he says, forgetting that the Earldoms she had conferred were not upon carpet knights but upon her Lord High Admiral, and her Marshal of the Army for suppressing the Northern Rising [3]

After picturing Drake chafing and champing at not being allowed to dash off and "deal another stroke at Philip's trade," Corbett describes Elizabeth as having "turned once more to her 'little pirate'" It seems sadly ironical that Drake's warmest admirer in the 19th century pursued methods of research so inadequate that he did not ascertain Drake's official position in the enterprise of 1585-86, nor notice that the Queen of Scots and the Ambassador of Spain both alluded to the work of Drake and of Leicester as two parts of the same great war.[4]

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[1] E E Vol V, pp 33-39 [2] Ib. pp. 293-294.

[3] Though Sir William Cecil, 1st Lord Burghley, had been knighted "on the carpet," he had previously fought as a volunteer in the battle of Musselburgh (E E Vol. I, p 166, and note 1) Earldoms conferred by Elizabeth were Warwick, 1561 (restoration of a forfeited title), Leicester, 1564, (to former Master of the Field Ordnance), Lincoln, 1572, to Lord Clinton, Lord High Admiral, Essex, revived for Walter, Viscount Hereford, Marshal of the Army (E E Vol II, pp 156-159, 167-168), Nottingham called out of abeyance in 1597 for Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, Lincoln's successor as Lord High Admiral.

[4] Ante, pp 153-154 Sir Julian Corbett's death before the publication of *"Elizabethan England"* is much to be regretted for this History would have furnished him with the materials requisite for revising and expanding his *"Sir Francis Drake,"* 1898, *"Drake and the Tudor Navy,"* 1898, and *"The Successors of Drake,"* 1900 all of which contain fundamental mistakes as to the character and circumstances of Philip II, and of the Spanish Navy. As the English Calendar of Simancas MSS had reached Vol III by 1896 it is the more surprising that Corbett did not realise the necessity for studying Spanish affairs from Spanish sources. But the present writer, in pointing out Corbett's misapprehensions both by sea and land (E.E IV, p 106, V, pp 5-6, 110; 199, n. 2, VI, pp xxxii), does not wish to imply that Corbett was ever intentionally unfair, or that he would have hesitated to correct his injustices, had he been aware of them as such.

THE CHILDHOOD OF ALEXANDER FARNESE.

who succeeded his father as DUKE OF PARMA shortly before the English Cavalry, "so few against so many," repulsed his troops outside Zutphen, 22nd September, 1586

From the picture by Parmigianino in the National Museum at Naples

(Photograph, Alinari, Naples)

Notice the statue of Fame in the background, and the goddess Bellona kneeling at the young Prince's feet, while he, clad in armour, sits on the Globe, and holds in his hand prophetically the baton of Lieutenant General

Lord Burghley's private idea that the Prince might be alienated from the service of Spain, through ambition to place his son on the throne of Portugal (F F Vol V, pp 11), was one of the few miscalculations of that astute statesman

Educated in the history and arts of war almost from his cradle, and brought up with Don John of Austria and Don Carlos, Alexander of Parma was to be from first to last inviolably faithful to the King of Spain. His enmity to Queen Elizabeth was therefore inevitable

Although chronologically this picture should be set more early in the series, it has been reserved for the time when English troops were facing the Prince, whom Queen Elizabeth imagined would negotiate a peace, when actually his operations in the Netherlands were intended as a prelude to the conquest of England

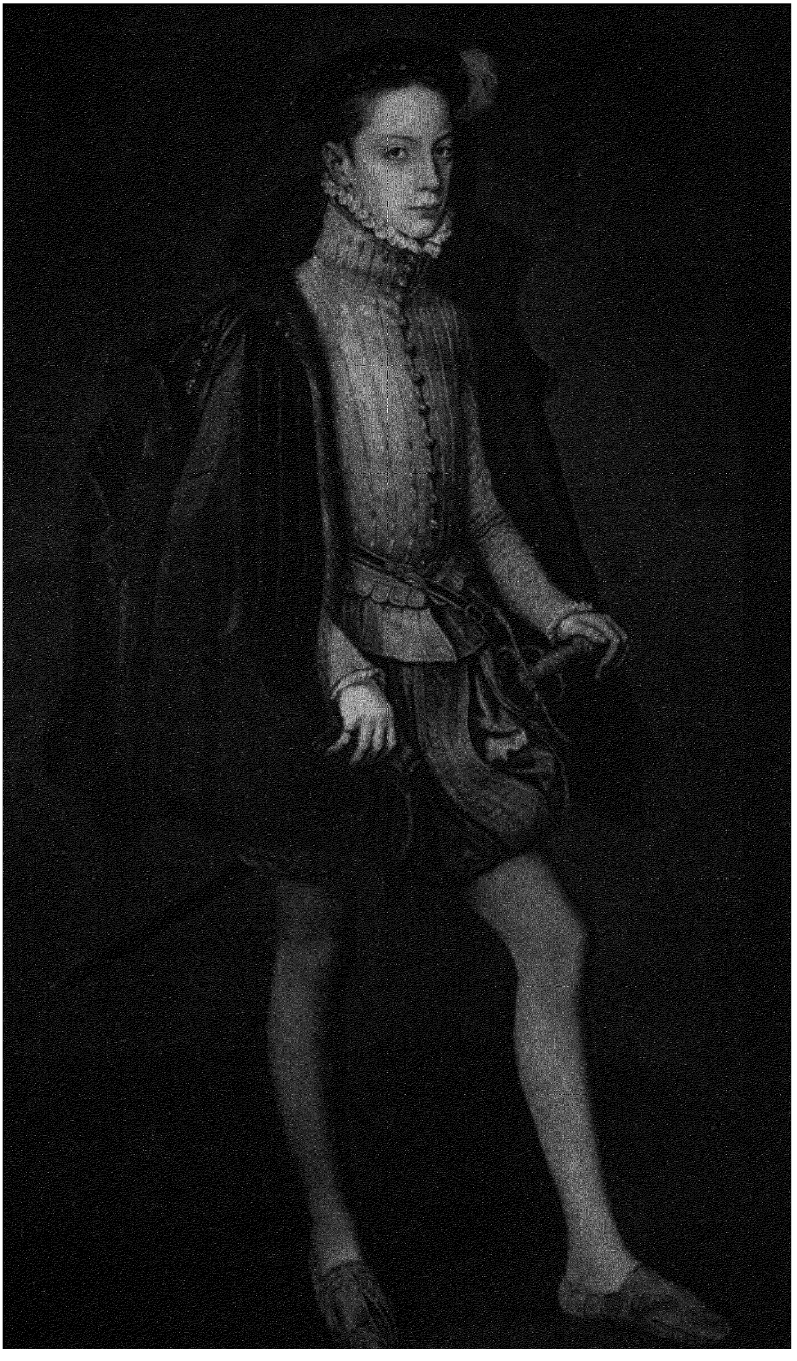


ALEXANDER FARNESE, PRINCE OF PARMA,

in early boyhood. From the original by Antonio Mor (or Moro) now at Parma

(Photograph, Alinari Parma No 15598)

So far as can be ascertained, this picture has not hitherto been reproduced in England



PART III

"Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant."

CHAPTER 3

"THIS NOBLE NECESSARY SERVICE."

SECTION 8

"Glorie, Renowme, and Fame."

(Strenuous Deeds of Queen Elizabeth's Champions, May to August, 1586).

AT the time of Drake's joyous home-coming, Sir Philip Sidney's mother Lady Mary was in London. A few weeks previously she had been suddenly widowed.

At the end of April, 1586, Sir Henry Sidney on a visit to Worcester, was taken ill. He who had fought in many wars, and was noted for his patient endurance of hardships, died on the 4th May, at the Bishop's palace, of the effects of "an extreme cold": for "whose death there was a great moan and lamentation," especially in Wales where he had been Lord President for twenty-six years. He was not quite fifty-seven.

Four times Lord Justice and thrice Lord Deputy of Ireland, he had suppressed the rebellion of Shane O'Neil; quelled an insurrection of the Butlers, and "the commotion of the Erle of Clanricard and his two graceless hopelost sonnes Shane and Vlicke Bourke . . . ," as his secretary Molyneux expressed it.[1] Sympathy for Irish rebels is the last thing to be expected from Elizabethan Englishmen; but Sir Henry took pity upon Clanricarde's youngest son, and he regarded himself always as the friend of Ireland.

"He devised that the remoter provinces should be governed by Presidents . . . . whereby the poore might be delivered from the wonted exactions and tyrannies of the [Irish] Lords . . . . " He had also divided Ireland into shires; and increased the revenue by duty upon wines.[2] Finding Dublin Castle "ruinous, uncleane and filthie," he had repaired it and instituted a dignified way of living there.

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[1] Elder brothers of Richard subsequently Lord Bourke, next, Lord Dunkellin, ultimately Earl of Clanricarde, of whom more later

[2] *Continuation* of Holinshed's Chronicle, anno 1586, published 1587 (Ed. 1808, Vol. IV, p 869-879 gives detailed appreciation of Sir Henry's career)

"He builded the bridge of Athelon [Athlone] over the river of Shenin [Shannon], arched it with masonrie and freestone, strong wall and battlement." He also began the fortifying of Carrickfergus in Ulster, rebuilt the "town of Athenrie in Connaught," strengthened Athlone with gates and fortifications; and made a gaol at Mullingar. As for surveys of "the soil, havens, ports, promontories, necks of lands, and creeks, . . . from the north to the south, from the east to the west, no one man . . . . had seene more, or observed so much."

As all this was for the strengthening of English power, it was a form of progress which some of the Irish regarded with dismay. But how Sidney rescued the Irish Public Records from destruction we have already noted; and historians will for ever owe him a debt of gratitude.[1]

He was exceedingly prompt to attend to suitors; and was an "affable, gentle, courteous, constant and honourable master to his servants."

Six hours sleep sufficed him at night, and he could endure "continual laborsome toile and travell." Hard work did not distress him, but "unkindness and ingratitude" caused him much grief. Molyneux is too discreet to hint that it was the Queen who distressed him most

"So friendlie, courteous and sociable was he with all his assistants, colleagues and companions, as they entirely loved and greatly honoured him." Whether in small matters or great, his sincerity and plain dealing could always be relied upon; and he was naturally good-tempered, "pleasant and verie merrilie conceipted; yet withal grave, wise, discreet, expert, readie in matters of councell, . . . a good antiquarie, skilful in storie,[2] pedegree, and armes", also in languages; and in precedents and civil policy; and ready to learn further from any man who could teach him.

His intention for Ireland was "to have erected some publicke school . . . which by degrees . . . might have grown to an universitie . . . ." and he meant to have given yearly out of his own means to further this plan[3] But he was not able to accomplish it, for he had "spent his years, sold his lands, and consumed much of his patrimonie" (to the disadvantage of his heirs) "without anie great recompense or reward." Being Lord Deputy of Ireland and Lord President of Wales at the same time, he had to pay a substitute to act for him in Wales while he was ruling Ireland.

Himself always overworked and underpaid, his career had been a perpetual battle against difficulties; and neither to him nor to his wife, nor to Sir Philip, did the Queen show any particular favour.

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[1] E E Vol VI, p xxix

[2] history

[3] The first Irish University, Trinity College, Dublin, was not founded until five years after Sidney's death An unpublished MS. plan of the building is forthcoming in E.E under date.

Successful on behalf of the Crown both in peace and war, Sir Henry used to "comfort his souldiers" by calling them his "good friends and loving companions." If he could not provide for them as adequately as he wished, "he would bestow upon them so good countenance and honourable kind speeches" that they were heartened to continue their work. His knowledge of Ireland "was far greater than [that of] any one man of our time," says his secretary. Few had served the Queen more loyally, at heavier cost to himself. The debts under which he had so long laboured were entirely due to his shouldering of official burdens in Her Majesty's and his country's interests. But whereas the Plantagenet dynasty had been wont to remit forfeitures and treat with magnanimity even the widows and children of executed traitors, Elizabeth Regina's harshness to the dependants of those whose lives and energies had been devoted to herself was sometimes astounding.

Lady Mary, long in a broken state of health, was little fit to endure either the shock of losing her husband or the financial difficulties consequent on the loss.

On August the 9th, three months and four days after Sir Henry's death, "died the most noble, worthy, beneficent and bounteous Lady, his only spouse and most dear wife, . . . she left the world loved and honoured by all who knew her and the renowned house whereof she was descended."[1]

Dying at Walsingham House in London, her body was taken to Penshurst to be buried near that of her husband.[2]

In the middle of a campaign, Sir Philip Sidney could not be spared to go to England for the funerals of his parents, nor to prove his father's Will, nor attend to any of his personal affairs and interests. He was urgently needed at the front; in that fresh troubles were arising, not merely from the proximity and reinforcement of the enemy but from the difficulty of keeping a semblance of harmony between the Low Countrymen and the German and English Allies.

Although the supreme military and civil command was combined in the person of the English Governor-General, much tact had to be exercised so that the young Prince Maurice of Nassau and his vigorous but quarrelsome brother-in-law Count Hohenlohe, as well as the Prince Elector of Cologne, could be kept on good terms

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[1] Molyneux, *Continuation* of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, 1586-7 Ed 1808, vol IV, p 879

[2] 1586 "Aug 22" The Parish Clerk of St Olave's Hart Street recorded that "The oulde Ladye Sydney, widdowe, named Marye, was carried from here to be buried at Penshurst in Kent by" (meaning beside) "Sr Henry hir husbande, but pd all duties here both to the pson, the pishe" (parish) "and the officers of the Church" *Burial Register of St Olave's, Hart Street* (Registers, Harl Soc p 12)

As St. Olave's was "over against" Walsingham House, it is from the above entry we find that Lady Mary Sidney was with the Walsinghams at the time of her death The "Oulde Ladye Sydney" is the clerk's way of distinguishing Lady Mary, Sir Philip's mother, from young Lady Sidney, Frances Walsingham.

with England and with each other. That Sidney's combined firmness and charm enabled him to aid his uncle the General in many a difficult moment, we know from Leicester himself, and from Fulke Greville who heard it from Leicester.[1]

Sidney was painfully aware of the cross-purposes, jealousies, and antagonisms between those who should have been working as with one mind. It was not only persons of quality who were difficult to deal with; the "common sort" were by no means as martial as they ultimately became. The Prince of Parma had been able to take Venlo on the Mase, because *"the townesmen in short space yeelded to him" even "whiles the soldiers stoode at defence of the walles."*[2] Moreover "Bomell, Arnham, Anersfort, Deventer and the rest of Guelders and Overissel stoode in tickle termes likely to yeelde if the enimie came neere them."[3]

One of the worst anxieties was that many of the towns nominally under Leicester's jurisdiction were waiting to see which side would win, and his supposed Allies in certain instances were keeping up communications with the Spaniards.

A week and a day prior to the treacherous surrender of Grave by Baron Hemert, a notable exploit of Peregrine, Lord Willoughby d'Eresby had delighted the English. Hearing that the foe was bringing "a great Convoy of victual and other provisions" out of the "furder parts of Brabant" to Antwerp, on the 23rd of May, he had intercepted them "about eight or ten English miles" from their destination. His force was only three Companies of Foot and three Cornets of Horse (about 300 Horse in all); whereas the convoy consisted of 400 wagons, escorted by soldiers and country folk "to the number of a thousande." But Willoughby took them by surprise: "slue" or "put to flight all," and carried off mares, waggons "and such other things as he thought fit;" burning what he could not take with him.[4]

"The E. of Leicester in the mean time having placed strong garrisons in al his frontiers" endeavoured anew to gather "a sufficient armie" to meet Alexander of Parma in the field. Reinforcements of Foot were demanded from England, and some troops were even sent "from Scotlande." "Germaine horses . . . with a regiment of Almaine footmen, and a thousand pyoners" were also promised.

Leicester, meanwhile,

> "sent into Flanders under the conduction of Count Maurice of Nassau and of his Nephew Sir Philip Sidney, about two thousand Footmen, which with great secrecy and valure surprised the Towne of Axel, with foure strong fortes neere about it; slue and put to flight foure bandes of footmen in the Towne, had rich spoyle, brought away five Ensigns of the enemie, left Coronell Pyron with eight or nine hundred soldiers in garrison, and came their way . "

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1 *"Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney,"* (ed 1906) pp 22-23, 93

2 *"A Briefe Reporte,"* 1587, p 13 3 Op cit· pp. 11-12.

4 *"A Briefe Report,"* 1587, p 11 Statement confirmed by correspondence of Leicester's officers. On the 29th May, Lord North wrote to describe to Lord Burghley how "My Lord Willoughby hath defeated four hundred waggons laden with victuals coming to Antwerp, killed 300 of the boors, and taken eighty of them . . ." S P. Holland VIII 56· and Cal S. P F. XX, p 687

Thus the laconic "*Briefe Reporte.*" Leicester wrote to Walsingham that "y^r^ sonne Philip with his bands had the leading and entering of the town."[1]

The night march on Axel was subsequently, in England, credited chiefly to Sidney's initiative,[2] and in the Netherlands to Maurice of Nassau. Leicester's letter to the Queen, July 8th, 1586, shows that it was first Count Maurice's idea, though its execution was aided by Sidney, and facilitated by Leicester himself. About the 29th of June, Leicester received information from Count Maurice, by a trusted messenger, "that he had an enterprise in hand for the surprise of a town called Axel in Flanders, desiring it to be well and secretly handled, and would have none acquainted withal but my nephew Sidney. And at a certain day it must be attempted, or else they must stand a long while for a like opportunity."

"I could not but like well of the young nobleman's desire," says Leicester, "and gave his man good hope." provided there should arise no just cause for disapproval. Treachery had been so rife elsewhere, that he arranged for Sir Philip Sidney to confer next with Count Maurice. As Sidney was satisfied, Leicester sent "four or five hundred Foot" to Bergen-op-Zoom, with "some Horse," to give the enemy reason to expect activity in that quarter and distract attention from the intended scene of action.

Despatching Count Hohenlohe to Gertrudenberg, Leicester himself went to Bergen and stayed two days. In one night he shipped five hundred men from Bergen, Lord Willoughby accompanying them.

> "I sent my nephew Sidney another way with 500 men more, and all to meet at their day, which was Tuesday last, before Flushing, upon the water that it might be less noted. And so speedy and short success had they, as the next morning by two oclock before day they were masters of the town. My nephew Sidney with his bands would needs have the first entry, as the messenger told me .... and though there were five hundred soldiers within the town, and came to the repulse before half were entered, yet were they all overthrown and most of them killed in the streets," with no loss to the victors.

The allied troops soon took "four or five forts and sconces between the haven mouth and the town." This "fair large town" Leicester hoped to victual before the foe came up in strength, and he at once sent to reinforce it.[3]

Sir Thomas Cecil the same day (Utrecht, 8 July *stilo anglicano*) wrote to his

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[1] 8 July 1586 "*Leycester Corresp*" p 337 et seq and pp. 350, 369

[2] "*Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney*," ed 1906 p 135

[3] Holog 3 pp S P Holland IX 9 (Cal· pp 75-77, nearly verbatim)

In the P R O (S P Holland, IX) is a sketch map, water colour, (27 x 18 inches) docketed in a contemporary hand "The Scituation of the towne of Axell (2)4 July 1586" Signed J Timmermans, 1586 Extends from "Merlimon" and "Polder van namen" to "Phelipyne Polder," from "Zuyedorp" to "Zuyt-en-lant."

father of "the happy enterprise of the surprising of Axel, *the fruits of his Excellency's journey to Bergen-upp-Solme.*"

Cecil relates how the forces came up about midnight; and how twenty men swam the town ditch, passed the rampart, killed the sentinel and the Corps-du-Guard who kept the gate: and then opened the gates and let in some three thousand men. Captain Pyron (Governor of Terneusen,) "was the first that entered the town, with the Dutch Companies, Mr. Knolles, governor of Ostend, with my Lord Willoughby, the second Company, and Sir Philip Sidney with the third Company" drawn out of Flushing.[1]

The garrison was of German mercenaries, with only two Spaniards, one of whom was taken prisoner and put to ransom; but except this officer and a few others, all were slain. Cecil remarks that this victory was the more satisfactory after the disasters at Grave and Venlo.

The next step was to try and make the Prince of Parma raise the siege of Neuss; for which purpose Cecil offered "to draw my own Company, and certain out of other bands in the Brill, which are very good shot, . . . I mean myself to be at the service both with my Foot and Horse bands . . . ."[2]

On the same day Queen Elizabeth wrote a long letter to Alexander of Parma, in reply to letters "which your Excellency has sent us by a certain Agostino Grafigna, accompanied by one William Bodenham." She commends His Excellency's pacific intentions, but rebukes Grafigna and others for their audacity in having represented her as "seeking a treaty with the Catholic King," who "has requited our good offices in so quite contrary a manner . . . ." The Queen's object is "to free our ancient neighbours from misery and slavery", and she objects to rumours being spread that she would make peace irrespective of the liberty and safety of her allies. Her intention is to defend them from "perpetual ruin and captivity"; wherefore "very great wrong" has been done to her by the peace reports:

> "For such is our compassion for their miseries that *in no manner will we allow their safety to be separated from our own, knowing how the two depend upon each other . . Nevertheless you may be persuaded that if any reasonable conditions of peace should be offered, . . we shall no less willingly accept them," if they be compatible with "the peace and safety of Christendom, of which, in these times, we who are Princes and Monarchs, have chiefly to think . . . ."*[3]

From the Hague on the 21st of July, Sir Thomas Cecil deplores to his father

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[1] This differs slightly from the foregoing

[2] Holog 1¼ pp. S P Holland IX 10 Cal 77

[3] Italian Copy 2½ pp S P Flanders I 93 Trans Cal: pp 78-80, with enclosure, Statement by Grafigna to the Lords of the Council Ib. 93[a] And 94 is apparently an unfinished draft of the Q 's letter, more strongly worded than the other Ital 2½ pp Abstract, Cal p 80

the "delays caused by factions,"—"that which we conclude overnight is broken in the morning,"—and he announces the loss of Neuss, bravely defended by the Governor, Cloete, but "won by assault with great slaughter . . . . all within put to the sword," before it could be relieved.[1]

Five days later Lord North sent home particulars he heard as to Neuss being "wonderfully battered and assaulted, and most nobly and notably defended." On Friday the 15th July, the Prince of Parma began to batter with thirty-six cannons, and kept this up all day: "for he had his charges of powder ready in bags, and by them milk, vinegar, and all other necessaries to cool the pieces" (so that they could be quickly re-loaded). By midnight he had made a breach, and on Saturday morning at daylight ordered a general assault. Eight assaults were made, and the town so "manly defended," the Governor Cloete being most resolute, that some three thousand of the enemy were slain, and one thousand five hundred of the defenders. Cloete fought until he was disabled by five wounds, and carried to his lodging. At this juncture the Prince sent and offered him honourable conditions of surrender.

"He answered that he had wedded himself to that town and to his honour; and for his life, it was but servant to them both. He was resolved as he had lived there, so he would be found dead in the same place."

Meanwhile two traitors (Frenchmen) "slipped out," went to the Prince, and revealed to him that despite Cloete's defiance there were but 300 men left in the town able to fight, "so that with another assault it should be his own, and with little loss."

Cloete, however, was resolved the Prince should gain little, so he ordered that upon the next assault received, the town should be set on fire. "which was done accordingly. The Prince, notwithstanding sent to the walls to parley whereon the whole company came to the breach" to hear his terms.

> But, it was alleged, he "caused all his battery pieces to be charged, and suddenly shot them off *in the time of the parley*,[2] and made a horrible slaughter of the men. In the neck thereof he followed with the assault and entered the town with ease, and slew all the men and many women."

Parma entered at one end of the breach, and the three Archbishops, (of Metz, Treves and Cologne,) came in at the other. The Spanish and Italian soldiers "took Cloete, wounded as he was, some say without the privity of the Prince of Parma, and first strangled him, then smeared him with pitch and burnt him with gunpowder."

"Thus with their holiness," adds North in supreme disgust, "they made a tragical end" of the Governor's "heroical service." To an Englishman it seemed

[1] Holog 2 pp S P Holland IX 43 Cal pp 97-98
[2] This was not true, as North subsequently learnt E E p 169

incredible that Parma would have allowed *"so great an outrage to be done to so noble a soldier who did but his duty."*

North adds that as the Prince is weakened in the field by the need to garrison Grave and Venlo, and also by the losses which Cloete had inflicted, "I trust our General shall be shortly able to counter with him, whereunto he hasteneth much."[1]

But *"extreme want and misery, . . for lack of money"* impeded Leicester's plans, and he wrote to Burghley from the Hague (29th July) for aid: "God send it speedily," (meaning that the Queen should send it), or else he would pray to be delivered from a "charge and company" which was increasingly grievous to him.

> "... *ill as it is, it will lie in her Majesty yet to save all* if matters be yet well handled, all will be as well or better than before, but otherwise all will be gone ... and *none can help it but her Majesty* ....
>
> Twice I have had our men ready and the day appointed to march to the relief of Neuss, but could not get our pay."

The Queen had commanded that pay for these troops was to be extracted from the States. This proviso, with the handicap it placed upon Leicester's advance, was a main cause of the loss of Neuss; for which Leicester to this day is blamed, when the blame should be upon the "most renowned Virgin Queen" whose mind ran on futile peace palavers with the Prince of Parma while she should have been supporting her own General in the field.

Leicester tells Burghley that although Parma has Neuss, the town being "gone and clean burnt to the ground," and the capture having cost a great loss of men "to the number of 4000 as we hear, dead in the ditches," this was the moment to take advantage of Parma's temporary weakness. He had said so to the States: *"yet we cannot haste this pay of theirs, whereby we might go into the field. Strange humours are among them"*

Leicester comments on the contrast between "fair flattering tales," and unsatisfactory conduct; and after a graphic description of the situation, he points out that certain "rich and politic fellows" hunt only after "their own wealth and surety"; and will go over to the enemy suddenly, unless the Queen takes a more decisive course. "The year groweth away, and these people begin to grow doubtful ...." Yet, even now, he reiterated, "as hard as things of late have gone, ... *it will be in her Majesty to help all ...*"[2]

It was not her Majesty but Burghley upon whom he most relied; and on the 8th August from Utrecht he was writing to Burghley again: thanking him for long letters received via Sir Thomas Shirley, "and for your friendly consideration of the

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[1] Utrecht, July 26 Holog 1½pp S P Holland IX 50. Cal: pp 102-3
[2] Holog 6 pp. S.P. Holland IX. 57. Cal: pp 106-8.

ontinual hindrances I have for writing . . . which at this present are most extreme . . . " Postscript, *" The matters of this state now admit of no further dalliance . . ."* The people are still affectionate to the Queen, and the higher sort desire to be protected by her, but the fear and doubt they have had as to what she means to do, have caused many troubles, and almost nullified her General's service and endeavours. *" But my adventure was for God and her Majesty, and my end shall witness it . . . ."*[1]

Anthony Shirley also wrote, to tell the Lord Treasurer that when he delivered the letters to his Excellency, he informed him how honourably Burghley had dealt with her Majesty for his cause, and how " loving " was Burghley's disposition to him. The latest news was that the Prince of Parma " hath gotten Mewers, . . . by intelligence, and not by blows " He is now besieging Berck: and " I think we shall presently go to relieve it."[2]

Four days later, Leicester made time to write in his own hand a long letter to Burghley, expressing his satisfaction at Sir Francis Drake having shipped over a store of ordnance, but he was still in desperate straits for want of money.

" God grant her Majesty to be well encouraged to go through with this action, however I have been discouraged . . . Till this day, . . . we have no money from the States to set forth an Army, and we are not like to have 2000 Footmen of them, they have such broken bands, and so many garrisons; and yet I am fain to leave above 5000 Englishmen in garrisons, or else they will be in danger " (i.e. the towns in danger of being captured).[3]

At this juncture Leicester commissioned Sir John Norris, Colonel-General of the Foot, to command the avant-guard for the succour of Berck.[4]

The next day Lord North wrote in haste to Burghley to correct some of the particulars he had sent as to the loss of Neuss. It was true that Cloete—who deserved the highest honour,—had been hanged and burnt by the victors; but the previous report of their great losses was not confirmed. On the contrary: the story of a battery turned on during the parley was false; for " the town was taken without assault." The Duke of Parma lost but 200 of his men, and 300 wounded, " which be dead since." His Army was now in strength for the siege of Berck; and the English task was to succour the besieged.

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[1] p P S Holog S P H IX 74 Cal p 115

[2] Dated from " Tergrave " 6 Aug 1586 1 p S P Holland IX 69 Cal 113-14

[3] 10 Aug Holog 5¾ pp S P Holland IX 81 Cal pp 119-123

[4] $11/_{21}$ Aug " By the good personal knowledge that we have of Sir John Norris, Knight, Colonel General of the English Infantry, and of his valiancy, experience and diligence in matters of war, we give him authority, power, and special mandate to conduct and command troops, both Horse and Foot for service against the enemy or succour of the said town " [Berck], etc. *" Coppie of his Excellencies Commission " to Sir John Norris,* S P H IX 85(1) f 207, E E p 179

Norris with 2,500 Foot, and 500 Horse under Sir Thomas Cecil had already set out,[1] and this day, 12th August, Lord Leicester was following with all his forces.[2]

At this time a contretemps in camp, due to Norris's explosive temper, was described by the Earl of Essex to his stepfather the General as "private wars, more dangerous than the enemy."[3]

The Marshall Sir William Pelham also wrote to Leicester,

> "I am right sorry that my good meaning should be misconstrued and unkindness at every slight occasion taken, as by two messages sent me from Colonel Norris . . here may appear so rather wishing to die than to purchase any disorder in the Service, it were much better we were both in Turkey than inconvenience should grow. . . ."[4]

The circumstances were explained by Lord Leicester to Wilkes:

> "As I sent him [Norris] with the vanguard, even to satisfy his desire more than for any reason to send it so far before, so since, as our forces increased, I sent yesterday the Marshal[5] with them to the Camp, thinking Mr Norris would acknowledge his place, as his betters in office and degree do But *he flatly refused at his arrival to obey him any way* Hereupon I wrote to him and to the Marshal, but as you may see by sundry letters how proudly he behaveth himself, even now that the enemy is drawn within five or six miles of them Thus you see what my case was before with him, [he] being at like terms with any man that bare office that was not either his man or follower"

This character has been transferred to Leicester himself in modern history, where it is an established convention that Leicester was "no soldier" and Norris a great one, and therefore that Leicester must have been jealous of him! Actually Leicester it was who in April knighted Norris; but if subsequently he had condoned such a breach of decorum on the part of the Colonel-General as this discourtesy to the Marshal, it would have been ruinous to discipline. Moreover such outbursts from Norris were no new thing:

> " I do call to mind how his envy once overthrew the Count Hollock, and, after, the good and worthy La Noue . . . dividing his forces from him and disdaining to obey him. Even so would he do now with me for the envy of the Marshal, but if he continue his obstinacy till I come, . I will take a direct course with him, for this pride is the spirit of the devil"[6]

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[1] Cal p 127 gives these as only "1,200 English" the officers being Col Morgan, and Captains 'Hamde'(?), Pawlet, Lambert, William Thomas, Latham, 'Indge' (Inge), etc Lord North to Ld Burghley 1 p Holog· S P H IX 86 Ib 88[a] (Cal 129) Gives list of "Bands the 13th August under Sir John Norris . . ."

[2] Horse on the 13th, 270 English; and 480 of the States, under the Prince of Epinoy Cal p 129

[3] 21 Aug 1586 Copy 1½ pp S P Holland XI 99 Cal. XXI II p 137 not in extenso Published by Devereux, *Earls of Essex*, 1853 Vol I pp 180-182

[4] At the Camp 21 Aug 1586 Copy ¾ p S P H IX 100 Cal· 137-8 (not in extenso)

[5] Sir W Pelham.

[6] "Your old friend R Leicester." Dated "Arnham, 22 Aug· 2 pp Holog Armorial seal within Garter S P Holland IX. 101.

Leicester's "direct course" was to be so successful that within a short time he was to be able to report that all were good friends again.[1]

When Queen Elizabeth sent her small forces into the field against the veterans of Spain and of Italy, she made the task of her champions excessively difficult by "half measures" such as Walsingham more than once rebuked. With what skill Leicester used the restricted means permitted to him, and how assiduously he endeavoured so to discipline the men that their quality might in the end atone for their "fewness" we shall see. And whereas our modern histories repeat each other in condemnation of Leicester for "doing very little fighting," it will be more to the purpose to look at the figures and consider the operations.

"On the 27th of August his Excellency passed from Arnhem to the camp at Eltham."[2] On Sunday the 28th he "took a view of his Armies."[3] The ensuing table should show why he did not immediately give battle:

The Earl of Leicester		*The Prince of Parma*	
Foot English and Irish (under)	5000	Foot (of various nations)	
Foot of other nations	2000		
Total	7000	Total	12000
Horse		*Horse* (various nations)	
English voluntaries (approx.)	780		
Other nations (approx)	620		
Total	1400		3500
Foot and Horse, total	8400	Foot and Horse, total	15500

The "principal intent" of Leicester was to relieve the pressure on Berck: or at least "get the soldiers safe and honourably out of it" if they could not be reinforced. There were two alternatives: "assailing or diverting the enemie." The first was rejected because the Prince of Parma was "in his place of strength" with 15,500 to oppose Leicester's eight thousand odd; and Leicester thought it too great a hazard to "come by a long march into a strange place" from which there would be no convenient means of retreat. Moreover, "which took away all deliberation, our victuals were insufficient either for maintenance of the armie, or for reliefe of the towne." Therefore "diversion" was agreed upon:

"and that to be done by the siege of some place that might force the enemie to arise to

[1] The combined tact, courage, courtesy, judgment and patience, exercised by Leicester, would long since have been the admiration of all intelligent readers, as of so many of Leicester's officers at the time, were it not that the delusion as to his "incapacity" so infects English critics that they appear unable to grasp the particulars of his work even while publishing or epitomising MSS which to any unprejudiced mind would demonstrate both the magnitude of the task, and the firmness of the General in the performance of it.

[2] Stow's "*Annales*," ed: 1615. p 734.

[3] "*A Briefe Reporte*," p 17 (figures therefrom)

surrour it And that place was reckoned fittest to be Duisburge, . . . a towne of the Countie of Zutphen, situate at the confluence of the river called old Issell, with that piece of the Rhine that separating himself from the bodie of the Rhine a little East of Arnham was anciently called Drusiani" [1] after "Drusus the sonne of Tiberias Caesar Romane Emperour". he who "caused the River of Rhine from a very ditch to be digged and inlarged beyond Arnham unto an Island at the town of Drusburg which to this day is called Drusus Ditch The citie is high walled, after the old manner, and environed with large and deepe Ditches.

There were with them some three hundred Wallons in garrison sent from the Prince of Parma thither, and also armed citizens five hundred more or lesse The Erle Generall sendeth Countie Hoghenlo, Sir Philip Sidney, and others the Leaders of the forces with five hundred horse and eight hundred footmen in the night time to discover and beset the citie about himselfe with the rest of the armie came after them "[2]

These "seaven or 800 foote," with Horse under the Earl of Essex, had orders to "begin the siege by the breake of daie on Tuesday the 30 of August."

"His Excellencie with the whole armie that day followed, marching back thither from Elten, in an order worth noting for that the bandes, extended to the uttermost, made shewe of fourteen or fifteene thousand, whereas indeede horse and foote both were not complete eight thousand."[3]

This exercise of skill is unknown to modern historians, some of whom represent Leicester as never having drawn a sword, and who criticise his actions without ascertaining his circumstances.[4] Actually,

"He came early that afternoon to Duisbourge: and himselfe in person within arcabuze shot took view of the wals on al the east side, and that night set pyoners and soldiers to intrenching within half arcabuze shot."

This description by an officer who was with him, has never been reprinted. It first appeared in 1587.[5]

"Our ordinance was not yet come The next night his Excellencie understanding that our pyoners had left their work at the trenches, himselfe between eleven and twelve of the clocke at night went with Sir William Pelham and some few of his gard to see what was doing, and being within three score yardes of the Towne ditch, both going togither, a musket shot from the wall struck Sir William Pelham most dangerously " but "he escaped death and was abroade againe within two days

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[1] *"A Briefe Reporte,"* p 17

[2] Churchyard, *"A Trve Discourse,"* etc 1602

[3] *A Briefe Reporte* p 19 Though the approximate numbers on paper were 8,400, the bands were incomplete

[4] The D N B account of Leicester requires correction, not least in regard to the Low Countries "His incapacity soon showed its imprudence", and "he was in no hurry to take the field," and so forth This is an echo of Devereux, *Earls of Essex* (1853) Vol. I, p 180· "Although Leicester gained, at first some advantages, his total incapacity as a general displayed itself in his inability to follow them up" The incapacity was not in Leicester but in the 19th century perverters of the facts Often their injustices are in good faith; a well-known antiquarian in 1929 solemnly quoting an as "epitaph" on Leicester, "Here lies a warrior who never drew a sword," and manifestly never having seen the real epitaph which is a record of Leicester's active services E E. Vol VII

[5] It is not mentioned in Bibliog of the Cambridge Modern History· nor (apparently) were Leicester's "Laws and Ordinances of War" known to any of the compilers of that work

"The next day came our ordinance, and, the morning after, it was planted. Then we also had newes that the prince of Parma, being certified of our sitting down there, would be with us within foure days"

thus confirming Leicester's opinion that to attack Doesburg was the way to relieve the pressure upon Berck.

"The ordinance, being ten pieces, played on Fridaie the second of September from the breake of daie till two in the afternoon, his Excellencie being continually hard by them in the trenches."[1]

Though the siege guns made two "breaches reasonablie assaultable," the garrison so swiftly filled them up again "with logs, earth, bedding and such other trash, that the assault was difficult," especially as a ditch of "a yarde and more deepe and three score foote broade" was between the assailants and the walls.[2]

"But such was the courage of our men of all nations, that without further batterie they extorted with great importunity from his Excellencie being in the trenches a resolution for a present assault. And the contention being great between the leaders to whom the honor of the assault should be given, it was ordered by his Excellencie that Count Hollocke with the Dutch and Scots and Sir John Norris with the English and Irish should each attempt one breach."[3]

In this selection Leicester was tactful; for Count Hohenlohe and Norris had been bitterly antagonistic to each other; and the two peremptory natures were more likely to be reconciled if they performed some exploit in common. The effect of Hohenlohe and Norris ordering their "squadrons" with "so general a courage and joy as was marvellous to behold," considerably daunted the enemy.

"Great also and many and most earnest were the particular suites of private noblemen and gentlemen, for leave to go to the assault: which his Excellencie would grant to verie few of them.

"The squadrons standing at the water side readie to pass to the assault, the enemies within having hitherto valiantly and soldierlike carried themselves, and now labouring to repaire the breaches and standing in armes to receive us," they nevertheless, on observing preparations they judged certain to be successful, saved Doesburg from a sack by offering "first an accord upon conditions, which his Excellencie refused, and thereupon they yeelded simplie . . ."[4] trusting to Leicester's mercy.

Sir Thomas Cecil wrote to his father, describing how on Tuesday morning the Camp broke up at Elthen, and the army marched to "Dewsborow" the same day, Tuesday 30th August; and then on Thursday began planting the guns. By Friday

[1] Churchyard *"A Trve Discourse"* states there were 5 pieces of ordinance; and Stow, *"Annales"* says 9, but the officer's *"Briefe Reporte"* 1587 is the most likely to be correct, as he "served in good place" in these operations

[2] See plan of Siege of Doesburg, E E facing p 176

[3] *"A Briefe Reporte,"* p 19

[4] *"Briefe Report"*

at five in the morning the whole of the Artillery played on the town; by one o'clock the breach was made[1] Cecil describes the conditions of the surrender, and adds, "The Captain of the town was one [blank] an Almain, and most of the soldiers Almains. The town was of no great force, but so highly walled about as it could not well be scaled." He rates the English loss at thirty killed and about forty wounded, "but none of account save the Lord Marshall" [Sir William Pelham] "and Captain Williams . . . ." So far the letter is in his own hand. The end is dictated, he "being so touched with a sudden fever over night," that he has now "neither head, hand, nor back" able to finish what he had begun: ". . . but hoping within three or four days to mend, I mean to remove and follow the Camp till I see the end of our victory in the field."[2]

Another officer sent Lord Burghley a fuller account of the proceedings; explaining that the foe had not much Artillery, "the greatest piece not above a saker"; and that the town walls of brick were "built after the old maner, with towers and turrets not the aptest to flank each otherwise than with small shot; neither is the wall rampired with earth on the inside, nor ditched . . . . otherwise than with the stream of the old Ysel," which was shallow on the side where our men battered it.

Doing justice to the besieged and their "continual travail" to repair the two breaches the English guns had made by noon on the Friday, he describes how Sir John Norris asked to lead the assault, but how "my Lord General" wished to reserve him for a service of less hazard and more importance. After some discussion it was settled

> "that Captain J(ohn) Burgh" [Borough, Lord Borough's brother] "Captaine Prince, and Francis Allen, Lieutenant of Sir John Norris's Footband, with their Companies should take the point of the assault, and Sir John Norris, Mr. Harry Norris with his Company, Captain Wilson with some thirty of his, and Sir William Stanley, with three Companies of his regiment should second the first, the Lord Audley with his to follow as third"

(Let us remember these officers' names, for we shall meet them again). "Here my Lord General countermanded many that were desirous to accompany Sir J. Norris". though he had given them leave at first, especially Lord Borough, who was in a "most vehement passion" at being held back. "The Lord Governor of Brill" (Sir Thomas Cecil) he also restrained; and "the Lord Governor of Flyssing" (Sir Philip Sydney) "and his brother Captain Robert Sidney, Sir William Russell, Mr. William Knolles, Mr. Hatton, Mr. Umpton, Mr. Henry Goodere, and others who with great forwardness expressed their desire to do her Majesty service in this honourable action."[3]

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[1] Huddelston (Cal· pp 150-152) refers to the guns as "about ten or twelve peeces of Cannon, demi Cannon and suchlike, on the south west side of the town"

[2] 4th Sep (1 p), S P Holland, X 6 (Cal p 149)

[3] Let not any impetuous commentator discourse (as a certain English writer most infelicitously did in 1927) upon the English aristocracy not having been forward in action until Sir Philip Sidney at Zutphen set them the "example" The General's reason for holding back some of his best officers was that he required them later for his major actions and could not afford to risk their being disabled in an action which was only a prelude to his larger purpose.

"The Dutch and Scots, unto whom it fell by lot to take the less breach of the two, stood prepared in the meanwhile to march on with the first, upon whom Sir J Norris having a jealous eye, lest any honour should be taken from our nation by their too much forwardness, suspecting that which they least meant, hastened so fast the march of that troop which himself led, as when he was appointed to be second . he had been first . . . ,"

were it not that His Excellency sent a trumpeter to the town to "put them in mind of their hard estate" and summon them to surrender.

The narrator glides swiftly over "divers disorders" committed on entry into the town; but expresses his satisfaction that the whole camp was now so strongly lodged "between the town and the great stream of the Ysel,"[1] some 7000 Foot and 2000 Horse, that there was no immediate need for apprehension, even should a "mightier enemy" come up.[2]

The writer of the *"Briefe Report,"* while commending the courage shown on both sides, and in a few words noting the capitulation as due to the good guns and gunners, omits an episode which Stow possibly heard from his cousin Henry Archer, one of Lord Leicester's Guard. That Leicester's army was composed of English, Scots, Irish, Dutch and Germans, may have made for emulation when it was a matter of facing the enemy; but the troops got out of hand after victory. What he describes happened before Leicester himself came into Doesburg. He had promised the garrison their lives and freedom, and also to be allowed to take their womenkind with them.

"... about 4 or 5 of the clocke in the afternoone all the souldiers with their wives passed over the breach away. The women that passed with the soldiers it was a grevious thing to see how they were ransacked, till the E[arl] of Essex and divers other gent[lemen] came downe the breach,"[3]

and smiting the offenders with the flat of their swords, compelled them to desist. The episode made a deep impression upon Essex, who ten years later was to be famous for the discipline he maintained, when, as General in sole command of our land forces in Spain, he held his men back from looting until the women and children had been escorted into safety. But in 1586, describing the surrender of Doesburg, Stow deplores that

"the Captain and soldiers that were sent to save the town from spoyle, did the contrary . wherewith his Excellency was greatly displeased

"The 5 of Sep[tember] his Excellency went into the town, and then dined The same day Master Anthony Sherley and other Cap[tains] came to the camp, and declared that the enemy came to Wessell, and with a piece of Ordnance beat back our ships, wherein our men were, and killed some of them, and further beat them down the river"

The Captain who brought this discouraging news was one of a family whose adventures the most ingenious romanticist could hardly hope to surpass; and in

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[1] i e the side where it was deep

[2] Letter from Huddelston, 6 Sep 1586 3¾ pp S P H. X 8. Cal pp 150-152 (nearly in extenso)

[3] *"Annales,"* London, 1615 (B M 2072 9) p 735

his mature years Anthony Shirley, looking back upon his own life, left it on record that Essex was the man of all others he had desired most to resemble.[1]

Soon after Shirley arrived at the camp outside Doesburg, there came also Captain Martin Shenck,[2] whose exploits had won him knighthood from Leicester.

On the 10th of September Sir Philip Sidney sent a note to his father-in-law dated "At the Campe by Duisberg";[3] and three days later "his Excellency with all his forces", except the garrison, departed from "Dowsborough" (as Stow spells it), "and the same night incamped himself before Suthfield" (i.e. Zutphen; soon to be famous as the scene of "the most brave fight performed on our side that could be").[4]

Six years previously, when Sidney had described in his *"Arcadia"* the "changing fortune" and "changing hue of battle," he had drawn a sharp contrast between the glittering onset and the grim conclusion:

> "For at first, though it were terrible, yet terror was decked so bravely with rich furniture, gilt swords, shining armours, pleasant pensails,[5] that the eye with delight had scarce leisure to be afraid. But now, all universally defiled with dust, blood, broken armour, mangled bodies, took away the mask and set forth horror in his own horrible manner"[6]

When the hour struck for Sidney to meet his own fate, we hear nothing from him of horror or grief, but only of exaltation at "such success as may encourage us all," after encountering the Spanish and Italian Horse, which till then had been regarded as the finest in the world.

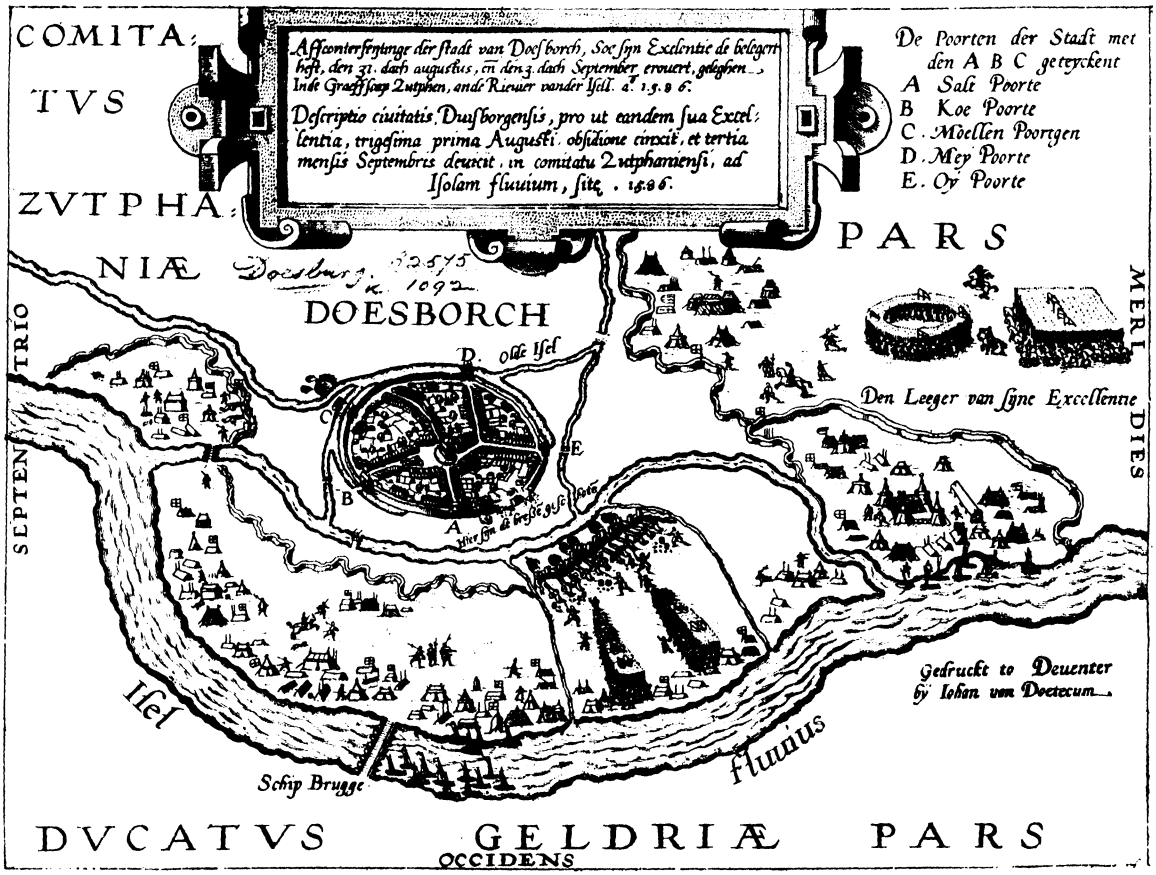
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[1] ". . as my reverence and regard to his rare qualities was exceeding, my true love to him did transform me from my many imperfections, to be, as it were, an imitator of his virtues" See *"Sir Anthony Sherley, his Relation of his Travels in Persia,"* &c &c &c, *"Penned by Sir A Sherley,"* &c &c *"London Printed for Nathaniel Butter and Joseph Bagjet, 1613"* Quoted in *"The Three Brothers, or the Travels and Adventures of Sir Anthony, Sir Robert, and Sir Thomas Sherley, in Persia, Russia, Turkey, Spain, Etc"* London, 1825, p 4 Also see *"Stemmata Shirleiana or the Annals of the Shirley Family"* &c, by Evelyn Philip Shirley, 2nd ed 1873, p 272, and *"The Sherley Brothers,"* Roxburghe Club, 1848 Anthony Shirley married Essex's first cousin, Frances, 6th daughter of Sir John Vernon of Hodnet, Salop

[2] Whom Stow calls "Skinke"

[3] Holog S P Holland Vol X No. 14, and Cal S P Foreign May-Sep 1586 p 154

[4] Stow. op cit [5] heraldic pennons [6] *"Arcadia"* Bk. III.



The above sketch-plan of the Siege of Doesborch (Doesburg) August–September, 1586, (B.M. Maps $\frac{32575}{1092}$) is of extreme rarity. Printed at Deventer by Johan van Doetecum, presumably soon after the events it depicts, it does not seem to have been included in any book of maps.

Johan van Doetecum had engraved the Atlas of Gerardus Judaeis at Antwerp in 1578, and was yet to be engraver of the maps of Plancius from 1592 onwards. His drawing of Doesburg is a graphic rendering of Lord Leicester's victorious siege. Observe the heavy artillery planted for battering the town into capitulation. Notice the massed troops, to the spectator's right; and see the St. George's Cross on many of the tents.

APPENDIX.

"HIS FAME WILL NEVER FAYLE".

A Servant's Epitaph upon Sir Henry Sidney, K.G.

That Sir Henry Sidney's industrious and constructive career has not been treated in detail in "*Elizabethan England*" is because, even though troubled in life by broken health and by means inadequate to his responsibilities, he has been fortunate after death his administration of Ireland and Wales has not been theme for random rebukes, neither is his valour denied nor his virtue questioned Even in standard works of the 19th and 20th centuries, wherein Burghley is a pacifist and Drake a pirate, Hatton a trifler, and Leicester an "imbecile" (the epithet is Froude's), Sir Henry Sidney has been allowed to remain as he was in actuality,—a brave and capable Commander, an honest and wise Councillor, a practical administrator, a faithful husband and loving father, and a loyal and patient servant of his Queen It has therefore not been necessary to vindicate a soldier-statesman whose deeds are not obscured by any such fog of misunderstanding as surrounds his brother-in-law Leicester, or in a lesser degree his son Philip, who is nowadays classed primarily as a man of letters, whereas his contemporaries ranked his genius to be for action and diplomacy and all the noble arts combined

But despite the absence of modern controversy, we will include extracts from "*The Epitaph of the worthie Knight sir Henrie Sidney, Lord President of Wales*" by "*William Grufitt of Coredaney, sometime Clerke of his kitchin*". who, delighting in the renown of his master's "auncient spotless race," described him as embodying "all gallant gifts that ever lodged in mortal creature's breast" Doubly valued were his noble qualities because carried on from ancestors of "matchless praise"

The "simple" could "nobilitate" themselves by gentle deeds, but they valued hereditary gentility because generosity and graces were expected to descend with the name Sir Henry Sidney was "so just and right" in both his offices that manifestly, says his clerk of the kitchin, he came of noble stock, accustomed to give and not to grasp

> "For money hourelie handling in, and fines fast following still,"

when he was Lord President of Wales,

> "*if he had thurst for wealth he might have had his fill*"

> "But, with his old domaines well pleas'd,
> he all the rest applide
> To benefit her Highness state,
> as duetie did him tide.
>
> The castle that in Dublin standes,
> and Ludlowes castle brave,
> Are patterns plain how with his wealth
> he did himself behave·
>
> For both neere tottring, like to fall,
> so gorgeously he deckt,
> That both are famous every where
> on every rare respect."

His expenditure on these official residences being a service to the Crown, his generosity is remembered "from east to west, from north to south"; "*his fame will never fayle.*"

"Him Prudence pruned, him Temperance taught,
him Justice did advaunce,
Him Fortitude for martial feates
most highly did enhaunce.

A type to true nobilitie,
a staffe to honours stay,
A courtier brave, a soldier stout,
a counsailor of great sway."

His frank integrity is insisted upon

"Disdainfull pride, contentious jawes,
a quenchless prowling mind,
A double tongue, or fleeting faith
in him no place could find"

"Great and small" mourned the death of one so upright and so open-handed But they took comfort in hoping that his "noble offspring" would "gaine no lesse fame," and continue upon earthe the "vertuous deeds which had brought Sir Henry, by toilsome paths, to "heavens bliss"[1]

In recording Sir Henry's and Lady Mary's death, Molyneux in Holinshed's Chronicle (1586) added an account of their heirs, especially of Sir Philip,

"loved and esteemed of all men, who matched in marriage with the daughter and heire of Sir Francis Walsingham . by whom he hath already a goodlie babe, but a daughter And if his good fortune . . . answer his noble deserts, . he is most like to prove a famous, great, and rare personage, for the service of his countrie and commonwealth And the glorie, renowne and fame of so worthie a father can never die, having left so noble a son, not merelie to continue but rather (in sort) to surpasse his father's worthiness, fame, and vertues"

But when these words were written, Sir Philip had only a few more weeks left on earth

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[1] Holinshed, (Continuation) Ed. 1808, Vol IV, p 880 The reason that no picture of Sir Henry Sidney is included here is that the one in the National Portrait Gallery, and that at Petworth which seems to be the original, fail to convey the charm which Sir Henry certainly exercised

In Derricke's "*Image of Ireland*," 1578, are a series of woodcuts of his actions (see E E Vol III, p 29, n) dedicated to "Maister Philip Sidney Esquire"

The year after Sir Henry's death there was issued "*The Irish Historie composed and written by Giraldus Cambrensis and translated into English . . by John Hooker, together with the supplie[ment] of the said historie from the death of King Henrie VIII into this present yeare 1587, done also by the said John Hooker,*" and Richard Stanihurst's "*A treatise conteining a plaine and perfect description of Ireland*" Two parts in 1 Vol, B L folio. London. Dedicated respectively to Sir Walter Raleigh; and to Sidney, the late Lord Deputy

APPENDIX B

"VALIANCY, EXPERIENCE, AND DILIGENCE IN DEEDS OF WAR":

The Earl of Leicester's Commission to Sir John Norris, 21 Aug· 1586 Now first published in extenso [1]

The notion that Lord Leicester was a mere trifler, and "no soldier," and that he grudged advancements to Sir John Norris, is so firmly established that perhaps not even the reminder that Norris owed his knighthood to Leicester will suffice to terminate the delusion [2] Norris was no easy personage to work with,[3] but his Commander-in-Chief certainly gave him every reasonable outlet for his talents and energies. The ensuing Commission may be commended to the attention of soldiers·

"Robert Conte de Leycester etc A tous ceulx &c, scauoir faisons que comme auons trouué necessaire faire aller secours vers la ville de Bercq et aux enuirons, pour la bonne cognoissance qu'auons de la personne de S^{r} Jehan Norys cheualier Colonnel general de l'infanterie angloise ensemble de sa vaillantise experience et diligence a faict de la guerre auons Iceluy S^{r} Norrys comnus et ordonné, commettons et ordonnons par les presentes, luy donnants aucthorité pouuoir et mandement special de conduire et commander les troupes tant de cheual que de pied ordonnees d'aller vers lesd^{tes} quartiers auec telle seureté qu'il pourra aduiser, et luy confions, et les colloquier et tenir a Elten l'authorisant par cestes si par advertissements il peult entendre pouuoir faire aulcun seruice contre l'ennemy au secours de lad^{te} ville, pour en ce cas faire ce qui sera necessaire, sans auenturer lesd^{tes} troupes sinon a bonne et Just occasion

Et sil ne trouue occasion de ce pouuoir effectuer comme dessus, d'attendre auec lesd^{stes} trouples audj^{t} lieu, Jusques, a ce que marcherons auecques aultres gens de guerre, ou aultrement par nous sera commandé Et pour plus facilement pouuoir effectuer ce que dessus donnons aucthorité de commander aux Admiral Capitaines Officiers maroniers et aultres estants presentement en seruice sur les bateaux de guerre au Rhyn pour faire aller Iceulx bateaux celle part qu'il trouuerat pour plus grand seruice du pays conuenir Ordonnans et commandants a tous Colonnels, Admiral, Capitaines, officiers, et soldats tant de cheual que de pied par terre et par eau destinez vers lesditz quartiers de suiure respecter et obeir aud^{t} S^{r} Norrys en ce que luy serat commande, en conformite de ce que dessus, et a tous officiers et Magistrats qu'il conuiendrat de donner aud^{t} Sieur Norrys passage libre par leurs villes sy ainsi conuient, et assister auecq lesd^{tes} troupes de ce qu'il aura besoing a l'effect susd^{t}. Car ainsy l'auons pour le seruice du pays trouué conuenir, faict en la ville d'Utrecht ce xxj du mois d'Aougst XV^{e} quatre vingte et six"

The drawing up of Commissions in French was in order that Dutch officers should understand the powers conferred

It would seem that *"Elizabethan England"* is the first English History in which the publication of Commissions, whether of Queen Elizabeth's champions or her enemies, is being systematically carried out Some of the more important Commissions, of later date, will be given in facsimile from the originals. Meanwhile, a point to be emphasised is that the prevalent notions of Leicester's "jealousy and incompetence" arise from adherence to Froude's and Motley's misconceptions, though there exist numerous documents which dispel the fallacy that the Queen's General was of a grudging spirit.

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[1] From Contemp copy, S P Holland, IX, 85 (1) f 207 Endorsed (f 207^{b}) "21 August, 1586 Commission S^{r} Jo Nories to lead the auant guard," No 85 (2), f 208, another copy, endorsed (f 208^{b}) "21 Auguste, 1586

Coppie of his Exallencies commission to my Lord Presid to leade the troupes, &c"
(Only a brief abstract appears in Cat S P F XXI, p 127 1927)

[2] E E pp 215, 219

[3] See letter of Robert Earl of Essex (General of the Horse) deploring Norris's "private wars" with Pelham, Devereux, *Earls of Essex* (1853), Vol I, pp 180-182

"TO WEARE THE LAUREL WREATHE". GEORGE WHETSTONE

Whetstone was author of a popular work, *"The honorable reputation of a Souldier with a Morall Report, of the Vertues, Offices, and (by abuse) the Disgrace of his profession Drawen out of the liues, documents, and disciplines, of the most renowned Romaine, Grecian, and other famous Martiallistes By George Whetstone, Gent Malgre de Fortune."*

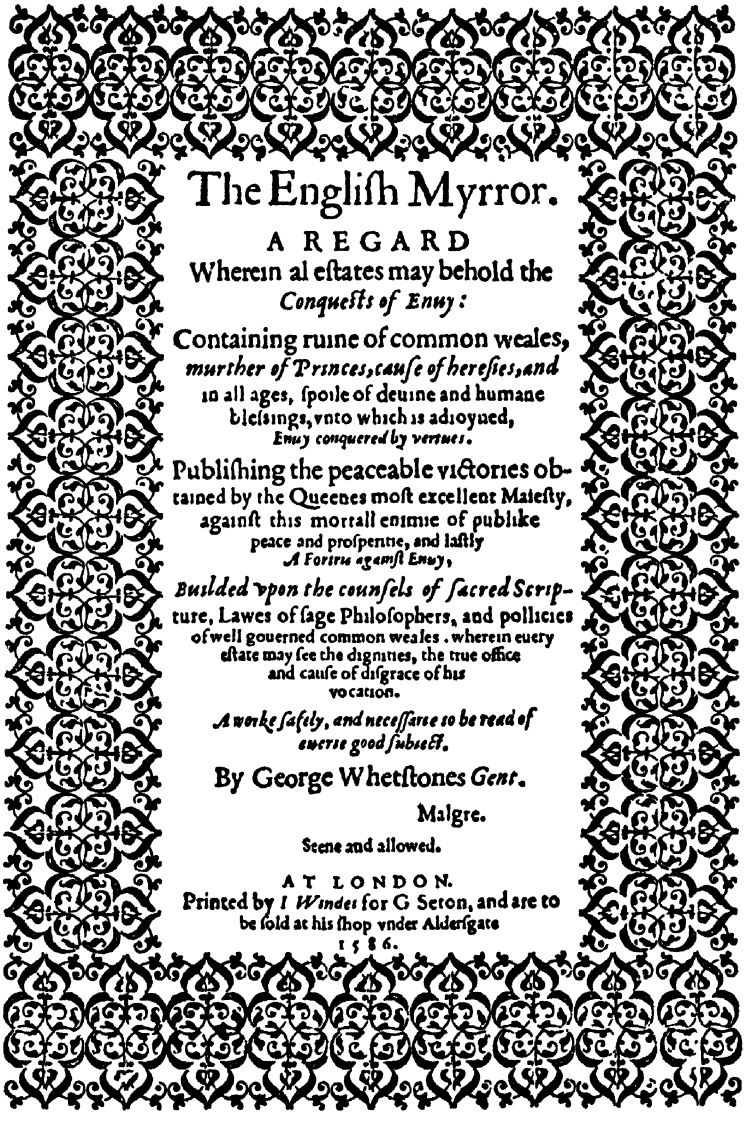
Dedicated to Sir William Russell (B.L 4to), *"Imprinted at London, by Richard Jones dwelling neere unto Holburne Bridge 1585"*

In the following year this was issued in English and Dutch in double columns *"The Honourable Reputation of a Souldier By George Whetstone, Gent De Eerweedighe Achtbaerheyt Van Een Soldener Tot Leyden, by Jan Paedts Jacobszoon, ende Jan Bouwenszoon Anno M D Lxxxvi Men vintse te coop by Thomas Basson Boeckvercoper woonende tot Leyden opte breedestraet by de Blauwe steen Met Privilegie van zes Iaren"* (B L 4to, Cockle's *Bibliog* (1900), p 28)

This is not a treatise on strategy and tactics, but deals only with "Morall government, necessarie for a perfect soldier," exemplified from the lives of heroes Whetstone describes it as a "small parcell" of his larger book *"The English Myrror"* In the same year that this and the above were published, "the learned company of Gentlemen Schollars" were eulogised in *"A Discourse of English Poetrie Together with the Authors iudgment, touching the reformation of our English Verse By VVilliam VVebbe, graduate Imprinted at London by John Charlewood for Robert Walley 1586"* (Re-issued by Arber, London, 1895) Webbe scorned "the vncountable rabble of ryming Ballet makers and compylers of senceless sonets, who be most busy, to stuff every stall full of gross devices and vnlearned Pamphlets" (Arber, p 36) But, among those of better sort,

> "One Gentleman may I not overslyppe, so far reacheth his fame, and so worthy is he, if he have not already, to weare the Lawrell wreathe, Master George Whetstone, a man singularly well skyld in this faculty of Poetrie" (Ib: p 35)

"All poets desire either by their works to profitt or delight men, or els to ioyne both profitable and pleasant lessons together for the instruction of life." (Ib· p 40) It was a strenuous age which found Whetstone delightful, his popularity arose largely from his choice of subjects, all men being then interested in history as the chief aid to active "valour and vertue" (For Whetstone's *"Sir Phillip Sidney,"* [1587,] see E E Vol VI, p 439



A typical example of popular political literature: in possession of Messrs. Maggs Bros.

Dedicated to the Queen, and also to the "Nobility of this flourishing realm": rejoicing (p 173) that "our noble Queen is defended, her enemies are confounded" (in regard to Parry's Conspiracy) For Whetstone's other works see opposite.

PART III.

"Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant."

CHAPTER 3

"THIS NOBLE NECESSARY SERVICE."

SECTION 9

"So few against so many."

(Lord Essex's Cavalry Charge outside Zutphen, 22 September, 1586).

" God did send such a day as I think was never many years seen : so few against so many. . . . I can hardly praise one more than another ; they all did so well."

General the Earl of Leicester, to Sir Thomas Heneage, Captain of the Queen's Guard, Sep 23, 1586

" . . . you who as General of the English Cavalry for ever proved your courage, not to them alone, and to our Belgian allies, but also to our Spanish foes."

Professor Albericus Gentilis, Latin dedication of *"De Jure Belli,"* " to the most illustrious Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex." 1588

" . . . the most notable encounter that hath been in our age, and will remain to our posterity famous.

" Our young noblemen and gentlemen . . . have won her Majesty at this day as much honour as ever so few men did their Prince."

Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Walsingham. Ouvry MS f.58.b. *"Leycester Correspondence,"* pp. 415-417

" You have had the honourablest day, . . . for a handful of your men have driven the enemy three times to retreat."

Sir John Norris " Colonel General" of the Foot, to General the Earl of Leicester. 22 Sep: 1586. Stow's *Annales,* p. 737.

" You have seen such success as may encourage us all : and this my hurt is the ordnance of God . . ."

Sir Philip Sidney, after the Zutphen fight (*Letters & Memorials,* vol. I, pp 404-405).

ALEXANDER FARNESE, DUKE OF PARMA:

From a picture by Van Veen in the Musée Royal de Peinteur (sometimes called Musée Ancien) in Brussels.

By permission of the Musées Royaux des Beaux Arts de Belgique.

(Canvas, undated)

No 485 of the official Catalogue by A J Wauters thus described: "Acquis de M. Etienne Le Roy en 1855 . Buste en armure damasquinée, fraise, écharpe de soie rouge, collier de la toison d'or, fond uni avec l'inscription *'Alexand Farnese Parmae Dvx'*

Vaenius [Van Veen] le portraitura plusieurs fois un second exemplaire est au Musée de Vienne; un troisième au Musée de Stuttgard"



THE GENERAL OF THE HORSE·

His work, as described in *"A Pathway to Military Practice, Containing Offices, Lawes, Discipline and Orders to be observed in an Army. . . Whereunto is annexed a Kalendar of the Imbatteling of men Newlie written by Barnabe Rich. Souldiour. . At London 1587"* Chapter 4, page E 4 (B.M No. 8825, b. 25).

"The Generall of the Horse, having the rolles of all the bandes, with the names of their Captaines, is to devide them so equally for every service that such as be employed in the day must be releeved in the night, and those that have served in the night must have rest in the daye Otherwyse the Horse will be so sodainely infeebled that he will be serviceable but a very small time"

On the day of battle the General "is to devide his Companies into winges and troopes, appointing who shall first give charge, who shall come to second them, who shall stand for rescues; and thus to directe them that every man knowing what he hath to do may the rather hope of victory or at least keep themselves in safety

The Generall of the Horse ought to give warning through his Companies that they neither disarme themselves, neither unsadell or unbridell their Horse till the Campe be impaled and scoutes put forth

The Generall of the Horse must not be unprovided of Smithes, Farriers or Horse leaches, Sadlers, in like manner every Captaine of Horsemen furnished in his carriages with Sickles, Sithes, Combes, Cordes . " The four different kinds of Horse, and their respective uses, were as follows

Men	Arms and Equipment	Duty
1st Men-at-arms	"armed complete, and their horses likewise barbed"	"To give the first charge, to disorder the squadrons, or battalions of pikes"
2nd Lances	"lighter armed with corselets"	"To break in with the men at arms when they had made way, or otherwise as they could see advantage"
3rd Light Horsemen	"commonly armed with a coat of plate"	"Serving for many purposes, as to scout, to discover, or to follow a chace that is put to a retreat"
4th Carbines	"Shot on horseback commonly light-horsed without armour serving either with Pistoll or Petronell"	" as the Shott on foot being charged do retire for succours to their pikes, so these Carbines may skyrmidge loosely, and delivering their vollies are not able to stand any charge, but must retire to the Launce for his safety"

NOTE: THE CAVALRY CHARGE AT ZUTPHEN.

In "*The Successors of Drake*," 1900, p 13, Sir Julian Corbett referred to the "mad charge" at Zutphen So blindly do we English follow "authority" in history that this exploit has been classed as "mad" ever since The present writer, apparently, is the first to examine dispassionately the actual circumstances.

At the time, even the "rakehellish" Robert Greene was capable of appreciating it. He wrote to the Cavalry General, the Earl of Essex, of "*the report of your approved courage and valour, shewed in the face of your enemie, maintained with such a magnanimous resolution as the foe was faine to confess Vertue in his adversarie.*"[1]

But in the "*Time Table of Modern History, A D 400-1870 Compiled and Arranged by M Morison, Westminster, Archibald Constable & Co 1901*," p 89, the only entry relating to the Low Countries for 1586,—tabulated under "Holland"—is "*Elizabeth sends troops under the Earl of Leicester to aid the Dutch Republic, the allies are worsted at bat ZUTPHEN by Spaniards*"

The first troops were not sent in 1586, but in 1585 Some, promised in June, were despatched in August under Norris Leicester's Commission, and the Commission of Essex and the patent of Sidney were signed in October and November, 1585.

A Time Table of History should include the appointment of Leicester as Governor General, and the capture of Axel, Doesburg, and the Zutphen forts in 1586

The charge at Zutphen was not by the allied troops, but by the English, who were not "worsted."

Moreover, by sixteenth century reckoning, Zutphen town was not described as in Holland but in the County of Zutphen and the Province of Gelderland The "*Time Table*," 1901, sets all events in the Netherlands under "Holland" which in 1586 only counted as one of the seven United Provinces, and was not a synonym for them all

In the ensuing section we will see the happenings near Zutphen as they actually occurred, and will then (App · pp. 200-202) separately consider by what process a most notable exploit of the English Cavalry has been inverted into their defeat.

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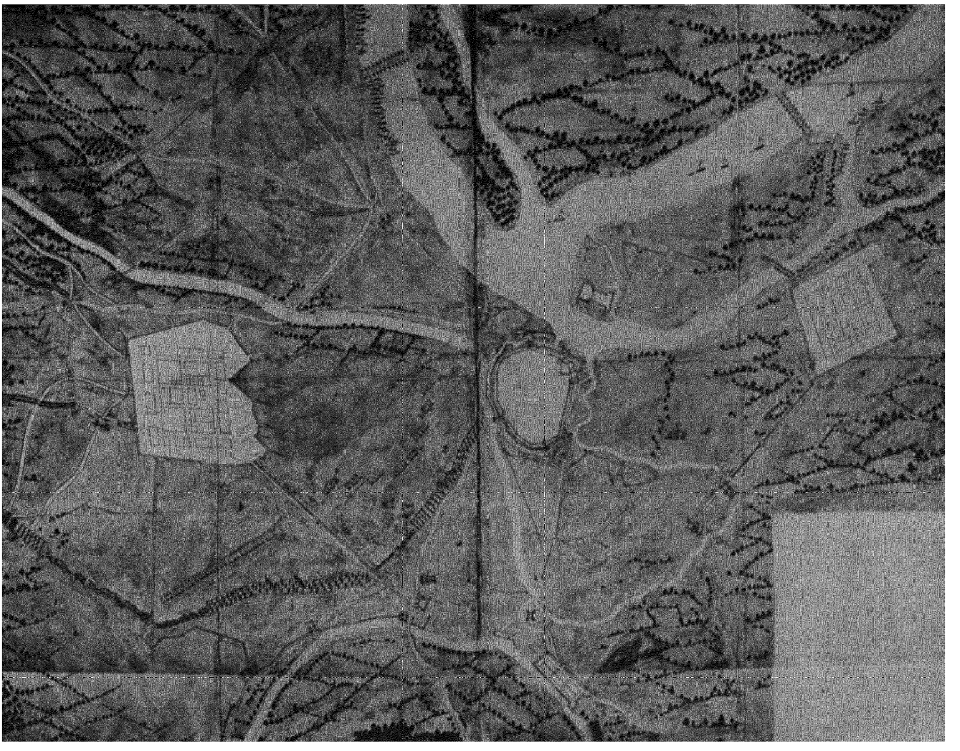
1 "*a philosophical combat between Hector and Achylles* ." London 1587. B M No. 95, b 18(2).

UNPUBLISHED AND UNFINISHED SKETCH OF "BERCK," (RHINEBERG).

(1586) presumably sent by the Earl of Leicester to Lord Burghley.

From the original (water colour, 10½ x 31 inches) now at Hatfield House

An inscription on the back calls it "Plan of Berck or Bergues near Dunkirk for her most excellent Majesty" It is not, however, the Berck which is "near Dunkirk," but the other Berck, on the Rhine, which was being besieged by the Prince of Parma (For Lord Leicester's method of drawing Parma's forces away from Berck to Zutphen, see E E. pp 188-189)



PART III.

"Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant."

CHAPTER 3

"THIS NOBLE NECESSARY SERVICE."

SECTION 9

"So few against so many."

(Lord Essex's Cavalry Charge outside Zutphen, 22 September, 1586).

WE now come to the circumstances which led to "the death of Philip Sidney, that Knight of great renown," a loss "stupefying all men's minds with sorrow."[1]

As that Cavalry charge, so depreciated today, was a source of pride to every man who took part in it,—and as Sidney was held to have died "the honourablest death that could be desired, and best beseeming a Christian knight, whereby he hath worthely won to himselfe immortal fame,"[2] let us see the happenings on that "misty morning," when "so few" repulsed "so many" of the Spanish and Italian Horse. As George Whetstone expressed it, though Leicester was only accompanied to the Low Counties by "a small number," they were "men of such valew as at sundry times dismaid and dared the Prince of Parma's whole power."[3]

After Doesburg had surrendered, there remained, two or three English miles away, the Castle of Voerden, and "a strong place called Hackfourdhouse," still held by the enemy, who from there could raid and oppress the people of the surrounding districts. Leicester directed "certain Companies" to expel the garrisons from both.

Both at first put up a "stout" resistance; but on the threat of bombardment by the English Artillery, capitulation was offered and accepted.

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[1] Alexander Neville. Latin Dedication to the Earl of Leicester, of "*Academiae Cantabrigiensis Lachrymae . 1587*"

[2] Arthur Golding, 13 May, 1587, Dedicating to Lord Leicester "*The trewnesse of the Christian Religion* . "

[3] "*Sir Phillip Sydney, His Honourable Life, his Valiant Death and True Vertues*" (N D Circa 1587). Title page, E E VI, p 439

The newly-drawn map, facing p 236; the unpublished English sketch plan of "Berck" (1586), E E Plate 11, and Hogenberg's printed maps of Zutphen, plates 13 and 14, should enable all readers (even those entirely unaccustomed to military studies,) to follow with ease the ensuing actions See also Plate 7, Ortelius's map of Zeeland, and Plate 17, plan of Deventer.

As retrospectively related by an adversary historian, Leicester, after receiving the submission of Doesburg, proceeded with his Camp towards Zutphen; which city was protected by "a great Fort made of earth on the side opposite to the river, and two lesser ones which did so much the more defend it.[1] Leicester encamped himself on both sides of the river, and having made a bridge of boats the better to joyn his Camp together, he endeavoured first to take the Fort, hoping that the taking thereof would facilitate the taking of the town."[2]

The Prince of Parma was accustomed to say that it was his habit to fight not at the enemy's time but at his own. Nevertheless, when he had captured the island of Berck but not yet the town, on hearing from the Governor of Zutphen how Leicester's army was encamped there on both sides of the river, he did exactly what Leicester calculated: viz., abandoned the siege of Berck in order to "go speedily to the relief of Zutphen." As Cardinal Bentivoglio related, Parma "in great haste, making a bridge of boats over the Rhine at Berck, and raising a fort at each end thereof, went with all his Army to the other side, and marched towards the enemy."[3] What ensued is easiest understood from the plain narrative of one of Leicester's officers:[4]

> "On the north-west side of the river, right over against Zutphen, and within musket shot of the town," though actually in the "province of the Vellowe" which was part of the "Dutchie of Gueldres," were the two forts, whence the Spanish garrisons could issue forth and harass "the whole province of the Vellowe," making the country "yield them large contributions, even from the ports of Utrecht, Amsterdam, and Leyden They were accounted impregnable . . . the Estates camp two years before had been at them ten months," with eleven thousand Foot and three thousand Horse, only to be beaten back with loss by Taxis [Tassis], "Lieutenant to Coronell Verdugo, governor of Frizeland, for the King of Spain" A "good view of the place" showed how "the forts, as of more importance for us, and not the town, should be besieged Our bridge of boats was appointed to be laid over the river about an English mile from the town, and the camp to be placed on both sides of the water"

Before starting the attack, Leicester went in person to Deventer, to make sure he would not be interrupted from thence. A "large, strong, and rich" town on "the north-east bank of the river Yssell," Deventer had affected neutrality; "inclining more in show to the Estates party, but yielding no contribution to the war; and indeed secretly aiding the enemy with victuals and provisions."

Leicester calculated that whoever reached there the most promptly, himself or the Prince of Parma, would be regarded as the likely victor and supported accordingly.

So thought the Prince. But it was Queen Elizabeth's Lieutenant-General who arrived first, on a ceremonial visit, with an escort of only "two or three troops of Horse, and four hundred Foot." "He dealt in courteous and gentle sort with the

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[1] See E.E, VI, Plates 13 and 14, facing p 224, 226.
[2] Cardinal Bentivoglio, *"History of the Wars of Flanders,"* translation, 1678, pp 210-211
[3] Op cit, pp 210-211
[4] *"A Briefe Report,"* &c, p. 21 (B.M C.32 d 2)

townsmen;" who received him affably. After he had spent two days amongst them, news reached him from his camp that Parma "with his whole armie was risen from about Weesell, and come to Burckloe, a towne of the territorie of Munster, about eight English miles from our Camp." Whereupon "his Excellencie hastened back; leaving behind him in Deventer two troops of Horse and 400 Foot." At his return he found the trenches on the Zutphen side "not fully finished"; but he so stimulated the "diligence" of the army that in one day all was "ready for defence."

Parma then made a night march on Zutphen, with 1,500 Horse; his aim apparently being a reconnaissance, preliminary to the coming conflict. And "leaving part of his horsemen there," he returned "to his camp at Burckloe, where he staied providing victuals, as we understoode, for Zutphen and the forts." But "our men spent the time in intrenching and fortifying" around the forts, "as also upon the town side", and there were "divers light skirmishes almost every day."

In the evening of September the 21st, Leicester, who was well served by his scouts, heard that Parma "would the next morning send a convoy of victuals into Zutphen." He therefore gave orders to Colonel-General Sir John Norris to draw out Sir William Stanley's Foot and others; and he himself selected Horsemen "to encounter the convoy in the way between the enemy's camp and Zutphen."[1]

From Leicester's own account, this news seems to have reached him after midnight on the 21st; and he was making the arrangements early in the morning of the 22nd.

Previously in the midst of all his labours he had found time to be mindful of the fate of a disabled soldier. The following most characteristic letter is now first printed in full:[2]

"To my honourable good friend Mr Secretary Walsingham.

"Good Mr Secretary—This bearer Richard Smith being aged and weak for service, and now called away by some particular occasions, I have given him leave to depart, and for that he hath been an old servant of her Majesties, and sundry times employed, and in respect of his impotencie hath been an humble suitor to her Majesty for a knights room in Windsor, I am to request you to yield him your good favour and furtherance to her Majesty in his said suit, the rather at my request for his goodwill and pains taken in coming over hither with me

"Thus with my very hearty commendations I commit you to the blessed tuition of the Almighty.

"From the Camp before Zutphen this XXth of September, 1586.

"Your assured friend,

"R LEYCESTER"

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[1] "*Briefe Report*," pp 22-23

[2] Spelling modernised from Orig S P H X 18 Docketed "20 September 1586 From the Earle of Leycester recomendacon of Rychard Smyth for an Almes knightes roome in windsor, in consideration of his long service in the warres"

Cal Vol XXI (II), 1927, p 162, only gives six line abstract The editor states that Lord Leicester's letters throw little light on his "ambiguous" character. On the contrary, even his most hurried notes bear the imprint of his personality, unless they are seen through fumes of prejudice still rising up from the libels of 1584-85 For analysis and exposure of the libels, see E.E vol V (1936), pp. 139-167

Thus is dictated; but in his own hand the General adds,

"The poor man hath painfully served, as I am informed, in the wars sundry times her Majesty before now; and seeing so many less worthy persons to come to those reliefs, I pray you, Sir, be good to this man that hath deserved so well."

Sidney also interceded with Walsingham:

"Right Honorable

"This bearer, Richard Smyth, her Majesty's old servant, hath my Lord Leicester his letters directed unto you in his favour for his suit to her Majesty, and therewithal requesteth mine, hoping your Lordship will the rather help him I beseech you therefore . be the good mean for the poor man's preferment, [he] having so long served, and now being aged and weak, hath such need of this, or such other good mean for his relief, as without it he may rest, as I fear, in more misery than the desert of a long service requireth

"I commend him and his cause to your Lordship's good favour and help, and so I humbly take my leave.

"From the Camp at Zutphen, this 22nd September, 1586

"Your humble son,

"PH SIDNEY"[1]

"In the morning of the 22 of September," continues the officer already quoted, there "fell a great and thick mist"; and "you might hardly discern a man ten paces off."

Just before the encounter, the mist was beginning to lift; and it disclosed the Spaniards much nearer and in greater force than was expected: "their pikes being a thousand, very strong on the highway" and "their muskets and arcabuzes being 2000." Thus it was—says the *Briefe Report*,—that "our men, specially the noblemen and gentlemen, as the Erle of Essex, the Lord Willoughby, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir William Russell, Sir John Norris and the rest, in number seven or eight score, who were in troupe together in the face of the enemy," being in the forefront "received the whole volley of the enemies shot."[2]

Then "was the most brave fight performed on our side that could be": *"For the honour of England, my fellows, follow me,"* said Essex, the nineteen-year old General;[3] and "so managed his men" that, riding through the "very furie" of the

[1] Spelling modernised from orig S P Holland, Vol X, f 50 Only "your humble son" and signature in Sidney's autograph As this is the last letter Sidney is known to have written,—except the one on his death bed to Wierus, and his Will,—Professor M W. Wallace (p 375) pays it special attention He thinks the date "surely an error," and that it was "probably written on September 21st or possibly on September 20th" But Walsingham, to whom it would have been brought by hand, docketed it "22nd September, 1586, from Sr Philippe Sydney, In favour of Rychard Smyth", and a clerical error in the letter, "Your Lordship" instead of "Your Honour," gives the impression that it was dictated in a hurry and not read over There seems no reason why it could not have been written in the early morning of 22nd, but the exact date is not of much importance The interest of it is as showing that even amidst all the anxieties of the war, Sidney found time to perform an act of kindness

[2] Op cit p 24 [3] Stow's *Annales* (ed 1615), p 736

Spanish Infantry fire, the English Cavalry "gave charge upon the two foremost troops of the enemy's Horsemen" driving them back over their own trenches.

"Essex that day reviv'd his father's fame,
Lord Willoughby charged like a fiery flame.
Worthy Russel that will to no man yealde;
. . . .
Stout Norreyes darde the Spanyard to the fielde,
Parrat[1] struck down Gonzaga with a blowe;
The younger North did forward courage show,
Wingfield did serve like to a hardy knight,
And Wooton prest into the hottest fight."

"Sir Philip Sidney so behaved himself that it was wonder to see."

"On foote that day Lord Audley servèd well,
Umpton, Hatton, as forward as the best. ."[2]

"But oh, to shade this glory with our woe,
Hardy Sidney, much like Mars in viewe,
With furious charge did break upon the foe"

His "stately horse" being shot under him

"He hors'd againe, the fight did soone renewe
But Fortune, that at his renown did spight,
A bullet sent that in his thigh did light."[3]

Though this can be told in a moment, the beating back of the foe took several hours.

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[1] Sir Thomas Perrott

[2] "Fisher, Fortescue, Hayden, Hungate, Veare, Blunt, Maule, Whitstone, Fulford, Udell, Wroughton, Swan With more of name" George Whetstone. *"Sir Phillip Sidney, His Honorable Life,"* &c Stanzas 30-40 Marginal note repeats names of some of the Cavalry

"The Earle of Essex, The Lord Willowbye, Sir W Russell, Sir J & H Norris, Sir T Parrett, Sir H North, Sir J Wingfield, J Wotton Esq^re, J Fisher Esq^re, F Fortescue Esq^re, J Heyden Esq^re, W Hungate Esq^re, F Vere Esq^re, C Blunt Esq^re, J Hynd Esq^re, B. Whiston (sic) Esq^re, Ri Maule (Gen(tlemen), R Fulford Gen, William Wroughton Gen, Cap Swan, &c"

(Several of these names occur in the List of Horsemen at the Hague, Jan^ry 1585-6, first published App E E. VI, pp 43-48)

Whetstone adds,

"Cosby deserves his honour with the rest,
Thomas was slain, and Mertayne
Browne ventured far, and so did many moe
Unknown to me, whose fames their names will showe"

Whetstone's list of those "Wounded on foote" are

"The Lord Audley" (who in January had been a Cavalry Officer)
"Sir H Umpton
Sir W Hatton
Sir W Standley [Stanley]
Cap Cosby
Cap Thomas
Cap Marten [who died]
Walter Brown, &c"

And Stow (p 736) adds, "Capt T Welsh is thought to be dead We lost of Foote and Horse about fortie"

Umpton and Hatton received Knighthood for their services this day See E E p 217

[3] Whetstone, op cit Stanza 34

After the third charge, the enemy did not stay to meet a fourth. Norris congratulated Leicester—"'*for,*' said he, '*you have had this day the honourablest day that ever you had, for a handful of your men have driven the enemy three times to retreat . . . .*'"[1]

Three of the standards fell into the hands of the English victors; whose losses were only "about thirtie, one and another, slaine and dying after hurts," but there were "not any of name save only Sir Philip Sidney."[2]

"The wounde being deepe, and shivering the bone, yet his heart was good"; and when "one Udal, a gentleman, alighted and led his horse softly," Sir Philip bade him "let goe"; and went "riding out of the field" alone.[3]

When he met Leicester, "His Excellency said, 'O Philip, I am sorry for thy hurt'; and Sir Philip answered 'my Lord, this have I done to your honour and her Majesty's service'." Then "Sir William Russell, coming to him, kissed his hand, and said with tears, 'O noble Sir Philip, there was never man attained hurt more honourably than you have done, nor any served like unto you'."[4]

Leicester "having been in the field giving order from the beginning," now took counsel with his "chiefe officers" as to the next step. His own inclination was "to have brought down the whole camp and to have set upon the enemy with all our forces." But only 300 of the Horse could be got together at once, with not more than 1,700 Foot at the outside, "the rest being employed at the fortes and in other necessarie services at that time." As the enemy's total of Horse was rated at twelve to fourteen thousand, also as possibly the Prince's entire Army might be near enough to come up in full strength, it was decided at the moment not to run any further hazards.

So ended that day's work: "our men content with their victory, returning, and the enemie marching quietly away;"[5] or, as Stow puts it, "the retreat being sounded both by drum and trumpet, our Cap[tains] came back in good order, every man to his quarter, with great praise and honour."[6]

A report, in Italian, written from Lille, was intercepted and is in our Record Office to-day, alleging that "after a very fierce fight on both sides" the English and their allies were "entirely defeated, and hardly any escaped, either Horse or Foot:"

> ". . After which conflict his Highness carrying off the Artillery and flags, sent some Companies of Horse to Zutphen, ordering them to issue forth with the garrison upon the enemy at the same time that he made an attack upon it Which was so well executed that the said camp was completely defeated, killed and lost where ours found a very great booty and provisions, *having killed all the nobility of the enemy The Earl of Leicester*

[1] Stow's *Annales*, p 757 [2] "*Briefe Report*," p 24 It was afterwards believed that Sidney had been hit by a poisoned bullet T Churchyard, "*A Trve Discourse Historicall . . . 1602*," "*Sir Phillip Sydney His honorable actions . .*" pp 62-63

[3] Op cit ante [4] Stow's *Annales* to 1592 (ed 1615, p 736)

[5] "*A Briefe Report*," p 24. [6] *Annales* (ed. 1615), p 737

took to flight. His Highness has sent after him to catch him if possible. . . His Highness is following up his victory, which I hope will bear great fruit . "[1]

Fictitious as this is, it is scarcely less wide of the mark than some of the ideas that prevail in England to-day.[2]

The day after the fight, Leicester wrote to the Captain of the Queen's Guard, Sir Thomas Heneage, describing how under cover of the mist the enemy's force came up sooner than he expected, and in greater strength; but how our Cavalry put their horses at a gallop and rode through the Spanish Infantry, so as to charge the enemy Horse that were in reserve at the back of the Foot. This was done "so valiantly" that though the Spaniards "were one thousand one hundred Horse," and "of the very chief" of the Prince of Parma's troops, our men "being not two hundred," "broke them" and beat them back.

"*God did send such a day as I think was never* [*for*] *many years seen; so few against so many*" The horses deserved a share of the glory. Many "were hurt and killed, among which was my nephew's own. He went and changed to another, and would needs charge again."

Leicester praises his step-son Essex, and Essex's brother-in-law Sir Thomas Perrott; also Sir John Norris;

"and my unfortunate Philip, with Sir William Russell and divers gentlemen; and not one hurt but only my nephew."[3]

"They killed four of their enemy's chief leaders, and carried the valiant Count Hannibal Gonzaga away with them upon a horse; also took Captain George Cressier, the principal soldier of the camp, and Captain of all the Albanez. My Lord Willoughby overthrew him at the first encounter, horse and man . . . . There is not a properer gentleman in the world toward than this Lord Willoughby. *But I can hardly praise one more than another, they all did so well . . . .*"

Only one officer severely wounded, and so small a loss of men, seemed almost miraculous:

"albeit" adds Leicester, that one being Philip, "I must say it was too much loss for me for this young man he was my greatest comfort, next to Her Majesty, of all the world, and if I could buy his life with all I have, to my shirt, I would give it

"How God will dispose of him I know not, but fear I must needs greatly the worst the blow in so dangerous a place, and so great Yet did I never hear of any man that did abide the dressing and setting of his bones better than he did And he was carried afterwards in my barge to Arnhem, and I hear this day he is still of good heart, and comforteth all about him as much as may be God of his mercy grant me his life. .

"I was abroad at that time in the field, giving some order to supply that business, which did endure almost two hours in continual fight and meeting Philip coming upon his

[1] 16 Oct 1586 1 p S P Holland, X 71 Trans Cal· p. 200.
[2] See E.E., p 186.
[3] So far as known to him when he wrote· but see p 191 n 2.

horseback, not a little to my grief But *I would you had stood by to hear his most loyal speeches to Her Majesty, his constant mind to the Cause, his loving care over me, and his most resolute determination* for death, not one jot appalled for his blow, which is the most grievous that I ever saw with such a bullet; riding so a long mile and a half, upon his horse ere he came to the Camp. Not ceasing to speak still of Her Majesty *being glad if his hurt and death might any way honour Her Majesty, for hers he was while he lived, and God's he was sure to be if he died Prayed all men to think the Cause was as well Her Majesty's as the country's, and not be discouraged, 'for you have seen such success as may encourage us all, and this my hurt is the ordnance of God by the hap of the war'* "[1]

The Spaniards were credited with being the best marksmen in Europe; and as the famous charge was against Cavalry and Infantry both, the marvel is not that Sir Philip Sidney was wounded but that all the officers were not killed. The now frequent assertion that had it not been for Sir Philip's death "this fight would hardly have been recorded in English history" reveals not only an overlooking of many of the most memorable passages in Elizabethan prose works and poems, Latin and English, but also a fundamental misunderstanding of Cavalry operations. The Zutphen charge bears comparison with many a famous action; and the occasion was crucial. Had the English, when the mist lifted, failed to act promptly, the national prestige would have suffered heavy diminution. Essex's charge not only achieved its immediate object, which was to delay the Spanish convoy reaching Zutphen city, but it enhanced the English repute for vigour and daring.

"Whether your time call you to live or die, do both like a Prince," Philip Sidney had written in *"Arcadia."* And now the time had come when he, who so loved "the heroicall" in song and story, proved himself "such a right manlike man" as the best of his own heroes.

"Well," comments Leicester, "I pray God, if it be His will, save me his life; even as well for Her Majesty's service sake as for mine own comfort."[2]

Fulke Greville tells the story by which we now know Sidney best:

"The horse he rode upon, when he was wounded," was "the noblest and fittest bier to carry a martial commander to his grave In which sad progress, passing by the rest of the Army where his uncle the General was, and, being thirsty with excess of bleeding, he called for drink, which was presently brought him But as he was putting the bottle to his mouth, he saw a poor soldier carried along . . casting up his eyes at the bottle Which Sir Philip perceiving took it from his head and delivered it to the poor man, with these words, 'Thy necessity is yet greater than mine' "[3]

As soon as Sidney's young wife heard of his wound, despite her state of health, she came from Flushing to Arnhem to be with him.

"With love and care well mixed," the surgeons "began their cure, and continued it sixteen days; not with [mere] hope but rather such confidence of his recovery as the joy of their hearts overflowed their discretion, and made them

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[1] *Letters and Memorials* (1746), Vol I, pp 104-105

[2] Ib p 105

[3] *"The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney,"* Chapter xii (ed: 1906)

spread the intelligence of it to the Queen and all his noble friends in England, where it was received not as private but as public good news."[1]

Writing to Walsingham, "from the campe before Zutphen, this xxviii of September, 1586," Leicester says,

> "My grief was so great for the hurt of your son, my dear nephew and son also, as I would not increase yours by the discomfort thereof But seeing this is the vi day after his hurt, and having received from the surgeons a most comfortable letter of their very good hope they have now of him," it seemed reasonable to think he would recover. " . . . yester-evening he grew heavy and into a fever, about eleven a clock he fell to exceeding good rest, and after his sleep found himself very well, and free from any ague at all; and was dressed, and did find much more ease than at any time since he was hurt· and his wound very fair, with the greatest amendment that is possible for the time, and with very good tokens. *I do but beg his life of God, . . . My hope is now very good*"[2]

Again on the following day Leicester reassured Walsingham: "the Lord giveth me good cause to hope of his merciful dealing in granting life to our dear son to remain with us."[3] On the 2nd of October, he was even more confident:

> "Good Mr Secretary,
>
> "I trust now you shall have longer enjoying of your son, for all the worst days be past, as both surgeons and physicians have informed me, and he amends as well as is possible. he sleeps and rests well . . I thank God for it"

In his own hand, in a postscript to a letter to Burghley on difficulties about money, Leicester describes how "our proceedings here, God be thanked goeth very well forward hitherto":

> "only a particular grief to myself is happened by the hurt of my dear nephew Sir Ph Sidney in a skirmish upon Thursday last in the morning, with a musket shot upon his thigh, three fingers above his knee, a very dangerous wound, the bone being broken in pieces But yet he is of good comfort, and *the surgeons are in good hope of his life, if no ill accident come, as yet there is not* He slept this last night four hours together, and did eat with good appetite afterward I pray God save his life, and I care not how lame he be"

As to the fight, there were "only 150 English Horse, and most of them the best of this camp . . ." Except for "this mishap" to Sidney, the General was more than pleased with the upshot: *"There was not such an encounter this 40 years, for beside the Horse there was but 300 Footmen. The enemy 1200 Horse, the whole flower of them, and 3000 Footmen, all placed and prepared aforehand . . . These few maintained the fight two hours together; many of theirs killed; few of ours; none of name hurt or killed, but Philip hurt."*[4]

"The Marques del Guasto, General of the Cavalry was there, Captain Geo. Basto, Lieutenant to the Marques, the Count Hanibal Gonzaga killed; with three

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[1] Op cit pp 97-98
[2] MS. Ouvry, f. 58, copy, *"Leycester Correspondence,"* pp. 413-415
[3] Ib· MS f. 58b, and op cit p. 415
[4] Previously he gave the enemy Horse at 1,100: the exact figure he could only conjecture

others whose names we know not, but they had cassocks all embroidered and laced with silver and gold.[1]

"Capt. Geo. Cresier, Captain of the Prince's Guard and of all the Albaneses taken prisoner by my Lord Willoughby and overthrown by him to the ground first . . . ."[2]

Of ours "since they have all so well escaped (save my dear nephew) I would not for ten thousand pounds but they had been there, since they have all won that honour they have; for your Lordship never heard so desperate charges as they gave upon the enemies, in the face of their muskets, . . . and divers, their horses being killed, stepped aside and changed their horses, and to it again."

And in spite of there being so large a force on the enemy side, Parma did not put in any waggons to Zutphen, *"save thirty which got in in the night."*

Writing long after the event, Cardinal Bentivoglio, though describing the English as victorious in the charge, mistakenly believed that Parma himself "came in battle array with resolution to fight, if the enemy should endeavour . . . But Leicester would not hazard himself so far, . . . but suffered Farnese to pass on; who entered himself in person into Zutphen . . . ."

Leicester writing on the spot, says otherwise:

"We looked to have heard of the Prince to come forward with his army, and to put in those carriages, but this day he hath levied his camp, and he saith it is to fight with our Rutters who are within two days journey of us.[3] But

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[1] So were presumably persons of quality

[2] "Captain George being in his Excellencys tent, would not graunte to bee prisoner to any but to him who unhorsed him whome he knewe if he saw him in his armour The L Willoughby came in armed this is the Knight that I am prisoner to, and I yeald to him, said he so the L Willoughby had the prisoner adjudged to be his" Stow's *Annales* (1592) (B M 2072 g)

(A portrait of Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby d'Eresby follows in E E. Vol VII)

As rendered by Cardinal Bentivoglio While on the march Parma learnt that 2000 "Reitters" from Germany had been raised by the Count of Meurs to aid Lord Leicester These he intercepted, "routed and defeated"

"The Duke continued his march," says the Cardinal, "and came so near Zutphen, as he prepared to send in succour, to this purpose he put all his Camp into battel array, and made the Marquess of Vasto advance with some Troops of Horse, all of them almost Italians, with a great Squadron of Foot, composed of Spaniards, Italians, and Walloons, and with many Cartloads of the necessariest provisions to be brought into the City

"The Horse went in the Van, with whom the Marquis coming up unto the Enemies, *some troops of Horse very boldly opposed them, and charged so home as they disordered them, and inforced them to give back*, but reassuming courage, they fell to fight again; and the combat was such that for a while the success was doubtful· The Marquess plaid his part manfully The Italian troops were commanded by Apio Conti, the Marquis Hannibal Gonzaga, the Marquis Bentivoglio, George Cressia, and Count Nicolas Casis, who strove all of them who should most signalise themselves upon this occasion *But the Conflict seemed most to favour the enemy*, for Cressia was taken prisoner, and Gonzaga dangerously wounded" *"History of the Wars of Flanders,"* trans 1678, p 211

[3] German reinforcements on the way. S P Holland X 23. Cal: pp 105-6.

gone he is, and I trust they will be safe enough from him. If the worst fall, they are a better match than we at this time were, for they are 2000 strong of horse and 3000 Almayns . . . . "

Although "after this fight we heard no more of the Prince in 10 or 12 daies," as the writer of the "*Briefe Report*" relates, nobody was so foolish as to suppose Parma and the Spaniards would be idle. English scouts confirmed that Parma had gone to meet Leicester's expected reinforcements,—"Reyters and Almaines (now thought to be readie to march)",—and the Spanish purpose was to waylay and hinder those auxiliaries: "as also to provide more victuals, powder, and shot for Zutphen."[1]

Leicester took the best advantage of the enemy's temporary absence, and next applied himself to his "principall purpose," the capture of the forts.

This we must next examine; having grasped that the Zutphen fight, which brought Sidney his mortal wound, was the occasion of Essex winning knighthood on the field, like his ancestors of old, and gaining not only the enhanced regard of his friends but the respect of England's foes.

> "Brave troupes of Horse he bravely led,
> And thus at first his fame was spread."[2]

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[1] "*A Briefe Report,*" p 24

[2] R P[ricket], "*Honours Fame in triumph riding,*" (E E, vol VI, p 43) We shall see Sidney on his death bed referring to Essex as his "much-honoured Lord,"—the honour being for Essex's actions in this war Nothing could be plainer than Stow's description of how Essex led the charge on 22nd September, 1586 Likewise Gentilis, *De Jure Belli*, clearly commends Essex's promptitude as Cavalry General, (E E p 202), and the adversary historian Strada writes of the Cavalry as "under Essex's command" (E E p 201) "*The Briefe Report*" names him first, and so does Whetstone How, then, is it that even so painstaking a writer as Professor M W Wallace, "*Life of Sir Philip Sidney*" (1915), p 377, is manifestly unaware that Essex was the Cavalry General, and so puts his name after that of Sir William Stanley, who was merely a Captain of Foot? The present writer also at first supposed Sidney to have been in command, and inferred from Fulke Greville's sad reference to "this unfortunate stand" that the fight had been a defeat. The mistake was only discovered during the systematic process of endeavouring to test all details of each important action as if present in person Now that so many facts hitherto misunderstood are fully elucidated in "*Elizabethan England,*" it is to be hoped that the corrections will gradually be incorporated in new editions of all the works in which the inadvertencies have occurred

As these sheets are being passed for press, a new volume on "*The Art of War in the Sixteenth Century,*" pp. 387-388, states that "the only occasion on which we find the English horse seriously engaged was the abhortive attack on the Spanish convoy in front of Zutphen in 1586 they made a desperate onslaught led by a group of gentlemen volunteers, but did not win a victory." But a "group" cannot lead They were all volunteers; and the leader—Essex—was remembered as such well into the following century (See E E pp 200-202)


HOLLANDIA
ZEELANDIA
FLANDRIA
ANGLIÆ PARS
Dover
DE
BELLO BEL
GICO DECADES
DVÆ.
AVCTIORES ET COR
RECTIORES CVM PRIOV
RIBVS CIS PRODEVNT
A
FAMIANO STRA
DA SOCIETATE
ROMANO
MOGVNTIÆ
1651

"DE BELLO BELGICO" OF STRADA, AND ITS INFLUENCE

As the war in the Netherlands—which Lord Leicester is nowadays blamed for not winning in two years,—continued more than half a century after his time, we should cease gibbeting the English Governor-General for not achieving what was beyond mortal power It was not until 1655 that the citizens of Amsterdam were able to erect an inscription in Latin upon the new buildings of their Town Hall stating that the foundation stone had been laid on the 28th November, 1648, the year of the end of that struggle which the Confederate Provinces of the Low Countries had waged by land and sea for more than eighty years, "against the three powerful Philips, Kings of Spain," till by persistence and vigour they won "a victorious peace"[1]

In 1648 there was issued in Rome an enlarged edition of *"De Bello Belgico,"* breaking off midway in the year 1590 while Alexander Farnese, 3rd Duke of Parma was still Governor of the Netherlands. Dedicated to the 6th Duke of Parma, it was written by an accomplished and eloquent Jesuit [2]

> "Who ever thou art," he says, "that shalt vouchsafe to take my Book in thy hands, give me leave to preface a few things Thou hast here a History of mine, which I cannot expect should be either praised or pardoned for expedition, being nine years old before I sent it to the presse yet for that very procrastination I may hope favour from my Reader because it was out of my respect to him that I spun out time in polishing my work "[3]

On the 3rd September, 1646, the Emperor Ferdinand III licensed to be printed and sold throughout his dominions *(summo privilegio Caesar) "de Bello Belgico P Famiani Straedae Societatis Iesu"* An enlarged and illustrated edition, on the 24th October 1647, received the license of Pope Innocent X *(Privilegium Pontificium Innocentius Papa Decimus)* It was approved on 1st March the same year in France by King Louis *(Ludovici XIV Galliae et Navarrae Regis)*, and on the 30th November was authorised for circulation in the Kingdom of Naples

The war had not then ended, but three years after the peace, the edition of 1651 repeats the former frontispiece, a map of the Netherlands, all the Provinces—including those which had won their independence,—being skilfully arranged to fit into the outline of a lion, across the tail of which appears a part of England The lion's front paw leans on a shield inscribed *"De Bello Belgico decades duae*

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[1] IV Cal Nov C I Ↄ I Ↄ C XLVIII
"Quo compositum est bellum quod foederati inf German Populi cum tribus Philippis Potentissimis Hispaniarum Regibus terra marique per omnes pere orbis oras ultra octoginta annos fortiter gesserunt asserta patriae Libertate et religione auspicicius pacificorum optimorum "
"Les Délices de la Hollande" "Dernière édition A Amsterdam, Chez Jean Bonman, l'An 1678" p 100.

[2] *"Famiani Stradae Romani E Societate Jesu DE BELLO Belgico Decas Secvnda Ab initio praefecturae Alexandri Farnesii Parmae Placentiaeque Ducis III, Anno MDLXXVIII Usque ad Annum MDXC Iuxta exemplar Romae apud haeredes Francisci Corballetti CIↃIↃCXLVIII"* (1648) Dedic *"Sereniss Principi Ranutio II Farnesio Parmae ac Placentiae Duci Sexto,'* dated *"E Collegio Romano, Kal Novembris An Dom DDCXLVII,"* comparing Alexander of Parma to Alexander the Great and to Julius Caesar, so eloquently that as we read we almost forget that the Prince was foiled of his chief ambition, the conquest of England
From *"Roma 21 Martii 1647" Vicentius Carafa Societatis Jesv Praep Generalis,* authorises the printing of the enlarged edition, which has been already approved at Rome 2 Nov· 1646
Frontispiece *"Leo Belgicus"* holding a shield *"De Bello Belgico"* Numerous portraits; including Q Elizabeth, and a very poor print of *"Robertus Dudleus Comes Leycestriae Baro Denbig Gubernator Belgarum"*

[3] To the Reader· *"The History of the Low Countrey Warres"* Sir R Stapylton's translation 1st ed London 1650

auctiores et correctiores cum figuris aeneis prodeunt a Famiano Strada Soc Iesu Romano Moguntiae 1651",[1] and an inner title page gives fuller particulars —

"*Famiani Stradae Romani è sociatate Iesu De Bello Belgico Decades Duae Ab excessu Caroli V Imp usq ad Initium Praefecturae Alexandri Farnesii Placentiaeque Ducis III Ad Annum 1678* (sic misprint for 1578) *continuatae cum figuris aeneis et imaginibus ad vivum expressis nec non iconibus reliquorum in bello actorum et ad Historiam praecipue spectantium denuo de novo Cum Privilegio S Caes Majest et consensu Auctoris MDCLI Moguntiae Impensis Johan Godfrid Schonwetter Et Johann Beyeri*"

The first ten books, covering events up to the death of Don John of Austria in 1578, had been printed at Antwerp in 1640,[2] and from this earlier version was taken the translation, "*De Bello Belgico The History of the Low Countrey Warres Written in Latine by Famianus Strada, In English by Sr Rob Stapylton, Kt*" translated for Charles I[3]

There is a French version,[4] from which much of the matter relating to English men of action has vanished the translator deleting, altering, or adding, at pleasure The French rendering purports to be from the complete work, but Edward Stanley is the only English officer mentioned at Zutphen "*Comes Essexii*" and "*Philippus Sidneius*" of the Latin narrative have disappeared, so for the actual fighting we will use the best Latin edition, 1651, garnished with folding plates of Spanish victories, and of the floating mines used by the Prince of Parma in 1585 at the siege of Antwerp[5]

"My fortune is somewhat better than ordinary Historians," observes Strada (as translated by Stapleton) "For I give thee Princes letters, most of them writ with their own hands I give thee Embassadours private instructions, secret Councils of Warr, Causes of Designes, Notes brought in by spies, Clandestine conspiracies of Towns, and Particularities, which either by Pieces, or collected into Diaries, have been discovered to me by the very men employed"

Were it not that he fears to "trespass on the readers Patience" he could have presented all this matter at greater length and could "produce the credit of the Originals themselves" He apprehended that "being a stranger to publick business" and "a Clergie-man," his readers might "affirm it misbecomes him to treat of arms" But "professing holiness of life," he declared, "I hold not the subject of this warre inconsistent with my course of life, Religion being the cause of both."[6]

Whatever were the letters and diaries upon which he drew for guidance, they cannot have included those of any man present outside Zutphen town on September the 22nd, 1586 Strada renders correctly the names and ranks of the principal officers,[7] but when we come to the battle, his tale requires amendment Having explained that the Prince of Parma intended to provision the beleaguered town of Zutphen, and that Leicester endeavoured to prevent this, Strada continues

" the Cavalry that Essex had assembled in compact order to cut off their return to their defences also delayed the wagons considerably. But the courage of the pikemen, who on that day carried off the honours of the victory, completely upset his plan, for the Spanish troops fighting in company with them, adding to the powerful impression made by the pikes upon the Cavalry, opened a way for the wagons by dividing and piercing the enemy's line They" [the Spanish troops] "took up a position between the wagons and Essex's Cavalry, having reformed their line,

[1] A Lion map of the Netherlands had been published previously, in 1583

[2] "*De Bello Belgico,*" &c &c. Editio III in 10 books, ending p. 565 B M No 1055 b 9

[3] "*Printed for Humphrey Moseley*" &c London 1650 Sm folio Illustrated Dedic. to Henry Marquess of Dorchester, Earl of Kingston, Viscount Newark B M. 9415 d 3

[4] "*Histoire de la Guerre de Flandre de Famiano Strada Traduite par P Du Ryer A Paris 1765*" 2 vols from the ed of 1640 B M G 4221.

[5] See E E Vol V, facing p 280

[6] Op cit p 2

[7] *Praeerat autem universo equitatui Robertus Essexiae Comes, Castris Villelmus Pelhamus, Anglis praecipue peditibus Iohannes Norritius,*" &c., &c, Ed 1651. Lib. 8 p 653

after the wagons had been withdrawn with extraordinary celerity under the shelter of boundary hedges, and while they held the enemy by fighting, the wagons were hurrying back towards Zutphen until at last the column (after the arrival of reinforcements from the city with Verdugo himself in command and soon afterwards Tassis) was escorted into Zutphen And the force under Essex's command, when there was no further object to be gained, when they were aware of Parma's approach, gradually withdrew "[1]

For the "powerful impression made by the pikes upon the Cavalry" we should read it the opposite way about, and for the pikes "dividing and piercing the enemy's line," it should be "the English Horse returned a second and third time to the charge, meeting and beating the Prince of Parma's famous Horsemen "[2]

What is meant by the waggons "hurrying back towards Zutphen" is not clear Bound for Zutphen it would have been not "back" but "forward" they would have had to "hurry "[3]

The reference to reinforcements is so worded as to make it seem as if the odds of numbers were in favour of the English That Essex had four hundred Horse "to carry out an ambuscade" is Strada's statement,[4] (Leicester, who selected the Horse, says they were under two hundred) Strada gives no figures as to the numbers Essex opposed

But the few English Horse were against some eleven hundred Spanish and Italian Cavalry, and the fighting was complicated by the need for the English first to ride through the Spanish pikemen and musketeers [5]

As for Strada's idea of "the force under Essex's command when they were aware of Parma's approach, gradually withdrawing," Parma on that occasion did not approach It was the Spanish troops which withdrew, after a stiff fight and losing many, wounded and prisoners

Long before Strada wrote *"De Bello Belgico,"* most of the warriors were dead But in 1588 Professor Albericus Gentilis, prefacing his *"De Jure Belli,"* congratulated Essex on *"your brilliant services"* and *"glorious achievements"* [6]

"You who as leader of the English Cavalry for ever proved your courage, not to them alone and to our Belgian allies, but also to our Spanish foes, through whose serried ranks You (hardly more than a boy) burst as a thunderbolt of war."

Gentilis was writing little more than two years after the Zutphen fight, Strada over half a century later, but although Leicester's despatches have long been in print, historians, by a strange mischance, have gone on taking their ideas presumably from Strada, who, though a careful writer when he possessed first-hand materials, was in this case misinformed

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[1] Now newly translated from Latin edition of 1651. p. 653 From line 30

[2] Particulars ante, pp 191-192

[3] See Hatfield MS Cal Addenda, vol XIII, for an intercepted false report that the English had been defeated Also Wright's *"Queen Elizabeth and her Times,"* 1832, vol II, pp 319-321, Walsingham to Stafford, 27 Oct, 1586, telling him it had been "given out that the Spaniards had the better," wherefore he corrects this with Lord Willoughby's report of the "manner of that conflict" of 22 September Repulsed in the morning, the foe got some of their waggons in under cover of night, as Leicester himself relates (E E p 196), but the English victory in the field should no longer be inverted into a defeat

[4] p. 652 [5] Details ante, p 193, Leicester's despatch

[6] " *equitatus dux non his modo Belgisque socus, et Hispanis hostibus, in quorum conferta agmina persuadebas belli fulmen (et poene puerl) aeternum protulisse"* &c. Oxford, 1 Oct 1588 *"Albericis Gentilis I C professoris regij DE JURE BELLI Commentationes duae Lugduni Batavorum apud Iohannem de la Croy, 1589"*

APPENDIX B

UNPUBLISHED MUSTER ROLL. "BANDES PRESENT IN THE CAMPE BEFORE ZUTPHEN THIS 26 SEPTEMBER, 1586 STILLO ANGLIAE. OF ALL NACCIONS BOTHE OF HORSE AND FOOTE."[1]

Despite the sequence of this heading "bothe of Horse and Foote," the "Englyshe Cornets of Horsmen" and "Duche Cornets of Horsmen" come near the end, just before the "Pyoners of Duchmen" The number of Horse, of both nations, a total of 2,235, should be particularly noticed, only 927 English Cavalry "whole," 52 sick and 17 wounded Yet these few, "all voluntaries," won honour and renown for themselves and their country, and believed their names must be "eternised."

Out of the troops in the ensuing lists, 26th of September, how small a proportion had been engaged in the famous fight on the "misty morning" of the 22nd can be realised from Leicester's letters already quoted But even though between that morning and the Muster four days later, Sir Philip Sidney's "Cornet" of Horse appears to have been drawn out of Deventer, and some other troops brought from Deventer and Doesburg ("Dosberrye"), the total of the force "of all Naccions"—English, Scots, and Dutch—remained extraordinarily small

Leicester's modern detractors have much to say upon what they conceive to be his "sloth" and "incapacity", because he did not attempt to capture Zutphen town, nor could win in a few months a war which lasted another half century and more But not one of the censurers has examined the Muster Rolls, or endeavoured to ascertain precisely what troops Leicester had at his disposal

If a literary critic passed judgment upon a writer's life and works while unaware of the names and natures of the books that author had produced, even the most superficial readers would protest But it is usual in modern history to dismiss the Elizabethan Army in a few contemptuous phrases,—born of ignorance but claiming authority.

Justly to criticise a force, it is necessary to learn of whom and what it consisted. Though innumerable English pens have rashly censured Leicester as an "incapable General," the Muster Rolls, with other such practical particulars, are only now given to the world.

When we see that even including Dutch and Scots the General on the 26th September, 1586, had no more than 15,060 men, and that out of these, of the "whole men" only 7,623 were English,[2] we can hardly miss the point of Leicester's protest that proud as he was of the gallantry of the troops, their numbers were utterly inadequate to the continuance of the campaign on a scale calculated to bring permanent results, and that if Her Majesty wished victory to her Allies she must allow a large force to take the field without delay

The Prince of Parma desired to prevent any such action; hence the parleyings with which in secret he distracted the Queen While Leicester at the front was labouring to the utmost,

[1] Endorsed by Lord Burghley's clerk "26 Sept 1586 Bandes aswell English as others before Zutphen" This is now in State Papers Holland (Vol X. No. 28), though Zutphen the capital of the county of Zutphen was not then reckoned as Holland

[2] Foot. 6,172 (with 435 sick and 89 wounded). Horse 927 (with 52 sick and 17 wounded).

his Sovereign behind his back was conducting worse than useless negotiations with the enemy General But Leicester kept the little Army in good heart by his own "liberalitie and bountie", and by his heartfelt commendations of the courageous efforts at Zutphen which he "would that Her Majesty could have seen"

"BANDES PRESENT IN THE CAMPE BEFORE ZUTPHEN

this 26 septembr 1586 Stillo Angliae of all Nacions bothe of horse and Foote"

		Holle	sicke	hurte
	The L Generalls {Shot 56 / Gard. 40	096	00	00
	The Marshall his garde and others	068	00	00
Quens pas	Sr John Norris collonell of fotemen	177	28	00
Regement	L Awdeley	191	00	00
slaine	Capt. Marten	160	00	00
	„ Gashfilde	138	15	05
	„ Ryche	133	00	00
	„ Fulforde	115	00	05
Quens pas	Sr Thomas Cycills Companye	189	00	00
	Sr Thomas Sherley als Veare	160	12	06
Dosberye	Capt Antonye Sherleye	093	44	00
Regement	„ George Fermer	134	08	00
	„ Richard Farmer	113	14	03
	„ Morris Dennys	108	12	08
Sr Jo	Sr John Tracye	144	08	00
compa	Capt Gilles Tracye	139	06	00
	„ Nyccolas Tracye	136	07	00
	„ George Turvill (Quenes paie)	104	00	00
Regement	Sr Wm. Stanleye	223	04	10
	Capt Edward Stanleye	145	05	02
	„ Gwyn	140	03	06
	„ Hoveden	136	08	07
	„ Cosby	135	04	07
Dottecom	„ Yonge	126	24	00
	Collonell Digbyghe	160	19	10
	Captaine Raynes	154	27	03
Deuenter	Capt. Warde	190	06	00
	„ Clarke	124	09	03
	„ Tanner	066	15	02
Dosberrie	„ Lea	151	15	05
Deuenter	„ flude Quenes paie	177	00	00
	„ Sampson	067	25	03
	„ Reade Quenes paie	114	05	00
Dosberrye	„ Borrowghe „ „	123	16	00
	„ Henry Norryes „ „	116	16	00
	„ Price „ „	114	05	00
	„ Wilson „ „	139	00	00

		Holle.	sicke	hurte
Capt. Havers	Quenes paie - - -	104	06	00
„ Vavassor	„ „ - - -	108	08	00
„ Isleye	„ „ - - -	149	12	00
„ Edmond Carrye	- - -	144	11	00
„ Darcye	„ „ - - -	071	08	01
„ Scoot	„ „ - - -	130	10	00
„ Hunynges	- - -	122	14	03
„ Harte	„ „ - - -	120	00	00
„ Hichecoke	- - -	182	06	00
47 compa Englishe „ Samuell Thomas Mr gonner off tharmye	-	044	00	00
		6172	435	89
wherof 15 in Q paie				

SCOOTES REGEMENT

		Holle	sicke	hurte.
Capt David Holliphant [Oliphant]	- - -	098	04	00
„ William Weddall	- - - - -	156	12	00
„ Alexander Gordon	- - - - -	052	06	00
„ David Trayll	- - - - - -	096	05	00
„ Allexander Mongomerye	- - - -	092	00	00
„ William Morreye	- - - - -	130	00	08
„ David Boswell	- - - - - -	092	00	02
„ Mathias Raylinge	- - - - -	098	00	04
9 compa Scootes [i e Scots] „ Retterye	- - - - - - -	084	00	06
		898	27	20

DUCHE COMPANIES OF FOOTMEN.

		Holle.	sicke.	hurte.
Grave Hollokes musketers	- - - - -	074	00	00
„ Phillipe De Nassawe	- - - -	102	00	00
Heare van krekinge	- - - - - -	048	02	00
Grave van Nemeuse	- - - - - -	131	02	02
Capt Ketsles	- - - - - - -	133	00	00
„ David Saxe	- - - - - - -	120	15	00
„ La Corde	- - - - - - -	078	00	00
„ Lambart Charle	- - - - - -	088	00	00
„ Egris	- - - - - - - -	030	00	00
„ Mighell Van Vive	- - - - -	110	05	03
„ Joist de Zanterine	- - - - -	119	00	04
„ La Crossonnire	- - - - - -	100	00	00
„ Rekemere	- - - - - - -	134	06	00
Regement of frisland Grave Wm De Nassawe	- - - - -	084	00	00
Capt Myghell Holcke	- - - - - -	085	00	09
„ Myghill Havke	- - - - - -	039	00	00
„ David van Grovestein	- - - - -	051	00	00
„ Tired Janzen Wethespan	- - - - -	068	00	00

		Holle	sicke.	hurte
	Capt. Assuerus Adrian - - - - - -	043	00	00
	„ Doke Martines - - - - - - -	044	00	00
	„ Henrik Hakinsten - - - - - -	034	00	00
	„ William Williams - - - - - -	039	00	00
	„ garret Cornellisson - - - - -	100	00	02
	„ Lazarus - - - - - - - -	075	00	00
	„ Dod Vallor - - - - - - - -	059	00	00
reg of frisland	„ Zebrauke - - - - - - - -	040	00	00
	„ Tavke Hetten - - - - - - -	046	00	04
	„ Davi Hoonde - - - - - - -	097	16	00
	„ John de Whyte - - - - - - -	102	08	00
	„ Butt - - - - - - - - -	075	06	00
	Coronell Dorp from Sevenberge - - - - -	120	00	00
	Capt Grene - - - - - - - - -	120	00	00
	„ Merlyn - - - - - - - - -	100	00	00
Regement from sevenberg	Coronell Cosine - - - - - - - -	088	00	00
	Capt Riove - - - - - - - - -	064	00	00
18	„ Vandenberge - - - - - - -	082	00	00
	„ garret Martines - - - - - - -	084	00	00
	„ Henrik Vandenbroche - - - - -	107	00	00
	„ John Hugen - - - - - - -	063	00	00
	„ Steuen Boonvin - - - - - - -	065	00	00
	„ Steuen Waisson - - - - - - -	070	00	00
	„ Jo Monyere - - - - - - -	167	00	00
	„ Harman van altofte - - - - - -	167	07	00
	„ Hawvan Valkenborge - - - - -	076	10	04
	„ Gwydo van metkerk - - - - - -	056	00	00
	„ Stalle - - - - - - - - -	069	00	00
	„ Guylliam Vandalle - - - - - -	095	00	00
	„ Jo de Momere Espanioll - - - - -	059	00	00
	„ peter Willyames - - - - - - -	052	00	00
	„ Harman van Itteryn - - - - - -	074	00	00
	„ Walter de Vootte - - - - - -	066	00	00
Regement of moreant from Sevenberge	„ Phillipes van Medkerk - - - - -	043	00	00
	„ Schaeckell - - - - - - - -	050	00	00
	„ Vandhoue - - - - - - - -	060	00	00
	„ Adrian Morrelle - - - - - - -	056	00	00
	„ Haunce Dheuen - - - - - - -	043	00	00
15	„ Vance de Villers - - - - - -	047	00	00
	„ De Langhen - - - - - - -	044	00	00
	„ Nutton - - - - - - - -	051	00	00
	„ Vander Cruce - - - - - - -	071	00	00
	„ Sonneveld Le Vien - - - - - -	051	00	00
	„ Petter de Vos - - - - - - -	030	00	00
	„ Guyvard Susters - - - - - -	038	00	00
	„ Petter Styns - - - - - - -	040	00	00
	„ Guillame de Vos - - - - - -	033	00	00
	„ Vander Haghen - - - - - - -	050	00	00
66 compa Duche		4797	77	28

ENGLYSSHE CORNETS OF HORSMEN.

	Holle.	sicke.	hurte.
The L Generalles owen Cornet - - - -	185	00	00
The L. Marshalles cornet - - - - -	040	08	00
The Generall of horsmen - - - - -	072	04	05
L. Wylloughbie - - - - - - - -	070	00	00
L Northe - - - - - - - - -	110	00	00
L Gouernor of Flushinge - - - - -	077	02	02
Collonell generall of footmen nories - - -	084	19	07
S[r] W[m] Russell - - - - - - - -	068	05	00
Capt Robert Sydneye - - - - - -	059	00	00
„ Phillipe Butler - - - - - -	044	06	00
„ Thomas Sherleye - - - - -	042	00	03
„ W[m] Knowelles - - - - - -	040	08	00
„ Edward York quarter M[r] - - - -	024	00	00
„ Chesson Scowt M[r] - - - - -	012	00	00
14 *compa*[1]	927	52	17

DUCHE CORNETS OF HORSMEN.

	Holle	sicke.	hurte.
Grave Hollocke [Count Hohenlohe] - - -	130	00	00
Princes of Pynoye - - - - - - -	075	05	00
Grave W[m] de Nassowe - - - - - -	136	00	00
„ Overstone - - - - - - - -	064	04	00
Capt Copyas Yearges - - - - - -	089	05	03
„ Cranefelde - - - - - - -	037	00	07
„ La Salle - - - - - - - -	091	01	02
„ Bawxe [Bax] - - - - - - -	074	00	03
„ Villiers - - - - - - - -	064	02	00
„ alexander Wischart - - - - -	070	02	00
„ Laspyne - - - - - - - -	043	00	00
„ Groneveld - - - - - - - -	116	00	00
Collonell Schynk - - - - - - -	034	04	00
Scout M[r] Le Burges - - - - - -	017	02	01
Provost marshall for the Duche - - - -	008	00	00
Capt guderet van bolinge al[s] blewrok - -	150	00	00
16 *cornets*[2]	1198	25	16

PYONERS OF DUCHMEN.

	Holle	sicke	hurte.
Capt mychell Veneron - - - - - -	152	09	00
„ myghell Lawrence - - - - -	120	00	00
	272	09	00

[1] Elizabethans used the word "company" where we would now say troop The numbers forming a company varied so considerably that it would not be possible to compute the probable strength unless we consulted the Muster Rolls

[2] A cornet or troop of horse varied, as the above figures show; and see also the English "Bandes of Horse"

47	Englishe compa - - - -	6706
9	Scootes „ - - - -	0947
66	Duche „ - - - -	4902
122		12555
30	cornets	2235
2	compa. pioners	272
154		15062

In addition to the list from 11th April to the 12th of October, 1586, there is another from 12th of October onwards. Sir Philip Sidney's Cornet is no longer called by his name but is commanded by his brother Sir Robert, Sir Thomas Cecil's Cornet, which was at first 50, and then 100, is reduced to 50, as also are the Marshal's and Lord North's. But Leicester's Horse —"His Lo. owen Cornet"—is raised from 150 to 200. Despite the reductions, the rearrangement keeps up the total of 1000 Horse There is nothing as to the pay, nor any further pay list with these papers Nor is there an equivalent to the "Names and Numbers" of Horsemen reviewed at the Hague the previous January; so we do not know who were the extra voluntaries who joined subsequent to that first muster at the Hague.

"THE BANDES OF HORSE IN HER MA^TIES PAYE

beginninge the 12th of Octob^r 1586 A° XXVIII° Regine Elizabeth forward
Ratefied by my Lo the 16^th of November A° est s"[1]

His Lo owen Cornet - - - - - -	200
The Erle of Essex - - - - - - -	100
The Lo Marshall[2] - - - - - -	100
Sir William Russell - - - - - -	100
S^r Thomas Sysell[3] - - - - - -	50
The Lo Northe - - - - - - -	100
S^r John Norreys[4] - - - - - -	100
S^r Robert Sydney - - - - - -	100
S^r ph Butler - - - - - - -	50
Capt Thomas Shurley - - - - - -	50
Capt Myhell Dormer - - - - - -	50

[1] S P Holland XI. 25 On the original this list is set after the Footbands It is now put first to facilitate comparison with the previous Cavalry list In the Index to printed Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Vol XXI Pt II, there is no such word as "Cavalry"; and if we try "Horse" we find only "Horses, Geldings" etc Yet on p 232 the existence of "Horsebands" is noted

[2] Sir Wm Pelham

[3] Fifty had been Sir Thomas Cecil's original number, or rather forty-five "gentlemen that go voluntary with me," and furnished themselves; then five were added by Lord Burghley

[4] Entered 4th in the previous list as "Collonel general" (i.e of the Foot) without his name

THE FOOTE BANDES IN HER MA^TES PAYE

from the 11^th of Novemb^r 1586 A° XXIIJ° R^ae Elizabethe forward Ratefied by my Lo the 16^th of Novemb^r A° ut s(upra) at Rotterdame [1]

	His Lo 2 Bandes	350
	The L Marshall	100
	The Collonell generall	250
	The govern^r of Flusshing	200
	The govern^r of Briell	200
	The Treasurer	150
	S^r Jn° Burghe	200
1	S^r H Norreys	200
1	Capt Charles Blunt	150
1	Capt Ed Norreys	200
	S^r Wa Waller	150
1	S^r Ro Sydney	150
	Collonell Morgan	200
1	S^r Will Knowlez	150
	S^r Roger Williams	150
	Cap^e Tho Knowlez	150
	Capt Ro Yorke	150
	Capt Eringtoun	150
	Capt Baskervill	150
	Capt Lambart	150
	Capt Mar Wingfild	150
	Capt H Isley to the 12th No then capt Dennys	150
	Capt Turvile to the 12th No then capt Veere	150
		4000
	Capt Helmer	150
	„ Brett	150
	„ Scotte	150
	„ Darcye	150
1	„ Vavasoure	150
1	„ Banester	150
	„ Harte	150
1	„ Ant. Wingfild	150
	„ Robarts	150
	„ Hynd^r	150
	„ Powell	150
	„ Vdall	150
	„ Kersey	150
1	„ Wilsoun	150
1	„ pryce	150
	„ Huntley	150
		2400[2]

[1] S P Holland XI 25

[2] The strokes besides Vavasowe (Vavasour) and others, are in another ink.

That the total of this Foot is only 6,400, and that 550 out of that number were Leicester's own men ("His Lo 2 Bandes"), should be noted Also that although the Governors of Flushing and Brielle had 200 men each, the Colonel-General (Sir John Norris) 250, and Sir Henry Norris, Sir John Borrough, Captain Edward Norris and Colonel Morgan 200 each, the average strength of a Company was 150

The splitting of the old-fashioned Companies of 300 some into three of 100 each, and some into two of 150 each was Lord Leicester's doing It aroused against him the wrath of Sir John Smith, and others who sat "by the fireside" at home and criticised the General abroad One objection was that it necessitated paying a larger number of officers than if the system of 300 or 250 men to each Company had been maintained But that it increased efficiency was denied only by the most perverse grumblers.[1]

At the end of the foregoing lists comes the following [2]

The names of those Englishe companyes that remayne at the states paye, ratefied by my Lo before his going over viz :

	The Lo Audley		Tanner
	Sr William stanley		Fermer
	Sr Edward stanley		Clarke
1	Warde		Gyles tracye
1	Digbye	1	Harcotte
	Carye		Buck
	swane		gwyne
	Lytteltoun		ovenden
	Barnes		Spencer
Captaynes	Inge		Reynes
	Randall		Hunınges
	Richard Wingfield		Nycholas Tracye.

Also among unpublished matter of the year 1586, is a list docketed by Lord Burghley's clerk *"November 1586 Entertainment of ye Head officers of ye Armie in ye Lowe Countries"*. English and Dutch But the column ruled for the pay ("entertainment") has been left empty. In the schedule of the respective ranks the names are not in every instance filled in.

Lord Generall of the Army his excellencie
His lieutenant the County Hollocke
Lorde Marshall Sr William Pellam
Generall of the English horsmen Earle of essex
" " " Dutche " Count of Meurs

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[1] It was discontinued under the Stuart dynasty Cockle's *Bibliog of Milit Books*, 1900, p 114, note, refers to Order of Council, July 1612, fixing the numbers of Companies at 250 Numbers subsequently enlarged (1641)

[2] (Endorsed) 11 Novemb [by Lord Burghley]
"The liste of those yt remayne in paye
6400 footemen } [by Burghley]
1000 horse }
1586

Collonell generall of the Englishe footmen Sr John Noris
Mr of the Ordinance Monssr de famars
Lieutenant to the earle of essex Sr William Russell
Treasurer of the Armye Mr Huddelstone
Secretarie of the Councell Mr Atye
A Collonell for a Regement of footmen
A levtenant Collonell of a like Regement
Serigant maior[1] of the horsemen capt· Williams
Serigant maior of the footmen capt Reade
A Corporall Generall
Commissarye generall of the victulles Monssr de gryse
Muster Mr of the englishe forces in hir Maiestes pay Mr Digges[2]
Muster Mr of the vollentarie companies Mr Swynerton
Judge in Marshall Causes Mr Doctor Clarke[3]
Provost Marshall for the Dutche Monsr Convox (*torn here*)
" " " " englishe Mr spencer
Quarter Mr for the Dutch monssr de Dorte
For the englishe Mr Yorke
Scoutt Mr for the Dutch monssr de biuges
" " " " englishe Mr Cheston (or Chester)
Auditour for the Campe for the Dutch Martin
" " " Englishe Mr Clerke
Commissarie of the Wagons Asschecher
Collonell of the Dutch Pyoners. Due
" " " Englishe Pyoners. Bedwell
Trench Mr Smythe
Foredge Mr (blank)
Mr of the Guides "
" " " Spies "
" " " Bridges "

36 officers Mr Gunner Samuell Thomas

(Little did any of these officers dream that their names and deeds would fall into oblivion for nearly 350 years)

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[1] Then a Commissioned officer

[2] Thomas Digges See ante, pp 12, 99-101 Among his works was "*Alae seu Scalae Mathematicae, quibus visibilium remotissima Caelorum Theatra conscendi, et Planetarum omnium itinera novis et inauditis Methodis explorari tùm huius portentosi Syderis in Mundi Boreali plaga insolito fulgore coruscantis, Distantia et Magnitudo immensa,*" &c *Londini, Apud Thomas Marsh,* 1573 (1st ed Woodcut on reverse of title; figures in text, Digges arms on last leaf Maggs Bros Catalogue 503, p 196).

[3] Barthol Clarke, translator of *Il Cortegiano* See E.E Vol II. p 173, 178.

APPENDIX C

"IN HER MAJESTIES PAYE":

Further unpublished particulars as to the English Army in the Low Countries, 1586

(State Papers Holland, Vol X No 75)

In that the Colonel-General figures as "Sr John Norreis," in the ensuing list, it must have been drawn up subsequent to 17th April, upon which date "before the sermon, his Excellency knighted General Norreys"[1] Likewise it must have been compiled prior to the operations before Zutphen in September, for William Wotton, Edward and Henry Norris, Robert Sidney and Roger Williams,—here merely set down as Captains,—then received the accolade for "due desert"[2]

20 Octobris A LIST OF THE INFANTERIE IN HER MATES PAIE from the eleaunthe of Aprill 1586 till the twelfethe of October nexte followinge, their seuerall entertainements for that tyme beinge sixe monethes and three daies, their Imprests parcell of their enterta(in)ments, and that woh remaineth due to them and every of them vppon their said entertainements Anno 1586

Names of the Captaines	*Nomber of men*	*theire entertainemt for vj monethes and three daies*	*Imprested of their entertainementes*	*Remaining of their entertainementes*
Sr John Norreis - - - - Collonell general	250	1730 16 6	665 15 0	1065 2 6
Sr William Reade - - - seriaunt major[3]	300	2806 4 0	421 15 6	1457 5 6
Sr Tho Cycill Lo - - - Gouernor of Briell	200	1393 17 0	738 16 0	0655 1 0
Sr phillip sidney Lo - - gouernor of Vlishinge	200	1393 17 0	900 0 0	0493 17 0
Collonell Morgan - - -	200	1393 17 0	0030 0 0	1363 17 0
Captaine Lloyd - - - -	200	1393 17 0	567 17 4	0823 19 8
„ Wootton - - -	200	1393 17 0	594 11 5	0799 5 7
„ Thomas - - -	200	1393 17 0	0000 0 0	1393 17 0
„ Huddlestone -	150	1056 16 6	0150 0 0	0906 16 6
„ Burroughe - -	150	1056 16 6	0319 12 6	0737 4 0
„ Ed Norreis - -	150	1056 16 6	0360 0 0	0696 16 6
„ Henry Norreis -	150	1056 16 6	0240 10 0	0810 6 6
„ Ro Sidney - -	150	1056 16 6	0370 0 0	0686 16 6
Captaine Ro Williams -	150	1056 16 6	0000. 0 0	1056 16 6
Capen Blunte - - - -	150	1056 16 6	0150 0 0	0906 16 6
„ Knowlles - - - -	150	1056 16 6	0150 0 0	0906 16 6
„ Darcye - - - -	150	1056 16 6	0158 15 6	0898 1 6
„ Vauasor - - - -	150	1056 16 6	0370 2 6	0686 14. 0
„ Scott - - - - -	150	1056 16 6	0130 5 9	0936 10 9

[1] Dr D'Oyley to Burghley 7 May, 1586 EE p 217

[2] Leicester to Walsingham. EE. p 215.

[3] The "seriaunt major" was then a commissioned officer, whose duties are described in a Spanish work written for and dedicated to the Great Duke of Alba This publication will be considered under date of its translation into English. (EE Vol. VII)

Names of the Captaines	*Nomber of men*	*theire entertainemt for vj monethes and three daies*	*Imprested of their entertainementes*	*Remaining of their entertainementes*
Capen Ma Wingefield -	150	1056 16 6	0300 0 0	0756 16 6
Capen Hauers - - -	150	1056 16 6	0377 5 0	0679 11 6
„ Bannester - - - -	150	1056 16. 6	0330 0 0	0726 16 6
„ Harte - - - - -	150	1056 16 6	0060 4 0	0996 12 6
„ Baskeruille - - -	150	1056 16 6	0300 4 0	0756 16 6
„ Roberts - - - -	150	1056 16 6	0160 0 0	0896 16 6
„ Hender - - - -	150	1056 16 6	0352 0 0	0704 16 6
„ Rowles - - - -	150	1056 16 6	0159 10 0	897. 6 6
„ Turvile - - - -	150	1056 16 6	0310 16 10	745 19 8
„ Bretton - - - -	150	1056 16 6	0238 1 6	818 15 0
Sr Wa Waller - - - -	150	1056 16 6	620 1 0	436 15 6
Capen Powell - - - -	150	1056 16 6	0300 0 0	756 16 6
„ Errington - - -	150	1056 16 6	0150 0 0	906 16 6
„ Brett - - - - -	150	1056 16 6	0150 0 0	906 16 6
„ Vuydale - - - -	150	1056 16 6	0300 0 0	756 16 6
„ Carsey[1] - - - -	150	1056 16 6	0300 0 0	756 16 6
„ Wilson - - - -	150	1056 16 6	0290 7 4	766 9 2
„ Cromwell - - -	150	1056 16 6	0522 5 8	534 10 10
Capen Huntley - - -	150	1056 16 6	0375 10 8	681. 5 10
„ Price - - - - -	150	1056 16 6	0337 12 10	719 3 8
39 Companies - - - -	6400	44941 15 0	12441 18 10	32499 16 2

"A LIST OF THE CAVALRIE

20 Octobrs anno 1586 wth their severall paies and imprests"[2]

Names of the Capens	*Nombers of Launces*	*their severall imprests*
The Lo generall - - - -	150	4916 10. 10
„ „ marshall - - - -	50	0145 14 00
Therle of Essex - - - -	100	1578 14 00
Colonell generall[3] - - - -	100	1444 10 0
The Lo Northe - - - -	050	0293 11 4
Sr Tho Cicell - - - - -	100	0961 16 6
Sr phillip Sidney - - - -	100	1500 00 00
Sr Wm Russell - - - - -	100	0893 4 0
Capen Sydney - - - - -	050	0493 11 0
Capen Butler - - - - -	050	0384 1. 0
Capen Shurley - - - - -	050	0694 15. 0
Capen Williams - - - -	050	0230 0. 0
Capen Dormer - - - -	050	048 0. 0
Sum - - - - - -	1000	13954 7. 8

[1] The same as *"Kersey 150"* S P H XI 25

[2] No columns for figures "of their entertainment" MS endorsed "9 November 1586," and the date struck through Endorsed further "List of hir Maties Armie in paie in ye Low Countries", and in Lord Burghley's hand "Mr. Hudlestons book" (Hudlestone being Treasurer of the Army) S P. Holland X. 11.

[3] Sir John Norris.

"TERRIBLY DEFECTIVE, . . . USUALLY CONTEMPTIBLE".

More misapprehensions as to the Elizabethan Army.

While the foregoing Muster Rolls, and the ensuing annotated list of Knights dubbed for "due desert" on active service, are being re-read in proof, a martial friend and subscriber points out that though volumes I to IV of "*Elizabethan England*," issued together in 1934, demonstrated the injustice of treating Elizabethan soldiers with contempt, certain hoary fallacies are still under distinguished patronage A recent volume on "*The Art of War in the XVIth Century*" by a respected and popular teacher of history, expresses "acute humiliation" at having to tell a "sorry tale" of Elizabethan military inefficiency Reviving the phrase "scum of the earth," he gives quotations from the quips of Falstaff in Shakespeare's "*Henry IV*" as illustrations of the degeneracy of the Elizabethan officers! Deploring the "haphazard material" of which he believes the Army to have been composed, he states that "the organization was terribly defective, and military training usually contemptible" But "haphazard" and "defective" are epithets more precisely applicable to the civilian stabbing in the back, with a pen, the ghosts of brave "voluntaries" who believed themselves secure for honour from posterity The Professor states (p 374),

> "A certain amount" (query, number) "of volunteers were always to be had—restless, ambitious, or impecunious persons, of whom some were keen for adventure, others had good reasons for wishing to leave home, such as poaching, debt, or scandal"

No indication is given which officers came under the various headings But "impecunious persons" and "debtors" were rarely volunteers, for as volunteers paid for their own arms, horses, and equipment, they were usually men of independent means (See plate 8, Rowland Lytton—ancestor of the present Earl of Lytton—as a typical example Their names have too long remained unknown to their adverse critics)[1]

The Director of the Academy of History of Spain, the Duke of Berwick and Alba, gave advice urgently needed in this country "If we think the men of the past made mistakes, we should say who, when, where and how, and give what we take to be the evidence But to generalise about a whole class is unfair,—and is not history" English popular history, however, largely consists of such generalities as the above quoted Hoping that the Professor will in his second edition rewrite and enlarge his Elizabethan chapter, it is not necessary to tabulate his other misapprehensions. They could all be amended from direct evidence in the ten volumes of the present History. As the Bodleian and Cambridge University Libraries claim free sets of "*Elizabethan England*" under the Copyright Act, our history teachers can obtain without toil, trouble, or expense, materials which the present writer has spent a lifetime in collecting, digesting, and co-ordinating, and is offering in a form as easy to be read as it has been difficult to write[2]

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[1] See E E, ante, pp. 43-48, for particulars of the "manie Esquires and Gentlemen, to the number of sixe or seaven hundred horse, all voluntaries," who accompanied Lord Leicester to the Low Countries, their General being the Queen's "near kinsman by many alliances," the Earl of Essex

[2] Footnotes are not many in "*The Art of War in the Sixteenth Century*," and are not as precise as would be helpful For instance, p 382, "A complete bibliography of English military books can be found in Cockayne's excellent work"—unnamed But Cockayne ("G E. C") was author only of "*The Complete Peerage*" The "*Bibliography of English Military Books*" was by Captain Maurice Cockle Issued in 1900, it contained a Preface by the same Professor whose memory is now at fault as to the authorship of a work he very properly pronounces "excellent"

PART III.

"Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant."

CHAPTER 3

"THIS NOBLE NECESSARY SERVICE."

APPENDIX

"Knights made by Robert Earl of Leicester . . . in Aº. 1586."

". . . we give to the said Earl full power and authority . . . according to his wise discretion, of honouring and making noble, on account of courage and good work. . ."

Queen Elizabeth's Commission to the Earl of Leicester, 22 Octr 1585

"They were at the last, I think I may say the most notable, encounter that hath been in our age. . . . These gentlemen . . . I made Knights . . . I have not bestowed it but . . . by due desert."

Lt General the Earl of Leicester, K G to Principal Secretary Walsingham 28 Sep 1586. (Copy. Ouvry MS 58b)

"Noble men of the lesser sort (Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen) . . .

"No man is borne a Knight, but men upon their knees receive that Dignity . . . of the King or his Lieutenant Generall; having regarde either to his stocke, his vertue, or his Fortune, or his actes done at home or abroad . . . And they which are so made Knights . . . are everywhere distinguished from other men: Sir John Norris, Sir Francis Drake: A dignity indeed of itself so sound, apparent and full of honour, that it every where beseemeth most great Dukes and Earls; and which even Kings themselves have not disdained to thank one another for."

"A Catalogue of Honor or Treasury of True Nobility" 1610 (pp. 79, 81).

"KNIGHTS MADE BY ROBERT ERLE OF LEICESTER IN HOLLAND IN A(NN)O 1586."[1]

The names here italicised are those which also are found in the MS list of Horsemen at the Hague It can thus be seen at a glance which of the Knights were Cavalry

Sir John Norreys[2]	Sr Hen Palmer[6]
Robt E[arl] of Essex[3]	Sr Edw Denny[7]
George Lo(rd) Audly[4]	Sr Willm Hatton[8]
Sr Willm Russell[5]	Sr Hen Umpton[9]

[1] Harl MS 6063 Art 26 f 45 Printed in Metcalfe's *"Book of Knights"* (1885) p 136, without the MS source being stated, and without annotations Heading of the MS is misleading, in that "Holland" was only one out of the seven United Provinces, and some of the chief exploits rewarded with knighthood were performed not in Holland but in the county of Zutphen

[2] "The 17 (April) on a Saturday before the sermon, his Excellency knighted General Norreys" *Dr D'Oyley to Lord Burghley* 7 May 1586 S P Holland VIII 10 Cal XX p 612

In Whitney's *"Choice of Emblemes,"* with Preface dated "At Leyden in Hollande, the iii of Maye MDLXXXVI" (Reprint, 1866, ed H Green, p 194,) there are verses "To the honourable Sir John Norris, Knight, Lord president of Munster in Ireland, and Colonel Generall of the English Infanterie, in the lowe countries" Stow in his *"Annales,"* writing retrospectively, refers to "Sir John Norris" at a time prior to his being Sir John, but documents in S P Foreign up to May 1586, Vol XX, 1921, refer to him as Colonel or Colonel Generall Norris, not as Sir John His exploits and those of his brothers are graphically depicted in Churchyard's *"True Discourse,"* 1602

[3] Created Knight Banneret A Knight Bachelor was one who performed deeds of individual gallantry but a Knight Banneret not only was conspicuous for personal bravery but had served his country by recruiting and arming at his own expense troops which followed him voluntarily.

[4] George Touchet 11th Lord Audley, son and heir of Henry, 10th Baron, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Wm Sneyd He succeeded his father in Dec 1563, when he was twelve years old Created Earl of Castlehaven 6 Sep 1616 Though his career is summarised in G E C's *Complete Peerage* (Vol II p 180, 1st ed 1889) the most interesting fact about him, namely his knighthood as one of the Zutphen heroes is not there mentioned

[5] Fourth son of Francis 2nd Earl of Bedford, by Margaret, daughter of Sir John St John and sister of Oliver Lord St John of Bletshoe (Burke's Peerage erroneously describes Russell as knighted in Ireland) Lord Deputy of Ireland 1594 Created, by James I, Baron Russell of Thornhaugh (Northants) D 1613 His son Francis, 2nd Lord Russell, succeeded to the Bedford title as 4th Earl, and was ancestor of the Dukes of Bedford Sir William was a Knight prior to the Zutphen charge (see App ante, p 45)

[6] Knighted, 28th Sep

[7] There were two Edward Dennys, both Knights This seems to be "Sir Edward Denny the younger" (the same who as Captain Denny sent messages from Ireland to his "Cousin Frances" Walsingham) Ultimately created Earl of Norwich

[8] In 1586 under Sep 29, Lord Burghley notes "Sir William Hatton and Sir H Umpton made Knights by the Erle of Leycester at Zutphen" *State Papers*, ed Murdin, p 785

[9] Subsequently Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the King of France Stow's *Annales*, ed 1615 p 737, states that on Sep 28th "his Excellency knighted master William Hatton and master Henry Umpton, who were then sent for to return to England . . " In Whetstone's *"Sir Phillip Sidney"* (N D circ· 1587) "Sir H Umpton" and "Sir W Hatton" are described as "wounded on foote." E E. p 191, n. 2, ante

Sr (blank) Norris[1]
Sir Hen Noall[2]
Sr Robt Sydney[3]
Sr John Borough[4]
Sr Charles Blount[5]
Sr Fran Knowles[6]
Sr Hen Goodyear[7]
Sr Geo Farrer
Sr Edw Wingfield[8]
Sr Geo Digby[7]
Sr Phill Butler[7]
Sr Tho. Dennys[9]
Sr Roger Williams[10]
Sr Will[m] Read[11]
Sr Edw. Stanley[12]
Sr Edw· Norris[13]
Sr Tho Horsey
Sr Rich Dyer[14]

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[1] Sir Henry, 4th son of Lord Norris

[2] There is a "George Nowell" among the Horsemen of 1585-6 (App ante, p 47)

[3] Younger brother of Sir Philip

[4] Or Boroughs distinguished previously under Norris, at the siege of Doesburg, and conspicuous throughout the campaign

[5] Subsequently Lord Mountjoy and Lord Deputy of Ireland Created, by James I, Earl of Devonshire an experienced soldier who in 1601 was to defeat the Irish and the Spaniards at Kinsale

[6] Brother in law of Robert Earl of Leicester, and uncle of Robert Earl of Essex Son of Sir Francis Knollys, Treasurer of the Household

[7] "Sr Hen Goodier" "Sr George Digbie" "Sr Philip Butler" appear with 7, 10 and 8 followers respectively in "The whole number of horsemen at the Hague the Xth of Januarie 1585" (6) App ante so presumably they were knighted prior to the chief martial actions

[8] Of a renowned martial family, of whom various members appear in the later wars The only known copy of *"Devereux" (1597)* is inscribed by Markham to Sir Edward Wingfield, with a sonnet (*Eliz Eng* under date)

[9] "Tho Denys" brought 5 horsemen with him (App ante, p 47)

[10] Captain Roger Williams has been acting as Lieut Col in Colonel John Norris's Foot described as "At the charges of the States Voluntary men 21 Companies" The other Captains included Robert Sidney and Francis Littleton (Musters taken 14 Sep 1585 "upon the field by Utrecht" by "Henry Swynnerton, Muster Master General for H M 's forces in these Low Countries") 2 pp (Cal· S P For XX, pp 25-26)

On the 30th Sep , Williams wrote to Sir Philip Sidney, from Bergen-op-Zoom, (6 pp S P Holland, III 112), and in conclusion he declared, "*all my delight is in the Cavalry,* wherefore I do honestly desire your honour both to remember me to my Lord of Leicester and to Mr Secretary if there comes any, that I may have some place amongst them Had I a commission from her Majesty perhaps I should address two hundred lances and save her Highness a thousand pounds . Since my coming over I was given to understand I am not in the Queen's pay True it is I have but a voluntary Company, the most part of the others both prest and voluntary I know not in whose pay I am "

[11] "old Read" commended by Leicester

[12] Knighted for storming the Zutphen fort as related by the Earl General, pp 229-235

[13] The doings of Sir John Norris (who survived till 3 Sep 1597) and of his brothers Sir Henry and Sir Edward, are conspicuous in Thomas Churchyard's "*Trve Discourse Historicall until the yeere 1598,*" London, 1602

"The Honourable Lord Henry Norice Baron of Rycot" was father of "five sons more" besides Sir John, "all Martiall men viz,

Master William his eldest sonne serving in Ireland, and there deceased·
Sir Edward his third sonne .
Sir Henry Norice his fourth sonne and
Sir Thomas his fift sonne, both serving lastly in Ireland, hurt and died there, but buried in England, and Master Maximilian his sixt and youngest sonne died in France" p 154 (The "notable occurents" of Sir John Norris's career were derived by Churchyard from "Daniel Gyles" who had been Norris's page.)

[14] "Sr Richard Dier" with 4 horsemen is on the list of Knights at the Hague, 10th January, 1585-6 (App ante, p 45) Commended by Sir P Sidney to Secretary Walsingham as "very valiant," (p 132).

Sr Edward Cary	Sr John Lloyde[1]
Sr John Paston	Sr Hugh Cholmely[2]

These may represent the total of Lord Leicester's knighthoods of Englishmen in 1586 But he also bestowed the accolade upon a Dutch Captain, Martin Schenk, as Dr D'Oyley relates to Lord Burghley·

> "The 23rd (April) was solemnised with all triumph for St George's day . . , Sir Martin Shink governor of Venlo was knighted, and his Excellency gave him a chain" worth "two hundred pounds"[3]

By the Queen's Commission, Leicester had been given "full power and authority" to confer knighthood for "courage and good work" After the storming of Zutphen forts he emphasised to Walsingham that he had not bestowed this honour except for "due desert"

Nothing is more common than to see him rebuked to-day for supposed grudging of honours to the Norris brethren the explanation suggested being that he was himself incompetent, and therefore jealous But far from Leicester grudging honours to John, Henry, and Edward Norris, *it was at his hands all three brothers won their knighthoods,* in the Dutch war of 1586, in regard to which it has become an established convention to represent the English Army as not having performed anything worthy of remembrance No such assumption could have arisen had not the services of Leicester and his knights fallen into undeserved oblivion

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[1] Unidentified. There is a "Jenkyne Lloyd" in the Cavalry list (ante, p 47)

[2] Brought 6 horsemen. Son of Sir Hugh Cholmondely of Cholmondely, Sheriff of Cheshire and Flints. Ancestor of the Marquesses of Cholmondely

Geoffrey Whitney in his *"Choice of Emblems and other Devices,"* Leyden, 1586, Part II, addressed verses to "Sir Hughe Cholmely, Knight." (Green's reprint, 1866, p 130)

[3] May 7 S P Holland VIII. 10 Cal XX. p 612. "His Excellency" also gave to Count Hohenlohe "a chain set with diamonds valued at one thousand marks."

APPENDIX

"THE NAMES OF YE PRINCIPALL OFFICERS *with y^e allowances.*"[1]

2000 gild	Leftenant Gennerall[2] for his owen person[3]
	Preachers
	An English Secretarie
	A Secretarie for the frenche
	Pages
	A Stewarde
	A Cooke w^th Certaine vnder hym
	Surgiones
	Trumpeters
	A drume and Feiphe
	Farriers
	Halberders
	Carriages
1500 gild	Highe Marshall for his person[4]
	Preachers
	An Englishe Secretarye
	A Secretarye for the Frenche
	Pages
	A Stewarde
	A Cooke w^th other under hym
	Surgions
	Trumpeters
	Drome and Feiphe
	Furriers[5]
	Halberders
	Carriages
12000 gild	The Generall of the horsmen[6]
	Payges
	A Preacher
	Trumpeters
	Halberders
	Carriages
300 gild	His Leftenaunte
	A Surgion
	A trumpeter
	Carriages
1200 gild	The Collonell Generall of fotemen[7]
	Payges
	His Leftenaunte
200 gild.	Sergiaunt Maior
8p gild pece	Corporall of the fellde—iiij
	A Preacher
	A Surgion
	Drome and Fiephe
	Halberders
	Carriages
300 gild	Mr of theordenaunce for his selfe
100 gild	His Leftenaunte
60 gild	Survaior
40 gild	Clarke
	Artificers for mending the great Artillerie
100 gild	Mr Gonner of tharmye
	Gonners
	Surgion
	Carriages
300 gild	The Tressorer of tharmye
	Clarkes
	Carriages
1000 gild	Collonels of Regements
200 gild.	Leftenant Collonell of Regements
for all	Sergant Maiors of Regements
	A Preacher for euery Regement

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[1] Now first published from S P Holland XI No 49 Docketed by Lord Burghley's clerk "*November 1586 Names of y^e principall officers in ye lowe Cuntries with their Entertainments, Swinnerton*" But the sums per head were not all filled in by Swinnerton for the lesser persons.

[2] Earl of Leicester.

[3] In the MS the list is in a single column

[4] Sir W^m Pelham [5] Farriers. [6] Earl of Essex

[7] Sir John Norris.

150 gild	Muster M[r] for the Prest Companies
	Clarkes
	Carriages
150 gild	Muster M[r] for the volantarye companies
	Clarkes
	Carriages
150 gild	The Judge of the Marshall court and campe
	A clarke
	A carriage
120 gild	Quarter M[r]
	Hargeletiers one horsbacke[1]
	A Carriage
100 gild	Prouost Marshall or Leftenant to the Marshall
	A Clarke
50 gild for	Hargelleters one horsbak
y[e] Rest	Typstaues
	Gaylers
	Carriages
	Execusioners
100 gild	Chefe Harbenger for hym selfe
for all	Harbenger under hym
	A Clarke
80 gild.	Comissarie of the vittalles
	A Clarke
80 gild	Carriage M[r] for hym selfe
20 gild	His Clarke
100 gild	Trenche M[r] for hym selfe
for all	His man
100 gild	Scoute M[r] for hym selfe
for all	Hargeleters one horsbacke
100 gild	Forrage M[r] for his
for all	Entertainemente
	Hys men
100 gild	The Harrowlde[2] for Hym Selfe
for all	His men
80 gild	The Purcivant for Hym selfe
for all	His man

[1] "Hargeletiers on Horseback," i e Mounted Infantry
[2] Herald

PART III.

"Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant."

CHAPTER 3

"THIS NOBLE NECESSARY SERVICE."

SECTION 10

"Of great importance."

(The capture of the "impregnable" forts, 6 October, 1586).

"I would [to] God her Majesty had seen this enterprise: for it was worthy her sight to see the willingness of her subjects, their valour in performing, and with how little loss of them it was achieved."

General the Earl of Leicester to Principal Secretary Sir Francis Walsingham, describing the capture of the Zutphen forts (Ouvry MS f. 60. E E., p. 231)

"His Excellency [Lord Leicester] . . . . most diligently and dangerously attended always in person both early and late; and put his own hand to almost every service . . ."

"A Briefe Report of the Militarie Services done in the Low Countries by the Erle of Leicester· Written by one that served in good place there" Printed in London, 1587, pp 24-26

". . . he was the first that gave the onset and valiantly scaled a most dangerous bulwark and fought alone for a time against many enemies, . . . and gave occasion for a most notable victory."

The Earl of Leicester, describing why he knighted Edward Stanley and granted him an annuity for life (S.P H X. 57. now first published in extenso, E.E, Vol VI, p. 235).

SIEGE OF ZUTPHEN, THE CAPITAL CITY OF THE COUNTY OF ZUTPHEN, IN GELDERLAND, 1584

Now first reproduced from Hogenberg's No 70

Showing the occasion on which Count Philip Hohenlohe was defeated in his long and arduous efforts to capture Zutphen forts and town

Hogenberg gave (1) German verses, and (2) a French inscription to supplement the picture

(1) "Here can be seen how the States have surrounded the town of Zutphen with a good wall
Also how Verdugo entrenched himself

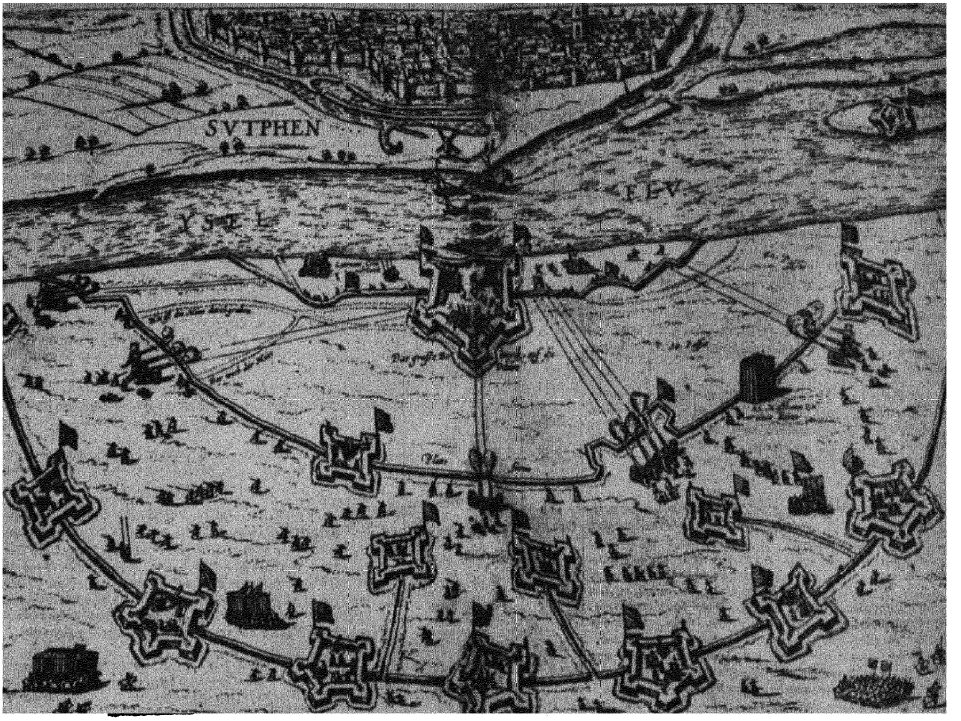
How the town on the river, by name the IJsel, so well known in the Netherlands, was protected by bastion and ditch, where the ferry used to be

The bastions near the river are attacked by the troops of the States, with many a cannon shot, and stormed with great ardour, and many of the enemy fell

(2) "Vray pourtraict des Bastions, Trenchées continuelles, Plattes formes et fortifications dressées par les gens des Estatz deuant la ville de Zutphen peu au parauant reduicte en l'obeissance de sa Ma^te^, ensemble la representation des bateries, et mines sousterraines faictes contre le Bouleuart forteresse et rempars esleues par le Seigneur Verdugo en defense de la ville vis à vis d'icelle sur l'autre bord de la riuiere dicte Ysel Auquel estant donné l'assaut en gran effort, les tenantz se sont si vaillamment deffenduz qu'ils ont honteusement repausé les assaillantz auec perte et occision de grand nombre d'iceux

Anno Dnj M D LXXXIIII 3 Julij"

a Hie ist die Mine durchgraben (Here the mine has been dug)
bb Der wech der Mine (The way of the mine)
c Das grosse Bolwerck, auf die Veluwe (The great bastion in the Veluwe district)
d Platte forme (The platform)
e 40 Passus (40 paces)
f 30 Passus (30 paces)


SVTPHEN
YSSEL

MISLEADING INSCRIPTIONS

In explanation of his plate 105 (E E plate 14) Hogenberg added the following verses.

Weils dem Licester gelugkt
Mit Doesborch, baltt fur Zutphen ruckt
Blochaus und Lager drumbher schlug
Die zugewin kein zweifel trug

Der Printz erfur die niewe mehr
Von Berck abfurt das meiste Hehr
Darmit der Stat sein hulf erzeigt
Als sich der zweitt Octobris neigt

Zum abent und am viertzehenden
Dess gleich auch am funfzehenden
Den Zutphern mitt geweerter handt
An koren bracht ihn vill proviantt

Verdugo und seim Regiment
Die statt befahl in ihre hendt

Anno Dni· 1586

"Because Leicester had success with Doesburg, he proceeded soon to Zutphen, (and) constructed blockhouse and camp around the town"

"On receiving the information, the Prince brought most of his army from Berck so that he might succour the town just as the 2nd of October was declining towards evening, and on the 14th, as also on the 15th, with armed force brought in a good supply of corn"

(Hogenberg either did not know of or did not wish to commemorate the English Cavalry charge on the 22nd September See F E pp 190-202)

[The Prince] trusted the town into the hands of Verdugo and his troops, Anno Dni 1586"

This would imply that the town had been recaptured, but Spain had never lost it, and only the forts had been taken by the English

Still more misleading is the inscription added by Michael Aitzinger (plate cciii) in his *De Leone Belgico*, 1587, p 417

"Adhaec si belgicum Bellum deserant, neque prosequantur eosdem Britannos & foederatos Regias illas aliasque provincias inuasuros, Sed quibus hactenus Regio nomine Princeps Parmensis ita resistit, ut paulo post obitum Cardinalis illius Anglos siue Britanos Zutphaniae metropolim obsidentes, obsidionem soluere, indeque pedem referre coegerit, omnesque prope Belgicas prouincias Regi recuperando restituerit"

[i e "In addition to all this if they were to abandon the Belgian war and not pursue it, those British and federated forces should attack both the Royal provinces and the others, but so far as the Prince of Parma, in the name of the King, had offered such resistance, that little after the death of the Cardinal, while the English or British forces were besieging Zutphen, he forced them to raise the siege and to retire, and by regaining almost all the Belgian provinces restored them to the King"]

We can ascertain from the despatches written at the time that the Prince of Parma did not force the English to retire, but retired himself That the Zutphen forts were not regained by fighting but by purchase, early the next year (1587) we shall soon see Nor did the Prince of Parma regain "almost all" the Provinces But possibly it may be these jottings of Hogenburg and Aitzinger which misled Strada and others into supposing Leicester to have been defeated at Zutphen in 1586

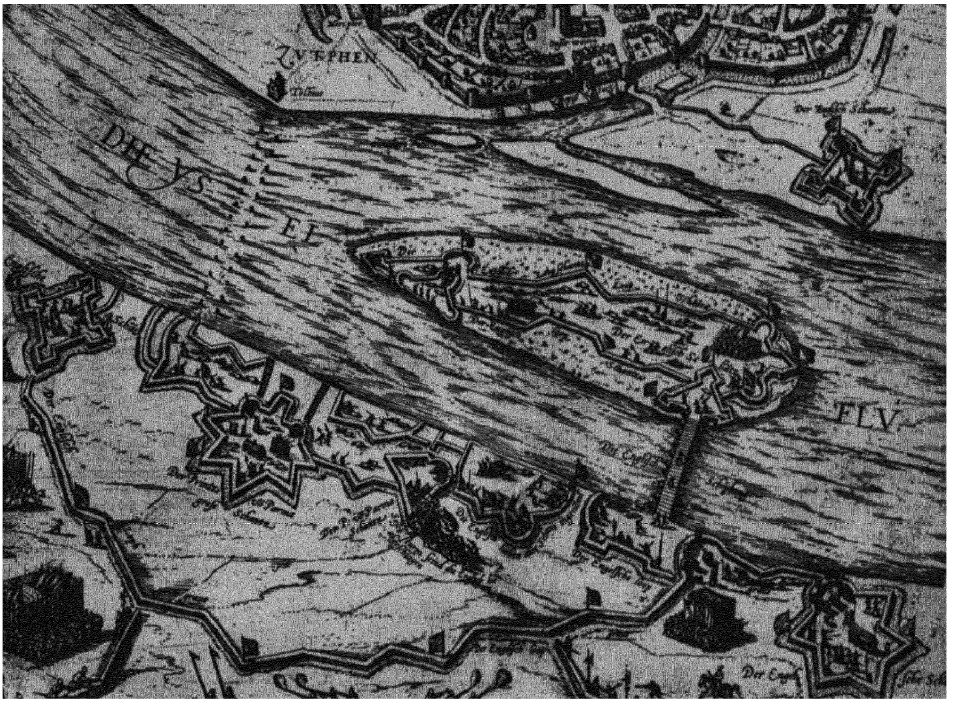
THE ISLAND OF ZUTPHEN.

From Hogenberg's no 105, with German verses, and the undernoted key to the inscriptions on th print

(The same plate, but with a different explanation is no ccim of Michael Aitzinger's "*De Leon Belgico,*" 1587)

a Mers port (Gate for Merchandise)
b Onser vrawen (Our Lady, a church)
c[1] Tolhuis (The Customs House)
c[2] Fiss Port (The Fish Gate)
d Der Englisch Schantz (The English entrenchment)
e Der Englisch Loop Schantz (The English wall and ditch)
f Der Englisch Schantz (The English entrenchment)
g[1] Der Englisch loop Schantz (The English wall and ditch)
g[2] Die Englisch Schipbrug (The English bridge of boats)
h Englische Schanz (English entrenchment)
i Der Englisch Loph graue (The English ditch)
j Der Printz von Parma grose Schantz (The main entrenchment of the Prince of Parma)
k Der P von Parma Schantz (The entrenchment of the Prince of Parma)
l Sesch (*sic*) sturm seind die Englisch hie abgeschlagen (The English were beaten back her in six attacks)
m Die Englisch haben dies Schans ingenommen (The English captured this entrenchment)
n Der Engelsche loop graue (The English ditch)
o Der Englisch loop graue (The English ditch)
p Der Engelsche Schanz (The English battery)

For erroneous retrospective inscriptions, purporting to elucidate the operations, See E E p 225 The ensuing section should clear away the confusion


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PART III.

"Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant."

CHAPTER 3

"THIS NOBLE NECESSARY SERVICE."

SECTION 10

"Of great importance."

(The capture of the "impregnable" forts, 6 October, 1586).

THE taking of the Zutphen forts is prominent in the "*Briefe Report,*" written by the officer who "served in good place" under Leicester; and his narrative—now reprinted for the first time since its appearance early in 1587,—is the more evidentially valuable because so laconic that it owes nothing to dramatic epithets or stately phrases:[1]

"There is a piece of ground on the side of the river that Zutphen is, and within sixty yards of the town, called the Island but it is dry towards the town The taking of it was accounted of great importance for the winning of the forts, but full of danger, lying so near the town, and the enemy having a sconce in it, fortified and manned with thirty men.

"His Excellency was sundry times promised the surprising of this Island by some" But performance not following upon promise, "one night himself, imparting his purpose to two Captains only, went out at ten of [the] clocke in the night, the Prince Elector, . the Earl of Essex and the Lord North being with him, and gave order for a present surprise of it which so happily succeeded that the place and sconce were suddenly taken, the men, within two or three, taken prisoners; some slain, the rest fled, or were drowned in the water, and not a man of ours lost or hurt.

"Now to keep this place was great danger, and some would needs persuade to have it left His Excellency would not [have it] so; but fell forthwith in hand to intrenching And having made it defensible he then abandoned the former seat of Camp, and brought the bridge down to this Island, and the whole Camp nearer to the forts," determined "by all military arts and devices to win them.

"The hope of all our leaders, both English and others, was small for the obtaining of these forts. They were so strong, and well provided every way, and our means scant sufficient for so great an exploit.

"*But his Excellency's own self, contrary to all and every their advices, persisted in his intent most constantly,* and would not hear anything that might tend to dissuade him from

[1] "*A Briefe Report,*" pp 24-26. (Spelling and punctuation now modernised). See print of the forts.

the purpose And as indeed about a work of his own, and of the commendation whereof very little can be derived to any others, *he most diligently and dangerously attended always in person both early and late, and put his own hand almost to every particular service of it*

"Sconces were built, trenches were drawn, skirmishes made on both sides, and nothing omitted on either side that military skill in like case could execute or invent."

Meanwhile Tassis, the Governor of Zutphen, had sent word to the Prince of Parma of the capture of the Island, and that the English "works began to grow perilous to the forts." Parma therefore "came in person to Zutphen with his whole Camp, with intent, as we could gather, to attempt our trenches in the Island on the town side."

This was on the night of the 4th of October; and, "on the morrow after, we certainly expected he should have assailed the Island."

Encamped on the east and south, the Prince had the town on the north-east, whence the forces of Tassis could beat upon Leicester's army, with both "great and small shot."

There was a sally-port from the town to the Island, another fort was held by the Spaniards between the town and the water: the "great fort" with heavy guns ready to support the Prince on the north side, and a third "little fort" garrisoned with musketeers and harquebusiers. Except on the west and south, where there were slight gaps, the enemy had "compassed" the Island round. So its English defenders seemed caught in a trap.

Leicester refused to be disconcerted: "His excellencie on the Tuesday at night all night long had planted his ordnance ready to beat upon the Prince's troops," the attack of which he anticipated; and "having replenished the trenches with store of men" he was "sufficiently prepared."

"On the Wednesday morning, the fifth of October," Leicester's men had been able to descry some of the Prince's Horse and Foot "range up and down, a mile off or more"; but apparently Parma did not believe the small English force—even though now possessed of the Island,—could possibly capture the chief forts. His idea seems to have been to let themselves tire themselves out and waste their ammunition in what appeared a useless attempt. But it was when the Prince drew off, on that "same Wednesday at night," that Leicester had the heavy guns planted "both in the Island and on the other side the water against the little fort."

Of the forts the small one was the more strongly built. If it could be compelled to surrender, the moral effect would be considerable. Accordingly, from early morning on Thursday until two in the afternoon, Leicester steadily bombarded it from both sides. And though it had a garrison of three hundred, his troops carried it by assault, "in the face of the great fort" which had eight hundred men; in face also of the town, where the Governor commanded a garrison of two thousand.

Though not within sight of the Prince of Parma, the bombardment must have been "in hearing at least of the Prince and his whole Camp," as he was not above three English miles distant.

As Parma was one of the ablest Generals in Europe, his non-intervention is explicable chiefly on the supposition that he relied upon the reputation of the forts for impregnability.

"His Excellency (Leicester) was all the time of this battery and assault in the trenches in the Island on the town side"; and at the time of the final onset, he stood close by, "pike in hand," prepared to meet a sally from the town and organise a stout resistance, but none came.

> "In this assault did Mr. Edward Stanley, Lieutenant to Colonel Sir William Stanley and Captain of one of his bands, being appointed the first for the assault, behave himself most valiantly, and was with his valour the principle cause of the day's happy success. Whom his Excellencie, beholding, made him therefore presently Knight in the trenches, gave him £40 sterling in gold; and sent him the next day a patent of one hundred marks sterling by year, during the life of the said Sir Edward binding his Excellency's own lands in England for the due payment thereof."

Not only this, but in the patent His Lordship wrote out "a most honourable report" of Stanley's exploit as witnessed by himself, to testify in perpetuity that his Knighthood had been won for valour and virtue.[1]

What seems extraordinary is the small number of casualties: "we lost about eight men in this assault; and not above."[2]

On the 6th of October, in a long letter describing the "very happy success" of the attack on the Zutphen forts, the Lord General was able to tell Walsingham that "your son and mine is well amending as ever any man hath done for so short a time. He feeleth no grief now but his long lying, which he must suffer. His wife is with him, and I to-morrow am going to him for a start."

Had it not been for Sidney's wound, Leicester would have been overjoyed with the results of the fighting from Thursday the 22nd of September up to date, *"for there was never"* (he repeats) *"a more valiant day's service seen this hundred years by so few men against so many."*

He tried to tempt the enemy to meet him again: "I sent five hundred Horse this morning to visit his camp: but there would none of his gallants come forth. Sir William Russell, Robert Sidney, Roger Williams among them were the chief; and that *Roger Williams is worth his weight in gold, for he is no more valiant than wise, and of judgment to govern his doings*"[3]

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[1] See App p 235, the Patent first published

[2] *Briefe Report*, 1587, p 27

[3] Leicester to Walsingham holograph. Harl MS 285 f. 253 *Leycester Corresp* p 422.

The "*Briefe Report*" supplies further details:[1]

"before the departure of the Prince from Zutphen, his Excellencie dispatched secretly Sir William Russell and Sir Roger Williams, with five hundred horse to attend upon him, and to observe his march who found him on the Friday at night, the next day after the assault was given, about Burckloe, eight or ten English miles from our Campe" They "gave the alarme to his whole campe, beate in his scouts and Corps de Gards, but not a man came forth . . . .

"The next day the Prince marched up towards Ringlevert, a house of the Duke of Cleves, about three or four English miles from Wessel, where he lay crased[2] (as we heard) of an ague, and dispersed his campe about in the villages adjoining, since which time till his return to Brussels we hearde nothing of him"

The General's letter to Walsingham ends on a happy note:

"Here will be [as] many worthy men as ever England had Mr Norris is a most valiant soldier surely, and all are now perfect good friends here The old Marshall never rests So, good Mr Secretary, I will bid you farewell, and commit you to the Lord

"Haste, this VI of October

"Your assured friend,

"R LEYCESTER"

(P S) "I assure you I never knew a worthier old fellow than old Read is, nor so able a body to take pains, he hath past all men here for pains and peril"[3]

Leicester's appreciation of the services of his officers, his eagerness to win recognition for "worthy soldiers" collectively and individually, should long before now have outweighed the allegation of the anonymous pamphleteer that he was arrogant and cold hearted. Far from being jealous, overbearing, and brainless, owing his fortune exclusively to the Queen's partiality for his good looks (as reiterated in modern English histories, echoing the libels of 1584-85), Leicester's character, deduced from his own letters, is generous and sympathetic to a remarkable degree.

"This gentleman shall I never forget if I live a hundred years," he tells Walsingham, when relating how Edward Stanley not only climbed the breach of one of the Zutphen forts "a pike length before and above any person that followed him," but "so did he alone maintain the fight, first with his pike, then with the stumps of his pike, and afterwards his sword; against at the least IX or X; and every man either brake his pike upon his breast, or hit him with the shot of their musket, yet would he not back a foot."

This the General testifies from his own observation: "I was within eight and twenty yards, and less, myself . . . . When he had long thus dealt most valiantly and worthily, while, owing to the difficulty of the ground, none of the company easily could come up to him," his patience and resolution were rewarded, for "at length they all came so fast together as one bore up another, even to

[1] p 28 [2] Unwell (*not* crazy).

[3] Ouvry MS fol 60 copy "*Leycester Corresp*" pp 427-430.

that top of the breach: where that gentleman got a halberd, and leapt among the enemies, and then the rest with him, in so resolute a manner as they speedily despatched the enemy," and placed their own ensigns triumphantly on the fort so long held for the King of Spain.[1]

Though the plan for the attack had been insisted upon "by his Excellencies owneself," contrary to "all and every" advice, Leicester magnanimously did not say so: he assured Walsingham that "by God's goodness" Edward Stanley was "the chief cause . . . of all the honour of this day; and he shall have part of my living for it as long as he lives."

That it was not the Queen, but her General out of his private means who pensioned the gallant Captain, is nowadays forgotten.

"I would God her Majesty had seen this enterprise," wrote Leicester "for it was worthy her sight to see the willingness of her subjects, their valour in performing, and with how little loss of them it was achieved, notwithstanding that we had all the Artillery of the town against them on one side, and the other fort on the other yet there were not slain five persons in all, nor above six hurt, whereof an honest proper young gentleman of my brother Warwick's is one

"This good success God gave us this Thursday The last Thursday we took another of the forts, which did us most harm before"

Leicester was proud that this previous capture had been effected by escalade after nine days, although "the ditch was so deep, and the rampier so high, at the least xx foot high, and our men had not a ladder, but one climbing up still by another." "No walls of earth will hold these fellows," he adds. "The Count Hollock was a year and more about this fort."

Determined to continue the advantage gained, Leicester "appointed next day for the capture of the great fort." But such had been the moral effect of the escalade of the fort hitherto called impregnable, that the garrison of "the great fort" did not wait to be treated like their brethren. Instead of preparing to meet an assault at dawn, they evacuated the fort "leaving behind them their Ordinance," and making their escape over the water to the town under cover of darkness.

"His Excellencie," as one of his officers relates, "after he had so honorably, and with so small losse in so short time, taken these forts, though before very hard to be won, having delivered Berck also, which was the principle intent of

[1] As an example of how a plain statement can be distorted, observe how Zouch in 1808 rendered the above *"Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Sir Philip Sidney"* pp 282-283

"One of the forts of Zutphen was taken by an extraordinary incident Edward Stanley, an officer in Leicester's army, seized the launce or pike with which a Spaniard assailed him, held it fast, and suffered himself to be raised up by his competitor The garrison, struck with terrour at his appearance, and supposing that the whole English force had gained admission, abandoned the place by a precipitate flight" That Zouch did not know the difference between a lance and a pike is typical The escalade of the Zutphen forts was due to the tactical good judgment of the Lieutenant-General That Stanley was carrying out orders, that though knighted for his conspicuous gallantry he was not responsible for the attack, only for its execution, nobody could deduce from Zouch, whose random assertion as to Leicester's "failure as a Commander" has been repeated by Sidney's later biographers, and never examined until now.

his first marching, and Sir Martin Shenck with divers of our English being come from thence to his camp at Zutphen," some may think he should have pressed on to further exploits. But his calculations were thrown out by the non-arrival of the promised "Almaines and Reyters"; and moreover "finding the enemy quietly gone" there was nothing immediate to be done, "by advice of his Council" except "to give order for guard and defence of the forts."

The capture of the Islands had only been a means to an end, and that end being effected, he withdrew his soldiers from the Island; and came to Arnhem, "where Sir Philip Sidney then lay in great danger."[1]

> "There were taken from the enemy by our men during this siege two forts mo[re], which the enemy had lately erected . . . . and a Castle called Niembeck" which was captured by "his Excellency himself in person". it was "four English miles in the Vellow from this place" [Zutphen]. The Spanish losses also included "the Castle of Boxbergen near Deventer, which we took also a little before this time. Great joys were made in the United Provinces for the recoveries of these forts": and with good reason: for the consequences were highly advantageous· *"the whole country of the Vellow, about forty English miles in breadth and as much in length, being thereby fully cleared."*[2]

This crippled the Governor of Zutphen, who had been accustomed to draw "a goodly revenue" from "that large circuit up to Amsterdam and Leyden." But despite these successes, Leicester could not see how a conclusive victory could be attained unless the Queen would allow him "a very great army" to continue the contest: *"God send it us quickly, for the winter is come here and foul weather already."*[3]

Immediately after this letter, follows one urging "very earnestly" the "execucion" of Mary Queen of Scots.

Objecting to what he called "temporary solemnities"—such as waiting "either for a Parliament, or a great session,"—Leicester alleged that the Scots Queen had plotted for the destruction of Queen Elizabeth, and would never cease plotting: "Be you all stout and resolute in this speedy execution, or be condemned of all the world for ever. It is most certain, if you will have Her Majesty safe, it must be done; for justice doth crave it, beside policy."

In the same letter where Leicester so harshly presses for the death of the royal captive, he asks Walsingham's favour for his messenger, "this poor lame man" who has endured much "travail and pain" and is "as faithful a creature to her Majesty as ever lived." To keep him in England will save his life:

> "for you know the time of year is passed for such a man to be in field; yet he will needs be so, and means to return, and you must procure his stay as without my knowledge . He

[1] *"A Briefe Report,"* p 27 [2] Ib
[3] Ouvry MS., f 60. copy. *Leycester Correspondence*, pp 427-430

deserves as much as any good heart can do Be his good friend I pray you, and so God bless you Haste written in my bed upon a cushion, this 10th, early in the morning

"Your assured,

"R LEYCESTER"[1]

Leicester wrote also to Sir Thomas Wilkes to hasten to bring the treasure, as the army had been in such straits the last ten days for want of money that he would not continue thus for "anything in the world."[2]

While Queen Elizabeth had been keeping the troops waiting for their pay, and heaping Leicester with undeserved reproaches, her negotiations with the Prince of Parma had continued in secret; and the merchant Andreas de Loo on the 10 (20) October was back in London and addressing the Queen in Italian at much length, on the beauties of "general tranquillity," and on his own zeal *"about entering into negotiations to compose the differences between your Majesty and the King of Spain"*

In June, near Venlo he had been affably received by "His Highness," who however "had already despatched a private man with letters to your Majesty" and said he must await the answer." He showed "great desire for quiet" and expressed a hope of doing Her Majesty service. (If we read this without remembering particulars, we would never suspect that the Prince was then besieging Venlo.) The peace negotiator recounts to the Queen his own retirement to Antwerp, his subsequent visit to the Prince's camp near Berck, and his further secret dealings. Though progress had been impeded by the indiscreet zeal of Graffigna, De Loo, representing to the Prince that the Queen "had great cause to be angry with Graffigna's proceedings,"

> " prayed him not thus to abandon entirely so holy a cause . . the Prince, sitting down, no other person being present, in a little cabinet where he was used to work, said to me as follows, 'What would you have us do I have done more than befits me'," and complained that the Queen "replied in rather a menacing manner than otherwise"
>
> He again expressed his desire to please "so noble a princess and Queen, but also (he said) on the other hand, *to serve the King my master I am bound to shed my blood, and to make war with befitting courage* Yet I have always been most ready to embrace peace when it was possible, and not to do after the method of the Duke of Alva . who was inclined to do all with harshness, while I on the contrary seek to gain for the King what is his, if it may be, by another way"[3]

The letter culminates in the Prince's reiterated assurance that he "desired nothing more than quiet."

It was an ancient device to carry on plans for war under cover of devotion to peace. Two days later De Loo composed another letter, this time to Lord

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[1] (Oct.) 1586 Ouvry MS f 61 (copy) *Leyces Corresp* pp 431-432

[2] S P H X 74 Cal p 202

[3] Lord B dockets the letter "20 October 1586 Andrea de Loo to the Quenes Ma^tie his negociation with the Pr of Par after that the Q Ma^tie had disavowed Graffini" S P Flanders I 97 Trans in Cal. pp. 202-5.

Burghley: to the effect that "it is hoped on all hands that by her Majesty's favour a speedy end may be put to all these discords."[1]

The Prince of Parma's affability had delighted him: *"his Highness (showing himself like all good Princes, much more gracious than any of his ministers) . . . . yielded in the end to his good nature, granting me more than I had hoped . . ."* So De Loo asks that the Queen will be pleased to speak with him and hear particulars of many things he observed during his "long stay at the Camp."[2]

He requests that there shall be no mistrust of the Prince, "there being shown in all his actions a noble mind and such sincerity" that Her Majesty may be assured that, by his means, peace should be very near!

De Loo himself may have been "sincere"; but the crowning ambition of the Prince of Parma was to conquer heretical England and rule it as King Philip's Governor General, and there is no reason to suppose that had he succeeded in this aim, his method in England would have been gentler than Alba's in the Netherlands.

While Sir Philip Sidney was, as the surgeons said, recovering from his wound—but, as he himself believed, dying,—the Queen sent at last to "our cousin the Earl of Leycester, Lieutenant-Generall of our forces" thirty thousand pounds to pay the troops their arrears, and "gracious letters of her Highness' own hand" to "comfort" Sidney and "to bring her word again how he doth."[3]

Nevertheless she found fault with Leicester for demanding more men than she thought convenient to pay or feed; and Sir Thomas Heneage privately warned him that she still had "injurious and prejudicial" notions as to his requiring what she regarded as too much money! And this even after "the victory of the noble and gentle men," and her satisfaction at receiving the "two cornettes that were taken" in the Zutphen battle.

"The Lord Jesus grant your Lordship no worse bargain whensoever you meet again with the Spaniard, . . ." adds Heneage; "All my prayer is that God will preserve Her Majesty, [and] send your Lordship victory there, with most honour; and soon and safe home."[4]

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[1] S P Flanders I 98 London 22 Oct 1586 Ital 1¾ pp Endorsed by L Burghley

[2] Oct 10, 1586 Ouvry MS f 61 copy *Leycester Corresp* pp 431-432

[3] Cotton MS Galba CX fol 79 Orig In Walsingham's hand

[4] 13 Oct 1586 "To hys excellensye" orig Cotton MS Galba CX f 63 *Leycester Corresp* pp 437-439

"FOR HIS VALIAUNT AND SINGULAR PROWESSE"·

Grant by Robert Earl of Leicester to Sir Edward Stanley of an annuity for life 8 Oct 1586.[1]

"Robert Erle of Leycester Baron of Denbigh knight of the noble ordres of the Garter and St. Michaell pryvie Counsello^{r} and M^{r} of the Horse to the most excellent and mighty princesse Elizabeth Queene of England Fraunce and Ireland Lieutenant generall of her said Most excellent Ma^{tie} Generall of her Army in the Low Countryes, Governo^{r} generall of Holland Zeland and the Vnited provinces, To all to whom these present Lettres shall come Gretung

Know yo^{u} that wee in Consideration of the good and faithfull service done by the most famous Man S^{r} Edward Stanley knight to the said most excellent Ma^{tie} to vs and to the said vnyted provinces But spetially for *his valiaunt and singuler prowesse in the Conquest of the most strongly defended town of Zutphen in the Dutchie of Gelders the Sixt day of October 1586 after the auncient Computacion Whear in sight of the enemyes and of o^{r} Army he was the first that gave the onset and valiauntly skaled a most dangerous Bulwark and fought alone for a tyme against many enemyes from a lower steepe Craggy place and gaue occasion of a most notable victory* Haue geven graunted and Confirmed for vs o^{r} heires and Administrato^{rs} And by theise presents doe geve graunt and Confirme vnto the said S^{r} Edward Stanley knight one Anuytie or yerely Pencion of one hundred Marks or three skore sixe pounds Thirteene shillings foure pence Sterling To haue and to hold the said Annuytie or yearly pencion of one hundred Marks or Three Skore Sixe pounds thirtene shillings fourpence sterling to the said S^{r} Edward Stanley knight during his naturall lief to be paid to him or to his lawfull Attorney yearly at two tearmes in the yeare, That is to say at the feastes of St Michell and Thanuntiacion of o^{r} blessed lady St Mary the vigin by even porcions by the generall Receavour of o^{r} Rents or o^{r} heires To all and singular w^{ch} paym^{ts} well and truely to be made in mann^{r} and forme aforesaid wee bynd vs o^{r} heires executo^{rs} and administrato^{rs} by theise presents

And because being now in Campe wee Cannot haue the Counsell of skillfull Lawyers for the making of this o^{r} graunt in due and Lawfull manner and forme wee doe bynd vs and o^{r} heires by theise presents to make vnto the said S^{r} Edward Stanley at any tyme wthin the space of one yere after the date of theise presents vpon request by him made an other graunt by thadvice of Learned Councell of the teno^{r} and effect of theise presents if the present graunt shalbe found defective or insufficient for theffecting and expressing of o^{r} intent and true meaning herein *And whether wee live or if god so please wee dye* wee geve and graunt by theise presents vnto the said S^{r} Edward Stanley knight or his lawfull Attorney full power and aucthorytie to receave and recover the said yearly pencion out of whatsoever Manno^{r} or Manno^{rs} or any o^{r} Lands in the Countie of Gloucester wthin the Realme of England w^{ch} of late were in thoccupation of the Lord Henry Lord of Barkley or his Assignes

In witnes whearof wee haue Caused to be made this o^{r} writing and sealed wth o^{r} Seale in Campe nere the River of Issell in the Dutchie of Gelders in the yeare of o^{r} Lord god 1586 the Eight day of October after the Auncyent Computacion."

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[1] Now first published in extenso. From S P. Holland X. 57 ff 135-6 Contemp copy (Cal Vol XXI(II) pp. 186-7 gives only fragments. The editor of that Volume seems reluctant to recognise that the pseudo-Leicester of "standard" history should no longer shut out the actual man)

"AGAINST AN ENEMIE SO PUISSANT."

Services of the English Army in the Netherlands, 1586

"For the truth of the things I write you of, this be assured what I write as done of our party, either I saw and am witness of it myself, or I have it by the credible report of those that were the doers What I set down of the enemies' doings, I either take it from their own intercepted letters" or it rests upon the statements of the "intelligencers" So says the writer of the long-neglected *Brieje Report,* dated "At London the 8 of Januarie 1586"(7) and a comparison of his narrative with the despatches justifies his claim The ensuing extracts from his peroration are now for the first time reprinted [1]

" we had done well for this year more being indeed most happily achieved than was hoped for or purposed at our coming forth For the only intent at the first setting out of this last Camp was to raise the siege of Berke yea, or if we could have honourably delivered our men that were in it," even if the town had been lost, it would have been "thought a sufficient piece of service, with so small means against an enemy so puissant, and with continual late victories so greatly esteemed and feared But God be thanked, Berck is clearly delivered, the English are all come from it it is left well-manned and otherwise provided"

During the time of Lord Leicester's governorship, "it will appear that in these few months there have been taken by our men from the enemy above twenty towns, castles, forts and sconces that his footmen and his best footmen the Spaniards have been met withal at Grave that his horsemen and his best horsemen the Albaneses, and Italians, have been well encountered in the skirmish beside Zutphen that his strong Zutphen forts were taken by assault That his army so much redoubted and feared, was drawn from Berck to Zutphen, there encountered sundry times" and repulsed without his recapturing the forts

"True it is, he hath gotten in this time, Grave, Venloo, and Nuyse But Grave by such means as Baron Hemart the Governor by publique judgment of his own best friend and commander the Count Hollock, and of all other military officers, lost his head for it Venloo was yielded by the townsmen whilest the soldiers defended the walls Nuyse was not of the jurisdiction or territory of the United Provinces, and therefore His Excellency had not to do with it But this is true, also, that, in these wars, . the enemy never got one town, castle, fort or sconce wherein any English soldier was .

"And let the Estates especially, and the people of the United Provinces," acknowledge "the great grace and favour of her Majesty, in spending and sending her money, forces, and most valiant, noble, loving and beloved subjects," by whose toil it has been achieved for those Provinces "that whereas their estate was, at his Excellency's first arrival so utterly without hope of standing as is shewed at the beginning of my letter, now they are left in good assurance of safety, . . . the military discipline well restored; . . . their territories in Guelders, Zutphen, Overissell, and Flaunders enlarged; their revenue by a great accession of contribution in Guelders and Overissell increased· their doubtful friends of Overissell assured . "

If Leicester had allowed himself to be daunted by "extremities of sundry kind of great crosses, plain destitution and want of all fit means, and private care of his own most large expenses for the public, or often dangerous hazard of his person," these services could not have been accomplished.

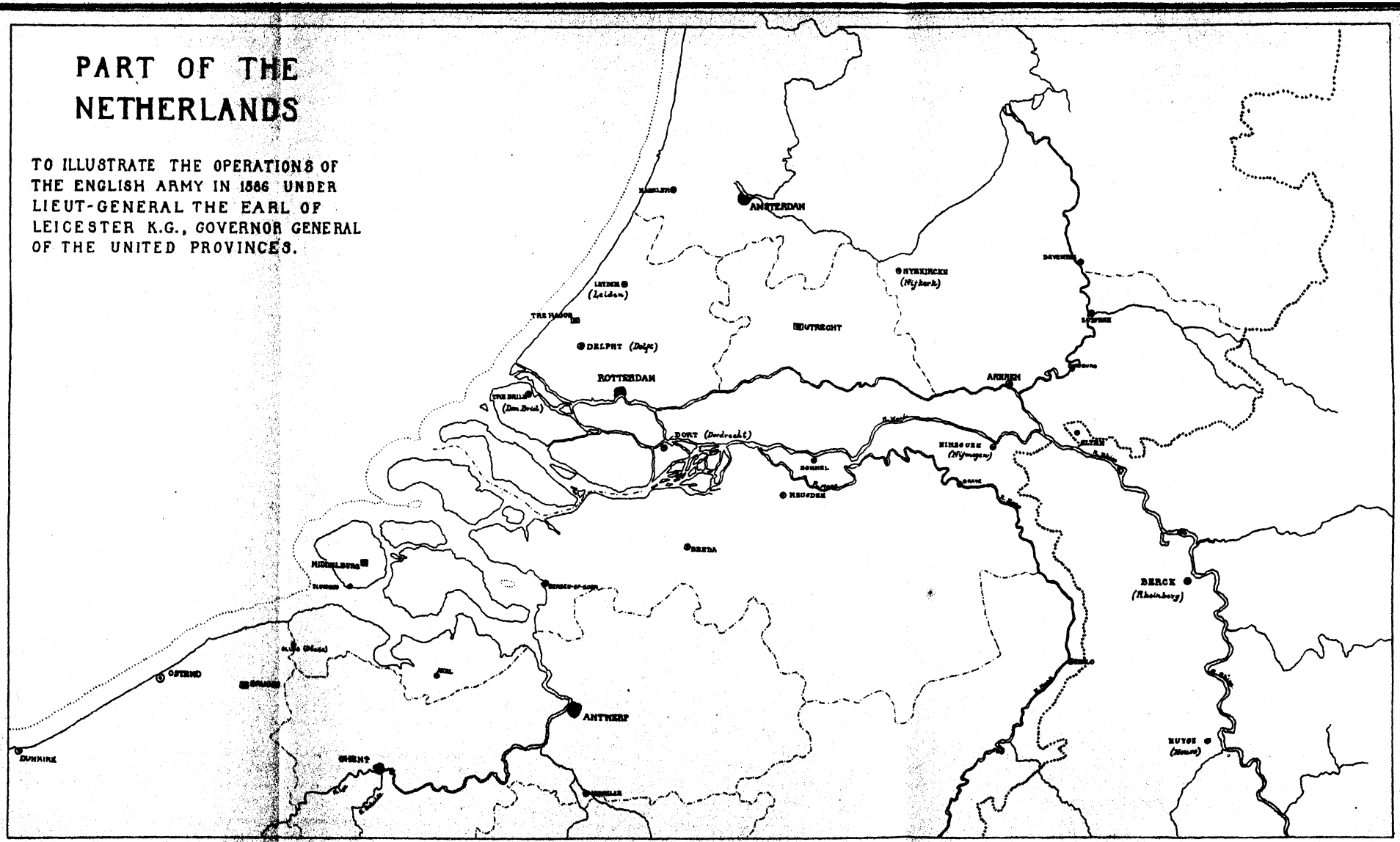
Far from finding the *"Brieje Report"* unduly eulogistic, it is after seeing Lecester's troubles with the Queen (which the officer who wrote the Report manifestly did not suspect), that we can realise the patience required by this heavily burdened Governor General

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[1] From the only edition, 1587 Full title, p 32, ante. (Spelling now modernised).
See sketch-map opposite, scale 16 miles to the inch.

PART OF THE NETHERLANDS

TO ILLUSTRATE THE OPERATIONS OF THE ENGLISH ARMY IN 1586 UNDER LIEUT-GENERAL THE EARL OF LEICESTER K.G., GOVERNOR GENERAL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.



Tavleon VI1937

APPENDIX.

"HEAR MY CAUSE, AND WEIGH IT."

Lord Leicester's further defence of his actions 1586.

While Lady Sidney was with her wounded husband at Arnhem, and Leicester in camp outside Zutphen still hoped for Sidney's recovery, a new shower of complaints from the Queen, or rather an acrid repetition of her former objections, compelled the hard-worked General to write her a letter of thirteen and a half pages in reply to unjust accusations "Vouchsafe, I beseech your Majesty, for my long and true service sake, the reading of this my sudden and true answer, wishing rather that so many shot had lit upon my body to have ended my life, than to have received so many discomfortable words under your own hand, of your hard conceit of me. God Almighty preserve you"

He takes her points one by one The first six relate to money Explaining all the complicated circumstances, he adds "for mine own part, if there be fault in me, I desire no favour I pray God your money never be worse spent . . ."

Appealing to her "clemency and goodness" to try and realise what a "perplexed and grievous time" he has had, he protests that he has not "offended justly man, woman or child since I came thither" If any persons have been wrath that he caused Van Hemert to be tried [for the surrender of Grave,] "justice did that, not I, for I hated not the man"

To point Eight, against Lord North, Leicester replies that any fault must be laid at the door of himself the General; as North acted according to his orders. "I do assure your Majesty my Lord North is an able and a valiant Gentleman to serve you as any . . . in England, and hath done here as good service in every way."[1]

Point Nine her Majesty has been pleased to admonish him to look well what Commissions he gives, and not, if matters go wrong, excuse his "negligence" by saying he has not read them! This absurd charge he answers forbearingly; but protests that as he is continually exposed to her displeasure by stories against him, he wishes he "may serve here no longer, . . ."

The Tenth point is yet more amazing (especially from a Sovereign who saw no dishonesty in corresponding with the enemy while she was tormenting her General with undeserved censures).

"That I have seemed to go 'carelessly or improvidently to the field, without due respect etc.' Good Lady, condemn me not thus by report, nor suppose me, being brought up as I have been, and being of your own choice for this service, so simple and ignorant as I am made by you to be. I have now been twice in the field; . .

[1] Here is one of many evidences how mistaken it is to regard Leicester as self-centred He always was loyal to his friends.

What error, I beseech you, is any man able to charge me with, whereby your service have been hindered, or have wanted good government, whereby ill success hath come to us?

Have we been beaten of the enemy through any lack of order among us?

Have we lost anything but that which treason hath delivered?

Have we given place to the enemy at any time when he hath sought us? Have we gone about to take anything by force but what we have done it, even before the enemy's face, having his whole army by us, have we not set free whole provinces . . which was never done till now?

Have not your men prospered in all their fights, either in field or by assaults against them?"

All this was (and is) unanswerable; and should now for ever dispose of the Queen's cavillings But the editor of the State Papers in 1927 dismissed it as Leicester's unjustifiable "optimism"! This word "optimism" usually denotes a vague temperamental hopefulness for the future; but Leicester's statement is a defence of actions during the previous months. He doubted whether those who criticised his administration would have done better in his place. We should now admit how few would have done so well

He reminds the Queen that he has three times supplied her soldiers at his own cost Point Eleven again relates to payments, and he refers her to the Muster Master

Point Twelve accused of not understanding, or not having read, a "placard" by the States, he reminds her that he not only read it but objected to it; and after it had been carried against his will, it was by his means "revoked and qualified"

Though protesting against her being "so easily incensed" against him, he calls her his 'most dread and dear Sovereign," and tries to reach her better feelings· " what worse conceit can be imagined than to be [called] careless, negligent and improvident in so weighty a place to cast away your people and vainly to consume your treasure" But despite her misjudgment of him, he loves and cares for her "as much and as loyally as any subject, not in England [alone] but under Heaven doth his Prince" And therefore "my prayer to God is to put in your heart to judge accordingly . "

He implores her "graciously, princely" and justly to *"hear my cause and weigh it, according to the fact of my deserts."* Her ill opinion of him lies more heavily upon his heart than all his worldly griefs, "And so in most humble and faithfullest manner [I] kiss the feet of your sacred Majesty . . ."[1]

At her accession, at the age of twenty-five, Elizabeth had been courteous and dignified "to win the hearts of people" But the arbitrary and unreasoning temper which in later life bore heavily upon her defenders (she being often the most irritable towards those who served her best,) must be realised if we are to understand the chivalrous patience required by men who were drawing on all their resources, moral and material, and yet could not even count upon receiving politeness from her

[1] Cal XXI (II) 1927 pp 189-197 (with a few omissions, marked by asterisks). A common notion to-day that the Stuarts invented the "Divine Right of Kings" can only have arisen from not sufficiently reading letters to the Tudors from their Ministers and champions.

When it is often reiterated to-day that Leicester's sole object was ambition to marry his Sovereign and usurp her power, the answer is that his best services to Elizabeth were performed after he had married Lady Essex

To treat his devotion to the Queen as mere self interest, and base flattery, is a mistake due to non-comprehension of the work he accomplished and the adverse conditions under which he performed it.[1]

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[1] A significant private letter of Walsingham, showing how unjustly Leicester was being treated, has been in print 100 years, and yet no notice is taken of this testimony of one of Leicester's most important colleagues

Walsingham (24 May) deplored "the malice of such malignant spirits" as were causing Leicester to be "so far thwarted and discomforted" that he had petitioned to be recalled (Cotton MS. Calig C IX f 215 *"Letters Relating to the Master of Gray"* &c p 81)

"For albeit Her Majesty" had been "content his Lordship should there exercise such power and authority" as the States "cast upon him," both for the welfare of that country and "the furtherance of her service, yet hath she now, *through the practise and ill-working of some ill instruments that favour the Spanish proceedings, and seek by all means to thwart and disgrace my Lord of Leicester, clean altered her former purpose* and disposition on that behalf"

This was written to the Master of Gray, who was to have taken troops from Scotland to the Netherlands Assuming Gray to have heard of Leicester's troubles, Walsingham appeared anxious to show that he himself had no part in creating them.

Walsingham and Sidney believed Gray to be their devoted friend See Sidney to Gray,

"From the Camp before Numegen, this 17th of May, 1586."

"Your faithful brother to do you service, P Sidney"

State Papers (Murdin) 1759 p 557

PART III.

"Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant."

CHAPTER 3

"THIS NOBLE NECESSARY SERVICE."

SECTION 11

"His ladder to the skies."

(The Death of Sir Philip Sidney, 17th October, 1586).

"I will cut off his Actions, as God did his life, in the midst, and so conclude with his death."

"The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney" by *"Sir Fulke Greville, Knight, Lord Brook, a Servant to Queen Elizabeth, and his Companion and Friend"* Ch XII

"He was my Godson."

King Philip's marginal note on an announcement of Sir Philip Sidney's death (Cal S P Spanish, Vol III, p 650).

"Death slew him not; but he made Death
His ladder to the skies."

"Epitaph upon Sir Philip Sidney, Knight Lord Governor of Flushing" In Spenser's *"Astrophel,"* 1595

". . . He found no Wisdome where he found no Courage, nor Courage without Wisdome, nor either without honesty and Truth. . . .

"The greatness which he affected was built upon true Worth, esteeming Fame more than Riches, and Noble actions far above Nobility it selfe."

"The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney" Ch. III

PART III.

"Ambitious, Politic, and Valiant."

CHAPTER 3

"THIS NOBLE NECESSARY SERVICE."

SECTION 11

"His ladder to the skies."

(The Death of Sir Philip Sidney, October, 1586).

WHILE the chirurgions repeated to Lord Leicester their assurances that Sir Philip Sidney was recovering, Sidney himself prepared for death.

"Sore wounded in body, but whole in mind" bequeathing "my soul to Almighty God that gave it me, and my body to the dust from whence it came," he made his Will, leaving to his wife "Dame Frances Sidney" half of his personal property for her life; and devising elaborate arrangements if her expected child were a son; and what if the baby be a daughter, in which case Robert Sidney would become head of the family and "have my lands to him and his heirs male." If the child is a son but dies without lawful male issue "then my lands shall revert and come to my brother Robert Sidney."[1]

For his daughter Elizabeth, aged ten months, he made separate provision.

"To my most honourable good Lord the Earl of Leicester, one hundred pounds, as a token of my devoted service and great love which I have ever borne him" "To my dear sister the Countess of Pembroke my best jewel beset with diamonds" To his aunt by marriage, Lettice, Countess of Leicester, and to his uncle Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, each a jewel, to Sir William Russell his suit of gilt armour, "to my most honoured father-in-law Sir Francis Walsingham one hundred pounds, and to that most honourable Lady the Lady Walsingham my good mother-in-law, one hundred pounds, to bestow in jewels or other things as pleaseth them to wear for my remembrance"

There are annuities for his servants, and legacies to the surgeons; and to the Queen a jewel worth one hundred pounds "as a remembrance of my most bounden duty to Her Majesty."

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[1] Will (from orig at Somerset House, P C C. 57, Leicester), is printed in full in Collins' *"Letters and Memorials of State"* (Sidney Papers), 1746, vol. I, pp 109-113.

"To my servant Stephen, now prisoner in Dunkirk, the sum of two hundred pounds to be paid unto him, either there or to redeem him thence if there be no other mean, or, after his coming out, for his better maintenance. Beseeching most humbly the Right Honourable the Earl of Leicester and the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsingham to be a mean for his deliverance to whose good favour I commend the state of him, [he] having lain so long in misery"

He asks his executrix, his "most dear and loving wife," to "give so much money as to her discretion shall seem good, to those mine old servants to whom by name particularly I have given nothing, referring it to her as she shall think good." To her he bequeathed "the rest of all my chattels;" excepting only his books, which he wished divided between Fulke Greville and Edward Dyer. This was on the 30th of September.

To "Mr. Gifford," for whom he sent eight days after he was wounded, he left £20. Gifford was with him "for the space of seventeen or eighteen days, . . . even to his last breath," and so was able to "set down, for the comfort of those which did love him dearlie, a brief note" of the "most especial features of the final scene."[1] Sir Philip felt no dismay at the thought of death; but he acutely dreaded lest the effects of his wound might cause him to lose his "clearness of mind."

Enduring "greate paine and extreme torment" from his shattered thigh,[2] as he "grew weaker and weaker in body" he the more earnestly prayed to keep his mental faculties to the end. George Whetstone, who served in the campaign, represents him as saying he neither feared to die nor craved to live,—

"But of mere Zeale, if with God's will it stoode,
I respite wish to do my country good."[3]

His last letter was to "Wierus a verie expert and learned physician *'Come . . come to me. My life is in danger. Dead or alive I will never be ungrateful. I can write no more, but I earnestly entreat you to come without delay Farewell.'*[4] But when he wrote this he was beyond mortal aid.

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[1] B M MS Cotton Vitell C.17 384 MS damp-stained and not easy to read Printed in part by Zouch, *Memoirs*, &c. 1808, pp 266-277

[2] Holinshed's *Chronicle* (Continuation 1586) p. 1555

[3] "*Sir Phillip Sidney, His Honourable Life, His Valiant Death* " 1587 (st 38) Marginally summarised "He desired respite of life for the service of his country and profit of his servants"

Lady Sidney (st. 36) is called "The happiest wife, and now the heaviest wight" But Whetstone, like Greville, declares that Sidney's mind was so concentrated on duty "to the common-weale" that his work ever had first place,

"Before his lands, his after-hope, or wife,
Yea (Curtius like) more than his proper life"

Whetstone describes Lady Sidney's parentage, her baby daughter, her "goods and gifts," and her first arrival at Flushing, but makes no reference to her being with her husband at the end.

[4] "Mi Wiere, veni, veni, de vita periclitor, et te cupio, nec vivus nec mortuus ero ingratus, plura non possum sed obnixe te oro ut festines Vale Tuus P Sidneius" "*Chronicles by Raphael Holinshed augmented and continued*" (by Sir H Sidney's late secretary) 1586 B M No 2072 g) p 1555 Original is in P R O S P Foreign Holland X No 73 Shown in Public Record Office Museum, Pedestal 45, reproduced in half tone, Plate viii, a, official *Catalogue*, 1926 And see "*Archaeologia*," xxviii, pp 27, 37, for letter, 26-16 Oct from Wiere's nephew

On the day he died, he added a legacy to "the Doctor that came to see me yesterday," (apparently the physician sent by Count Hohenlohe); and "the best piece of plate I have" to his uncle Leicester. Also *"to my beloved and much honoured Lord the Earl of Essex, my best sword,"* and then "to my noble Lord the Lord Willoughby one other sword, the best I have."

The stupour he dreaded did not come upon him; "sound and perfect in sense and memorie;"[1] the nearer he saw death approach, says Gifford, "the more his comfort seemed to increase." The words he spoke were startling, from one cut off so early, who had so much to leave: *"I would not change my joy for the Empire of the world."*

On "his speech failing, he made sign with his hand": which Gifford interpreted as a desire for further preaching.

> "It now seemed as if all natural heat and life were almost entirely gone out of him, and that his understanding had failed . . But it was far otherwise I spake thus unto him 'Sir, if you hear what I say, let us by some means know it, and if you have still your inward joy and consolation in God, hold up your hand.' With that he did lift up his hand" He "could not speak or open his eyes," but "raised both hands and set them together on his breast after the manner of those which make humble petitions . . . and at the last he yielded up his spirit into the hands of God . . ."

His death, after six and twenty days of suffering, was between two and three in the afternoon of the 17th October. He was not turned thirty-two. Within six months had died father, mother, and now the eldest son: and each away from home.

> "The grief I have taken for the loss of my dear son and yours would not suffer me to write sooner of those ill news unto you, specially being in so good hope so very little time before of his good recovery; but he is with the Lord, and His will must be done," wrote Leicester to Walsingham,
>
> "If he had lived, I doubt not but he would have been a comfort to us both, and an ornament to his house. *What perfection he was grown unto, and how able to serve Her Majesty and his country, all men here almost wondered at.*
>
> "For my own part I have lost, beside the comfort of my life, a most principal stay and help in my service here; and if I may say it, I think none of all hath a greater loss than the Queen's Majesty herself."

(*"A most principal stay and help in my service here:"* these words should break for ever the fallacy that Leicester was of a grudging spirit; just as his kindness to Sidney's widow should long ere this have disposed of the *"Vie Abominable"* notion (echoed by Froude) that he was "without virtue.")

> "Your sorrowful daughter and mine is here with me at Utrecht, till she may recover some strength, for she is wonderfully overthrown through her long care since the beginning of her husband's hurt; and I am the more careful that

[1] Holinshed, *Continuation*, p. 1555

she should be in some strength ere she take her journey into England, for that she is with child: which I pray God send to be a son, if it be His Will; but whether son or daughter, they shall be my children too.

She is most earnest to be gone out of this country; and so I would wish her, seeing it is so against her mind; but for her weakness yet, her case considered."[1]

(A man's nature may be estimated from his affection for friends, his sympathy for those who suffer, and his willingness to praise where praise is merited. Yet student after student, historian after historian, has disregarded this test when reading Leicester's letters.)

From Flushing, on the 31st of October, Captain Nicholas Errington wrote to Walsingham that "by reason of contrary winds which hath continued this XX days" he had not been able to send letters to London, to condole upon the "most lamentable loss" of Sir Philip Sidney "*for whom both the nations may bewail .... such a loss and hindrance to this service as will hardly be repaired*"

Having been commanded by Lord Leicester "to continue this charge" of Flushing until the Queen should appoint the next Governor, Errington reports the soldiers in miserable condition for want of pay and clothing, and among the Dutch are some "loving better their own profit than the furtherance of their cause." It is hoped that whoever succeeds to Sidney's responsibilities may emulate him: "*I never doubted the obedience of the people here so long as he lived. Though he were never so long absent, the love and zeal of all men had him in much reverence.*"[2]

The same was said by Ortell, Envoy in London from the United Provinces, referring to the death of Sidney as a blow both to England and England's allies: "*une persone tant parfaictement aymée, et de si grand expectation.*" Ortell wished it were in his own power or that of the States to do any service either to Walsingham or to Lady Sidney.[3]

A long letter, of November the 17th, from the Burgomaster of Flushing, to Walsingham is endorsed by him "Comfort for y^e^ deathe of S^r^ Philip Sidney." Thanking Walsingham for taking to heart the cause of the Provinces "*tant en général qu'en particulier,*" the Burgomaster offers his sympathy on the loss of "a son-in-law of whom it is impossible even to wish to find the equal."

"*La grande humanité et douceur*" of Sidney had been such,—he had so carefully guarded and guided them,—that since his death they feel like sheep

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[1] Dated "From Utricht, 25 October" Ouvry MS fol 62, copy "*Leycester Correspondence,*" pp 445-447

[2] Orig *S P Foreign, Holland* X (1586) No 89, f 209 (Spelling modernised)

[3] "*servir a vostre S[eigneuri]e ou a Madame sa fille, a l'endroict de Messieurs les Estats generaulx ou particuliers, je les supplie bien humblement Et trouveront v[os]tre S[eigneuri]e et Madame en effets, et non en parolles, le désir que jay de m'y employer effectuelement*" J Ortell to the Principal Secretary; London, 3 Nov 1586 Orig· *S P Foreign Holland,* XI

without shepherds:[1] "*nous tournons de ça et de là, sommes quasi précipités de désespoir, nous ne pouvons persuader que jamais aurons semblable Seigneur pour Gouverneur.*" Seldom has mourning been more spontaneous, and more unanimous.

"*Nous vous prions de croire, Monseigneur,*" continues the Burgomaster, "*que nous nous sentons infiniment obligés à vostre S[eigneu]rie, Mad[am]e la Gouvernante vostre fille, . . et que c'est à nous d'aviser les moyens pour mitiguer la juste et raisonnable tristesse conceue par vostre S[eigneu]rie, mad[am]e] Dame, à la maison et postérité de mon (dit) S^r le Gouverneur Mais qui ferons nous, qui nous mesmes aurons besoing de consolation et addresse*"[2]

Imploring Walsingham not to desert them, and pleading their need of "*un seigneur de qualité*" as Governor, the Burgomaster relates how the last time Sir Philip came back to Flushing, when on the point of "*partant la dernière fois de ceste ville pour aller à la guerre,*" he said that in case any disaster should come upon him he advised them to appeal to Her Majesty, and point out that the best qualified officer to succeed to his post was the son of the Earl of Bedford.[3] But they felt no other could be his equal.

His "justice and liberalities (a worthy and special note in a Governor,)" were such that "those under his late charge and government so greatlie loved, esteemed, honored, and in a sort adored him when he was alive, as they made earnest meanes and entreaty to have his bodie remaine still there with them for memorie when he was dead;" and promised "*to erect for him as faire a monument as anie prince had in christendome, yea, though the same should cost half a ton of gold.*"[4] The States of Zeeland "became suitors to her Majesty and his noble friends that they might have the honour of burying his body at the publique expense of their Government."

Greville commends this as a "memorable wisdome of thankfulness, *by well handling the dead to encourage and multiply faith in the living* . . . . what Trophies it is likely they would have erected over him for posterity to admire, and what inscriptions would have been devised for eternising his memorie!"[5]

But the request was refused: and from Flushing his dead body was embarked for London: "the English garrison, which were twelve hundred, marching three and three" to do the last honours: "the shott hanging down their pieces, the

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1 "*en que nous mesmes nous trouvons comme délaissés et brebis sans bergers*"

2 From orig in S P Foreign, Holland XI f 7 No 3 Dated Flushing, 17 Nov 1588 Signed for "*Les Bourgmaistres Echevins et Conseil de la Ville de Flissingues*" by A Villarts Addressed to and endorsed by Walsingham

3 "*Au cas que quelque accident luy advient, qu'il ne saurait aucun S^r ou gentilhomme mieux qualifié ny plus propre pour succéder à sa place que Messire Thomas Russel, filz de monseigneur le Conte de Bedfort*" Thomas a clerical error for William.

4 ". *Chronicles by Raphael Holinshed . augmented and continued*" (by Molyneux) "*with occurences and accidents of fresh memorie to the yeare 1586*" B M No 2072 g p 1555

5 "*Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney*" Ch xiii A story that he died in debt to the "Flushingers" (given new currency in 1925,) is entirely mistaken

halberts, pikes and enseignes trayling along the ground, drums and fyfes playing very softly . . . . The burgers of the towne followed mourning."

As soon as all that was mortal of Sidney was carried aboard his pinnace, "the small shott gave him a triple vollye: then all the great ordinaunce about the walls were discharged twice." Thus his former soldiers "took their leave of their well-beloved Governor."[1]

> *"And so, from Flushing porte in ship attyred with blacke,*
> *They did imbark this perfect knight, that only breath did lack*
> *The winds and seas did mourne to see this heavy sight"*[2]

Across the Channel, in the face of adverse weather, Sidney's body "was transported in a pynnis of his own: all her sayles, tackling, and other furniture were coloured black, and blacke clothe hanged rounde about her with escouchions of his arms; and she was accompanied with divers other shipps."[3]

News travelled slowly, and on the 1st of November, Stephen, still in prison at Dunkirk, had not yet heard of his master's death, but was writing asking him "to send a trumpeter to the Prince of Parma" to request an exchange of prisoners: *"I am of nothing more sorry than that I cannot as I would yield you faithful service, but hope my daily prayers for you will be heard."* He adds a postscript as to a fellow prisoner, a shipmaster of Margate who has had "great irons" fastened to his legs; but who should be ransomed, for he has perfect knowledge of this coast and could be useful.[4]

Sir Henry Sidney's former secretary, Molyneux, sadly recording both their deaths, held them up as "perfect examples for us to follow . . . . the one I long and faithfullie served, the other I dearlie loved and greatly honoured, even from his young and tender yeares." Even as in life they had "great honours, ample credit and authoritie," so now "noble fame and good report soundeth forth their praises

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[1] Lant's Prelim to *"Whole proceeding of the funeral of Sir Philip Sidney"* (B M No C 20 f 12)

[2] *"Sir Phillip Sidney, His Honourable Life, His Valiant Death and True Vertues"* Title page, E E. p 439

[3] Prelim to Lant's *" whole proceeding of the funeral of Sir Philip Sidney"*

In the contemporary engraving of the *Black Pinnace,* the detail is so perfect that we can recognise the armorial bearings, repeated at intervals "round about" the ship's sides Sidney, *or,* a pheon *azure,* alternately with Sidney impaling Walsingham, paly *argent* and *sable,* a fess *gules* The golden shield and blue arrow-head of Sidney, and the red across the silver and black of his wife's paternal arms would have been—except for the cross of St George—the only touches of colour to relieve the funereal gloom See E E p 253

In Gerard Leigh's *Accedence of Armorie,* (3rd ed) 1597, (p 102 verso)—first printed 1576—one of the specimen woodcuts (though without the name) is the arms of the Sidneys of Penshurst "The field *Or,* a Pheon *Azure,* which signifieth the head of a Dart This is a perilous weapon, and commeth with great vehemence, being swiftly hurled with a strong arme Therefore according to the saying of Zacharie, The Lord God his dartes shall goe forth as the lightning"

According to the symbolism dear to Elizabethans, the Sidney *or* and *azure* denoted respectively "Wisdom, Magnanimity, Delight" and "Heavenly-mindedness"; while the Walsingham *argent* and *sable* typified "Innocency, Chastity, Charity," "Melancholy and Divine Studies," and the *fess gules* proclaimed "Strength and Courage," *"Britaines Glory,"* 1687

[4] 1 Nov 1586, stilo antiquo. Orig· 3 pp. S P. Flanders I 100. Cal: S.P F XXI (II) pp 214-216.

everiewhere to accompany their names, to dwell and remaine ever fresh and livelie . . . ."[1]

For Fulke Greville "the only question" was "whether weeping sorrow or speaking sorrow may most honour his memory . . . . what he was to God, his friends and country, Fame hath told . . ."[2]

His Huguenot friend Duplessis, condoling with Walsingham, added "I have had many troubles and crosses in these miserable times, but nothing which has so pierced my heart . . . . I still weep for him, and regret him not only for England but for Christianity . . . . It makes me despair of better times, when the good are taken. . . . The will of God be done."[3]

Even the stern and cold Lord Buckhurst expressed "great grief" to Leicester, for the death "of that noble gentleman your nephew": by which "not only your Lordship and all other his friends and kinsfolk, but even her Majesty and the whole realm besides do suffer no small loss and detriment . . . ."[4]

And Horatio Palavicino wrote from Frankfort to Sir Francis Walsingham:[5]

> "Great as is my desire to receive letters and directions from your honour, yet when I saw that added to your heavy cares was your private cause of grief" for the death of Sir Philip Sidney, "all other thoughts were superseded, and I could only mingle my tears with yours, lamenting the great loss both public and private, but holding firm the thought of the contempt of death which he so nobly showed at his end, crowning it with the highest honour a knight can have, and serving for all as a shining example of illustrious deeds"[6]

As to public affairs, Palavicino considered that "the matter of the Queen of Scots"—by which he meant her condemnation—should "at all times hereafter be most fully justified, whereof the stranger nations are already so convinced, either by the providence of God or by the moderation with which at other times her Majesty has dealt in her cause, that not even her supporters can gainsay whatever resolution may have been taken."

(Lutheran Germans may have been "convinced"; and some of the Dutch; but other nations certainly were not.)

Palavicino ends by rejoicing "over the safe arrival [in England] of the Earl

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[1] Continuation of Holinshed's Chronicle Anno Dom 1586 Ed 1808, Vol IV, pp 883-884 With Latin epitaph on Sir Henry

[2] Greville to Archibald Douglas Hatfield MSS, Cal Vol III, p 393

[3] "*Memoires de Messire Philippes de Mornay, Seigneur du Plessis Marli, Baron de la Forest sur Sevre, &c Conseiller du Roi en ses Conseils d'Estat, & Privé,* &c &c "*Imprimé l'an* MDCXXIV" pp 730-731 (His own letters are signed "Duplessis" as one word)

[4] Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State,* Vol. I, p 393

[5] 20 Dec. Holog. in Italian 3 pp S P Foreign, German States, IV 130

[6] Cal: S P F. abbreviation, vol xxi, p 171

of Leicester at so opportune a time, hoping that his coming will occasion a thousand good ordinances, within and without, *whereby his return into Holland may be accompanied by all necessary means not only to carry on but to win the war.*"[1]

It was Leicester's fate to be stricken again as to family affairs just after he had exerted himself to his utmost in the Queen's service. Amidst his duties and anxieties in the Netherlands he had found time to write to Walsingham about Sidney's wife, and his hopes that the expected baby would be a son; but "whether son or daughter" he promised his affection and care.[2]

Lord Burghley, condoling with Walsingham upon Sidney's death,—and the monetary troubles he feared might ensue,—added, "You do very well to provide as much comfort as you can for the young lady your daughter, considering that, as I hear, she is with child, which I hope may prove to be a son, for so much diminution of all your own grief."[3]

The son, would have been heir not only to Penshurst and Barn Elms and other Sidney and Walsingham possessions, but to Leicester himself, and to his brother Ambrose, Earl of Warwick. Bitter was the disappointment, therefore, when there came a further "visitation of calamity,"—Lady Sidney's miscarriage, soon after her journey home.

It is not clear whether it had been Walsingham or Leicester who advised her coming to the seat of war when her husband had been doubtful if this should be risked, but Leicester alludes to the disastrous result as Heaven's "chastisement" of himself and Walsingham.[4] His compassion for Lady Sidney again appears in a second letter. "I cannot be quiet till I may know how my daughter doth amend, wishing her even as to mine own child, which, God willing, I shall always esteem her to be. I would gladly make a start to you; but to-morrow K[ing] Anto[nio] comes hither" [to the Court]. "But my heart is there with you, and my prayers shall go to God for you and yours."[5]

He expressed fear lest the Queen delay to a "dangerous" extent the execution of the Queen of Scots, who had written her a letter which "wrought tears."

Walsingham answered (the next day) thanking him for his comforting words,

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[1] Ib From Dordrecht before his departure Leicester wrote to the States General, pointing out that false and mischievous rumours in circulation, as to the reasons for his going to England, were likely to cause dissentions which would serve the interests of the enemy He adjured them to cause his previous Declaration, and this, to be circulated by the magistrates in all the chief towns of the Provinces, making clear that his journey, "by God's help," should be for the benefit of their country 28 Nov 1586 Copy, Dutch S P Holland IX. 30 (Short abstract Cal. XXI(II) p 235)

[2] Ante, p. 246

[3] "From my house late this 2 of Nov of 1586, with my prayer for your comfort" (S P D Eliz Vol CXCV)

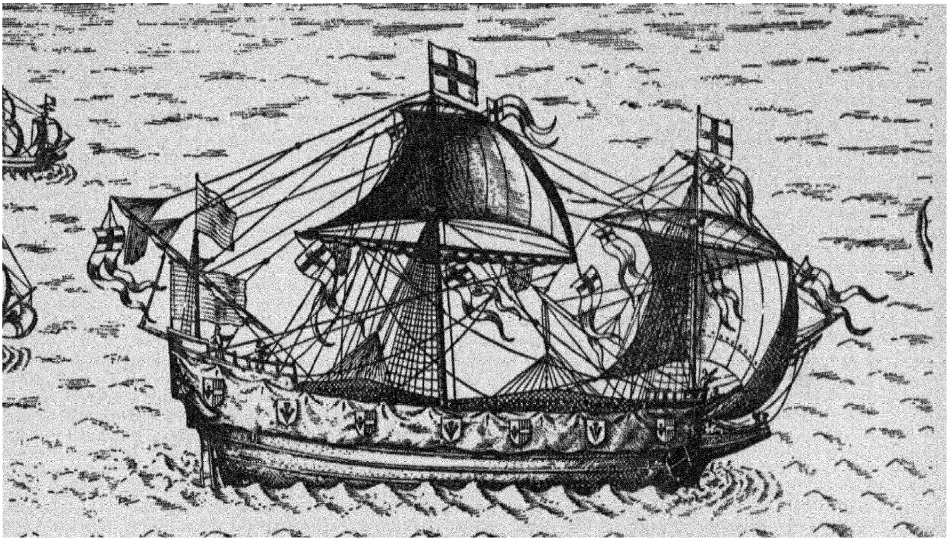
[4] Harl MS No 285 fol 266 *Leycester Correspondence,* App· p 480.

[5] "Your assured friend, R Leycester," and dated "from Greenwich xxiii of December" Holograph Harl MS No 285, fol. 268 *Leycester Correspondence,* App· p 481 Now first reproduced in facsimile, E E plate 17, facing p. 392

and giving "good hope of the recovery of both my daughter and her child," (i.e. little "Besse" Sidney). "The delay of the intended and necessary execution doth more trouble me, considering the danger her Majesty runneth, than any private grief . . . ." His handwriting is hurried and agitated; and he refers to an "enclosed letter" as to the intended "violent attempt upon her Majesty's person."[1]

Though the Queen (as we shall see) had been so harsh to him at the time of Sidney's death,—and was not giving any aid in the financial difficulties arising from both Sir Henry and Sir Philip Sidney having had more regard for her interests than for their own,—Walsingham's impersonal zeal for the Crown remained unaltered by his many discouraging experiences. That he personally liked his Sovereign appears improbable, for she rarely treated him with gratitude or graciousness. But whereas Mary Queen of Scots was over and over again betrayed by men to whom she had shown courtesy and kindness, Elizabeth was well served even by Ministers who suffered under her uncertain temper and misplaced economies.

[1] Holograph Cotton MS Titus B VII No 24 Addressed "To the right honourable my very good lord the Earle of Leycester" Dated "At Barnelmes the xxiii of Decembre 1586", and signed "Your Lordships to command, Fra Walsingham"



Sir Philip Sidney's pinnace bringing home his dead body,

escorted by "divers others ships," 1st November, 1586.

From first page of Lant's "whole proceeding" of Sir Philip Sidney's Funeral. (B.M. C.20 f.12.). Notice the armorial bearings, Sidney and Walsingham impaled, alternately with the paternal arms of Sidney. (See E.E. ante, p. 248, note 3).

On the 23rd October, Sidney's body had been brought from Arnhem to Flushing, where it lay in state for eight days, before being embarked for England on All Saints Day.

Owing to the tempestuous weather, it was not until the 5th of November that the Black Pinnace reached the Tower Wharf. The coffin was then carried to the Church of the Minories, Aldgate; and there remained for more than three months, while Sir Francis Walsingham was raising the means to give his son-in-law a magnificent funeral, in token of the great love and regard in which his memory was held.

PART IV.

"As the difference standeth."

CHAPTER I

"THE DIVERSITY OF HUMAN AFFLICTIONS."

SECTION I.

"Too late."

(Failure of conspiracies on behalf of Mary Queen of Scots, September—October, 1586).

". . . Leaving philosophy to philosophers, law to legislators, . . . I have thought I could not better employ my time (to avoid idleness, now that I am deprived of exercising the charge to which God called me in my cradle), than by discoursing upon the diversity of human afflictions ; . . . seeing that no person of our age, especially of my quality, has had greater experience therein."

Mary Queen of Scots, Essay on Adversity, in her own hand, in French Undated, but bound with MSS of 1580 in State Papers, M Q of S, Vol XI, No 37 Hosack, 1874, Vol II, and in extenso, Mrs. P Stewart-Mackenzie Arbuthnot, *"Queen Mary's Book,"* 1907, pp 116-126

"I have told the Spanish Ambassador that if the King of Spain do not apply himself this year to do somewhat against the Queen of England, it will be too late."

Charles Paget to Mary Queen of Scots Intercepted letter. 29th May, 1586 *"State Papers,"* ed: Murdin (1759), p 518

". . . William Cecil, my son's son, hath notified both to her Majesty and to me how courteously, honourably and liberally he was treated by the Cardinal." Lord Burghley would have liked "openly by some token of kindness," to demonstrate his appreciation. But "as the difference standeth between this Realme and the Church of Rome," he could only send an unofficial private message of thanks.

See his letter *"To the Right Honourable my very good frend Sir Edward Stafford, Embassador for the Queenes Majesty in France," 2nd Oct 1586* (*State Papers,* Murdin, p 565).

NOTE: MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

An endeavour is made to give as briefly as possible, yet not omitting any essential point, the case for and against the Queen of Scots We shall soon see her poignant indignation as to the manner of the interrogation, her firm denial of the charge of having countenanced the assassination plot, her protest against being treated as a subject instead of "an absolute Princess", her impassioned defence of her religion, her scorn for the assemblage of men combining to overpower one middle-aged, weary, and defenceless woman

On the other hand we will consider the arguments used by Parliament to persuade Queen Elizabeth to sign the death sentence The plausibility, eloquence, and emphasis of her advisers were such that the Sovereign who could have resisted their combined pleadings would need to have been of different calibre from Elizabeth Nevertheless, she did not consent to the tragedy without protest and delay

To sympathise with both sides has hitherto been regarded as impossible Any except the most apathetic reader will personally incline to one or the other but whichever way our individual feelings tend, the tragic drama is incomplete unless the opposing aspects are presented with equal clearness As this cannot be done simultaneously for both, it is in alternation that the peculiar position is here demonstrated

It has been judged best to spare the reader superfluous detail, and avoid the frequent verbal repetitions which the documents embody The present writer has been studying the case of the Queen of Scots for over a quarter of a century, therefore any comments offered are not what Queen Elizabeth used to call "rash and sudden resolutions," but are the outcome of a prolonged effort to see the circumstances both in their local and their European bearings.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

No 537 in *" Catalogue of the Pictures belonging to His Grace The Duke of Portland, at Welbeck Abbey, and in London . . Printed at the Chiswick Press mdccclxxxxiii "*

There described as in the hall at the Duke's house in Grosvenor Square, but since moved back to Welbeck

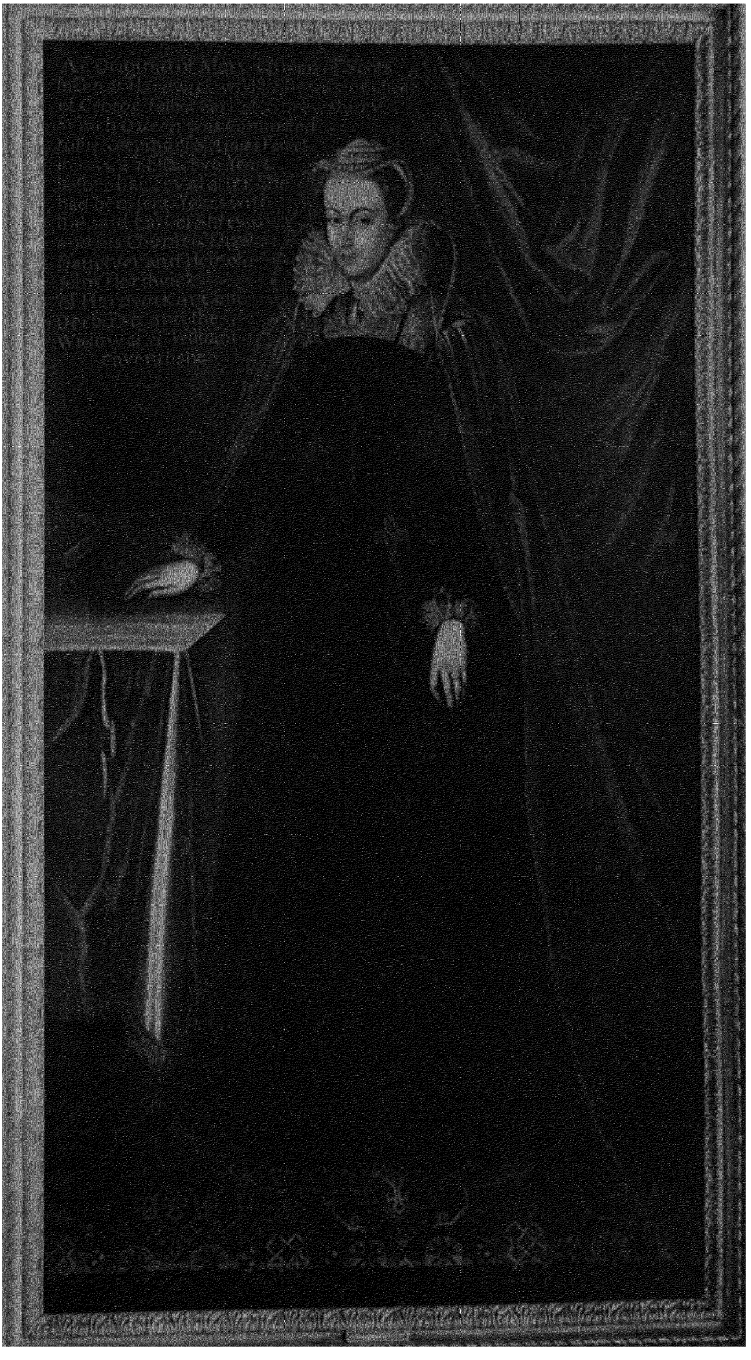
Eight variants are noted, pp 216-217 of the new *" Catalogue of the Pictures belonging to His Grace the Duke of Portland, K G at Welbeck Abbey, 17 Hill Street, London and Langwell House Compiled by Richard W Goulding Librarian at Welbeck 1902-1929 And finally revised for press by C K Adams Assistant in the National Portrait Gallery Cambridge At the University Press 1936 "*

Canvas, 88 x 48 inches Inscribed in left upper corner *"An Original of Mary Queen of Scots taken at Hardwick whilst She was in Custody of George Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury Which Queen was committed to the keeping of S^r^ Amias Poulet in 1584, 27 Eliz two Years before her Tryal after She had been for 17 Years with the said Earl of Shrewsbury and his Countess Elizabeth Daughter and Heir of John Hardwick of Hardwick in Com Derb Esq^r^ and the Widow of S^r^ William Cavendishe "*

This inscription, in lettering of the early 18th century, is not conclusive Queen Mary's portrait was painted in captivity in 1578, and there were numerous contemporary replicas Which is the first "original" has never been satisfactorily settled, but is thought to be the one signed *P Oudry pinxit*, in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire

The Welbeck picture resembles in costume, pose, and accessories, the portrait at Hatfield House, to which that in the Duke of Alba's collection at the Palacio de Liria is exactly similar, even to the dated inscription in Latin See E E Vol III, plate 20 (the 3rd facing p 92) The difference in the Welbeck picture is that the face is more expressive, and for this reason and for the interest of the inscription it is here reproduced, for readers who are unable to see the larger collotype in the Duke of Portland's illustrated Catalogue, published in 1894 The charm of the Queen of Scots must have been a personal magnetism, eluding the skill of the majority of artists who painted her

See E E Vol I, plate 56, facing p 312, for an early portrait, after Clouet, and for description of a picture erstwhile at Kinnaird Castle



PART IV.

"As the difference standeth."

CHAPTER I

"THE DIVERSITY OF HUMAN AFFLICTIONS."

SECTION I

"Too late."

(Failure of conspiracies on behalf of Mary Queen of Scots, September—October, 1586).

FROM "the Camp at Elten in Cleveland 29 August 1586," Leicester had written to Burghley of his great anxiety and dismay as to reports of a "horrible conspiracy" against her Majesty. Knowing of "the devilish plots" against her person, he implored Burghley to persuade her "to give strait order for restraint of all Papists and evill affected to the Estate" to be kept at a distance from her. He had always objected to any "known Papists" being allowed to come to the Court and though he did not wish to judge them all by those who were ready to assassinate the Queen, he nevertheless assured himself that no English Catholic "wisheth Queen Elizabeth to live long . . . ." He was the more distressed because he heard that one of his own servants and wards was concerned in the conspiracy.[1] The same day he wrote again, "I understand that among those most horrible and detestable villains that conspired lately against her Majesty, there is one Salisbury, a man of mine. I pray God confound all her enemies . . . ."[2]

By the elaborate machinations of spies, and by intercepted letters, the plans for Queen Mary's rescue and deliverance were known in full to Burghley and Walsingham. Every day the conspirators were moving nearer to their doom. And the public exposure of their intentions was the prelude to making a scapegoat of the captive Queen.

It was noted as a sign of strange and unnatural times that the autumn weather was wild and blustering, causing many "casualties, losses, damages, hurts" and hindrances. The rain was so violent [3]"that the drops thereof beating against the

[1] 2 pp SPH IX 106 Cal. 140-1 [2] Ib 107 Cal p 141
[3] Continuation of Holinshed's *Chronicle* Anno 1586 (Ed. 1808 Vol IV p 927)

faces of travellers made them to smart, as with twigs of birch, . . . so that manie wringing wet and sore beaten with wind and weather . . . . were glad to shorten the proposed journies."

Storms in the Channel considerably retarded news to and from the Low Countries. From September to November, the tempests by sea and land recurred like the elemental chorus to a tragedy.

On the 7th of September, the conspirators were taken by water from the Tower to Westminster, to be arraigned, first "for intending treason against the Queens own person"; secondly, "for stirring civill warres within the realme"; and thirdly, for "practising to bring in forren power to invade the land."

Seven pleaded Guilty, on the 13th September, and "without anie jurie" were condemned. On the 15th, the other seven were tried, and pleaded Not Guilty; but the jury brought them in "Guilty." On the 20th September they were "laid on hurdles fast bound" and taken from the Tower to the place of execution, "a field at the upper end of Holborne."[1]

Fourteen "suffered death in Lincolns Inn feelde . . . the 20 and 21 of September, 1586." In Spain it was an axiom that "For the same man to be a Heretick and a good subject is impossible."[2] Queen Elizabeth substituted "Catholic" for "heretic." (If we would ask "Why?" we have only to look back to Pope Pius's *Sententia Declaratoria* discharging the English nation from allegiance to "the pretended Queen."[3])

> "There was no lane, street, allie, or house in London, in the suburbs . . . . or in the hamlets or bordering townes near the citie, . . . out of which there issued not some of each sex and age." The people were "so multiplied, as they thronged and overran one another for haste, . . . to stand, see, and heare what was said and done." The gallows was "of extraordinarie height, as was that whereupon haughtie Haman was hanged . . . ."

In the "huge multitude" not many pitied the sufferers: for they had intended to kill the Queen, "spoile hir navie," "move a general rebellion," and "procure forren invasion." And though from their own point of view such actions were righteous against a heretic Sovereign, the London crowd thought otherwise.

The conspirators were mostly gentlemen of position: "goodlie personages,

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[1] In *"Cat of Old Ballads in possession of Frederick Ouvry, Esqre," ed Newton* (privately printed 1877,) No 5 recites their names at the beginning of a ballad by T[homas] D[eloney], *"Imprinted at London at the Long Shop adioyning into Saint Mildreds Churche in the Pultrie by Edward Alde"*

"John Ballard, Priest, Anthony Babington, John Sauauge, Robert Barnwell, Chidiocus Techbourne, Charles Tilney, Edward Abington, Thomas Salsbury, Henry Dun, Edward Ihones, John James, John Charnock, Robert Gage, Harman Bellamy"

[2] Father Famianus Strada S J, *"De Bello Belgico,"* lib VI p 24 (ed of 1650)

[3] Facsimile and translation, *Eliz. Eng* Vol II. pp 44-49.

clothed in silkes: and everie waie furnished to move pitie"; but the indignation felt against their intentions prevented compassion from the people, who "without any signe of lamentation stedfastlie beheld the spectacle" of the dreadful mutilation and lingering death which the law imposed upon traitors.[1]

The first to die was Ballard the priest, who had so ardently hoped to see the Queen of Scots enthroned. Then young Anthony Babington met his fate. Whereas the others waited upon their knees, bareheaded, Babington in his "pride" was standing up "with his hat on his head, as if he had been but a beholder," and not himself condemned. Savage and Barnewell suffered next. Then Chidiock Tichborne, "a proper young gentleman," whose humility partly disarmed the resentment of the crowd:

> "he compared his state to Adam," who was "placed in paradise, and there injoied all the pleasures of the earth; he was onelie forbidden to eat of the fruit of one tree, but, for his transgression," brought woe upon himself and his posterity.
>
> "So, quoth he, I wanted nothing; but had health, wealth and friends, and so might long have lived" had it not been for the fatal conspiracy. "But alas . . . . I have brought myself unto this miserie," causing dire woe to "my good mother, my loving wife, my five brethren and six sisters, yea our whole house (never before attainted) . . ."

Tilney, who had been one of Queen Elizabeth's Gentlemen Pensioners, was executed next, then Edward Abingdon "whose father was an officer of good credit" in the Royal Household.

Their heads were carried away in baskets "to be fixed upon poles and set over the gates of London," as a warning.

The following day the second seven met the same fate: Lord Leicester's man Salisbury; Dun, (whom Walsingham had formerly judged innocent[2]), Jones, Charnock, Travers, Gage, and Bellamy. Jones won some pity; because he protested that though Catholic in religion, he would have been willing to fight against any foreign foe, French, Italian, or Spanish, who might attempt invasion.

(He therefore cannot have been in the confidence of the others; for their action was based on the promise of Spanish aid.)

In the eyes of Molyneux, who wrote the Continuation of Holinshed's Chronicle, the terrible punishments which these Catholics boldly faced were "clemencie" compared with the forms of torture and death which were inflicted for high treason on the Continent.[3]

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[1] Described in Holinshed (Continuation) 1586, ed 1808, Vol IV pp 916-917 Also Wilkes to Norris, from the Court, Windsor, 23 Sep reports the executions S P Holland X 22 Cal p 164, and Cobbett's *State Trials*, Vol. II, and see Cal. S.P.S, M Q. of S. IX, pp 25-29, 33-39

[2] E.E Vol V, p 235

[3] Op. cit pp. 921-926.

"Manie rimes, ballads, and pamphlets were set foorth by sundrie well affected people, wherein brieflie were comprised the plot, ... the names of the traitors, and their successive suffering." Chanted with "alacritie" these ditties were "willinglie and delightfullie listened unto . . . ." and thus "all England was made acquainted with this horrible conspiracie." What had been intended to bring about the overthrow of Elizabeth, evoked for her instead a more fervent loyalty, and a proportionately increased antagonism to the Queen of Scots, who was held mainly responsible for a project the crux of which Thomas Morgan and Charles Paget had been determined she should not be permitted to know. But "*The Scottish Queene the root of all these treasons*" was the running headline of the end leaves of a blackletter pamphlet by George Whetstone, "*The Censure of a Loyall Subject, upon Certaine noted Speeches and behaviour of those fourteene notable Traitors at the place of their executions the xx and xxi of September last past.*"[1] Leicester, so tender hearted about Elizabeth, was pitiless towards her rival. He had written to Walsingham, "I understand . . . . that the proceeding of justice against the Queen of Scots is deferred until a Parliament, whereat I do greatly marvel, considering how dangerous such a delay might be, for the mischief that might in the meantime be attemped against her Majesty's person . . . ." Although some of the "small branches" have been taken away, the "greater boughs" remain, so he apprehended further trouble, even "while a Parliament may be called and assembled and such a case debated and determined." "Wherefore I pray you . . . have a special respect to this case, considering what hath already been done by the Oath of Association . . . ."[2]

On the 8th of October there were further executions of Catholics: Low, Adams and Dibdale, "condemned for treason, in being made priests by the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome."[3] They met death with the calm courage then a general attribute of Englishmen, especially when they "looked to climb to Heaven."[4]

"The same daie at night, being saturdaie," there arose a great storm, as severe as that in the reign of Queen Mary which prevented her ships relieving Calais. Besides many wrecks at sea, "houses, cottages, barnes, haiestacks, tiles, chimnies, pales and gates innumerable" were blown down, and "manie trees both great and small were not onelie torne and rent asunder, but grubd up by the roots": so that riders could not pass on horseback on the highways.
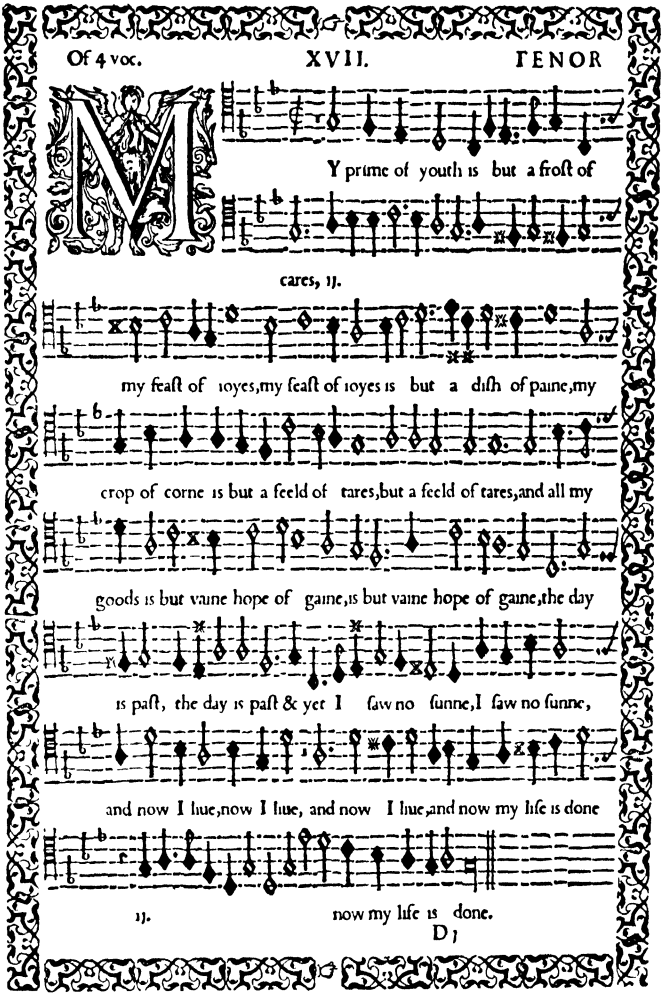
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[1] (sm 4to) "*R Jones, at the Rose & Crowne neare Holborne Bridge*" 1587 (ed. by Thos Churchyard) Cat Lib of John Scott (Sotheby) 1905 p 181, item 1699

[2] S P H X 11, Ed of Calendai S P Foreign refers to that oath as "read for the first time in the Lords 10 March 1585(6), (21 Eliz c 1)" But the oath had been taken in *October 1584* as shown by S P Dom See E E Vol V, p 190

[3] Holinshed, IV, 926 The Statute referred to is that of 1585, see E E Vol V, p 232

[4] See E E. Vol V. p 8. Lord Burghley on English valour Catholic and otherwise



The Lament of Chidiock Tichbourne on the eve of execution.

From *"Tenor Songs and Psalmes composed into 3 4 and 5 parts, for the vse and delight of all such as either loue or learne mvsick By John Mundy Gentleman, bachiler of Musicke, and one of the Organists of hir Majesties free Chappell of VVindsor. Imprinted at London by Thomas Este, (the assigne of William Byrd,) dwelling in Aldersgate street, at the signe of the black Horse 1594"* Title page will be reproduced under date. For the full text of the verses, see overleaf.

LAMENT.

" WRYTTEN BY CHIDIOCK TYCHBORN, BEING YOUNG AND THEN IN THE TOWER, THE NIGHT BEFORE HIS EXECUTION "[1]

Quoted in Holinshed's *Chronicles,* 3 verses, as " Tichborns elegie written with his owne hand in the Tower before his execution, printed by Iohn Wolfe, 1586 ", but described as " savouring more of prophane poetrie than of christiantie." (Ed 1808, Vol IV, p 911 Also Harl MS. 6910 f 141[b])

My prime of youth is but a frost of cares;
My feast of joy is but a dish of pain;
My crop of corn is but a field of tares,
And all my good is but vain hope of gain,
The day is fled, and yet I saw no sun,
And now I live, and now my life is done

The spring is past, and yet it hath not sprung,
The fruit is dead, and yet the leaves be green,
My youth is gone, and yet I am but young,
I saw the world, and yet I was not seen,
My thread is cut, and yet it is not spun,
And now I live, and now my life is done

[My tale was heard, and yet it was not told,
My fruit is fall'n, and yet my leaves are green,
My youth is spent, and yet I am not old,
I saw the world, and yet I was not seen,
My thread is cut, and yet it is not spun,
And now I live, and now my life is done]

I sought my death and found it in my womb,
I looked for life, and saw it was a shade,
I trod the earth, and knew it was my tomb,
And now I die, and now I am but made;
The glass is full, and now my glass is run,
And now I live, and now my life is done

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[1] So described in *" Reliquiae Wottoniae,"* of Henry Wotton (Secretary to the Earl of Essex) Two verses were included in the late A H Bullen's *" Lyrics from the Song-Books of the Elizabethan Age,"* London, 1887, 1888, 1891, 1896, and (" Pocket Book Series ") 1913, p 194, from Mundy's *" Songes & Psalmes,"* 1594 Bullen (ed 1913, Note, p 226) refers to it as having " first appeared in a poetical tract printed at the time of Tychbourne's execution (Huth's *Fugitive Poetical Tracts,* first series, No 26)", and as reissued with music in Richard Allison's *" Hours Recreation,"* 1606, and Michael Este's *" Madrigals of three, four, & five Parts,"* 1604

In 1925, in *" Elizabethan Lyrics from the original texts Chosen, Edited and Arranged by Norman Ault "* (Longmans, London, New York, Toronto, Bombay, etc etc) p 114, it is given from *" Verses of Praise & Joy,"* 1586, in three verses, and previously in *" The Book of Elizabethan Verse Chosen & edited with Notes by William S Braithwaite "* (London, Chatto & Windus, 1908, pp 549-556) in 3 verses, but with a different 2nd verse, the source not mentioned This variation is added above in brackets It seems to be derived from Holinshed (*Continuation,* 1586)

Norman Ault, (Introduction, pp x-xi) *" Elizabethan Lyrics,"* remarks, " The essential beauty of a lyric lies in the melody of the oral word, . it has nothing to do with the orthography of the written word " When we read an Elizabethan lyric in an original text, ' the unfamiliar and changing orthography " impedes the " limpid flow of the words " This also was the opinion of the late A. H Bullen, the pioneer of revival of Elizabethan Occasional Verse There are exceptions, when the spelling is not so different from our own as to be distracting: so in *" Elizabethan England "* there is no hard and fast rule, each set of verses is rendered in what seems the most agreeable manner

APPENDIX

BABINGTON'S LETTER TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Though young Babington, when his doom was inevitable, faced a hideous death with ɔosure, he up to the last had expected a pardon, in reward for having accused Queen Mary [1] ıs now see him plead for his life with Queen Elizabeth —[2]

"Most gracious Sovereign

"If either bitter tears, a pensive contrite heart or any doleful sigh of the wretched ner might work any pity in your royal breast, then would I wring out of my drained ·s so much blood as in bewraying my dreary tragedy should lamentably bewail my fall and newhat no doubt move you to compassion

"But since there can be no proportion between the quality of my crime and any human ısideration, show, sweet Queen, some miracle upon a wretch lying prostrate in your prison, evously bewailing his offences and imploring such comfort at your anointed [hands] as r poor wife's misfortune doth beg, my child's innocency doth crave, my guiltless family th wish, and my own heinous treachery doth least deserve. So shall your divine mercy ıke your glory shine as far above all other Princes as these my most horrible practises are ɔst detestable amongst your best subjects whom long and happily to govern I beseech the ·rcy-Master Himself to grant for His sweet Son's sake, Christ Jesus.

"Your most unfortunate because most disloyal subject,

ANTHONY BABINGTON"

The "Babington plot," as it is commonly called, was subjected to an analysis in 1907 by ıted English antiquarian, Father J H Pollen, S J,[3] whose zeal and industry none who ı him will wish to deny But many of his inferences and comments require amplification, ıat he was little versed in Spanish affairs

To "Espaniolated English," from 1569 onwards to 1586, the dethroning of Elizabeth, with or out a war, and the establishment of the Queen of Scots as Queen of England, was not mpetuous adventure of a few rash young men misled by inexperience and by emotions ıng upon "lunacy" Rather, as one of them declared on the scaffold, it seemed a "duty" them, as for Sir Francis Englefield, the Queen of Scots was the rightful Sovereign It is fore less than just to the conspirators when they are dismissed by a 20th century Catholic ır as rash and unbalanced, and when her own defence is only given indirectly

From a judicial point of view, the guilt or otherwise of Mary Queen of Scots in 1586-7 nds whether or no she consented to the murder plot. If we believe that the copies of her s to Babington are exact, then she was certainly aware of the "enterprise" of the "six lemen." But that she knew their intention to be murder, she in person resolutely denied, there are many reasons why her word should be believed

The story that she commanded the murder of Elizabeth, is easy of credence to readers blindly accept the assertion that in her youth she planned the slaying of Darnley, to ard the vile ambitions of Bothwell. But Sir James Melville (who knew her well) described

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. S P.S IX, p 24 E E. VI, p 342

ısdowne MS 49. f 64. (copy) Cal· S P Scot, M Q of S Vol IX, No 5, pp. 9-10, Not luded in the modern monographs on the plot.

'ary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot," published 1922 See E E pp 267, n 1; 292-293

that earliest murder-charge as fabricated by the murderers,[1] so at the end, although the circumstances were entirely different, we should consider the issues in the light of Queen Mary's character From first to last, whether as a young girl in France, or facing her foes in Scotland, or on the scaffold at Fotheringhay, she had a vivid scorn of "cowardness."

Elizabeth (as will be seen) offered her mercy if she would "confess" her fault But up to the last, she vindicated herself as having conspired for liberty, but as never assenting to any criminal practises.

Though the united animus against Mary shown by the Privy Councillors of Elizabeth was primarily a matter of politics, there was in Mary an element of unquenchable regality, which instead of drawing out compassion made her foes resent a dignity which survived all efforts to degrade her The amorous and trivial "Mary Stuart" of modern pseudo-history bears little resemblance to the actual Sovereign Though in her youth for a short while she had fallen under the glamour of Darnley (as described regretfully by Throckmorton and Randolph), her disillusion had been swift, and her sorrow acute [2] Afterwards, during her long captivity, she showed the characteristics of one who had been "Queen from her cradle," and could never forget either her rights or obligations

To the men and women of the 16th century it was no "accident" but the act of God that certain persons were born to Sovereignty. The Catholic contention against Elizabeth—we must reiterate—was not her absolutism, but that she was a "heretic who came of a Dynasty of Usurpers" The vehemence of the Scots Lords against Queen Mary in 1567 had not been that they denied the rights of Monarchy, but that they intended only to tolerate a Monarch they could themselves control At that time, Queen Elizabeth's personal sympathies had been strongly with Mary, as a ruler harassed by undutiful subjects Both Queens were primarily Monarchs, secondarily women; and in her youth Elizabeth had deplored that she was not a man, who might have married Mary and thus wedded England with Scotland

That the rivalry between the Catholic Mary and the Protestant Elizabeth ended in the ruin of Mary, was the supreme test of Mary's character Her final letter to the King of France shows ardent sensibilities and haughty courage, invincible faith in God and sorrowful scorn for the smallness of man, and she kept to the last a large-hearted compassion and generous consideration for inferiors, even though she realised at the end that Nau and Curle, her secretaries, had incriminated her to save themselves

At this distance of time it is neither necessary nor desirable for History to be a partisan tract. We are near enough for human sympathy; and far enough away to be able to look at both sides, where those actively engaged were only willing to see one. Dispassionate judgment was not possible from Elizabeth's defenders Their task was to keep her on the throne But it is the Queen of Scots' descendants who now, in fulfilment of the ancient prophecy, rule "all Britain to the sea" (and far beyond) There need be no further hesitation to depict Mary other than she actually was one whose royalty did not depend upon externals, but whose "constant and unconquerable soul" shone brightest after the shattering of all her earthly power · a Queen who seemed born to be betrayed and sacrificed; but whose courage at the last should be renowned in perpetuity, as an example to men and a marvel to women.

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[1] *Memoirs* of Melville E E VI, pp 310-312
[2] E E Vol I, pp 255-257

PART IV.

"As the difference standeth."

CHAPTER 1

"THE DIVERSITY OF HUMAN AFFLICTIONS."

SECTION 2

"As I take it upon the damnation of my soul."

(Secretary Nau's Protestations, September, 1586).

". . . as I take it upon the damnation of my soul, as far as my knowledge can go, that neither the said Queen of Scotland nor any about her has ever known anything further of the said practises ; and that they were carried on and managed without her knowledge."

M S (French) docketed by Lord Burghley, "Nau's long declaration" &c (see E E, p 270) Cal S P Scotland, Mary Queen of Scots, Vol IX, item 1

"That which you have confessed is no more than that which you saw no reason to deny when you found yourself charged by your fellow Nau. . . . I shall have better ground to deal for you when you lay yourself so open that her Majesty may see in you . . . a disposition to deserve her favour. . . ."

Walsingham's Memo of his letter to Secretary Curle Cal. S P Scot &c IX, p. 64.

NOTE. SOME SOURCES OF DIRECT EVIDENCE.

Many MSS bearing on the case of the Queen of Scots were published a century ago in "*Letters and Papers relating to Patrick, Master of Gray, afterwards seventh Lord Gray Edinburgh MDCCCXXXV*" Printed for the Bannatyne Club (With facsimiles) These begin, 24 Aug. 1584, and extend to 1608 but having no preliminary discourse by an editor to point out their value and interest, they have been hitherto less used by biographers than if attention had been drawn to their special features

Murdin in 1759 was the first to print letters confiscated at Chartley in 1586

In 1875 Chantelauze discovered a MS diary which he identified as a copy of that of Mary Queen of Scots' doctor This was published as "*Marie Stuart son procès et son exécution d'après le journal inédit de Bourgoing son médecin la correspondence d'Amyas Paulet son geolier et autres documents nouveaux* " Paris, 1876 In 1895 The Hon Mrs Maxwell-Scott translated the main points from this, in "*The Tragedy of Fotheringay*", reprinted 1924

For the years covered by Vols V—VI of "*Elizabethan England,*" see especially *Calendars of State Papers, Scotland and Mary Q of Scots,* Vol VII, from 1st January, 1583-4, to 30th June, 1585, (1913) ed W K Boyd, F R Hist S This consists of xxvii, 692 pp and Index, 41 pp Vol VIII carries the story over 14 months, and Vol IX (1915) covers 10th Sep 1586 to 10th March 1588-9, and is 710 pp not counting the Index Previously in 1874 the Rev J Morris had published "*The Letter Books of Sir Amias Poulet,*" and had corrected from them some of the most flagrant of Froude's distortions and misquotations

The arraignment of Babington and the others (Harl MS 290 f 160[b]) is printed in Cobbett's "*State Trials,*" Vol. I, p 1131, and Confessions (Harl 290 f 170), in Cal S P S, M Q of S (1915) Vol IX, pp 25 42 (Also, from the Yelverton MS, Vol xxxi, in Father Pollen's Monograph) (But the key to Babington's plot is in the State Papers Spanish, as quoted E E VI, pp 281-290), (Section 3), and in additional matter from our own State Papers also co-ordinated in the present History

The original discourse on the "legality" of executing Mary is 37 pp Calendar version, pp 127-143, and a different memo on the same, pp 251-256 Elizabeth's Speech to the Parliament, based on Lansdowne MS 94 f 84 (E E, Vol VI, pp 264-266), is in Cal IX, pp 152-153, Warrant for execution of Q Mary, Harl MS 290 f 203 pp 262-263, Proclamation, Richmond, 4th Dec 1536, as to the Sentence against Q Mary, pp 180-182

There is also, in "Notable British Trials Series," Edinburgh and London, "*Trial of Mary Queen of Scots Edited by A Francis Steuart Advocate,*" 1923 Mr Steuart gives thanks to "His Lminence Cardinal Gasquet, who introduced him to the Vatican Library where the work was begun, and to Monsignor Mackintosh, of the Scots College in Rome, now Archbishop of Glasgow" to whom the book is dedicated Mr Steuart pronounces the trial to have been in accord with English law as then constituted

The student and the general reader may be asked to realise that the concentrated brevity of the E E sections upon Mary Queen of Scots is the outcome of many re-writings and compressions; the difficulty being not scarcity of material but the enormous quantity of correspondence and State Papers to be studied and assimilated before attempting to select the most essential

PART IV.

"As the difference standeth."

CHAPTER I

"THE DIVERSITY OF HUMAN AFFLICTIONS."

SECTION 2

"As I take it upon the damnation of my soul."

(Secretary Nau's Protestations, September, 1586).

AS the standard monograph on "*Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot*" though abounding in detail, is sometimes perplexing,—its editor not regarding the circumstances as representative of English Catholics, but dismissing the plotters as young hot-heads, Spain as "weak," and the danger to Elizabeth as unreal,—we must consider the matter again.[1]

An undated paper docketed "The points of the treasons . . . for which they were condemned,"—and in Lord Burghley's hand "Savage, Ballard, Babington,"—states that "John Savage, gentleman" confessed he had undertaken to kill her Majesty, "by the persuasion of Dr. Gifford," Anthony Babington and John Ballard.[2]

Ballard certainly had "confederated with Bernardino de Mendoza, Thomas Morgan, and Charles Paget at Paris," that England should be invaded by foreign forces, and rebellion raised to assist them, and the Scottish Queen be set at liberty.

Ballard then came to England to "prepare fit ports and assistance for the invaders"; and conferred anew with Babington.

It was resolved that "six persons should be selected for the execution of the act against her Majesty's person at the self-same time that the invasion, and delivery of the Scottish Queen should be attempted . . ."

"Anthony Babington Esquire" confessed that he "dealt with John Savage, Chidiock Tichbourne, Robert Barnewell, Edward Abingdon, to have been five of

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[1] "*Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot, Edited from the original documents in the Public Record Office and the Yelverton MSS, and elsewhere, by John Hungerford Pollen, S.J.*" Edinb Scot Hist Soc 1922 (First written in 1907 See Father Pollen's note, p xi)

[2] Cal. S P. Scot. M. Q. of S IX pp. 16-17, and Trial of John Savage, Harl MS 290 f 159 Cal. pp 12-16, also Cobbett's *State Trials*, Vol. I, p 1127.

the six" who were to kill the Queen. It is added in this memo that Babington wrote to the Queen of Scots "of all his complots," and received "*answers of her acceptation thereof.*"

But this is what Queen Mary utterly denied: a denial which we may readily believe in view of the letters of Thomas Morgan, and of Charles Paget emphasising that it would be most unwise to permit her to know all they intended and hoped to do in her interests.[1]

The selected assassins this time were not persons of equivocal standing, such as Parry had been,[2] but all of them "gentlemen of good house."

In the course of the trial, the Counsel for the prosecution recited how John Savage had at first objected to the murder, both because it would be "dangerous and difficult" and because he was not "resolved" whether it were allowable or no. Then Dr. Gifford had reassured him; and suggested that the easiest moment would be when Elizabeth was on her way to chapel or in her garden, accompanied more by women than men, and those few men "slenderly armed."

On the scaffold, Savage again admitted himself guilty of the treason for which he was condemned, but protested he had acted "not for my wordly benefit," but for "conscience."[3] The same was stated by Barnewell. Tilney said, "I am come not to argue but to die", and "ended his life very obstinately," as a hostile narrator expressed it. And Abingdon not only did not apologise, but rebuked the country for its "iniquities" and predicted a Nemesis.

Thomas Salisbury showed some remorse, and advised the Catholics "to lay no violent hands upon her Majesty."[4] Dunne also counselled them to "beware how they attempt anything against her Majesty" He testified that he had lived "joyfully and pleasantly" until he met Babington, ten weeks previously, and consented to his plot. for which he now asked forgiveness. Saying the Lord's Prayer in Latin, he added, "Domine, miserere mei"; and so, "humbly, . . yet boldly finished his tragedy."[5]. Chidiock Tichbourne lamented his own unwisdom, as we have seen They all emphasised that they died Catholics[6]. Each was allowed to address the populace, this being the time-honoured privilege of men condemned for treason. In the scaffold speeches there was nothing about the Queen of Scots.

On the 25th of September, the French envoy, De l'Aubespine, writing to Monsieur de Courcelles that the conspirators "died faithfully and as good Catholics," added "*Nau, Curle and Pasquier are here prisoners in very great danger of their lives. I have spoken for them to the Queen of England, who appears very rigorous.*"[7]

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[1] As will be shown presently
[2] E E Vol V p 196, note 3
[3] Harl MS 290 f 170 Cal· IX p 26-29
[4] Ib f 171[d] Cal p 33 [5] Cal IX, p 34
[6] See Harl 290, f 171[d] Cal pp 33-39
[7] Cal IX p 47

If they feared to be classed as accessory to the assassination plot, and therefore liable to be executed as conspirators, the deaths of Babington and the others may have terrified them into a readiness to allege whatever they judged would secure their own safety. The third secretary, Pasquier, remained uncorrupted;[1] but a draft letter in Walsingham's hand, docketed "M. of my letter to Curle," is exceedingly significant:

"Curlle. You greatly charge me with my promise, and forget the favour you have received by my mediation. Yet *your own conscience and judgment, weighing the foulness of your offences, ought to tell you that the favour you have already received is extraordinary*

That which you have confessed is no more than that which you saw no reason to deny when you found yourself charged by your fellow Nau.

I have and will perform my promise so far forth as shall lie in me. The favour is to grow from Her Majesty. I can but be a mediator, and therein I shall have the better ground to deal for you: when you shall lay yourself so open that her Majesty may see in you remorse for what is past, *and a disposition to deserve her favour by acquainting her with your knowledge of such things as may in any way concern her estate*

I pray God give you grace to take profit of this advice. At the Court."[2]

After the conspirators had been hanged, the way was open for Nau and Curle to say whatever they judged would be the most acceptable to Queen Elizabeth's Ministers.

As Elizabeth, to her Parliament, in November, expressed dismay and grief at having learnt of the complicity of her "sister" in the plot against her life, let us go back a few weeks and see what Nau had originally stated before the executions of Babington and his fellows.

We have noticed how, in 1584, Nau had been chosen by Queen Mary as her special messenger, to carry letters to Elizabeth when efforts were being made to negotiate a "league" between them and procure her liberty.[3] Melville always disliked and distrusted him. But his fall was gradual, and from his own writings it appears that the first statements he put on paper were not injurious to the captive, but on the contrary were strongly in her favour.

For example we will take a paper docketed by Lord Burghley, "*10 September 1586 Nau's long declaration of thynges of no importance, sent privately to her*

[1] Pasquier testifies (Cal pp 55-57) that he deciphered letters from the Prince of Parma and the Duke of Guise, and "deciphered the long discourse sent to his mistress from Fontenay, but does not remember the points" etc He believed the Spanish King meant to "do her any good he could", but he indicates that he has been subordinate to Nau There is nothing in Pasquier's statement as to any murder plot.

[2] Cal S P Scot IX 56 p 64 [3] E E Vol. V, p 214

Majesty" Because of the disparities between this and later evidence it becomes of considerable "importance" in the controversy.[1] Having described the offers of the Duke of "Guyse," and alluded to the talk of a possible marriage between the "King of Scotland and one of the Infantas of Spain," Nau reiterated that Queen Mary had hoped to "re-establish" herself in Scotland by the *"intervention of the Queen of England rather than by any violent innovation."* But that "the said treaty breaking down," her kinsmen and friends next debated whether to rescue her by "open force" or by "secret means." Whereon she "resolutely forbade them" to hazard themselves for her, but urged them to concentrate upon the interests of her son; adding that as her health was so "sickly," she would not be likely to live long. So she left it to the judgment of the Duke of Guise what would be "most expedient" for Scotland and King James.

She was informed that many English Catholics had suggested to the King of Spain that he himself should take the Crown of England, in accordance with a book and discourse . . . composed . . . between Sir Francis 'Inglefield' and one named Ouan [Owen] and, as I believe, the Jesuit Parsons." But far from concurring, she had been exceedingly "offended": after which, her adherents not being able to agree among themselves, "she remained very long without having any news whatsoever." As to her son,

"I protest before the face of the living God," declared Nau, "that to my knowledge the said Queen of Scotland has never known whether the King of Scotland had or has any intention of attacking England." But she had heard (when Babington's letter came), that the King of Spain "was preparing one of the strongest and most powerful armies that had been seen in our time;" and that the Ambassador of Spain hoped it would be for her liberty.

She had judged these forces more probably intended for the Indies.

As to the machinations of Paget, it had been arranged between him and "the said Ambassador" (in Paris) to "say nothing" to Queen Mary of the means by which the English Catholics meant to be "delivered" from their woes:

> *". . . as I take it upon the damnation of my soul, as far as my knowledge can go, that neither the said Queen of Scotland nor any about her has ever known anything further of the said practises; and that they have been carried on and managed without her knowledge . . ."*

This last, from many indications, especially letters of Paget and Morgan elsewhere preserved, appears to be the literal truth.

Nau next tells of the "accursed letter" of Babington, arriving when Queen Mary was in great grief about the King her son, she having been "neglected in the league made separately with him" (by Queen Elizabeth) and being also very "ill-content" with the refusals of "all her requests and necessary conveniences."

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[1] French, 3 pp See translation, Cal. S P S, M Q of S IX No. 1 pp. 1-6.

If the King of Spain were to make war "or any trouble arose in England,"—even if she had not "meddled therein," she knew the brunt would fall upon her. She therefore consented to consider plans for escape and "foreign support":

"Babington wrote to her the said long letter as quite a new subject . . ." And the first that she wrote to him "was in accordance with a minute sent word for word ready made by Morgan," who told her that Babington was disappointed that she seemed to disdain his service.

"*I will swear*" (continued Nau), "*that I cannot in any wise remember having ever written the first letter of the said Queen of Scotland to the said Babington,* and hence I pray that Curll may be called to account for it. The letter of Morgan, and his minute for Babington, ought to be among the papers of the said Curll . . . .

"This is in sum, . . all that I know, . . of any practises carried on and undertaken at present against the said Queen of England and her estate . . . I take my Saviour Jesus Christ to witness . . . that I do not know by name, or otherwise in any fashion whatsoever, any taking part in this enterprise in England" except Babington, "and him who was sent into France, with whom the Queen of Scotland has never meddled." (i.e. Father Ballard.)

From Spanish sources we learn that Queen Mary's promises to King Philip were more extensive than Nau seems to have been told; but otherwise his words do not call for modification or correction.

It had been on this very same 10th September, when Burghley docketed Nau's Declaration as of "no importance" (i.e. as not helpful to the case for the prosecution,) that Sir Amias Poulet, Mary's gaoler at Chartley, received orders from Windsor, for (as he expressed it) the "dispersing of this lady's unnecessary servants, and the seizing of her money."

That she was ill in bed did not make any difference to him. He "had access to this Queen," and demanded that she should deliver over her money to him. On her refusal to give up the key of her cabinet, he "called his servants and sent for bars to break open the door. Thereupon she yielded"; and Poulet reports on all he found in gold and silver, both there and "in Nau's chamber."

Commending himself for the thoroughness of his search, and for depriving the captive of any means to bribe "bad members of this State," Poulet hoped her Majesty would be satisfied with him. Her charges would be lessened by the dismissal of some of the servants; but they were mostly such "silly and simple souls" that he had "no great cause to fear their practises."[1]

A month previously (8th of August) the Queen of Scots had been invited by Poulet to ride with him to Tixall Park, Sir Walter Ashton's home, and see a buck-hunt, accompanied by her secretaries and others. At the gates of Tixall, she was

[1] Cotton MS Julius F VI f 33 Cal IX pp. 6-9 "*The Letter-Books of Sir Amias Poulet, Keeper of Mary Queen of Scots,*" Edited by John Morris, S J. 1874. See editor's very able analysis of Froude's perversions, pp. 228-248.

met by an officer bearing a Royal Warrant ordering her to remain there, and that her secretaries, Nau and Curle, should be sent to London. They never saw her again.

After a fortnight she was informed she was to be brought back to Chartley. As she came through Tixall gates, a group of beggars awaited her. Poulet himself told Walsingham that she said to them, "I have nothing for you. I am a beggar as well as you; all is taken from me."

On her return, finding that during her absence Curle's wife had given birth prematurely to a daughter, the Queen asked Poulet to allow his chaplain to baptise the child. As the mother was a Protestant, what objection Poulet could possibly have felt is not explained. He boorishly refused, whereon the Queen took the baby on her knee and christened it Mary.[1]

It was not until she went to her own apartments that she found her cabinets had been broken open, and all her correspondence removed. It was then that she uttered her famous exclamation, that there were two things of which she could never be deprived: her religion, and her royal blood.† And one of her 19th century defenders has pointed out that had she "been carrying on, as they alleged, a murderous correspondence with Babington, and all had come to light," she could hardly have avoided showing "symptoms of uneasiness"; whereas her retort was more in scorn than in fear.[2]

We will therefore turn to such of that confiscated correspondence as bears especially upon the circumstances leading to her ruin. At the beginning of the previous year, Charles Paget had expressed, in writing to her, the utmost apprehension as to what would be the effect of the "new monstrous Oath lately devised" (for the preservation of Queen Elizabeth's life against enemies at home or abroad).[3] It showed, he said, "how desirous they are to entrap you and cut off your whole line." Paget added that Leicester supposed her to be "privy to the setting forth of the book against him,"[4] and therefore was her bitter enemy. If Leicester "or any of your enemies can but suborn a person to say he would kill the Queen of England, and thereby advance your title," even though nothing of the sort were to be done, and even if "*you yourself never knew thereof,* yet are all they of this new devised Association bound by Oath to prosecute you and all your line to death."[5]

When the actual murder conspiracy was matured in 1586, the conspirators seem not to have allowed Queen Mary to know what they intended. But as if realising that she might be implicated without her knowledge, she had apparently

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[1] Froude, Vol XII, p 259, elaborately but vainly attempts to explain away Poulet's discourtesy.

†Cal S P Scot VIII, p 166 "I was not present," says Poulet

[2] Hosack, "*Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers*" (1874), Vol II p 388

[3] See E E, Vol V, pp 206-207

[4] i e the libel of 1584 Paget's reference is not to be taken as any proof of Queen Mary's responsibility for that farrago of falsehood, concerning which see E E, Vol. V, pp 139-167.

[5] 14 January, 1584-5 Orig: *State Papers,* Murdin, p 437.

protected herself against possible misuse of her name. Among original papers now at Hatfield, is one docketed *"The Queen of Scots Bond in Association to be an Enemy to all that shall attempt anie Thing against her Majesties Lyffe, 5 January, 1585"* (6):[1] "La Royne d'Ecosse," Dowager of France, heard that, to avert attempts against Queen Elizabeth's life, the said Queen had empowered *"aulcuns des principaulxs seigneurs"* to form a General Association in her defence. Mary therefore of her *"franche volonté,"* on "the word of a Queen, and on her faith and honour" promised that she would regard as her mortal foes any such as might seek to take the life of the Queen her "good sister." If such an attempt were made,—"which God forbid,"—she would wish *"punition et vengeance suffizantes et exemplaires"* to be executed upon the offenders. In relation to the previous conspiracy of Parry, she had written to *"Madame la Royne d'Angleterre"* her abhorrence of *"si detestable practique et actes horribles"*, and had protested, *"j'ayme mieux mourir et perir avec honneur et coeur telle que Dieu m'a fayt naistre,"* than to countenance *"ancune chose injuste, et indigne de moy et de ma race"*[2] These being her declared sentiments, we should notice a letter from Charles Paget (Paris, 29th May, 1586), informing her of as much of his plans as he considered it safe for her to know:

> ". . . there came hither out of England a priest called Ballard, one that is very honest and discrete, and is entirely acquainted with all the best Catholics of England, and with some of Scotland where he hath been. He told me how he was sent, hitherto, to declare the minds and readiness that the most part of Catholics and Schismatics were in to take arms, so as they might be assured of foreign help. I brought him to the Spanish Ambassador, and made him to signify his knowledge therein. And so he declared in general how many of the principal Noblemen and Knights in the North Parts, in Lancashire, the West Country, and divers other shires besides, were willing to take arms, What number they would make, armed and unarmed, and that many of them had given their promise by oath, and received the sacrament of performance."

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[1] French Dated "A Winkefield (Wingfield) le v^eme Jour de Janier mil cinq cent quatre vinght et cinque" Signed "Marie R" Murdin, *State Papers*, p 548

[2] "A Tutbury le 23 Mars" (no year) Murdin, p 567 When Murdin in 1759 printed (pp 561-568) this and other letters of Queen Mary, he also transcribed as "from the original" (pp 558-561) "an effusion now known as "the scandal letter" It cannot be "original," there not only being no date nor place but no beginning, and no such ending as would have been indispensable between Sovereigns The authentic letters of Mary are addressed to the Queen of England by title, and begin "Madame ma bonne Sœur" and end "Vostre tres affectionée bonne Sœur et Cousine Marie R" The scandal letter, consisting of vile accusations, purporting to be furnished by the Countess of Shrewsbury, seems to have been fabricated by someone who hoped not only to wreck Mary but to ruin Lady Shrewsbury That this has often been reprinted,—and interpretations of the characters of Mary and of Elizabeth based upon it,—does not reflect much credit on the acumen of those who do not see that it closely resembles in style the Casket forgeries. Its crude brutal insolence, is the antithesis of the dignity which never failed Queen Mary Had she heaped Elizabeth with disgusting accusations, she could not up to the last have appealed to the ancestry they held in common, nor have maintained her tone of proud consciousness of never deviating from regal courtesy The charges in the scandal letter are akin to those in the foreign libels of 1584-1585 (See E E Vol V, pp 139-169)

We shall soon see how Mendoza in cipher to King Philip described this same conversation with Ballard, in which he, the Ambassador, insisted that prior to any landing of Spanish troops in England the murder of Queen Elizabeth must be accomplished. But in Charles Paget's letter to Queen Mary the "performance" would have been assumed by her to mean the rising and invasion. (We will soon compare Paget's account to Mary of Father Ballard's talk with Mendoza, and Mendoza's report of it to King Philip).

While Leicester was away, he "having all the best of the Protestants Captains and soldiers with him", and the people in England being, it was said, "grieved and much discontented" over the Low Country war, Ballard thought it was a time "very fit and proper" for the enterprise.

"The Spanish Ambassador" gave him a favourable hearing, "and made him set down in number how many in every shire would be contented to take Arms, and what number of men armed and unarmed they could provide, though he said he might not name the persons . . ."

But Mendoza does give King Philip the names, so either Ballard did not fully confide in Paget, or Paget on paper made this reservation. Ballard, he stated, supplied to Mendoza "information about the ports, with many other things", and Mendoza gave "further instructions" how to proceed, "with secrecy enough; and after satisfaction given him in these points from some of the principallest and wisest, he doth assure him" that "his Master the King of Spain will be brought to give them reasonable speedy relief."

The "principallest point" was to be the safety of Queen Mary's own person; and "if it be possible", she was to be taken out of her keeper's hands before the rising began.

Paget had named Newcastle, Hartlepool, or Scarborough to her as possible ports for the landing of the Prince of Parma's army, and he relied on Mendoza to bring this to pass:

> "The Spanish Ambassador", he repeats, "hath already advertised the King of Spain in general terms what Ballard came for. He [Mendoza] wisheth me not to write to your Majesty till things were brought to better resolution and more certainty. But, . . . though to content him I said I would not", yet "my duty and obedience ever command me to declare to your Majesty what importeth you . . ."

He asks "how you will have me proceed further"; and tells her of 4000 crowns promised for her from Spain. Though he could ill afford it, he had given "Ballard 60 crowns towards his charge because he is in a service for your good and common cause."

Though this letter has been in print since 1759,[1] it seems not to have been read by recent commentators on the Babington plot; or it would have shown Ballard and

[1] Murdin, *State Papers* (Hatfield), pp 516-519

Paget and the other conspirators as by no means so reckless and inconsequent as it is the fashion to call them.

Among the same confiscated letters is also one to Queen Mary from Thomas Morgan, from his prison in Paris,—4th July, 1586,—in which he refers to " one Ballard a Priest " who has endured " much travail " in England, and is " well disposed to your service, which he is like to offer to your Majesty, for the which if he do so, you may thank him with a few lines."

" Yet I must tell your Majesty, for the discharge of my own duty and service, . . . that the said Ballard follows some matters of consequence there, the issue whereof is uncertain. Wherefore, as long as these labours of his and matters be in hand, *it is not for your Majesty's service to hold any intelligence with him at all, for fear lest he or his partners be discovered, and they by pains* [*i e torture*] *or other accidents discover* [*i e reveal*] *your Majesty afterwards to have had intelligence with them* which I would not should fall out, . and I have specially warned the said Ballard not to deal at any hand with your Majesty, as long as he followeth the affairs that he and others have in hand, which tend to do good, which I pray God may come to pass, and so shall your Majesty be relieved by the power of God."[1]

Queen Mary had no reason to infer from these words an assassination plot, but only the long-discussed conjunction of the English Catholics with a Spanish army of invasion. On the 27th July, 1586 from Chartley, she wrote to Paget, " . . Upon the return of Ballard to this country, the principal of the Catholics, who had despatched him over sea, have imparted unto me their intentions "—If we only read so far we might jump to the conclusion that this was " evidence " of her complicity in the plot, but note the second half of the sentence,—" *conforme to that which you wrote to me thereof* " [in the letter we have examined]. She adds that they were asking her " direction for the execution of the whole ":

" I have made them a very ample despatch, containing point by point my advice in all things requisite, as well for this side as without the realm, to bring their designments to good effect." Obviously this again refers to the combined invasion and rebellion.[2] Mary advises her friends to consult the Spanish Ambassador, " sending over therewith either the same Ballard or some other the most faithful and secret ". She promised to write to Mendoza, and satisfy him with answers to his " objections and difficulties ". namely about her escape (" my getting forth ",) of which attempt Mendoza had formerly expressed disapproval. That Queen Mary's mind was not running on assassination but on war is plain from the second part of her epistle, emphasising that success would turn upon whether Rome and Spain gave the requisite support in the shape of " Horsemen and Footmen, . . . Armour, Munition, and money ".

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[1] *State Papers,* Murdin, p 527

[2] It stands to reason she would not have been able to give " advice " how and where to kill Elizabeth, as she had never been at the Court, whereas several of the men who undertook the assassination were persons in Elizabeth's immediate entourage.

She hoped that "His Holiness and the King of Spain" would soon "declare themselves resolutely and plainly"; not losing time in *"artificial negotiation and vain hope, as have been done hitherto"*. Plainly she did not suspect how the proviso of Mendoza had been that Elizabeth must be killed before Parma's troops would land. *"I have written to the said Catholics"* [in England] *"that before they have sufficient promise and assurance of the Pope and the King of Spain, . . . nothing be stirred on this side. For otherwise they shall but overthrow themselves without any profit."*[1]

Far from being a syren luring men to their doom (as in a noted caricature), and being goaded by her sufferings into impetuous and ill-calculated ventures, she who had seen war, (and who was niece of one of the greatest of French Generals, Francis Duke of Guise,[2]) was more competent to estimate the difficulties than Father Ballard or young Babington. Until the return of King Philip's Indian fleet, she did not suppose it would be easy to obtain assistance from Spain. "I like well the succours should come from the Low Countries as you wrote," but it was difficult to believe that the Prince of Parma, having to confront the English Army, could at present "spare so much as is necessary for the said enterprise on this side . . ."[3]

On the same 27th July, she wrote to Morgan, and expressed reluctance to enter into any dealing with Poley the spy in Walsingham's household. She also appeared uncertain if she could trust Phelippes, who had been "Secretary Walsingham's man". (He still was; and it was he who deciphered for Walsingham most of the intercepted correspondence.)

"As to Babington," she told Morgan, *"he had both kindly and honestly offered himself and all his means to be employed any way I would.* Whereupon I hope to have satisfied him by two of my several letters since I had his; and the rather for that I opened him the way, . . . I shall . . . do my best to entertain Babington according to your advice . . ." ("entertain" being the 16th century term for giving financial assistance).[4]

As Morgan had been most anxious she should know nothing of the murder plot, and his advice to her had only been that Babington should act as a link between her and the local Catholics, here again her words cannot reasonably be twisted into any "proof" of complicity in anything except the intended war. "I have heard of Ballard, of whom you wrote, but nothing from himself, and therefore have no intelligence with him."[5]

Common-sense bids us recognise that for the conspirators to have confided in

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[1] To Paget Murdin, p 531

[2] Who captured Calais from the English, E E, Vol I, pp 107-112

[3] Ib Murdin, p 532

[4] On 26 July, 1585, Morgan wrote her a letter crossing hers to him Morgan thought that Babington should be "more diligent" in her service, and help to convey news to and from her ("further your intelligence") which "he is able to do, . having many friends and kinsfolk in the parts where your Majesty liveth. . " Orig *State Papers, Murdin*, p 453

[5] "At Chartley the 27th of July" Ib. p. 534.

Queen Mary as to the projected murder would have so immeasurably enhanced the risk both for her and for themselves, that such a disclosure would have been crazy. Also we should realise that if the papers confiscated at Chartley had contained proof of Mary's concurrence in the assassination, there would have been no necessity to seek further evidence. The subsequent testimonies of her secretaries would have been superfluous, if incriminating matter from herself had been in the hands of Elizabeth's Councillors. On comparing Mendoza's statements to King Philip as to Ballard and the "enterprise" with those of Morgan and Paget to Queen Mary about Ballard's "labours," we will be enabled to see that Burghley, Walsingham, and Leicester in no way overrated the deadly nature of the conspiracy. But when Queen Mary, at her trial, indignantly protested that she had never known of any assassination plot, though this appeared to Elizabeth to be adding perjury to intended murder, we may believe it was the literal truth.[1]

On the 3rd of September, Walsingham at Barn Elms, writing to "my servant Thomas Phelippes at the Court," had added a Postscript:[2]

". . . take care to find out such minutes as have been drawn by Nau, who is not so deeply charged as Curll is, who wrote the letters sent to Englefield and to Charles Paget; . . . which he has acknowledged to be his; but that the minutes were first drawn by the Queen their mistress.

Both he and Nau are determined to lay the burden upon their Mistress. By no means they will yet be brought to confess that they were acquainted with the letters that passed between Babington and her. I would to God those minutes were found"

A few days later, Nau asserted that the minutes of the letters lacking, both in French and English, were in Pasquier's chests.[3] This seems to have been a device to gain time; but, from first to last, Pasquier was no help to the prosecution. Pasquier's loyalty to his doomed Mistress has never yet received the commendation it deserves.[4] He and Nau, both French subjects (and both regarded by the French Ambassador as equally under Queen Elizabeth's heavy displeasure,) show, by the difference in their conduct, in what diametrically opposite ways an honest man and a knave will act in similar circumstances. On the 4th of September (prior to the arraingment of Babington and his fellow conspirators), Burghley wrote to Sir Christopher Hatton (Vice Chamberlain, and Captain of the Guard),

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[1] See E E, Vol VI, pp 288-299 Father Pollen (in 1907) was so dismayed at any priest having been concerned in an assassination plot, that it seemed to him the plot must have been illusory, Ballard rash and foolish, the conspirators ill-balanced, and the affair organised by Walsingham to create excuses for added persecution of Catholics He could not have held these opinions and embodied them in an elaborate monograph, if he had fully examined the circumstances from the Spanish side

[2] C P XIX Cal VIII, p 666

[3] 8th Sep. Wm Waad to T. Phelippes C P Vol XIX Cal VIII, p 701

[4] In *"The Bardon Papers"* (1909), after quoting the order, 25 August, for Pasquier to be brought up to London under guard,—"because it is supposed he was privy to the writing of these letters that were in cipher,"—the editor, Dr Conyers Read, adds that though Pasquier "wrote out a confession on the 8th October, . . . his testimony being relatively unimportant was never used" That it was "never used" was not because it was "unimportant" but because it failed to support the criminal charge, the seeming proofs of which were wanted for the indictment.

"I think Nau and Curll will yield in their writing somewhat to confirm their Mistress's crimes", especially "if they were persuaded that themselves might 'scape, and the blow fall upon their Mistress betwixt her head and shoulders . . . If you shall bring any more writing with you from thence to touch both Nau and Pasquier, it shall serve us the better, and spare our threatenings to them."[1]

The same day, Phelippes advanced "Arguments" why he believed Nau and Curle accessories to the plot:

> "They cannot any way say it should stand with reason that the Queen [of Scots] deciphered and put in cipher the letters herself, for it appears that she despatched more packets ordinarily every fortnight than it was possible for one body, well exercised therein, to put in cipher, and decipher those sent; much less for her, being diseased. . "[2]

On the 5th of September, Curle stated that he had put into cipher Queen Mary's letter to Babington, 25th of July; likewise the reply.[3] And on the 5th and 6th of September, Nau made a statement in the presence of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, and Lord High Admiral:

> "As to the letter written by the Queen my Mistress to Babington, I wrote it from a minute by the hand of her Majesty .
>
> "As to the others, as her Majesty was always wont, she herself, sitting at a table, Curll and I before her, her Majesty commands me particularly from point to point all that which it pleases her to be written, and I therefore set down the points thereof then I show them to her, and read them again. . For Her Majesty will not permit that letters of importance, and secret, be written out of her cabinet; and no despatch is ever closed without her being present there, and re-reading always all the letters before they be put into cipher and translated,—which is done by Curll, especially as to the letter written to Babington "

Nau added that Her Majesty delivered to him that letter "written for the most part by her hand, and I neither did nor wrote anything, as I have protested, without her express commandment, and especially touching the point of her escape, and setting fire to the barns near the house."[4] He summarises the contents of that letter, ending, "Blow. Escape." But in his "Long Declaration" we have seen him swearing "upon the damnation of his soul" that though hoping to escape, she was not aware of any murder plot.

In the official summary of the confessions of all the conspirators,[5] it is repeatedly alleged that Babington wrote to Queen Mary as to the intended assassination; and that she assented to the slaying of Queen Elizabeth by the "six gentlemen." It is astonishing the way these plotters did not shoulder the responsibility for their own actions; but competed to echo the charges against the captive in whose interests they had purported to be rebelling. Nevertheless it is not their evidence which we shall see Walsingham cite as settling the case. It is the word of Nau and Curll; and so upon their heads, as we shall increasingly realise, is the blood of the Queen of Scots.

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[1] Egerton MS 2124, f 27 (copy), *Bardon Papers*, ed Read (1909), p 43
[2] C P XIX Cal VIII, p 678. [3] Ib. p 679 [4] Ib p 680 (French).
[5] C P XIX, 35 pp; and Cotton MS Calig. C. IX, f 413 et seq Cal. pp 680-697

PART IV.

"As the difference standeth."

CHAPTER 1.

"THE DIVERSITY OF HUMAN AFFLICTIONS."

SECTION 3

"It shall be done by steel."

(The Assassination Plot, 1586)

"I am advised from England by four men of position, who have the run of the Queen's house, that they have discussed for the last three months the intention of killing her. They have at last agreed and have mutually sworn to do it. They will on the first opportunity advise me when it is to be done, and whether by poison or steel . . . "

Original cipher letter of Don Bernardino de Mendoza to Don Juan Idiaquez, deciphered (Simancas MS, see E E, p 282)

"The four men who had taken the resolution about what I wrote to you on the 11th ultimo, have again assured me that they are agreed it shall be done by steel . . . "

The same to the same Paris, Midsummer Day, 1586 (Orig. Simancas MS, see E E p 282)

[A rebellion to be] "led by Babington, . . . a youth of great spirit and good family " . . . [and eager] "to try and find some secret means of killing the Queen. Six gentlemen, servants of the Queen, who have access to her house have promised to do this . . . This gentleman [Gifford] tells me that no person knows of this but Babington and two of the principal leaders."

Mendoza to King Philip II, 13 August, 1586 (Original, Ib see E E, p 284)

"If the six gentlemen and himself know it, others know it."

Marginal note on the above in the hand of King Philip

PART IV

"As the difference standeth."

CHAPTER 1

"THE DIVERSITY OF HUMAN AFFLICTIONS."

SECTION 3

"It shall be done by steel."

(The Assassination Plot, 1586).

HAVING seen the fate of Babington and his associates through English eyes, let us now consider the evidence from Spain.

"Spain, yea, Spain it is in which all causes do concur to give a just alarm," had been the words of Burghley several years before; and whether in peace or war, all through the reign of Elizabeth, the actions of Elizabeth's Ministers, just or unjust, can rarely be computed with any approach to completeness, if we lose sight of Spain,—as the majority of modern commentators on the Babington plot are apt to do.

When Don Bernardino de Mendoza was expelled from England, for conspiring with certain of Queen Elizabeth's Catholic subjects, on behalf of the Queen of Scots, he had expressed himself in private as yearning to take vengeance upon the Ministers of State who had found him out.[1]

And whereas Spaniards and Englishmen who fought each other could admire the valour of their opponents, Mendoza's detestation of Queen Elizabeth and his resentment against her Privy Council for protecting her, were intensified rather than quenched by absence. From France he continued the work interrupted in London, namely the conspiracy for invasion of England and overthrow of the Queen.

On Midsummer Day, 1586, he wrote to Juan de Idiaquez (King Philip's Secretary):

> "I forgot to tell you that Captain Vasco Duarte [Pacheco] shot at the English Ambassador here, and others, and then disappeared. I only gave him 20 crowns at different times, holding back until I received His Majesty's instructions as to how I should treat him.

[1] Cal S P Spanish Vol III. p. 517 (All the ensuing quotations in this section are from this volume)

The four men who had taken the resolution, about which I wrote to you on the 11th ultimo, have again assured me that they are agreed it shall be done by steel when the opportunity comes . . . "[1]

That "it" was the murder of Queen Elizabeth, is not open to dispute: for we can turn to Mendoza's explanatory letter.[2]

"I beg you," (he had written to Idiaquez,) "to have the following very carefully deciphered and put into His Majesty's own hands. It is written and ciphered by me personally." [The deciphered portion now ensues.] "I am advised from England by four men of position, who have the run of the Queen's house, that they have discussed for the last three months the intention of killing her.

"They have at last agreed, and the four have mutually sworn to do it. They will on the first opportunity advise me when it is to be done, and whether by poison or steel, in order that I may send the intelligence to Your Majesty, supplicating you will be pleased to help them after the business is ended.

"They say they will not divulge the intention to another soul but me, to whom they are under great obligation, and in whose secrecy they have confidence."

And on 13 August, 1586.[3] "Some months since, I wrote to your Majesty that some English Catholics had sent a priest to me to learn whether your Majesty would help them if they rose? . . . I replied vaguely, instancing the promptitude with which your Majesty had always offered aid . . ," and I desired that "they on their part" should provide "a worthy opportunity." There were several points to be elucidated; and Mendoza named these to the priest, "that he might communicate them to his principals."

"The Catholics have now sent to me a gentleman of good family, called Master Gifford, with proper credentials . . . My answer sent by the priest so greatly encouraged those who had started the plot, that they decided to sound the principal Catholics and also the Schismatics."

King Philip underlined "Schismatics," and added in the margin, "I cannot understand how they can trust these, or what security they can have for them. I do not know what difference there is between them and the heretics . . ." (By "schismatics" Mendoza meant Catholics who had taken the oath to Queen Elizabeth as head of the Church in order to save paying fines as recusants.[4])

Relating in detail the understanding he has come to, that they should make ready "to receive your Majesty's forces, . . ." he tells King Philip that they not only agreed to "raise their forces respectively, but, if necessary, to call them

[1] Paris Arch K 1564 112 Cal p 585
[2] 12th May (not 11th) Paris Arch K 1564 86 Cal p 579
[3] Orig. Paris Arch. K. 1564. 150. Cal III pp 603-608, in extenso, and with King Philip's notes, and with memo, pp 608-10
[4] See that Oath, E E. Vol V, p. 2.

out wherever was thought convenient, 20 days before the arrival of your Majesty's fleet, and to co-operate therewith as they might be instructed to do."

To prove their "good faith" they gave "names of the persons who had agreed to do this, and a statement of the way in which they intended to proceed. This was to the effect that the Earl of Arundel who is now a prisoner in the Tower of London, and with whom they are in communication, and have kept fully informed, undertakes, with the assistance of a few men, to make himself master of the Tower, whilst Lord Harry Howard his uncle, would raise troops and would be joined by Lord Thomas Howard, the Earl's brother. Lord Thomas is not a Catholic, but desires by any means to avenge his father's death."[1]

(How much, if anything, Philip, Earl of Arundel, knew of the use being made of his name remains uncertain.[2] Babington declared him innocent; and there is much reason to infer that it was his uncle, Lord Henry Howard, who prepared for the rising, while keeping himself assiduously in Queen Elizabeth's good graces.)

"Lord William, another brother of the Earl, a strong Catholic and very popular, would also join; the Earl of Northumberland, son of the Earl that died in the Tower[3]; Lord Strange, son of the Earl of Derby, a young man with a great following;[4] Lord Windsor, who has arms sufficient for 1000 men, and who, as he lives near where the Queen of Scotland is confined, intends to release her, Lord Mowbray and Lord Stourton of the province of Lancashire, who have all the nobility of the country on their side, as well as the commonalty; Lord Dacre, who is a Catholic, and wants to be made President of the North and revenge himself upon the President the Earl of Huntingdon; Sir John Constable, a man of influence and large credit in the north, where all the people are Catholics; Sir William Courtenay, a Catholic, who expects to be able in the turmoil to recover the Earldom of Devonshire, which is his by right. He is a person of great weight and credit in the West, and promises to ensure the possession of the port of Plymouth; Sir John Arundel and his son. The father is a prisoner in the Tower of London, since the Duke of Norfolk's rising,[5] and has all Cornwall at his bidding, as his family is much beloved. Lord Compton, who is in mid England; *Sir William Stanley, a soldier of great experience, who has come from Ireland by the Queen's orders with 1000 troops, mostly Catholics, to pass to Flanders* . .

"When he is obliged to go to Zeeland, he promises to pass over at the first opportunity to the Prince of Parma.[6] Lord Montague and all his house, which is the principal family in Sussex and has a great following."

The King marginally annotates the peers' names; beside Montague he writes,

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[1] While the father (Duke of Norfolk) had ordered his children not to avenge See his letter to them, bidding them obey their Sovereign. E E. Vol II, pp 138

[2] See E E Vol V, p 240 [3] See E E Vol V, p 287.

[4] Note added by King Philip that Strange's parents were "not of much account though of high rank"

[5] The Northern Rising, in which Norfolk's name was implicated. See E.E. Vol II, pp 21-56, 127-150

[6] Which he did. E E pp 366-368

"He was my Master of the Horse when I was there" (i.e. when Philip was King Consort of England); "and was subsequently at Toledo. They are good Catholics, but this one is not very determined. One of them is in Madrid, but I do not think his name is Montague."[1]

". . . Lord Vaux and those whose names follow his, have not been informed of the business, as they are declared Catholics, and are consequently held prisoners by the Queen, and under very heavy money penalties, but it is confidently assumed that as others far less interested are joining the design, they certainly will do so."

Names follow of those who have "agreed in the county where the Queen of Scotland is confined"; and amongst them is Babington. After various suggestions, Mendoza continues that discontent is not only rife amongst Catholics, "but also amongst the heretics themselves, owing to the oppressive new taxes for the war . . ."

He believed "the whole country" to be anxious for a change of government, *"led by Babington, who is a strong Catholic, a youth of great spirit and good family,"* and eager *"to try and find some secret means of killing the Queen."*

"Six gentlemen," [it was previously four] "servants of the Queen, who have access to her house, have promised to do this, as I reported to Don Juan de Idiaquez . . . for your Majesty's information. This gentleman [Gifford] tells me that no person knows of this but Babington and two of the principal leaders."

Here King Philip adds in the margin, *"If the six gentlemen and himself know of it, others know it."*

The assassination would "already have been effected, if they had not their suspicion aroused by seeing the Earl of Leicester armed and with a force in Zeeland, which they feared he might bring over to England quickly enough to attack them before they could gather their own forces or obtain help from your Majesty.

"This has caused them to delay laying hands upon the Queen until they had reported matters to me, and received assurance that they would be succoured with troops from the Netherlands the moment they desired it."

The numerous 19th and 20th century writers who have followed each other in calling Babington "rash," "foolish," "hare-brained" and "irresponsible," cannot have read this correspondence. Far from the plot being a fabrication of Burghley and Walsingham, merely as an excuse for further persecution (as was repeated in 1936), we see from Mendoza himself how the conspirators had every reason to suppose King Philip's forces were to be with them.

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[1] Sir Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague is the Master of the Horse referred to He and his son and grandson were all to bring troops to Tilbury Camp in 1588

There follow other names, which the King notes as "incorrectly written, and consequently I do not recognise them all."

But, adds Mendoza, as "they are most of them young men, and none of them soldiers, they desired that the Earl of Westmorland" [who had fled after the Northern Rising of 1569] should be ready to embark, "with some other experienced Captains, of any nationality, to help them. . . The Earl, they say, is so influential a personage that his mere presence will suffice to raise all the North Country, as he has the greatest following of any man in England. . .

" . . . *if I will give them my word that they shall at once have help from the Netherlands in case they want it, and that your Majesty will succour them from Spain if required, they say they will immediately put into execution their plan to kill the Queen They beg me not to doubt of them.*"

So determined were they, that they "resolved" to attempt it even if they lacked a "favourable opportunity." They would "*kill her, even on her throne and under her canopy of State, if I tell them that the time has arrived to put an end to her.*"

When Mendoza comments upon all this as "so Christian, just and advantageous," the epithet "Christian" is startling. He complacently tells King Philip that he "wrote them two letters by different routes, one in Italian and the other in Latin, urging them to the enterprise." (Here the King adds, "They must have been very plain, and it would be extremely troublesome if they were taken.")

Mendoza, whether meaning it sarcastically or literally, informed the conspirators that their assassination project was worthy "of the ancient valour of Englishmen"!

"If they succeeded in killing the Queen, they should have the assistance they required . . ." This, on behalf of his Sovereign, Mendoza promised "upon my faith and honour." Also he added his own advice:

"First, that on the day they intended to kill the Queen, they should have a person ready at the moment to arrest Don Antonio and the Portuguese that are with him, and lodge them in the Tower of London or some other secure place, by which they would greatly oblige your Majesty in a way you would never forget.

"They should try to delay Colonel Stanley and the 1000 Irishmen near London, so that when the thing was done they could *seize the Queen's ships,*" (King Philip underlined these words, and noted in the margin, "*This is the most important thing of all*") and "if," continued Mendoza, "they were not certain that the Commander Lord Howard would embrace the cause of the Queen of Scotland, they should either kill or seize Cecil, Walsingham, Lord Hunsdon, Knollys, and Beale of the Council, . . . terrible heretics."

"Other advice of the same sort," Mendoza added. King Philip marginally commented,

"It does not matter so much about Cecil, although he is a great heretic, but he is very old; and it was he who advised the understandings with the Prince of

Parma, and he has done no harm. It would be advisable to do as he says with the others."

(Actually—as we have seen, and will increasingly see,—Lord Burghley was the most formidable intellect of the many English adversaries of Spain.)

". . . of all the plots they have hatched these many years, none have been apparently so serious as this," says Mendoza. The plan "to make away with the Queen" is "now the first step they intend to take."

He emphasises the "secrecy." But the King adds, "If any of the letters were taken, it would not be easy to keep the secret."

"If the Queen falls," continues Mendoza, "the country will submit, without the effusion of blood; and the war in the Netherlands will be at an end. . .

"If your Majesty has no objection, you might have the Prince of Parma written to immediately, in accordance with what I have said about his sending troops to England. Another despatch might be written to M. de La Motte, Governor of Gravelines, . . . so that arrangements may be made to facilitate the passage. These despatches I will retain *in my own hands until I see whether the business is going forward* . . ." (The King adds, "That would not be of much use then, if they were not advised beforehand.")

Mendoza remarks that the Prince of Parma's help "will not be wanted to kill the Queen, and if the English do not do this—and lay the first stone of the edifice,—the troops will not need to be sent."

As this letter has been calendared in print since 1896, it is astonishing that it seems never to be read in full. The latest monograph on Babington's Conspiracy entirely ignores King Philip; and reasserts in the most positive fashion that Burghley, Walsingham and Hatton were the devisers of the plot.[1]

After the discovery, and when the news came to Paris, Mendoza described to King Philip the pretended frankness and actual mendacity by which he distracted suspicion from himself. Having previously given to the King the particulars of his special arrangements with Ballard, he relates how he now said, to "some of those who have come to discuss the matter," that he felt "injured by the Queen's belief

[1] *"The Babington Plot"* By Alan Gordon Smith London, 1936 Mr Smith claims to have considered "all the known facts" (pp x-xi) But no Spanish material is admitted to his Bibliographical list, except the MSS edited by Teulet, and in his text he alludes only once to Mendoza Mr Smith refers to the events as having been enshrouded in a "tantalising fog," which he believes himself to have dispelled "Was it a real conspiracy, or merely what in America would be called a 'frame up'?" are the opening words of his preface; introducing a narrative in which Queen Elizabeth is represented as "terrified" of imaginary dangers, and (p 210) as worked up by her own Ministers into a "quiver of nervous excitement" over a "harmless" affair, which, says Mr Smith (p 246) was "never at any time more than the silly talk of boys" As press critics praised this monograph as an example of "elaborate" modern "scholarship" and "research," it is necessary to point out that it is a paraphrase of previously familiar matter; and revives a fundamental fallacy, which arose in the first place from neglect of Spanish evidence

that I would advise any of her subjects to conspire against her life, she being their Sovereign . . ." He affected only to have wished to conquer her country "by the sword . . . taking away her crown" with the zeal he declared to be righteous against a personage with whom his own Sovereign "was at war."[1]

On the same day, he wrote a second letter to his King, that

". . . The whole of the affair that was being planned appears to have been discovered, some of the leaders having confessed.

"Of the six men who had sworn to kill the Queen, only two have escaped, namely the favourite Raleigh and the brother of Lord Windsor."

It is disconcerting to see Raleigh's name in this connection; for Babington appealed to Raleigh to intercede for him with the Queen. What Raleigh said or did we do not know, but he won for himself the estates forfeited by Babington.[2] It should be observed that Raleigh is not mentioned in Mendoza's early list of persons concerned in the conspiracy: and it seems highly improbable that "the new favourite" as Mendoza called him, would have wished to exchange Queen Elizabeth for King Philip. Lacking further evidence it appears rational to suppose that whatsoever Raleigh had to do with conspirators, would have been in order to discover and reveal their plans. But to return to Mendoza's statements.

"I am of opinion that the Queen of Scotland must be well acquainted with the whole affair, to judge from the contents of a letter which she has written to me, which letter I do not enclose herewith, as it is not ciphered, but will send it with my next . . ."[3]

In his previous descriptions it did not appear that the captive Queen was aware of the intended murder. It is only after the plot had failed, and Queen Mary's case had become desperate, that Mendoza suddenly began to try and inculpate her. As it was he who had previously dissuaded her from attempting an escape,—and who had from first to last been callous as to her sufferings,—as it was he also who had undertaken his master's aid to the conspirators,—his effort to push away responsibility from himself, and divert it to the chief victim, was worse than unchivalrous.

Never suspecting the cold unscrupulousness of Mendoza, the Queen of Scots mistook him for a devoted friend, and believed in him up to the last. When she was sentenced to execution, he was one to whom she wrote; others being the Pope, the Archbishop of Glasgow, her cousin the Duke of Guise, and the King of France. We will consider these letters in their place, the one to Mendoza is the most confidential, showing her to have had no shadow of suspicion that in the Spanish Ambassador's eyes she was only a tool of Spain.

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[1] 10th Sep Paris Arch K 1564. 169 Cal 623 Not noticed by Corbett when in 1898 he stated that a condition of war did not exist in 1585-7, and that "*The Spanish War*" was a misnomer for the volume of Navy Records between those dates

[2] MS note by Lord Burghley, January 1586-7 *State Papers*, Murdin, p 785

[3] Ib. p 624

When on the 2nd of July, 1586, from Chartley, she had written to Mendoza that though she did not blame King Philip for his hesitation to invade England, she dreaded lest some "public calamity" ensue from his delay, there is nothing to indicate that she knew or suspected Philip's proviso that Elizabeth should be assassinated before the Spanish troops would land.[1] But that this was the explicit condition can be placed beyond controversy. With Mendoza's letter, annotated by by the King, is preserved the draft of the King's reply.[2]

The "affair," wrote Philip, appears "to be based on a solid foundation, and to have the countenance of many Catholics."

> "I recollect some" ("some" altered, in his hand, from "many") "of those whom you mention as being in the plot, and in other cases their fathers. A business in which such persons are concerned certainly looks serious . . . and I will not fail to help them. I therefore at once order the necessary force to be prepared for the purpose both in Flanders and here in Spain . . . as the whole thing depends upon secrecy, and our preparations will have to be made without noise, the extent of the force must not be large enough to rouse an outcry and so do more harm than good: but it shall be brought to bear from both directions,—with the utmost promptness, *as soon as we learn from England that the principal execution planned by Babington and his friends has been effected.*"

However shocking it is to admit that King Philip was looking forward to the assassination of his sister-in-law, here is one of many instances in which evidence from Spain (not available till over 300 years after the events) proves Leicester, Burghley and Walsingham to have correctly estimated the peril to Queen Elizabeth. That there was an English conspiracy, and that the Most Catholic King of Spain was at the head of it, can only be denied by historians who either have not ascertained the circumstances or who think History should consist merely of such quotations as prop up a preconceived hypothesis.

The excuse for the Catholic conspirators was not, as Father Pollen believed, that they were few and insignificant; but that they were important and strongly backed. Also that having accepted Pope Pius's anathema upon Elizabeth, they regarded themselves as doing a service to England if they could remove the "pretended Queen" and substitute Mary.

> "The matter has been deeply considered here," wrote Philip, from the Escorial, to Mendoza, "*with a view to avoiding, if possible, the ruin of those who have undertaken so holy a task, and as a consequence* [*that of*] *all the rest of the Catholics in the country* . . .
>
> "In order not to increase their danger by arousing suspicion at the movements of my forces or fleets,—which suspicion might cause the Queen to put an end to

[1] See her letter, Cal S P S III p 589 (and Labanoff, in extenso)
[2] 5 Sep 1586 Paris Arch: K. 1448 68 Cal S P S III pp 614-616.

them before they could carry out their intention,—it is considered unadvisable that my force in aid should be moved until the principal execution has been effected.

"By that time the necessary preparations will have been made in Flanders, Lisbon, and other ports of Spain, for the prompt sending of support to them, and this you may assure them."

It is impossible to suggest that King Philip's letters at Simancas (not given to the world till 1896) are "Walsingham's forgeries;" and whatever we may think of Walsingham's open animus against Mary Queen of Scots, and his methods of influencing her secretaries, it must be seen that the central figure in the conspiracy is King Philip.

"The same reason," wrote the King, 5 September, 1586, "militates even more strongly in England itself, since the safety of the Catholics, now that things have reached their present stage, depends solely upon secrecy; which in its turn depends upon promptness in the execution of their design.

"Make this truth clear to them, although they cannot fail to know it already . . . show them the danger they are in until they ensure themselves by carrying out the principal execution: by means of which their own safety would be secured, and their power in the country established, whilst aid would then at once be sent from here."

Mendoza was to tell them that "*they are cutting their own throats if they delay or fail, and you will therefore urge despatch and caution, upon which all depends.* You will in this way support and forward their design, . . . and especially promote their intention of at once liberating the Queen of Scotland and acting in her name, as she will probably have a large following."

Philip then recapitulated his previous orders as to taking possession of Elizabeth's ships, and arresting "Don Antonio and the Councillors;" while winning for Spain if possible "the Admiral Lord Howard."

"It would be rather late to advise the Duke of Parma after the affair had been carried out, because if he is not prepared beforehand he could hardly send the help as promptly as is necessary. As, on the other hand, it is most unadvisable to go on spreading the secret abroad, I have decided to write to him . . .

"I have read the letter written to you by the Queen of Scotland, which is as good as usual. Her deep Christianity makes me hope that God will surely help her. You will already have assured her that she will find in me always an earnest desire to help . . . as my efforts to come to her aid will prove.

"The statement you send of the counties of England and their forces has been read. If these forces be united and declare themselves, they will be of considerable importance; but it is clear that *this, like everything else, depends upon*

the one act which is to be the commencement. When this is done, it will be possible for all of them to raise one voice, and the way will be smooth; whilst if the intention is discovered before it can be carried out, each one will be destroyed separately, and no union will be possible . . ."

As it is plain from King Philip's words that "everything" for the conspirators turned upon not being found out, plainly "everything" likewise depended for Queen Elizabeth upon her Councillors discovering the conspiracy in time to circumvent it.

But not even the unveiling of the plot terminated the spurious peace talk.

On the 11th of November Andreas de Loo, still in London wrote to Lord Burghley, apologising for his importunity and begging him to give "to her Majesty the letter I have written to her." There follows an assurance that the Prince of Parma "*will esteem himself happy, after so many wars, to be the author of so blessed a peace; whereupon he may joyfully return to his Dukedom*"

De Loo adds that "as from this great desire on that side of the sea there may arise a general talk of peace, it is not to be expressed with what joy it would be received by all, and thus would follow the common saying *vox populi, vox dei*"[1] (The same saying was to be used soon after by the Governor of Sluys, to express the longing of the people for reinforcements against Spain to be brought over by Lord Leicester.)

Next day De Loo enclosed to Burghley a letter for the Queen, comparing her to Solomon, deploring delays, and assuring her that anything which had been lacking in the secret negotiations could easily be arranged to her satisfaction.[2]

But a rumour which Burghley received from Dunkirk—presumably sent by a spy,—was that the King of Spain was making ready eight hundred ships and one hundred thousand fighting men; the cost of this Army for eight months, in victuals and wages, amounting to three millions. He was to have fifty ships from Italy, thirty from Lisbon, forty from Seville; and the Pope would lend him twelve thousand men for eight months, and pay them. The Spanish soldiers were saying England was "*but a handful,* and *before two years were come and gone, they would ransack London and conquer the whole land.*"[3] Also, upon All Saints Eve ("being 31 October by our computation"),

"a friar of the Order of St. Francis in Dunkirk and vicar of the said Friary, entering into some talk with me concerning the Queen, said that if she were once dispatched, all Christendom would be in rest and quietness; but until that wicked woman were gone there would be no rest at all. Then taking me into

[1] Orig. Ital. 1¼ pp. End by Ld B S P Flanders 1 101 Trans Cal. pp. 223-4
[2] Ital ½ p. S P. Flanders I 103 Cal· p 225
[3] 1586, Novr No signature or endorsement Newsletters, Flanders, I 74 Cal· pp. 492-494

his chamber, showed me the picture of the Prince of Orange, and the Burgonian who killed him, saying, 'Even as this Burgonian killed this Prince, . . . there will not want such another Burgonian to kill that wicked Queen, and that before it be long, for the common wealth of all Christendom.'"[1]

[1] As the Prince of Orange had been assassinated and no Nemesis apparently had ensued upon Spain, the plan to be rid of Queen Elizabeth, far from being fantastic, had behind it a recent precedent And though the slaying of William of Nassau had not ended the resistance in the Netherlands, Mendoza and his master tried to persuade themselves that if Elizabeth were killed, and English aid withdrawn from the rebellious Low Countries, the Dutch War could be brought to a conclusion on terms profitable to Spain

"Elizabethan England" is the first English history to do justice to King Philip II as a naval and military administrator, and to terminate (in judicial minds) the 19th—20th century delusion as to a "feeble" Spain But justice does not mean flattery Having shown the might and magnificence, majesty and intellect, power and glory of Spain, it is a less agreeable task to emphasise that in pursuit of his ambitions King Philip was ready to override without scruple certain of the Ten Commandments (This remark is not original, we shall meet it later from one of his own officials, who first assisted in his methods and then recoiled from them)

But the blame is not to be thrown on Spain as a whole for King Philip's conspiracies Of the officers and men who were to sail from Lisbon in the Great Armada,—adjured by their Captain-General to regard the enterprise as a Crusade,—few if any would have known that among the reasons for delay in weighing anchor had been the King's hope that his sister-in-law would have been murdered by six of her own subjects, before he risked his fleet and armies in effort to annex her kingdom.

MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE 1586 CONSPIRACY.[1]

We have now seen that it is a fundamental mistake to base the defence of the English Catholics upon an assumption that the plot of 1586 was never dangerous to anyone except the plotters But Father J H Pollen was so horrified that English gentlemen and Catholics not only countenanced but undertook an assassination, that he could not endure to think them other than erratic and irresponsible And while publishing verbatim transcripts of some of the English documents, he lacked the key to the situation namely the intention of King Philip

Thomas Morgan had described Father Ballard as grave and earnest, but Father Pollen (p lxxix) rebuking Ballard for "inability to understand the weakness of Spain," called him "the victim of theorists and extremists," and described him as "a gay, pushful, active, popular fellow" But of this gaiety no examples are given, and from first to last Ballard seems essentially a tragic character Father Pollen dismisses him as "a restless monomaniac sure to bring ruin to any cause he inspires." And though allowing him "distinction and generosity," and "social gifts of a high order" (having previously called him "pushful" which is to say ill-bred,) Father Pollen stated that "the injury which Ballard did to the Catholic cause was enormous, almost incalculable"

But in King Philip's eyes the main "injury" accruing through the conspirators was in their being found out

Father Pollen continues (p 86 n 2) —

> "In reality the Church has so insuperable an objection to a priest being connected in any way with a deed of blood, that even if the cleric only participates by persuasives, he becomes in the technical sense 'irregular' *ex defectu lenitates,* and is debarred from any exercise of priestly functions until he has been absolved How much more if the blood be shed without the forms of law or against them See *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* under 'Irregularity' "

The point is not what *The Catholic Encyclopedia* says in general terms today, but what Father Ballard thought it his business to encourage in 1586

Father Pollen can have seen only a part of Mendoza's letter (pp xciv-xcv), for he refers (p xix) to that Ambassador's conference with Ballard as "vague and grandiose" Read in extenso nothing could be more precise than the interview, with King Philip's notes in the margin[2] And when Father Pollen stated that there is "no real basis" for believing that the English Catholics "as a body" were conspiring with Spain, he cannot have realised the need to study the Spanish State Papers If he had said that the *assassination plot* was never communicated to the Catholics "as a body," this seems clear from King Philip's injunctions to secrecy But as to the *rising,* which was to be organised in conjunction with a Spanish landing, the names given by Ballard to Mendoza, and by Mendoza to the King, are those of the principal Catholics of England[3]

Father Pollen (p xix) adds, "It is hardly necessary to say that an excommunication is not a ban, it does not set a price on the head of the person under sentence, and *the bull of Pope Pius did not even exhort Elizabeth's subjects to throw off her yoke*"

It is these words which make manifest that Father Pollen had not seen the Bull in extenso,

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[1] Notes for the student or teacher of History

[2] Cal S P S III. pp 603-608 E E ante, pp 288-296

[3] But one of the conspirators excepted an important personage "I verily thinke the E(arl) of Arundell was never privie unto any parte of the practise" (i.e. for assassination Q. Eliz. and enthroning Q Mary) See Confessions of Anthony Babington, 1586 Yelverton MS xxxi. ff 229-231 In extenso in *"Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot,"* ed. Fr J H Pollen 1922, p 87. The evidence is clearer in Cal S.P.S Mary Queen of Scots, Vol. VIII, 1914, and Vol. IX, 1915.

for it not only admonished "Elizabeth's subjects to throw off her yoke" but threatened them with excommunication if they obeyed any law or mandate of "Elizabeth the pretended Queen"[1]

Putting the blame for the 1586 tragedies alternately upon Elizabeth's Councillors and upon the supposed foolishness of the conspirators, Father Pollen (p xxiv) says of the Queen of Scots,

> "It was perhaps the weakest point in Mary's otherwise wonderful character that she was a bad judge of men All her calamities may be said to have come from her inability to distinguish between men who though shallow and imprudent, were attractive, pushful, self-assertive, and those who, though in reality more capable, steadfast and estimable, did not make so brave a show"

Paget and Morgan are given as examples of the first type, and it is not specified who are intended by the second Casting the onus on the victim for "all her calamities," seems the less justifiable when we remind ourselves that Queen Mary was a prisoner from the age of twenty-five until her execution nineteen years later, and so could not in all that long while "judge of men" except on paper

Father Pollen (p lxviii) describes one of her champions as "neurotic" and "hysterical," words the more incongrous in application to that vigorous generation, especially as the bitterest enemies of these Catholic conspirators testified to the courage and self-possession with which most of them faced the terrible consequences of discovery.

While they paid the appalling price for their intention,—or rather for its frustration,—King Philip wrote to Mendoza, "they themselves are no doubt mostly to blame "[2]

This shifting the responsibility from his own shoulders to theirs was only too characteristic If with his mental capacities and powers of concentration, Philip II had combined a magnanimous and sympathetic nature, he would have been undeniably great But his lack of compassion for sufferings he was not called upon to share is manifest over and over again And the same coldheartedness which had made him ungrateful to and inconsiderate for Don John of Austria and the Duke of Alba, made him also callous about the tragedy of the English Catholics When Father Pollen, A D 1922, specified Queen Mary's misreading of the characters of men as a chief cause of "all her calamities," he seems not to have realised that the man upon whose actions her fate so largely depended was one she had never seen, and could only estimate through his messages to herself and by the omen of his previous victories· namely Philip of Spain[3]

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[1] See in extenso E E Vol II pp 43-49 Father Pollen, p xxi, note, infers that the Nuncio at Madrid misinterpreted the Bull, or found it "difficult to consult the text in 1581" But see the actual correspondence, in Pastor's *History of the Popes*, English translation, London, 1930, Vol XIX, p 441 and *'Elizabethan England,"* Vol IV, pp 141-144

Fr Pollen (p 21, note 3) thought Babington to have been "speaking untruly when he stated that six gentlemen were ready to undertake the tragical execution" As to Ballard saying there were "not more than two," this was an attempt to shelter the others The question is not so much how many "gentlemen" it took to kill one Queen, as that the assassination had been specified by the King of Spain as the prelude required by him before he would send the Prince of Parma to the assistance of the English Catholics. A further oversight in Father Pollen's monograph, (p 34) is where he states that "Without Babington's letter we should not know what the work of the six gentlemen was" We know it from Mendoza (See E E ante, pp 279-290), and from Nau and Curle and others

[2] Cal S P S III, p 639.

[3] Father Pollen gives in extenso (Sec II, pp 49-97,) the nine examinations of Babington (from Yelverton MS Vol xxi, ff 218-223), and also in the original Latin (and translated) Father Crichton's memoir But when in the Introduction (pp clxxiv—xlxxvi) he dismisses Mendoza as a "befooled veteran," and describes his "religious cant" as "less sanctimonious than that of Poulet" but "equally detestable," these comments lead away from the point which is not which of the two is the more "detestable," but what was the power behind Mendoza It would seem as if Father Pollen had so completely accepted the English academic convention as to 16th century Spain being "weak" and negligible, that this misconception coloured his intepretation even of the English evidence. His summing up (p ccxii) is that the plot in 1586 *"could not have progressed an inch without Walsingham's active assistance,"* and he classes Babington and the others as "Walsingham's victims." Denying that there was *"any real danger,"* he declared *"That Elizabeth was ever in the least peril, either from this or any other conspiracy, still stands without any historical proof"* Such an opinion could not have been formed on any adequate examination of the Spanish plans, and cannot possibly be maintained after systematic study of King Philip's correspondence.

NOTE

A MATTER OF CHARACTER

Extra to Calendars of State Papers, Scotland (E E Vol VI, p 266), there are "*The Bardon Papers Documents relating to the Imprisonment & Trial of Mary Queen of Scots Edited for the Royal Historical Society by Conyers Read, Ph D (Harvard) With a prefatory note by Charles Cotton, F R C P E, M R C S, Knight of Grace of the Order of St John of Jersusalem Camden Society, Third Series, vol xvii London, 1909*" These MS are now in the British Museum (Egerton 2124) As the chief points to which they relate are unfolded in the *Calendars of State Papers, Scotland, Mary Queen of Scots,* those direct sources of evidence have been preferred in E E, the Bardon Papers being too fragmentary to give more than a few aspects of the tragedy. Every effort is made by the editor to bring out such interest as they possess, but he concluded (p xl) that "it would be rash to attempt any definite pronouncement as to Mary's guilt or innocence of the Babington murder plot"

> "The attorneys for the government" [i e the Crown] "hardly made out a case against her strong enough to warrant the verdict which was based upon it, and such evidence as has subsequently accumulated, though on the whole it strengthens their case, cannot be said to establish it" [It is not specified what subsequent evidence Dr Read had in mind, but her farewell letter to Mendoza, of which Burghley could not procure a copy until years later, certainly does not "strengthen" the accusation, but repels it firmly[1]] Nevertheless, says Dr Read, "Mary's defenders have never satisfactorily proved their contention that she was an innocent victim "

In relation to her supposed letter to Babington, and the much debated postscript, Dr Read assumes her guilty, and remarks (p 130, App iii),

> "Mary had her own plan in mind, and woman-like, she saw no virtue in any opposed plan If her plan was followed,—very good, Elizabeth would die If her plan was not followed,—well, in that case very likely the pistol would miss fire, or some other unforeseen contingency arise to spoil everything"

[But it was not to be a "pistol" It was to be "done by steel" See E E. ante, p 282] When Dr Read adds, "Mary did not write these words or anything like them, but they may possibly express the process of her mind," we must recall that she repeatedly asked to be judged by what she had herself said or written, not by notions imputed to her by others As to the text of the letter to Babington, Dr Read (after analysis) says,

> "What she did write was, strictly taken, an inconsistency, no doubt, but if we begin to argue that every inconsistent thing a woman has ever written is ipso facto a forgery, we shall have to reject many interesting and valuable documents"

What "a woman" of lesser rank might do, will not help us here, for no other woman's circumstances before or since have been analogous to Queen Mary's Moreover she was remarkably consistent in certain fundamental traits, such as her attachment to her religion, her belief in the sanctity of her position, and her scorn for anything she classed as pusillanimous No male Sovereign's moral courage and endurance in that age were so severely tested Dr Read (pp xlii-xliii) pays a tribute to her valour, and to "that peculiar feminine charm which made her one of the most fascinating women of her time"

But if we go back to Sir Francis Knollys' impression, when first he met her in 1568, immediately

[1] E E Vol VI, pp 400-402.

after her defeat at Langside, (E E Vol I, pp 328-329,) his description would apply as well or better to a King than to a Queen

In Mary's authentic correspondence during the nineteen years of her captivity we find few sophistries and artifices of "feminine charm" of the destructive sort. There is vigorous logic, practical common-sense, and open contempt for other people's inconsistencies, all of which if coming from a man would be called "masculine"

The more her extraordinary life-story is examined direct from the 16th century materials, the more we may see that the "fascinating woman"—Walsingham called her "the devilish woman,"—did not attract and dominate men by appeals to their vanity or their lower natures, but, on the contrary, aroused in some of them an irrational resentment against the courage, strength of mind, and the disdain for mercenary souls which over and over again she displayed

To her graciousness, "good learning," quick wit, courtesy, and other regal attributes, there is ample testimony But such qualities have never been peculiarly feminine, they appertain to generous souls of both sexes [1]

[1] A foreign correspondent now sends a biographical essay by Monsieur Félix Vital Magne, "*Marie Stuart, deux fois reine, et martyre,*" appearing serially in "*La Revue Hebdomadaire,*" 46 année, nos 22-29, Plon, 8 rue Garantière, Paris This brief character sketch is a reply to a current libel, popularly mistaken for a new biography, but actually a crude repetition of hoary scandals answered long ago by Hosack ("*Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers,*" 1868-1874), and others These replies are now out of print, and M Magne does well to emphasise anew that the Casket letters were gross forgeries, for a vile purpose (See E E Vol I, pp 337-343) And he rightly shows the difference in style and manner between the Casket verses and the genuine poems of the Queen of Scots As he gives no MSS or other footnote references, it is difficult to conjecture where he obtained the quotation (p 537) in which the ceremonious 3rd Duke of Alba is made to refer in insulting terms to "Marie Stuart" (which was not a 16th century designation See E E Vol I, p. 312) Actual letters of Queen Mary to the Great Duke were published in 1891 by the then Duchess of Berwick and Alba in her "*Documentos Escogidos del Archivo de la Casa de Alba*" (See E E Vol II, p 22, for a representative example) As M Magne's essay is likely to be reissued in book form, it may be hoped he will correct the Alba allusion Also that he will alter his opinion that the notorious "scandal letter" is (p 330) "incontestablement authentique" (See E E ante, p 273) "Lord Cecil" should be changed to "Sir William Cecil" up to 1571, and, after that, to "Lord Burghley" "Inchmalone," p 520, is a misprint for "Inchmahone," and "Lord Killigrew" (p 212) should be "Henry Killigrew" "sir Throckmorton" (p 331) should be "Francis Throckmorton", and "lord Talbot de Shresbury" should be "George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury" (Lord Talbot was his son).

NOTES ON THE QUEEN OF SCOTS' ALLEGED LETTER TO BABINGTON

The nature of the conspiracy and the punishment of the conspirators we have now seen from the contemporary narrative as publicly circulated soon after the event,[1] next from behind the scenes, both in England and Spain, and soon we will come to the answers which the Queen of Scots gave to her accusers For the general reader it will suffice to follow the main events in the large type sections But for teachers of history, if they have taken Father Pollen's volume (and essays in "*The Month*") as a sufficient gathering of materials, the ensuing notes will be helpful

As to Queen Mary's alleged letter to Babington, one of the numerous official copies, in the Record Office, (C P Vol XVIII, 6¼ pp French) is printed in English in the Calendar S P Scotland, Volume VIII (1914) pp 525-529 "*Copie d'une lettre escripte par la Royne d'Escosse à Anthony Babington, le 17 Juillet 1586 Tournée d'Angloys en Francoys*" There are added to it, in Thomas Phelippes' hand, attestations by Babington and Curle the latter stating "*Telle ou semblable me semble avons esté la response escripte par Monsieur Nau laquelle j'ay traduit et mis en chiffre, comme j'en fais mention au pied d'une copie de la lettre de Mr Babington laquelle Monsieur Nau a signé le premier Ainsy signé Gilbert Curle 5 Septembre, 1586*"

Observe "*Telle ou semblable,*" such or suchlike ("ou" is misprinted in the Calendar as "on") (On the 10th of September Burghley docketed as of "no importance" the MS in which Nau had not yet incriminated the Queen of Scots E E pp 269-270)

As the letter to Babington was thus constructed from memory by Curle (who would have been miraculously clever if he could have recalled so long an epistle word for word), Queen Mary subsequently protested against being condemned to death on a document which her accusers read aloud to her but of which she was not allowed a written copy The letter, in the versions now extant, reads like a blending of what she had often written on other occasions about the sorrows of the English Catholics, and her reliance on French and Spanish aid, with other statements such as a wise Queen was most unlikely to have hazarded on paper before the events, even if she had entertained or condoned murderous intentions,—which she vowed she never had

In this occurs the question, "By what means do the six gentlemen deliberate to proceed?" which procedure was to be the killing of Queen Elizabeth In a later paragraph Mary is made to say that if the gentlemen fail, and if her escape is unsuccessful, the "foreign succours were sufficient cause given to that Queen [Elizabeth] in catching me again, to enclose me for ever,"

> " and to pursue with all extremity all who had assisted me, which would grieve me more than all the unhappiness that might fall upon myself Therefore must I once again admonish you to look and take heed most carefully and vigilantly to compass and assure all that shall be necessary" [This last tallies with warnings still extant under her own hand, at Simancas]

Further apprehension of possible failure ensues, coupled with a request to sound "the Earl of Arundel or some of his brethren" as to whether he would be willing to act as "general head or chief" of the enterprise (But as Arundel and his brother Lord William Howard had no military or political experience, this seems an unsuitable choice)

"Take heed of spies and false brethren," is what she also wrote elsewhere but the advice "never in any way keep any paper" that might do harm if found, may be an interpolation by the secretaries to account for their inability to produce originals of the Babington letters, which on 25th of October they alleged to have been burnt This copy of her supposed letter (Cal· p 529) lacks the

[1] E E pp 257-260 Compared with fuller particulars, Harl MS 290 f 170 et seq Cal S P Scotland, M Q. of Scots, Vol IX 1915, pp 25-29

postscript, concerning which there has been so much discussion as to whether it was a forgery But the postscript is of minor consequence, in that the letter (we must reiterate) was written out from memory and so is certainly not conclusive "evidence" in the present sense of that word In the official memoranda of Offences chargeable to the Queen of Scots (Cotton MS Calig C IX f 694 et seq 14¾ pp Cal IX pp 121-127), the 33rd point is that "For the further accepting of all these letters" (listed as discovered among her papers,) "it is to be noted that the original drafts of them were all found among her papers at Chartley, *saving that which she wrote to Babington*"

Perplexingly, there is in the Calendar, Volume VIII, pp 531-532, a previous letter from Phelippes to Walsingham, dated 19th July (C P Volume XVIII, 1½ pp holograph,) stating that he has "now this Queen's answer to Babington, which I received last night If he is in the country, the original will be conveyed into your hands, and likely enough an answer returned . " Phelippes adds his hope that Queen Elizabeth will "hang Nau and Curle", but does not particularise their offence Walsingham's brief acknowledgment (p 541, 22nd July) tells us nothing But Nau's subsequent imprisonment was under comfortable circumstances in Walsingham's house, and that instead of being terrorised in the Tower he was cajoled and coaxed by his captors, appears from his own notes to Walsingham and his confident requests for favours (E E p 403)

Of Mary's letters captured, those to the Archbishop of Glasgow and Charles Paget in cipher were among the most important Others were found in a cipher "to which there is no key" (Cal p 523). A draft of her letter of 27th July to Mendoza from Chartley was successfully deciphered, and that it was genuine can be confirmed, for the original is at Simancas, (as quoted, E E Vol VI, pp 153-154) in which she warned the Spanish Ambassador that "the exploits of the Earl of Leicester and Drake" had uplifted the hearts of the enemies of King Philip "throughout Christendom"[1] On the same 27th July she wrote to Sir Francis Englefield, acknowledging a Spanish grant of £12,000, and sending "right affectionate thanks" to King Philip (Cal pp 555-558) And again she alluded to Leicester's and Drake's actions, and doubted if Parma could spare from the Low Countries "so many forces as to be requisite for our enterprise" She referred Sir Francis to Mendoza as knowing the "designment in general" of the English Catholics, and asked "the King of Spain's plain and assured promise" of aid, hoping that "if a peace be made in France, the Duke of Guise, having great forces in hand, may employ the same forces on the sudden, before that this Queen [Elizabeth] be ever aware thereof" Her letter to Charles Paget on the same date, 27th July (E E ante, pp 275-276), was accurately copied and deciphered In these genuine letters, the "enterprise" of the Spanish invasion, with French aid, and of Mary's possible escape from Chartley, are treated by her with a characteristic blend of daring, caution, dignity, and clearness of expression

As Queen Elizabeth was shown the "confessions" of Nau, Curle, and Babington, and the copy of the alleged incriminating letter, her belief in Queen Mary's guilt was not (as Hosack asserted in 1874, in his Vol II, p 423) mere base enslavement to "womanish fears" Far from Elizabeth being haunted by "imaginary terrors" (as Hosack thought in 1874 and Father Pollen repeated in 1922), the reality of the intention to assassinate her can be proved many times over[2] But Mary maintained at her trial that as to a murder plot, her name must have been used without her knowledge, or consent, and that if she could see the Queen of England in person she could convince her of her innocence of any criminal complicity. The other charges she did not deny, but maintained that she had a perfect right to try and escape from prison, and to correspond for that purpose with her allies

The letter of Babington to Queen Mary (copy C P Vol XIX, Cal VIII, pp 573-574) refers to the intended "tragical execution of the despatch of the usurper", and Babington—who was trying for a pardon,—certified this as correct Curle declared it to be a letter of which he had the cipher, which had been answered via Nau, also in cipher. Babington may have written such a letter, but Queen

[1] Not noticed by the editor of *The Bardon Papers*, who (p 50) repeats the established mistaken assumption as to Leicester's incapacity,—which the present History is the first to dispel

[2] Especially from King Philip's correspondence with Mendoza E E., pp 282-290.

Mary denied ever having received it Again there is a letter from Babington to Mary, 3rd August, as to the vow of her champions to "do or die" (certified by Babington, and this confession witnessed by Burghley, Walsingham, Shrewsbury, Derby, etc, Cal p 587) This would have confirmed Elizabeth's convictions, expressed in her letter to Sir Amias Poulet (9th August), as to the "dangerous practises, not only to the trouble of our estate, but to the peril of our own person, whereof we have just cause to judge the Queen your charge and Nau and Curle her two secretaries to have been both parties and assenting"

She deplores Queen Mary's complicity as "most unprincely and unnatural," and contrary to the "great and earnest protestations" Mary had made of "love and goodwill towards us"

This letter of Queen Elizabeth, drafted by Walsingham (C P XIX Cal IX p 607) is the one ordering the secretaries be apprehended, and "sent up to us under good and sure guard"

Froude's distortions and misquotations in his attempts to depict Queen Mary as a "bad woman in the livery of a martyr," were exposed by Hosack and by Father Morris in 1874 But Hosack's ardour as an advocate caused him to make no allowances whatsoever for Queen Elizabeth, and he had not any acquaintance with the Spanish revelations, which remained unpublished until twenty-two years after he issued the second edition of his *"Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers"* The actual drama is far more complicated than any of the existent renderings based on part and not the whole of the evidence

If the assertions of Babington and Curle (or those of Nau) had been the unalloyed truth, Elizabeth and her Ministers would have had just cause to regard Queen Mary with abhorrence But we will subsequently see that there is every reason to believe that Curle, Babington and Nau made a scapegoat of the Queen of Scots Commentators on the plot seem not hitherto to have noticed that Babington up to the last expected to be pardoned as the reward for incriminating Queen Mary [1]

Whereas Mary's defenders usually seem to think that their argument necessitates throwing upon Elizabeth the onus of having behaved brutally without tangible reason, it is by examining the case for the prosecution, in conjunction with the victim's own defence, that we can obtain the best results

The editor of the Calendar of State Papers of Scotland, W K Boyd, judged that it was not part of his work to interpret the MSS he printed But it is remarkable that in the twenty-three years ensuing upon the publication of that volume, its contents do not seem perceptibly to have influenced the numerous books and articles on Mary Queen of Scots that have since appeared

The case for the prosecution is clearly expressed in a MS docketed by Burghley, "A summary of ye exam and confessions of ye conspyrators Seat [Serjeant] Pukeryng," (C P XIX 32 pp, and copy, Cotton MS Calig C IX f 413 et seq Cal· VIII, pp 680-697)

There is also a letter from Nau to Babington, 13th July (1586) p 521, saying that the Queen of Scots has received his letter and enclosure but that they cannot yet be deciphered That the Queen of Scots received overtures from Babington is undeniable In one of the official reports of her trial published in the Calendar Vol IX, 1915 (and quoted in E E in its place) she stated she had used Babington as an "intelligencer", but that whatever his plans, he had not informed her of any intended laying of violent hands on Queen Elizabeth's person, and that if any such plot had been put before her she would not have consented to it

We shall in due course consider her private letters to Mendoza and others,—letters which were not intercepted,—written after she had been condemned to death Most emphatically she repudiated to Mendoza any concurrence in the murder plot. Had she been the heartless and shameless criminal her adversaries supposed, when her case was hopeless and she was on the eve of death, she might have taken private credit with Mendoza for having intended the elimination of Elizabeth, an event desired by Spain Had she conspired with Mendoza in the criminal sense alleged, when there was no longer any chance of escape or of saving her life (and when her letter went by the safe hand of her own

[1] E E, pp 263, 342

physician,) this would have been the time to show if she had regarded the killing of Elizabeth as justifiable But she on the contrary solemnly denied having assented to the very plot which Mendoza himself regarded complacently and in which, in a private letter to King Philip (E E p 287) he had chosen to imagine that the captive must have concurred

Even in the seclusion of the study, the examination and co-ordination of the vast quantity of relevant material is a task so arduous that the numerous specialists on the plot have not achieved it Each has taken a selection of the available matter, and regarded that selection as if it had been the whole The case when presented by Mary's defenders usually includes a denunciation of the iniquity, hypocrisy, spite, and cowardice of Elizabeth No scrutiniser of the events until now has attempted to enter fully into the feelings of both the Queens though this is an absolute necessity before it becomes possible justly to judge the tragedy in all its bearings

Mary was championed ably in 1874 by Father Morris, editor of "*The Letter Books of Sir Amias Poulet,*" and yet more decisively in 1876 by Chantelauze, the discoverer of Bourgoing's Journal But these editors were so frankly and naturally antagonistic to Elizabeth, that Elizabeth's partisans have paid less attention than they should to the revealing material presented in both publications [1]

The paradoxical Mary of Froude's History is a character of fiction The actual Mary was remarkably consistent In the last years of her tormented life she shows a clearness of head and a degree of self-command the more admirable considering how her health had been broken by long captivity and many sorrows Far from being erratic, inconsequent or inconsistent, her strength of mind and innate dignity of manner increased as her sufferings and sorrows were intensified "I am a Queen," she was wont to remind her gaolers and accusers, and it is Poulet himself who recorded some of her bravest retorts most notably her protest when on being brought back to Chartley, and finding her papers had been carried away, she exclaimed that there were two things that no man could take from her, "her English blood and her Catholic religion"[2]

In every emergency, and under the shock of each fresh misfortune, her vigour of spirit and intellect increased in proportion to the necessity Most of all did the inherent steadfastness of her character appear when at last brought face to face with her judges The contrast between the valiant Queen and her pusillanimous secretaries Nau and Curle will be seen more and more clearly as we proceed towards the end of the tragedy [3]

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[1] Father Morris (p 236, note 1),—anxious to be fair to such work as had already been done,—referred his readers to Tytler's "Historical remarks on the Queen of Scots' supposed accession to Babington's conspiracy," *History of Scotland,* Vol viii, Ap n 14

[2] Sir A Poulet to Walsingham 27 Aug 1586 Cal S P Scotland, VIII, p 632 "I was not present," Poulet added Lingard, *Hist of England,* 1844, Vol viii, p 214, makes her turn to Poulet, and amplifies her words (Mistake pointed out by Fr Morris, 1874, op cit p, 274 note 1)

[3] The accomplished editor of "*The Bardon Papers*" (1909), Dr Conyers Read, is frankly perplexed by the case Granting that the original of the alleged Babington letter and Queen Mary's reply could not be found, he says (p xl), à propos of Nau and Curle, "If the testimony obtained by such methods does not strengthen the case against Mary, it cannot fairly be held to weaken it" But which of us today would consider a case against ourselves not "weakened" if it rested on letters which our accusers could not produce, except as reconstructed from memory by treacherous underlings? Though it is academically tactful to agree with critics on both sides, and differ decisively from neither, surely justice to the dead should surmount all lesser considerations

PART IV.

"As the difference standeth."

CHAPTER I.

"THE DIVERSITY OF HUMAN AFFLICTIONS."

SECTION 4

"The course that is intended."

(The changing attitude of Queen Elizabeth towards Mary Queen of Scots; 1567—1586).

"On what law find they written in any Christian Monarchy that subjects may arrest the persons of their Princes, detain them captive, and proceed to judge them? None such, We are assured, is in the whole Civil Law."

Queen Elizabeth to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, 27th July, 1567 (Cal M Q of S II, pp 366-367).

"I thank you for sounding the King's disposition . . . . You may . . . . persuade him that he make no mediation for her, or oppose himself against the course that is intended. . . .

"It is meant that she shall be tried according to the Act made in the last Parliament."

Principal Secretary Walsingham to the Master of Gray, 14th September, 1586. Draft in Sir Fra Walsingham's hand. (Cotton MS Calig C. IX 208, f. 312).

"THE SECRETARIES HAVE CONFESSED":

(Notes from the correspondence of Mendoza with King Philip, 1586).

When news of the failure of Babington's plot first reached Paris, Don Bernardino de Mendoza notified to King Philip, "The report that comes from the English Embassy here is to the effect that the secretaries have confessed" that the Catholics had sent Queen Mary intelligence of the "conspiracy that they had entered into against the Queen of England, but not that she had persuaded them to it."[1]

On the 19th of October Philip expressed himself to Mendoza as deeply concerned for the Queen of Scots, and admiring her "steadfast firmness" in religion But as to the executions of Babington and the conspirators, His Majesty coldly washed his hands of responsibility

"There is nothing more to be said except to deplore their misfortune, for which they themselves are, no doubt, mostly to blame, in consequence of their being unable to keep the secret, and of having communicated it to so many people It was inevitable that it should become known under the circumstances You did well in not sending the letters to the Duke of Parma when you saw how things were As they are now useless you had better burn them"[2]

As to the intended trial of Queen Mary, Mendoza wrote to his King,

"The Queen of England bases her claim to proceed against her on the ground of her renunciation of the Sovereignty and her consent to the Act adopted in Parliament when I left England, making it high treason for any person to conspire against the Person of the Sovereign which clause had been signed by the Queen of Scotland and all the nobles of the realm "[3]

"This is not the first time that Cecil" [meaning Burghley] "and Walsingham have invented forged letters, and as the Queen of Scotland's ciphers have now fallen into their hands, they would of course make use of it to write whatever they thought best calculated to inculpate her "

(Presumably this is the origin of the oft-repeated modern references to "Walsingham's forgeries", but—as we shall see—it was the secretaries Nau and Curle who from memory professed to reconstruct compromising phrases which Queen Mary had utterly denied having written)

Mendoza was uneasy about the effect upon Mary's cause if it were discovered she had bequeathed the Crown of England to King Philip, if her son failed to become a Catholic But, he added, "As regards the Will, that is a document in which the truth must be told, and she could not avoid acknowledging your Majesty's right, which is as clear as the noonday "[4]

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[1] 26th Sep 1586, Cal S P S Simancas III pp 625-626, a long letter going back to earlier events, and relating how Poulet took Mary out for a ride, and how William Waad went "to the Queen of Scotland's former lodging, and examined everything, breaking open the boxes and desks Waad asserts that he found a large quantity of ciphers *They also affirm that the secretaries of the Queen of Scotland have confessed"*

On 20th October, Mendoza (p 641) gave an account of the executions, and added a story ascribed to "Cecil," that Babington under torture had confessed that the Queen of Scots intended to marry him "This is a very badly invented lie, as Babington was married already and was a good Catholic (No such lie was set about by Burghley See Babington's letter, E E p 263, with references to his wife)

[2] Cal p 639 "Duke of Parma" instead of Prince, as he (Prince Alexander Farnese) had recently succeeded to his father's Dukedom

[3] This had been High Treason for centuries But Mendoza was referring to the new Oath and Act See E E V, pp 206-207

[4] 8 Nov 1586 Cal. III, p 646

That the Queen of Scots never heard of James VI's earlier overtures to the Pope[1] may be inferred from her letter to Mendoza deploring privately "the great obstinacy of my son in his heresy"

> " foreseeing how difficult it will be for the Catholic Church to triumph if he succeeds to the throne of England, I have resolved that in case my son should not submit before my death to the Catholic religion (of which I see small hope, .) I will cede and make over, by will, to the King your Master, my right to the succession to this Crown, and beg him consequently to take me in future entirely under his protection, and also the affairs of this country
>
> "I am obliged in this matter to consider the public welfare of the Church before the private aggrandisement of my posterity"[2]

She implored Mendoza to keep this offer secret,—"because if it became known, it would cause the loss of my dowry in France, and bring about an entire breach with my son in Scotland, and my total ruin and destruction in England"[3]

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[1] E E Vol V, p 40a

[2] Let it not be assumed that these sentences are "Walsingham's forgeries", for this letter of 20th May, 1586, is at Simancas Paris Arch K 1564 93 (French), Cal S P Spanish, III pp 581-582, (1896) (Previously printed by Prince Labanoff)

[3] The reading of a copy of this letter to Mendoza was one of the chief points in the official "order of the proceedings at the arraignment of the late unfortunate Lady Mary Queen of Scottes," &c. (Cotton MS Calig C IX f 469 et seq) Cal: IX, p 313 Lord Burghley protested, "Madame, the succession of the Crown, whosoever shall have it, may not be given to a strange [i e. foreign] Prince, it must go by the laws of this realm"

PART IV.

"As the difference standeth."

CHAPTER I

"THE DIVERSITY OF HUMAN AFFLICTIONS."

SECTION 4.

"The course that is intended."

(The changing attitude of Queen Elizabeth towards Mary Queen of Scots; 1567—1586).[1]

ON the 14th of September, while the conspirators were being tried, but before they had been executed, Sir Francis Walsingham wrote a remarkable letter to the Master of Gray.[2]

"Sir—I thank you for sounding the King's disposition, how he could be content to have the Queen his mother proceeded against But I suppose it will be in vain to move him any further in it, because he may conceive it to be against *bonos mores*, in respect of the bond of nature between them, that he should make himself a party against her

"Nevertheless you may with good reason persuade him that he make no meditation for her, or oppose himself against the course that is intended to be held with her, considering the hard measure that his father received at her hands, for which detestable fact she was deprived of her crown"

Walsingham had not been in office at the time of Darnley's death. Nor, apparently, did he know of the "petition" of the Scots Lords, April 19th, 1567, before they had thought of concocting the Casket Letters to throw the blame on Mary: viz:—

"We the undersigned, considering that though the Earl of Bothwell has been tried by his peers and acquitted of murdering the Queen's late husband the King, yet he is still calumniated by various persons: as her Majesty is now destitute of a husband, in which state it is not good for the commonweal for her to remain, they

[1] From *Cal State Papers, Scotland, Mary Q of Scots*, Vol II 1563-69 ed Joseph Bain, 1900, 842 pp of print, not counting Introduction The letters now selected for quotation are chosen, after long consideration, as the most representative.

[2] Draft in Walsingham's hand Cotton MS Calig. CIX art. 208. f 312 "*Letters . . . relating to the Master of Gray*," 1835 p 110

trust it may please her to humble herself by marrying this one of her subjects and so fortify him against all that would hinder or disturb the marriage."[1]

To this the Queen gave formal consent only the night before the wedding, 14th May. The reason for quoting it now is to show the inconsistency of these peers, who after acquitting Bothwell of the murder, when it suited them so to do, nevertheless subsequently plotted to destroy Mary's reputation by pretending she was responsible for conspiring with Bothwell to carry out the very murder they themselves had officially declared he did not commit! As to his guilt there need be no doubt; but his accomplices had power to acquit or condemn as they pleased.

After the subsequent quarrel of these peers with Bothwell, and the surrender of his forces and Queen Mary's,—his shameless flight, leaving her at the mercy of her foes, and then her dethronement and imprisonment at Lochleven, had excited Queen Elizabeth's compassion for the victim. But, to continue Walsingham's epistle:

"It is meant that she shall be tried here according to the Act made in the last Parliament," (viz. the Act following on the Bond of Association, which Charles Paget had realised was aimed against her:) "and that, agreeably to the contents of the said Act, certain noblemen shall be appointed to charge her · who assemble for that purpose the xxvi of this month, and shall be with her by the fourth of the next at Fodringay Castle in Northamptonshire seven miles from Stamford, whither she is appointed to be brought.

"But the matters whereof she is guilty are already so plain and manifest (*being also confessed by her two Secretaries,*) as it is thought they shall require no long debating.

"We suppose she will appeal and challenge the privilege of her Sovereignty: which in this case, neither by the civil laws nor by the laws of the realm, can be available."

The so-called interrogation of the Queen of Scots at Fotheringhay was a mere ceremony, nothing she said in her defence would have been allowed to make any difference. But, for the credit of Elizabeth and of England, the semblance of judicial proceedings was deemed requisite.

Walsingham, a loving husband, a kind father, a generous almsgiver, a sympathetic patron of scholars and soldiers, was without pity for Queen Mary. He and Burghley, Leicester and Hatton, none of them harsh in private life, were adamant in their determination to proceed to the utmost extremity against the Queen of Scots.

Retrospectively, we are apt to feel as if Queen Elizabeth had been hostile to Mary from the beginning. But in the darkest hour of Mary's struggle in Scotland, Elizabeth (through her Ministers) had protested against the "rigorous and unlawful proceedings" of the Scots Lords "against their Sovereign Lady," and had considered

[1] Abbreviation. *Cal SPS MQ of S* Vol II No 492. pp 321-322 See also Ib: 16 Oct· 1568, pp. 531-532, Statement of Mary's own Commissioners. And as to the Casket Letters, see E E Vol. I. PP 333-344

"how to relieve the Queen her sister." She apprehended that as these peers had "begun so audaciously," so they would "increase in cruelty against her whom they have, it seems, violently forced to leave her crown to an infant, to make her appear but as a subject; and themselves by gaining the government to become superiors *to her whom God and nature did create to be their head.*"

". . if they determine the deprivation of the Queen, their Sovereign Lady, of her royal estate, we are determined to revenge their Sovereign, for example to all posterity . . . They have no warrant by God's or man's law to be as superiors [or] judges" over their Prince, "whatsoever disorders they gather against her. What warrant have they in Scripture, as subjects to depose their Prince?" St. Paul to the Romans urged obedience to "*potestatibus supereminentioribus gladium gestantibus,* although it is well known the rulers in Rome were infidels.

"On what law find they written in any Christian Monarchy that subjects may arrest the persons of their Princes, detain them captive, and proceed to judge them? None such, we are assured, is in the whole Civil Law."[1]

Throckmorton was commanded by Elizabeth to assure the Scots Lords that she detested the murder of "our cousin the King," and misliked the Queen's marriage with Bothwell; but that she did not consider it tolerable for them to call Queen Mary, who "by God's ordinance is their superior and Prince," to answer their accusations by way of force: "*for we do not think it consonant in nature that the head should be subject to the foot.*" These words were underlined by Cecil,[2] and Throckmorton was instructed to admonish the Scots Lords to remember their duty to their Sovereign Lady, as subjects born; and to tell them that if they continued to keep her in prison, or if they injured her person, or took her life, the Queen of England would avenge it to the uttermost.

Throckmorton was to declare this message "as roundly and as sharply" as he could: for however vehemently he might speak, he would not be expressing more than her Majesty meant and intended.[3]

A private note from Cecil to Throckmorton explained that the Queen insisted on this letter of rebuke being promptly despatched. He suspected the Spanish Ambassador to be the "planet" influencing her. Throckmorton was instructed to deal with Murray and Lethington, in whom his Sovereign reposed trust.[4] Cecil inferred two reasons for her urgency; 1st, that she did not wish to seem prejudiced against her near relation; and secondly that if she condoned rebellion in Scotland it might encourage the disaffected in England.

So confident was the Queen of Scots in English sympathy that "*De ma prison*

[1] To Sir N Throckmorton, 27 July 1567 6 pp official draft corrected by Cecil Cal pp. 366-367, No 577 (In extenso, Keith, Vol II p 702, from copy in B M)

[2] Ib p 367

[3] Sign Manual Eliz: Countersigned "W Cecill" 2 pp transcript (Orig said to be among the Conway MSS) Cal II. p. 378.

[4] Actually it was Murray who first laid the train of his sister's worst troubles E E Vol. I, p 205-210, 237-238, 337-344.

en la tour de Loklivin," she wrote to *" Monssieur de Trocmarton "* to thank him for his good will, and to send her warm gratitude to Queen Elizabeth.[1]

Throckmorton frankly pitied the young Queen; and described to his own Sovereign his rebuke to one of the Scottish peers. *" I could not think, I said, that noblemen could have such double faces and such treacherous minds "* He relates how he urged that the Scots could make " a better profit " of their Queen's life than by her death; and " a better bargain by marrying the Queen than by seeking her destruction."

Lord Tullibardine, unabashed, retorted " My Lord Ambassador, these matters, which you speak of, have been in question . . . ; " but no " devices " could be " so good an outgate " as the Queen's death. The peers " love not the Queen, and they know she has no great fancy to any of them; and by this much they fear her the more, because she is young and may have many children . . . "

With manifest sarcasm, Throckmorton retorted, " My Lord, you are a gentleman of honour and worthy of credit;"—but then added, " You must give me leave to doubt of what you say . . . "

Tullibardine, vaunting himself a " true gentleman," referred the Ambassador to the Bishop of St. Andrews to confirm his words. Throckmorton, as related by himself, " used the best persuasions, and at good length, some of the law of God, some of the law of man, some for the honour of their country," and for the credit of Tullibardine.

The same afternoon Lethington tried to persuade Throckmorton that Mary had not been dethroned, but had " voluntarily relinquished " power to her son. Throckmorton describes the conversation, and shows how, on finding him alert and stern, Lethington protested against being thought willing to stain his " conscience " by shedding his Queen's blood. But, he alleged, he could not " satisfy " or convince the others, who believed that Queen Mary would become " a dangerous party " against them if she were set free.

As to divorcing Bothwell from her, " she will in no wise hear of the matter."[2]

In view of all this, Throckmorton saw nothing to be gained by remaining in Scotland; " the Lords have utterly refused me access to her."[3] Moreover, as he wrote to Cecil, Lethington had asserted to him " we may not satisfy the Queen your mistress's affection, unless we should cast our King, our country, and our selves away "; *" our selves "* being plainly the chief consideration.[4]

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[1] Ib p 384 Enclosure in Sir N Throckmorton's letter to Q Elizabeth, 14 Aug 1567

[2] This was not that she had any liking for him, but believing herself to be with child, she would not have any slur upon the child She soon miscarried of it, but the slanderous Bishop Burnet in the next century altered it into a child by George Douglas (The same Bishop in 1688 was responsible for trying to persuade the public that King James II's son was a substituted child)

[3] 9 Aug 1567. To Q. Eliz Cal· S P S., M Q of S 588, Vol. II, pp 373-376. 8 pp

[4] Ib No 590. p 377

Nevertheless Throckmorton once more "travailed with Lethington" and the others; and "dared affirm" through Leicester to Queen Elizabeth that, owing to his intervention, the Queen of Scots would not "die any violent death; unless some new accident chance." He again implored to be recalled, "now that this danger is avoided."[1]

When Elizabeth's Ambassador was protesting thus against injuries to the Queen of Scots, little could he foresee that it would be the English Queen, twenty years later, who would treat Mary as a subject, bring her to trial as a criminal, and execute her for the alleged condoning of a murder plot,—and this on the word of secretaries, and despite indignant, scornful and reiterated denials by the Queen of Scots herself.

[1] Holog to the E. of Leicester Cal. p 577.

APPENDIX

EVIDENCE OF SIR JAMES MELVILLE

While this volume has been in process of final reconsideration, there has been a surprising amount of talk about a so-called biography of the Queen of Scots, in which a foreigner has translated into "modernist" jargon the hoary libels of Buchanan and others, and has announced to a credulous public, in many lands, that the key to Mary's nature is her overmastering "passion" for Bothwell Nobody could think so who had made any systematic study of the evidence.

Of Scotsmen well acquainted with Queen Mary and with all the persons chiefly concerned, few were better qualified to judge than Sir James Melville His Memoirs (written by him for his son from earlier memoranda) have been accessible in print since the 17th century[1] Nevertheless for readers on the Continent it is well to reiterate the plain language of Melville which permits of only one interpretation

Describing the position in Scotland at the time of Darnley's serious illness, Melville says of Mary "the more that the number of her friends increased in England, the more practices her enemies made, and the more lies were invented against her"

The murder of Darnley was Bothwell's "enterprise"

"He had before laid a train of powder under the house, and in the night did blow up the said house" where the King Consort was lodging "Everybody suspected the Earl of Bothwell, and those who durst speak freely to others said plainly that it was he"

Almost at once the rumour "began to rise that the Queen would marry the Earl of Bothwell," and when Lord Herries told her about it "Her Majesty appeared to wonder how these reports could go abroad, seeing, as she said, *there was no such thing in her mind*"

But the story was spread far and wide, and "it was bruited in England that her Majesty was to marry the Earl of Bothwell, who was the murderer of her husband" and "had a wife of his own, a man full of all vice"

Melville showed the Queen a letter to that effect, and forewarned her of danger ahead "Had I not more regarded my princess her interest than mine own, I should have accepted the large offers made me by the Earl of Bothwell, when he desired me to subscribe with the rest of his flatterers that paper wherein they declared it was her Majesty's intent to marry the said Earl, but I chose rather to lay myself open to his hatred and revenge, whereby I was afterwards in peril of my life, and tell her Majesty that those who had so advised her were betrayers of her honour for their own selfish ends, seeing her marrying a man commonly judged her husband's murderer would leave a tash [stain] upon her name . . ."

It was so manifest that she did not intend to consent voluntarily, that Bothwell resorted to the utmost villainy to compass his outrageous ambition

"Shortly after her Majesty went to Stirling, and in her back-coming between Linlithgow and Edinburgh, the Earl of Bothwell rencountered her with a great company, and took her Majesty's horse by the bridle, his men took the Earl of Huntley, the Secretary Lidington," (Maitland of Lethington) "and me, and carried us captives to Dunbar. all the rest were permitted to go free

[1] *"Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill"* 1st ed 1683, edited and Anglicised by Geo Scott of Pitlochrie 2nd ed· Edinburgh, Ruddiman, 1735, 3rd ed: 1827, in Scots, for Bannatyne Club Latest edition, ed. A Francis Stewart, London, 1929.

There the Earl of Bothwell boasted he would marry the Queen, . . yea whether she would herself or not Captain Blackwater who had taken me (prisoner) alleged that it was with the Queen's own consent." Melville did not believe this latter assertion, and was poignantly disgusted when "a number of noblemen" soon afterwards maintained it was "the Queen's interest to marry Bothwell" adding, as they did, she "could not but marry him, seeing he had ravished her against her will I cannot tell how nor by what law he parted with his own wife . "

After Bothwell had caused himself to be made Duke of Orkney, Melville reluctantly attended the wedding and the bridegroom, with affability, half sarcastic and half menacing, accosted him at supper, and fell to "discoursing of gentlewomen such filthy language that I left him"

And the Queen was so "disdainfully treated" by her brutal captor and husband "that in the presence of Arthur Areskine [Erskine] I heard her ask for a knife to stab herself, or else, said she, I shall drown myself"

But as by her religion, suicide was a mortal sin, she strove to rally her strength to endure what Melville calls the "beastly" conduct of Bothwell

After the defeat of her and his forces at Carberry Hill, the traitor, ravisher, and murderer thought only of saving his own worthless life As he added cowardice and desertion to his other hideous crimes, it is the less plausible to elevate this brutal barbarian to a central figure in the life drama of his victim

As a readiness to believe that Mary was conspiring Elizabeth's death in 1586 is frequently based on the assumption that she had plotted with Bothwell the murder of Darnley, it should be emphasised that to try and make the second crime seem likely by repeating a false charge as to the first, is to be in bondage to the ghosts of the conspirators

Certain of the Scottish traitors had early determined at all costs to break their Queen, and to break her in such sort that even if she escaped into England, France or Spain, there should be such stains upon her reputation that her alleged concurrence in Darnley's death would prevent any Prince or power from daring to trust her, or aid her to regain her crown

As the Casket Letters were not accepted by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir William Cecil, as reliable evidence,[1] and as Norfolk purposed becoming her next husband (which he surely would not have hazarded if he had taken her to be a ruthless and unrepentant murderess and wanton,) it appears superfluous that during the intervening centuries there have been so many revivals of controversy on a matter in which the facts need not be difficult to understand[2]

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[1] E E. Vol I pp 334-343.

[2] When Malcolm Laing in his *History of Scotland* (Vol II, p 67) asserted that "The participation of Mary in the murder of her husband must rest hereafter as an established truth which no prejudice can evade nor the perverse ingenuity of disputants confute," it required some courage to point out that perversity and prejudice were the attributes of that historian, himself dancing to the tune set by the murderers But even careful editors of antiquarian works sometimes fell under this influence For example, the discoverer and publisher of a 16th century MS elegy, issued as *The Legend of Mary Queen of Scots,* London, 1810, added (p 99) "That Mary conspired with Bothwell to murder her husband is now an acknowledged fact Some weak men, heated with faction, have endeavoured to acquit her, but the better judgment of Hume, of Robertson, of Pinkerton, of Hailes, and of Laing, have proved her guilt." Though none of these historians are in fashion at the moment, their ideas still reverberate under more recent names But all their adverse opinions combined should not outweigh in practical value the testimony of Sir James Melville, who was well acquainted with Queen Mary, and with Darnley, Bothwell, and the other peers, and was in Scotland at the time That rather than feign belief in Bothwell's fabrications, Melville dared to challenge his dangerous anger, entitles Melville's word, in this connection, to the most respectful attention from posterity.

That Walsingham wished to believe the worst of Queen Mary is obvious from his own words[1] And his pitilessness in this case is the more outstanding in that he was in his private life so devoted a husband and father Mary's modern defenders are unwise when in order to heighten the sense of her misfortunes they make Queen Elizabeth a vicious degenerate, and the English Privy Councillors temperamentally savage and "blood-thirsty" The tragedy is all the more impressive in that it was not at the hands of ruffians of the Bothwell type that Mary finally perished, but with a semblance of judicial proceedings, and under the rule of the kinswoman who had at first taken her part against the Scottish rebels[2]

It is of set purpose that the foregoing quotations from Melville were transferred from Volume I (where they chronologically belonged) to Volume VI where we now need to look back upon Queen Mary's life if we are justly to estimate the frame of mind in which she confronted death

It is in no sense necessary to the case for Elizabeth to blacken Mary, nor does Mary's reputation (we must repeat) turn upon the actions or character of Elizabeth but upon Mary's own deeds and words Has not the time come when defenders and accusers alike may cease clinging to ancestral calumnies on either side? nor fear defeat if they face the truth all round instead of only in such aspects as illustrate whatever they wish to see?

The more we stretch our minds to enter into the peculiar circumstances both of Elizabeth and of the cousin and heir whom she never met face to face, the less difficult it becomes to see both with human understanding The verdict upon Mary ought not to depend upon whether the reader is Catholic or Protestant (or neither), nor upon any inherited or personal prejudice It should be possible at last for all serious lovers of history to put aside mere individual preferences, and agree on the main issue viz that Queen Mary's own solemn oath—reiterated anew after condemnation—that she conspired for freedom but never countenanced any murder plot against Elizabeth, is more deserving of credence than the word of secretary Nau, who elaborately incriminated her at Westminster (as we shall see),—having previously testified to her innocence, in the name of Christ, and by inviting his own "damnation" if he lied

[1] Ante, pp 305-306
[2] Ante, pp 307-308.

PART IV.

"As the difference standeth."

CHAPTER 1

"THE DIVERSITY OF HUMAN AFFLICTIONS."

SECTION 5

"So strange a case."

(The Trial of Mary Queen of Scots, October, 1586).

"There has not happened since the memory of man, nor peradventure [will] in any age beyond, so strange a case, on every behalf, . . . as this of that unfortunate lady the late Scottish Queen."

Preliminary to an official explanation *Cotton MS Calig* D 1 (E E, p 316)

"The matter was so sufficiently proved by the testimony of her two secretaries, . . . delivered upon their oaths, that she had no other defence but a plain denial."

Mr Secretary Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester, 15 October, 1586, "From Fotheringay," Cotton MS Calig IX, p 543 (Cal IX, p 102).

". . . I do not wish to accuse my secretaries, but I see plainly that what they have said is from fear of torture and death. Under promise of their lives, and in order to save themselves, they have excused themselves at my expense . . .

"The majesty and safety of Princes would be reduced to nought, if their reputation depended upon the writing and witness of their secretaries. . . . Show me, at least, the minutes of my correspondence, written by myself."

The Queen of Scots to the Commissioners "The Tragedy of Fotheringay," by The Hon. Mrs Maxwell Scott, 1895 (Latest ed 1924, p. 64).

"A SOLITARY AND DEFENCELESS WOMAN": MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Readers belonging to the legal profession may be familiar with "*The Trial of Mary Queen of Scots,*" compiled by A Francis Stewart, Advocate, (Notable Trial Series,) 1923 They will understand that it has been no easy matter further to select and co-ordinate for the following section the most vital of the multifarious particulars, from evidence which if set down in extenso would fill a large volume

It is sixty-one years since Chantelauze published the journal of Queen Mary's physician, Dominique Bourgoing, who was present at her trial[1] And it is forty-two years since Mrs Maxwell Scott issued an abbreviated English rendering of the most crucial portions of Bourgoing's narrative[2] But so slowly does new evidence from the outside penetrate into English history—if it conflicts with what has been established as "authoritative,"—that a respected editor of supplementary materials in the Bardon Papers (see E E pp 294-295), treated the Queen of Scots as guilty of the murder plot, and, in place of her scornful and eloquent denials, substituted his own assertions, not only contrary to the matter of her defence but so different in manner that we must infer the case to have been judged by him without consulting the most striking evidence namely, Mary's own Neither did Father J H Pollen in his "*Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot*" (Scot Hist Soc 1922), avail himself of Queen Mary's vigorous vindication of her honour

Mrs Maxwell Scott's name is often repeated in the footnotes to the ensuing section 1st, because it was she who endeavoured to lift Chantelauze's book out of the oubliette to which the admirers of Froude had consigned it, and 2nd, that her "*Tragedy of Fotheringay*" is still available, and should be studied,—bearing in mind that it is a paraphrase, not a literal translation[3]

The present historian has compared the narrative of Dr Bourgoing with the official reports, including some which did not see the light until the publication of Volume IX of the Calendar of State Papers, Scotland With slight verbal variations,—though seen from a diametrically opposite point of view,—the main substance of Queen Mary's defence as written down by her bitterest foes, tallies with the narrative of her own physician Occasionally the official reports give details omitted by Dr Bourgoing, and vice versa In "*Elizabethan England*" the trial scene embodies a combination of essential points from the various sources

Queen Mary appealed to her judges to make allowance for her predicament,—"a solitary and defenceless woman," deprived of her papers, and ignorant of English law Her protest fell on deaf ears then, but the case can and should be dispassionately considered now

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[1] "*Marie Stuart son proces et son exécution d'après le journal inédit de Bourgoing son médecin, la correspondence d'Amyas Paulet son geôlier, et autres documents nouveaux Par M R Chantelauze,*" Paris, 1876

[2] "*The Tragedy of Fotheringay Founded on the journal of D Bourgoing Physician to Mary Queen of Scots, and on unpublished MS Documents By The Hon Mrs Maxwell Scott of Abbotsford,*" 1895 Later edition, 1924, Sands & Co

[3] Whereas Bourgoing gives the speeches mostly in the third person, "*Sa Majesté luy dict que,*" &c, Mrs Maxwell Scott makes a more dramatic effect by transferring them to the first person, and by slight abbreviations, and an amended punctuation of what in the original are overwhelmingly long sentences

The page references to Bourgoing (ed Chantelauze) in the ensuing section are not the same as those of Mrs Maxwell Scott, who seems to have used an edition with different pagination issued in the same year The present writer has checked the quotations from a large paper copy which Chantelauze himself sent to his friend Berthelier, inscribed with his own hand.

PRELUDE.

"CONCERNING THE PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE QUEEN OF SCOTS."

Before seeing the captive at Fotheringhay stand up valiantly to adversaries whom she designated (in a private letter) as the "wolves," we will consider anew by what arguments they persuaded themselves that their action was justifiable

Mary's professed champions have frequently represented Elizabeth's Councillors collectively as arrant knaves, and Elizabeth herself as entirely heartless and hypocritical, so vain and vicious as to be scarcely human as if the gross and vulgar accusations in the "scandal letter" had been substantiated facts [1]. The huffs and prejudices, and uneven temper of the Queen of England have been shown in relation to Lord Leicester in the present volume, and will be seen again in later circumstances, for if on the one hand nobody is slandered in this History, neither are the exalted personages idealised By their own words they are to be known, for only in this way can we render justice to all,—in the spirit of a Shakespearian tragedy, but with the actual evidence substituted for the creations of imaginative genius

Whereas our supreme dramatist could select what themes he pleased, and adapt his material accordingly, the historian who wishes to be just is constrained to accept the drama as the actors themselves have made it But this is what has not been sufficiently done for both sides within the covers of one History When Elizabeth's signing of the death warrant is interpreted as mere female spite, devoid of semblance of reason, such defence of Mary defeats its object. If her case is good, why hesitate to hear the other side? And if otherwise, why distract attention by postulating that the Babington plot was a fantasy of "boys", and Elizabeth "never in danger"[2], and that Burghley and Walsingham were actuated chiefly by "blood thirst?" Such superficial renderings increase the confusion, which has arisen largely because too many commentators set out rather to prove their arguments than to ascertain by what processes of mind on all sides the extraordinary tragedy originated, grew, and culminated And although Froude's History is discredited, his ideas are adopted and revived by some who would nominally repudiate his influence [3] His melodramatic mannerisms are called "inimitable style," though such style is fatally easy to imitate,[4] whereas systematically to examine the elaborate evidence, at which he took his cursory glances, is a long labour In our day, when slashing epigrams are more swiftly applauded than substantial achievements, "Error flies round the world while Truth is pulling on her boots" And when, as in the case of the Queen of Scots, it is necessary also to disentangle manifold quarter truths, the task is the more strenuous

There are ninety-five and a half pages of the official "discourse" defending "the sentence of death latelie given against the unfortunate ladie Marie late Queen of Scots"[5] Even when abbreviated in the Calendar it occupies thirty-two pages Further to compress its outstanding matter is now requisite, for although drawn up after the execution, it shows us subtle eloquence brought to bear on Queen Elizabeth, when over and over again she hesitated to sign the death warrant

Entering into the minds of Mary's accusers, we will next put ourselves into the victim's place, which can be done through her own words, as spoken at her trial, and as written after her condemnation There is a marked contrast between the steadfast consistency and comparative simplicity

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[1] See ante, p 273, and note 2 Also E E Vol I, pp 139-167

[2] E.E VI p 293 note 3.

[3] Even the learned editors of *"The Warrender Papers,"* (1931) while arranging with patient skill a multiplicity of documents, have founded some of their comments less on those documents than upon prejudices instilled in schoolroom days by reading Froude See E E VI, pp 408-412

[4] As pointed out in E E, Vol V, pp. 165-167.

[5] Observe, *not* "Mary Stuart" a modern designation which commonly indicates that those who use it are not writing from a 16th century standpoint.

of Mary's defence, and the elaboration of the reasons for not accepting it It is as if the counsel for the prosecution, feeling an element of weakness in their charges, buttressed them on every side, to cut off each byway of escape Methods of sophistry vary with the manners of an age One of the differences between the Elizabethan era and our own is that Elizabethan equivocations were dressed up, ornamented and bejewelled, almost as sumptuously as Her Majesty herself But for brevity's sake the ensuing discourse is shorn of verbal superfluities.[1]

"So much for the Preface Now to the matter," as Lord Burghley used to say

"There has not happened since the memory of man, nor peradventure [will] in any age beyond, so strange a case on every behalf as this of that unfortunate lady the late Scottish Queen Yet it ought not, in the judgment of the wise and virtuous sort to be held for any wonder, unless, in this part only, that her Majesty has used it so honourably, to the great admiration of the world" Nevertheless, "discontented persons," have been seeking to deceive "popular simplicity by sinister persuasions."[2]

"Some others, who by ignorance do not comprehend the truth, and how sorrowful her Majesty has been to take such a course, . . . forced thereto by the continual intercessions and cries of her people," condemn her,—"some for injustice, some for cruelty, others for unprincely behaviour . "

And although "her Majesty is under no obligation to excuse her doings," except "to God only, the founder and protector of Princes," the procedure against the Queen of Scots can and should be explained

" no precedent is found among the memories of Princes, that an absolute and hereditary Queen, ruling in Sovereignty, not controlled by the marriage of any husband or other superior, should be condemned by law to die "[3] How then did it come to pass that such a doom was pronounced upon "her Majesty's near neighbour and kinswoman," who had come to her for succour, "so distressed and overwhelmed in calamities as might seem to deserve commiseration," especially when the sufferer was "a Prince of so great name and honour of blood, and anointed and crowned . . ."?

As seen by those who wish to "blemish" her Majesty's reputation, the case is expressed as follows The Queen of Scots entered England in time of peace, to be protected against her own rebels of Scotland, who had persecuted and imprisoned her, "contrary to law and right" Her long imprisonment in England was more injurious than if she had been made captive in war, in which latter case she could have been ransomed That even as there had been no proper cause for imprisoning her, so also she had been unjustly arraigned, contrary to the honour due from Princes to each other, especially between those of "Christian society" "Finally her Majesty by extraordinary acts of cruelty" had created an evil precedent, and has blemished "all sovereign majesty and authority"

If this were so, it would certainly be to the grievous detriment of her Majesty's credit. but of this she has "no fear at all . having Truth as her patron"

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[1] Cotton MS Calig D I f 37 et seq (some of it destroyed by fire) Cal S P Scotland, IX (1915), pp. 356-388 The student should also read in the same Calendar, No 116, "*Reasons out of the civil laws to prove that it standeth with justice to proceed criminally against the Q of Scots,*" pp 112-116 And Ib 117, pp 116-18, "*A note of sundrye treatyes w^t^ the Scot Q ,*" annotated by Walsingham Also No 119, pp 118-120, "*Reasons for the Queen of Scots,*" derived from the French Memorial, followed by 32 charges against her; going back to the time when she was Dauphine of France and used the Royal Arms of England, (No 121, pp 121-127). See also No 122 (pp. 127-143), epitome of 37 pp in the hand of Burghley's clerk, as to the legality of the proceedings against Mary; maintained with numerous Latin quotations

[2] Among these same papers is a lampoon comparing Queen Elizabeth to Jezebel.

[3] There had previously been attempts to discover a precedent; a long discourse upon other royal personages coming to violent ends (Cal pp 127-143) But presumably the examples suggested were realised as not pertinent to the case.

"Her heart was never brought to like well" the proceedings against the Scottish Queen, for she had often lamented that being "so equal in years and degree" there could not be "a more lovely equality" between them as of sisters But though for reasons of State the Scottish Queen was kept captive,

> "the greatest part of this realm was her prison, and the fairest places, . where she might hunt and hawk, and use all other princely sports, at her pleasure, change air and lodgings as often as she liked, and be allowed honourable company and great entertainments and costly diet, . . liberty to receive intelligence from any part of the world "[1]

The conspiracies of the Duke of Norfolk and the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland had been concocted in order to dethrone her Majesty and put the Queen of Scots in her place. "Yet for all that, her Majesty still spared the Queen delinquent", feeling towards her as "a Queen to a Queen, a sister to a sister", or even as a mother to a child

Thus did Her Majesty use forbearance and kindness towards the "unfortunate and ill-deserving lady," during eighteen years, "until the last conspiracy with Babington and the rest, who had taken a solemn oath to murder her Majesty, and stir tumult in the realm," upon which "foreign powers were to have been brought in" And so it became more and more apparent that Her Majesty and the realm could not be preserved from destruction if the Scottish Queen be permitted to go on living and conspiring

"Her Majesty at the earnest request of her nobility and people, in open Parliament, was in manner enforced" to allow the sentence, "or else have lost their love" Had she been vindictive, she might have taken pleasure in her victory over her mortal enemy But she "rebuked the popular rejoicing" and wished the tragedy need never have happened It was "no small infelicity" to her not to be able to confer a pardon on the Scottish Queen

There follow numerous examples out of history (not very appropriate), showing how other royal personages had been imprisoned by each other, (for example, Richard Coeur de Lion by Leopold of Austria), and the flight of the Queen of Scots into England is represented as "sudden and unlicensed" She had greatly offended her Majesty in the time of King Francis II, by laying claim to the Crown of England and using the Arms of England undifferenced [2] and "when she entered the realm" of England she became "her Majesty's competitor", for "the former quarrels had not been extinguished"

Her coming to England in those circumstances was "suspicious and dangerous" But "so restless was her courage, and naturally bent to all unquietness," that although "women go unarmed, and fight with other folks' weapons, and not with their own," she was a perpetual menace to the peace of England If she had "borne her adversity patiently and quietly, she might have expected her Majesty's better favours . But the said unfortunate and unquiet-minded Queen," had allowed one of her subjects here in England, to print and circulate "a certain seditious pamphlet declaring her title to the Crown of England . . ."[3]

"So if the lady's imprisonment continued longer by many years than was first intended of her Majesty," the Scots Queen herself and her conspiring friends were responsible Nevertheless even when she was proved accessory to the plot to murder her Majesty, she had thirty-six of "the greatest in the land" sent to arraign her, nor were there any suborned witnesses, but "the voluntary confessions of her confederates" The trial was not secretly concluded, nor was there any "hugger-mugger" in the proceedings The formalities of justice were duly observed As for her claim that

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[1] Considering how her letters were intercepted, this last argument is disingenuous in the extreme

[2] See E E Vol I, p 178

[3] The books were confiscated and the printer punished. For the pamphlet see E E Vol V, plate 5, and pp 29-31

she recognised no jurisdiction except that of God,—if this had been accepted, "so should the most heinous sins and offences" escape "unpunished"

Princes are honoured above lesser persons because believed to be "worthy of more honour and obedience". but she deviated from such honour There ensues a long discourse on the dignity of Sovereigns, the laws of "the Empire" [of England], and the necessity of maintaining Queen Elizabeth's supremacy, not modifying the existing penal laws,—"Otherwise it would come to pass that for equality's sake, . none or very few would find competent judges, and so should escape all punishment, "

Whatsoever her Majesty's personal benevolence and compassion, this case "touched not only herself, but her people and realm" It is God's law not to injure the Lord's anointed, but "the Scottish Queen has sought to take away her Majesty's life," and has "conspired with her Majesty's subjects to have had her murdered" But whereas she had meant to destroy Queen Elizabeth by violence, Queen Elizabeth had treated her according to "the justice of the laws of the realm . So her Majesty has not infringed either God's laws or the laws of nature . "

Thus her Privy Councillors argued to themselves and to each other, and to the world How far they were justified, or to what extent they had been themselves deceived by Queen Mary's pusillanimous secretaries, Nau and Curle, will be considered after we have witnessed, as if present, one of the most extraordinary trials in the entire annals of jurisprudence

"VERY AUNCIENT AND STRONG". FOTHERINGHAY CASTLE.

Fotheringhay had been built by Simon de St Ley, who married a great-niece of William the Conqueror In the 12th century it was held by Prince David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion, King of Scotland The property descended to David's granddaughter Devorgilla, wife of John Baliol, who founded Baliol College, Oxford, and died in 1269 His widow survived him twenty years, and his heart was buried with her at the Abbey of Dulce Cor, Dumfries Fotheringhay passed to Marie de Valence, Countess of Pembroke, whose husband was killed in a tournament on her wedding day She remained faithful to his memory, and Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, founded by her, still perpetuates his name After her death, Fotheringhay was granted to Edmund of Langley, fifth son of Edward III, who rebuilt the castle, which was inherited by his son Edward Duke of York, who fell fighting at the head of the Vanguard of Archers in the battle of Agincourt His body was brought home to be buried at Fotheringhay His brother Richard Plantagenet Earl of Cambridge, beheaded for high treason, had a son Richard, Duke of York, who was defeated in the battle of Wakefield, and, with his son Edward Earl of Rutland, aged twelve, was slain after the fight A magnificent funeral was given to them both at Fotheringhay, 22 July, 1476 Duke Richard's widow survived him thirty-six years Her tomb in Fotheringhay church is inscribed "Sissily, Dutchess of York, Daughter to Raulfe Nevell, first Earl of Westmorland"[1] Of Duchess Cecily's sons, Edward IV, Richard III, and George Duke of Clarence, only Richard was born at Fotheringhay She outlived all her children, and after Richard was killed at Bosworth, the conqueror and usurper Henry Earl of Richmond, Henry VII, permitted her still to live in her own castle When she died, he conferred it upon her granddaughter, his wife Elizabeth, sole surviving child of Edward IV It was settled by Henry VIII on his first Queen.

"Foderingay," wrote Leland in his *Itinerary* "stondithe on the farther rise of the Avon" [now called Nene,] "as I entered the towne The brige to Foderingay over Avon is of timber The castle of Foderingay is fair and metely strong, with doble ditches, and hath a kepe very auncient and strong There be very fair lodgyns in the Castel As I heard, Catherine of Spayn did great costs in late tyme of refreshing of it . . ."[2]

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[1] "She and the Dukes of York were first buried in the choir, but at the dissolution their bodies were dug up, and (according to Fuller) lay in the churchyard without any monument, until Queen Elizabeth visited Fotheringhay, in 1573, and ordered the bodies to be reburied in the church and appropriate monuments to be erected" Cuthbert Bede *"Fotheringhay & Mary Queen of Scots"* 1886, p 70, and see Peacham, *"The Complcat Gentleman,"* 1626, p 160

[2] In Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*, 1835 James I is stated to have demolished Fotheringhay, and this is repeated in *"The English Archaeologists's Handbook,"* by Henry Goodwin, F S A, 1867. But Archdeacon Bonney *"Historic Notices in reference to Fotheringhay,"* 1821, and 'Cuthbert Bede' (Bradley) *"Fotheringhay & Mary Queen of Scots,"* 1886, pp 19-25, point out that James I died 27 March 1625, and the castle was surveyed 3rd April the same year, as

> "a capital house, built of stone, moated with a double moat. A fair court within the castle, a building upon a mount with lower and upper chambers, to ascend by stairs, and then descending towards the hall, which is large and spacious On the left hand court is the chapel and goodly lodgings, the great dining room well garnished at present with pictures, next the hall are the buttery and kitchen From the gate going out of the yard there is a great yard half encompassing the castle a great barn in the west side . a gate house and another house in the east corner " etc etc etc.

Not a word about demolition, which appears to have taken place some years later, when Sir Robert Bruce Cotton (b 1571-2) purchased the banqueting hall and incorporated it in Conington Castle Fuller, who was born in 1608, within ten miles of Fotheringhay, stated (in his *Church History*, 1655, book IX, p 181) that he had visited the Castle, and had seen the couplet written by Queen Mary, with a diamond in one of the windows

> "From the top of all my trust,
> Mishap hath laid me in the dust."

PART IV.

"As the difference standeth."

CHAPTER I

"THE DIVERSITY OF HUMAN AFFLICTIONS."

SECTION 5

"So strange a case."

(The Trial of Mary Queen of Scots, October, 1586).

IN the middle of September, Sir Amias Poulet announced to the Queen of Scots that it would be beneficial to her health to leave Chartley, and that she should soon be moved to one of the royal castles, within thirty miles of London. He stated that the reason her money had been lately taken from her was lest she might give it away or use it for "dangerous purposes" on the journey; but that it would be returned to her after her change of domicile. She seemed not unwilling to leave Chartley; and, as her physician Bourgoing related, "from now they commenced to prepare the luggage and everything for departure." They set out on St. Matthew's Day (Wednesday, 21st September), Mary being still very unwell; so lame that she was not able to walk to her coach, but had to be carried. Fotheringhay was not named as her destination: ". . . her Majesty never knew for certain where they were taking her, . . . Before starting in the morning they would tell her whether she had a long or short journey to make, sometimes the number of miles; but they would never tell her the place where she was to sleep the night."[1]

The first halt was at Burton; and was specially unhappy for the prisoner, because Sir Thomas Gorges had told her in the morning that he had a message for her from his Sovereign; but he had not delivered it; and so kept her in suspense. The next day she sent for him, and bade him speak. He then said that Queen Elizabeth was horrified that a sister Queen could have intended her death; and that she felt more astonished and shocked than at any previous happening in her life. Mary answered that she never had any such intention:

> "I am not so base as to wish to cause the death or to lay hands on an anointed Queen, like myself . . . .

[1] Her physician Bourgoing's Journal. Chantelauze, pp. 486-487, 489 Maxwell Scott, p 12

"If all the Christian prelates, my relations, friends, and allies, moved by pity, and having compassion for my fate, have made it their duty to comfort and aid me in my misery and captivity, I seeing myself destitute of all help, could not do less than throw myself into their arms and trust to their mercy . . . .

. . . . The Queen of England knows well that I have warned her to look to herself . . . and that perchance foreign Kings and Princes might undertake something against her"; to which she answered that she "did not require my advice."[1]

Sir Thomas Gorges made a non-committal comment; and on the journey he showed the captive suitable courtesy "for requisite commodities." On Sunday, the 25th, they reached Fotheringhay.

Protected by a double moat, its north gateway and its keep were formidable remnants of martial antiquity. Mary, who had always been a reader of history, may have known something of its associations. Tragedy upon tragedy had been the fate of many of its most exalted owners. If stones could speak, the misfortunes of sorrowful Queens and noble ladies of old would have reverberated within its frowning walls.[2]

Mary protested that she and her train were ill lodged, while "many fine rooms" were unoccupied. Poulet, still her gaoler, disregarded her remonstrances. She then suspected that these other rooms were being reserved for some of the Privy Council; and that she was to be brought to trial.

To an ardent and vigorous mind it is harder to bear inaction and suspense than to meet an emergency: "her courage rose," says her physician; "and she was more cheerful and in better health than before." It was as if she felt intense relief at the thought of confronting her chief accusers; and hoped to convince them of her innocence.

On the 1st of October, Poulet announced that his Sovereign was astonished to hear from Sir Thomas Gorges that Mary had dared to deny the charges against her. of which the most ample proofs had been discovered. Poulet added that she would be wiser to admit her offences privately than wait to be tried and found guilty under the law. And that if she would take his advice and confess, he would at once communicate with the Queen.

Mary replied that though she was conscious of having offended God, she was not aware of any fault or offence "for which I have to render account to anyone here below; as I recognise no authority but God and His Church."

As she would not admit the alleged crime, so she declared she would neither seek nor accept a pardon for offences not committed. Poulet reiterated that as the

[1] Maxwell Scott, p 14 (*"que on n'avait que faire d'elle"* Bourgoing, p 492)
[2] Its story summarised, E E p 319.

offence was proved, she would do well to confess. Instead of which, as she remained firm, he took down her refusal in writing and despatched it to the Court.

On the 8th of October the Commissioners met at Westminster; and the Lord Chancellor (Sir Thomas Bromley) recited to them the story of the Babington conspiracy. He read out Mary's alleged correspondence with Babington; and the confessions obtained from the secretaries Nau and Curle. Pasquier was not included, his statements having been no help whatsoever to the prosecution.[1]

The upshot of the Commission was a resolution that the Queen of Scots should be brought to trial. Queen Elizabeth herself announced this decision to Poulet.[2]

On Saturday the 11th of October, the Commissioners reached Fotheringhay. Their party was so large that it could not all be accommodated in the castle; the lesser persons were billeted in the village and at the farmhouses close by.

On Sunday, 12th, the peers attended a service in the castle chapel; and afterwards sent Poulet with Sir Walter Mildmay and others to bring to Mary a letter from the Queen, dated "From our Castle of Windsor this vi day of October, 1586":

> "Whereas We are given to understand that You, to Our great and inestimable grief . . . pretend . . . not to be in any sort privy or assenting to any attempt either against our State or person, . . . we find by most clear and evident proof that the contrary will be verified and maintained against you, [so] We . . . send unto you divers of our chief and most ancient noblemen . . . . with certain of our Privy Council, as also some of our principal Judges" to substantiate the charge.

Living *"within our protection, and thereby subject to the Laws of our realm,"* she was to be brought to trial under those laws: and so must "give credit and make answer" to "the said honourable personages as if to Her Majesty's own self."[3]

This being so peremptorily phrased, not as one Queen to another but as a Sovereign to a subject, Mary's first impulse was to refuse to submit to interrogation on such terms; for as Queen of Scotland she could not admit that she was under the jurisdiction of England.[4]. "'I am myself a Queen,' she said: 'daughter of a King.'"

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[1] See his answers, Cal S P Scottish, IX, pp 54-58, 89-90, 659-660 That he behaved as a man of honour and that the other secretaries did not, ought to be emphasised Nau, like Pasquier, was a French subject, and could have taken his stand on that fact He need not have succumbed to the influences of cupidity and fear, which Pasquier resisted

[2] *Letter Books of Sir Amias Poulet,* p 295

[3] *"A Mynute of her Matie letter written to the Scottysche Queene to prepare herself to her arraignment,"* B M. MSS Scotland 433 Cal S P. Scot, Vol IX, p 82, and Steuart, *"Trial of Mary Queen of Scots,"* p 117, in orig spelling

[4] When she was in her cradle, a war had been fought by the Scots rejecting any such overlordship They maintained that rather were they heirs to England than England overlord of Scotland, in that Malcolm III had married Princess Margaret, the granddaughter of King Edmund "Ironside," and last heir of the Saxon Royal Family (These are the ancestors of our present Queen Elizabeth)

"As a Queen I cannot submit to orders . . . I decline my judges, as being of a contrary faith to my own. For myself I do not recognise the laws of England, nor do I know or understand them . . . My papers and notes have been taken from me, so that I am destitute of all aid; taken at a disadvantage, commanded to obey, and to reply to those who are well prepared, and are my enemies and who only seek my ruin . . ."[1]

Those to-day who imagine Queen Mary as a subtle syren, delighting in duplicity, have averted their eyes from these frank and scornful retorts. Far from artfully flattering the men upon whose verdict her fate largely depended, rather did she defy them. ". . . I am a Catholic, and have placed myself under the protection of those Catholic Kings and Princes who have offered me their services."[2]

She expressed again her wish to see Queen Elizabeth; and was sure that she could justify herself. Her speech was taken down in writing, and read aloud to her that she might confirm the accuracy of the wording. The one omission was of her request to see the Queen.

Accepting the written version as correct so far as it went, she added that she did not enter England for mere refuge, but in confident hope of active assistance against her rebels. She had supposed herself to be coming to an affectionate ally,—instead of which imprisonment, sorrow, and misfortune had been her lot. "It is no small grief to me to think how hardly the Queen uses me after my long misery of imprisonment, and indisposition of body . . ."

With her papers taken away, her servants sequestered, and herself unacquainted with English Law, how could she do herself justice? "And sure I am that no man shall be allowed to speak for me . . ."[3]

She protested that she should only be tried by her peers,—"by such as myself, absolute Princes . . . I am an absolute Prince, and not within the compass of your laws; nor to be examined nor tried to yield to any but only to God."

The next morning, Poulet announced that the Commissioners wished to speak with her; and accordingly certain of the peers, Privy Councillors, and lawyers were ushered into her presence, with due ceremony. The Lord Chancellor, Bromley, repeated that they were authorised to examine her; and that neither her rank as Queen nor her position as a captive could exempt her from obedience to English law; so she should hear in person their accusations; for if she declined, they would conduct the examination without her.

Indignant at such a threatening tone, she retorted that she would never admit herself subject to the English law; though she was perfectly willing to be interrogated before "a free Parliament." (It is at this juncture that she is alleged, by

[1] Bourgoing, p 500 Maxwell Scott, pp 24-25
[2] Ib p. 501, p 25
[3] Cotton MS Calig. C IX f 632 5½ pp Cal: IX. pp 59-63

Camden, to have exclaimed, "Look well to your consciences; and remember that the theatre of the world is wider than the realm of England.")

Burghley replied that they recognised her rank; but that in England she was due to be judged according to the civil and canon law. He further admonished her as to her obligations to Elizabeth. "The Queen my mistress, . . . in her goodness saved you from being judged guilty of high treason at the time of your projected marriage with the Duke of Norfolk; and she has protected you from the fury of your own subjects."

The Commissioners adjourned for dinner; after which they returned to the charge.

Queen Mary for some while had not been able to write without great pain, her hand and arm being crippled with rheumatism; but before the Commissioners came back she had made numerous notes. Her physician describes how she defended herself as "valiantly as she was rudely assailed, importuned and pursued"; and how she ended by saying "far more than she had prepared in writing."[1]

The discussion continued "until dusk," when Sir Christopher Hatton (Vice Chamberlain) observed that there had been much needless disputing; but that he and the others were there for one purpose only: i.e. to decide whether the Queen of Scots had or had not taken part in Babington's conspiracy. If she persisted in her refusal to allow the interrogation, people would assume her to be guilty. Her best hope of establishing her innocence was by answering their questions. If she could be acquitted of complicity, the Queen would truly rejoice, for she had assured him with tears that nothing had ever so grieved her as that her cousin could desire and intend her death.

Although Mary had been provoked into refusing to answer, she listened to Hatton's argument attentively; and replied that as the crime of which she was accused was "most horrible and unnatural," she would be contented for the clearing of her conscience, and "better satisfaction of others," to be questioned; but only as to the charge of conspiring Queen Elizabeth's death.

Her accusers considered that her complicity could be proved:

(1) By a letter from Charles Paget telling her of Ballard coming over to ascertain the strength of the Catholic forces in England.

(2) By her own letter to Mendoza in France, asking him to further the same purpose.

(3) By the letter from Babington telling her that he and six of his dearest friends had undertaken to kill the Queen.

(4) By her reply, assenting, and also advising him how to deliver her from prison by setting Chartley on fire.

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[1] Bourgoing, p 504 Maxwell Scott, p 30.

She admitted that she had received letters from Princes and others, and saw no obligation to refuse to be delivered from captivity, even if by a foreign invasion. But she declared that she did not personally know Babington, and had not received any letter in such terms as alleged; and that even if he had written in that sense, it was "an ill argument to say because *he* so wrote therefore *she* had conspired."

The next morning, Friday, 14th of October, as the official report phrases it, "she resolved to appear"; and at nine o'clock "came forth; with a company waiting on her with halberds" (i.e. under an armed guard). She was dressed in black velvet, "with a white veil of lawn." "One of her maids carried her train; . . . one of her servants brought a chair covered with crimson velvet, and another a cushion." Still being lame she had to be supported "by one arm by one of her gentlemen Melvin [Melville] and her other arm by her physician."[1]

The Commissioners removed their hats when she came in; and she returned their salutation. But on finding that her seat had been placed "below the cloth of state," and not on the dais, she made a brief protest before she sat down.

In front of her she saw the peers, ranged according to precedence, Earls on the right, Barons on the left. The lawyers, on two benches, were at a table in the middle of the room.[2] The chief Commissioners were the Lord High Treasurer, Lord Burghley; the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Bromley; Principal Secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham; Lord Chief Justice, Sir Christopher Wray; Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir Edward Anderson; and other lawyers.

The peers were the Earls of Oxford, Shrewsbury, Kent, Rutland, Cumberland, Worcester, Warwick, Derby, Pembroke, and Lincoln; Viscount Montague; and Lords Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Stafford, Grey, Lumley, Stourton, Sandys, Wentworth, Mordaunt, St. John of Bletso, Compton, and Cheyney. Also among these Commissioners were Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir James Croft, Sir Roger Manwood, Sir Walter Mildmay; and her former gaoler Sir Ralph Sadlier.[3]

Scrutising their unfriendly expressions, she turned to Melville and exclaimed, "Many Counsellors; but not one for me."

The Lord Chancellor opened the proceedings, which included a recitation of their Commission (in Latin). As Charles Paget had foreseen, the Statute of 27th Elizabeth was made the basis of the enquiry whether after taking that oath she had compassed or countenanced anything to the injury of the Queen's person. She demurred to the wording of the Commission; whereon the Queen's Serjeant stated

[1] Cotton MS Calig C IX f 469 "*The order of the proceedings at the arraignment of the late unfortunate Lady Mary Queen of Scottes, at Fotheringhaye, in the countie of Northampton, the 12th of October 1586*" 11 pp Copy Cal SPS, MQ of S, IX pp 307-314. See also CP XX, Cal pp 96-98, 12 Oct Mary's comments on Queen Elizabeth's letter: "she protested she was innocent" Also pp 98-100, "*Examination of the Queen of Scots,*" Cotton MS Calig C IX f 632 et seq; and Cal: pp. 59-63, "*A breefe plott for the course of proceedings against the Scottish Queen, out of a copy in my Lord Tresuror's hand,*" and annotated by him Ib. f 550. Cal. pp 75-76 (Evidence of Babington, Nau and Curle, etc) These apparently have not been compared before with Bourgoing's narrative.

[2] Ib, and Maxwell Scott (Calthorpe MS facing p. 56). [3] Cal: p. 308

that she had herself conspired the destruction and death of her Majesty, and had consented to the conspiracy of Babington and Ballard; therefore that her case came under both headings of the Statute [making her guilty of High Treason,—penalty death].

Babington's confession was read to her; and her own alleged letter to Babington. She answered "that she never saw nor knew Babington; and denied that she ever received any such letter from him, or that she wrote any such letter; or that she was privy to his conspiracies," or to anything "to the destruction of her Majesty or to the hurt of her person." While she admitted to having employed Babington "as an intelligence[r], . . . and for the conveying of letters and packets," she added that she could not be convicted except by her own words or writings: "and she was sure they had neither the one nor the other to lay against her."[1]

As phrased in a further official report: "Upon the confession of Babington which was read to her, she answers that she had never seen such a letter . . ." And as to her alleged letter to Babington, she said,

> "'Bring forth to me now and show me my own letter and my own writing and signature which you say that I wrote to Babington. You only show me falsified copies, which you have filled with such language as you wish . . . you have produced nothing worthy of credence . . .'
>
> And then she said, weeping, 'If ever I have compassed or consented to such practises as touched the death of my sister, I pray God that He may never have mercy on me.
>
> 'I confess indeed, having written to many whom I have prayed to aid in my deliverance from these miserable prisons . . . for 19 years . . . But it has never happened that I have imagined and written such things against the Queen. It is true that I have secretly written for the deliverance of many Catholics; . . . and will always do all in my power for them . . .'"[2]

The peers and others then wished to adjourn for dinner; and asked her permission so to do. At three o'clock they reassembled; and the Queen's Serjeant "further delivered the effect of her letter to Babington"; whereon she asked for an exact copy.

Lord Burghley ignoring her previous denials, answered that she must know whether she had written in that sense or not, and so needed no copy. She replied that the laws of England seemed strange, if she was to be allowed neither a copy of the alleged letter, nor any Counsel for her defence.

The "voluntary confessions and oaths of her own servants" were then urged

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[1] 18½ pp. Cotton MS Calig. C IX f 684, and Cal S P Scot IX. pp 143-145 And Cobbett, *State Trials*, Vol I, p 211 See E E. p 276 for her actual references to Babington, 27 July, 1586

[2] Add. MS 30. 663. f. 436. Cal: IX. p 424

against her; and she was told she had no answer to give but a denial, such as any "offender" might attempt. This accepting of the tales of disloyal servants as of more value than the word of a Sovereign Queen, was poignantly exasperating to her. And she protested not only against the charges but also against the way she who had come to England for succour had been kept in prison.

Burghley replied that this matter was outside the present discussion; but that he would remind her that if she had not fled to England, her own countrymen would have killed her.

She appealed against this special Commission and demanded to be judged by "all Christian Princes," and to speak to "the estates of this kingdom duly and lawfully assembled. Being innocent and falsely suspected, I am ready to maintain and defend my honour, provided that my defence be publicly recorded . . ."

As to the claim of England to sovereignty over the Kings of Scotland, she indignantly denied such rights; and protested she would not by any action of her own "fortify such a claim, whereby I should dishonour those Princes my ancestors, as well as myself . . ."[1]

She added that she would not have "undertaken anything against the Queen of England through a desire to reign . . ."

> "I wish for nothing but to pass the remainder of my life in peace and tranquillity of mind. My advancing age and my bodily weakness both prevent me from wishing to resume the reigns of government. I have perhaps only two or three years to live in this world . . ." [Here let us notice that she spoke as if confident that it would not be possible to condemn her on the defective evidence]. She had lost all wish to govern: "especially when I consider the pain and *désperance* which meet those who wish to do right and act with justice and dignity in the midst of so perverse a generation, and when the whole world is full of wickedness and troubles."[2]

Lord Burghley then reproached her with having used the Arms of England and claimed the crown. She answered that what she had done in France in her youth was in obedience to her father-in-law King Henry II. As to her claims, "I am the daughter of James V, King of Scotland, and granddaughter of Henry VII. This cannot be taken from me, by any law, or council, assembly or judgment; nor consequently can my rights . . ."

Scornfully she alluded to her enemies; and resolutely proclaimed her unbroken faith in God. "I do not desire vengeance. I leave it to Him who is the just Avenger of the innocent . . . I pray God to do to me according to His good pleasure, . . . to the greater glory of His Church; . . . in which I have

[1] Maxwell Scott, p 54.
[2] Bourgoing, p 520, "*en ce siècle si malin*," &c Maxwell Scott, pp. 54-55.

been brought up . . ." And she demanded to "be believed on the word of a Queen . . ."

"I came to England relying upon the friendship and promises of your Queen." Drawing a ring from her finger she said accusingly, "My Lords, see this pledge of love and protection which I received from your Mistress,—regard it well. Trusting to this pledge, I came amongst you. You all know how it has been kept."[1]

As Bourgoing phrases it, the "chicaneurs" read aloud "at intervals letters from Babington to Her Majesty, and from her to Babington," and cross questioned her anew about them; she steadily continuing to deny all knowledge of any murder plot, and refusing to confirm the word of her secretaries Nau and Curle.[2]

The first day's interrogation ended in such sort that her physician realised her judges as not concerned to listen to her defence; only to wear her down to admit what she repelled as a false charge. She spent, as Dr. Bourgoing records, a sleepless night, and began the next day with prayers in her oratory that she might have strength and guidance to defend her honour.

That morning, Saturday the 15th of October, she entered the upper room again, attended as before, by Dr. Bourgoing and Melville and others. Bourgoing in his journal praises her courage, dignity and "beauty." It must have been beauty of spirit, for her bodily ills and long-drawn-out miseries of mind had deprived her of the beauty of her youth. Her prayer for strength, however, bore fruit; and once more she boldly called her judges to account,—saying that whereas she habitually kept her promises, other people dealt with her "in other sort."

> Her Majesty requested leave "to speak freely and to say all I think necessary; and without being interrupted, according to the promise made to me yesterday by the Chancellor in the name of all this assembly. The manner in which I am treated appears to me very strange; not only am I brought to this place to be tried, contrary to the rights of persons of my quality, but my case is discussed by those who are not usually employed in the affairs of Kings and Princes. I thought only of having to reply to noblemen who have virtue for their guide, and who hold the reputation of Princes in honour; to those who devote themselves to the protection of their Princes, to the preservation of their rights, and to the defence of their country, of which they are the guardians and protectors."
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> Instead of this, she was "overwhelmed under the importunity of a crowd of advocates and lawyers, who appear to be more versed in the formalities of petty courts of justice, in little towns, than in the investigation of questions such as the present. And although I was promised that I should be simply questioned and examined on the one point,—that, namely, concerning the attempt on the person of the Queen,—they have presumed to accuse me; each striving who should surpass the other in stating and exaggerating facts, and attempting to force me to

[1] Maxwell Scott, pp 57-58 [2] Bourgoing, pp 523-526

reply to questions I do not understand, and which have nothing to do with the Commission."

She judged it an unworthy act to submit to the criticism of such people the honour of a Sovereign, little accustomed to such procedures and formalities; "and is it not against all right, justice, and reason to deliver her over to them, weak and ill as she is, and deprived of counsel, without papers or notes or secretary?

"It is very easy for many together, and, as it appears to me, conspiring for the same object, to vanquish by force of words a solitary and defenceless woman. There is not one, I think, among you, let him be the cleverest man you will, who would be capable of resisting or defending himself, were he in my place. I am alone, taken by surprise, and forced to reply to so many people who are unfriendly to me, and who have long been preparing for this occasion; and who appear to be more influenced by vehement prejudice and anger than by a desire of discovering the truth and fulfilling the duties laid down for them by the Commission.

"If, however, I must submit to this treatment, I ask, at least, that I may be permitted to reply to each person, and to each point of the accusation separately, and one after the other, without confusion [or interruption]; as, on account of my sickness and weakness, it is impossible for me to refer back in detail, as I should wish, to such a mass of subjects all advanced confusedly together.

"In any case, I demand that, as this assembly appears to have been convened for my accusation, another shall be summoned in which I may enter freely and frankly, defending my rights and my honour, to satisfy the desire I have of proving my innocence.'

"'It is quite right,' replied Burghley, 'that your Majesty should say all you wish, and you shall do so. As to those who interrogated you yesterday, they acted according to their duty. To discover the truth of facts it is necessary to discuss all the questions which relate to the case in hand; as regards your demand that a fresh assembly should be convoked, it shall be seen to; but we ourselves have not the power to grant it.'"[1]

It may have seemed to Queen Mary as if this response indicated good hope of acquittal.

She appealed to the conscience of such of those present as were noblemen, whether she had not been most unfairly treated? To lure her out of doors for recreation, in order to rifle her chests and papers at Chartley while she was absent, and to take away her servants,—was this justice? And even this so-called enquiry, she said, was less an "interrogatory" ministered to her than "a plot laid long and advisedly" in which the judges had been instructed beforehand what to say. The very questions were devised so as to try and "entangle her and to make a record against her; and therefore [she] would not answer further; but made this request to the nobility" that her protest might be reported to her sister the Queen of England,

[1] Maxwell Scott, pp 69-71 (slightly abbreviated) Bourgoing, pp. 527-529

—who certainly had not been treated in such sort when suspected of complicity in Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion.

The accused had become the accuser. She said also that as she was "taken upon the sudden," she would prefer "a better consideration of old letters"; and that if her papers were given back to her "she might make things which were now obscure much clearer." As she was "inexperienced in the laws," she would wish to have lawyers to act for her. She might then think herself more impartially dealt with.

Burghley repeated that her message would be given to the Queen; but that as he and the others had been sent to "hear the matter fully" they must proceed with their commission. They "therefore left it to her pleasure" whether she would remain to hear them or withdraw. She replied she would listen, but would not undertake to answer.

The Queen's Serjeant accused her of pretending a title to the Crown of England, since the Statute (of 1584); and this he "proved by divers points out of her own letters."

She declined to accept his interpretation of her words; and "used some private speech to the Lord Treasurer; and so passing down, turning to the Judges and the Queen's learned Counsel, bade 'God forgive you lawyers . . God bless me and my cause from your laws: for it is a very good matter that they cannot make seem bad.' Then calling to Mr. Vice-Chamberlain [Hatton], and praying him to deliver her petition to the Queen and to Mr. Secretary, she thus departed."[1] She had previously turned to Sir Francis Walsingham and said she had heard ill things of him and might greatly suspect him, that her letters had been altered and witnesses hired; but that she was willing "for charity" not to believe this.

Walsingham replied that according to his duty he had sifted out all the evidence of "practises" against his Sovereign; and that he had more than suspected her concurrence. But that his actions were not impelled by personal hostility, only by his duty to his Queen and country. "As for her letters, they were never altered" but kept honestly, as he would maintain to her and to the world."[2]

Because of a reference by Mendoza (in Paris) to "Walsingham's forgeries," many of Mary's apologists have disregarded this disclaimer. But if Walsingham had been willing to forge the evidence, why need he have taken so much trouble to procure the testimonies of Nau and Curle?

Some of the modern commentators not versed in Walsingham's previous career, have found it easier to suppose he presented forged interpolations than that Nau and Curle saved their lives by asserting what was desired of them. There has been much discussion as to what parts of Mary's alleged letter to Babington are genuine, and

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[1] Cal IX, p 63 Bourgoing's rendering (p 539) is, "*Messires, vous m'avez traictée assez rudement pour une personne qui n'est pas beaucoup apprinse aux loix de la chicanerie, mais Dieu le vous pardonne . . .*"

[2] MS. cit ante. Cal: p 63 See also p 425.

what are interpolated, and whether she wrote the postscript or not; all of which distracts attention from her decisive assertion that she never wrote any such letter at all; and that as her accusers could not produce the original, and were building their case on evidence which rested only on hearsay, she found the law of England difficult to understand. So she appealed from the injustice of man to the eternal justice of God.[1]

In the journal of her physician, she is described as protesting, that her innocence did not depend on the reputation, or on the memory, of secretaries, though she held them to be honest ". . . It is possible for letters to be sent to other persons than those to whom they were written . . ." And repeatedly she asked for her papers, and spoke strongly as to the injustice of charging her on the word of persons with whom she was not confronted.

The proceedings included a recitation from copies of her letter to Charles Paget as to the projected invasion, and also a letter from Dr. Allen to her, addressing her as his Sovereign. Mary, while these were being read, turned several times to Poulet, who sat behind her, asking him the names of certain of the Commissioners whom she had never seen before.

When the reading was finished, Lord Burghley referred to her having bequeathed to Philip of Spain her "pretended rights" to the Crown of England.

From Spanish sources we can see that this charge was true, and that she had warned Mendoza on no account to allow her legacy of the Crown to be suspected, lest it expose her to the anger of France and Scotland, and to "total ruin" in England.[2]

This accusation being genuine, we may observe with all the more attention her retort: "I have no kingdom to confer. But I have a legal right in giving what belongs" (or should belong) "to me; and on this point I answer to no one . . ."[3]

Charged with entering into diplomatic relations with Spain for the destruction of England, she said to the lawyers, "It is not your affair to speak of matters concerning Princes, . . . whether they have secret intelligences with each other."

Most carefully she avoided being drawn into any exposure of the plans of King Philip, or her Guise kinsfolk. Her behaviour as to their interests was such that if she had been a man, her loyalty to her allies would be commended as highly honourable; but actually it seems to have escaped notice.

Burghley pursued the matter of the invasion, and asked her what would have

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[1] Her alleged letter to Babington has been many times printed As it is given in extenso in Father Pollen's monograph, *"Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot,"* Scot. Hist Soc 1922, without her speeches about it at her trial, the inference is that Fr Pollen believed it partly genuine Steuart, *Trial of Mary Queen of Scots*, 1923, also appears to accept it

[2] E E p 304

[3] Maxwell Scott, p 74.

happened if the Spanish Army had entered England: "Could you have answered for the life of the Queen?"

With the pride of rank and quickness of wit so characteristic of her, Mary replied that in such circumstances, if her sister wished to employ her good offices, the invaders doubtless would listen to her; and she would certainly endeavour to bring about a proper understanding. And whereas her life was said to be a menace to Queen Elizabeth, her death would be more so: "If you destroy me, you will place yourselves in danger . . ."

The lawyers returned to the murder charge, and the intention to burn Chartley and kill the guards, (one of Babington's ideas), and further it was added that Mary had been publicly prayed for in Rome as the lawful Queen of England.

As to the murder, it had been "confessed by her secretaries, without compulsion, not being constrained or imprisoned."[1]

Her protest against their oaths being taken against her word we will soon consider more fully; but from intercepted letters of Morgan and of Charles Paget the Commissioners ought to have recognised that those men certainly had decided not to let Queen Mary hear what they and others intended on her behalf.[2]

Mary added, "These conspirators may have used my name to authorise their proceedings and strengthen their cause; but there is no letter written or signed by me" [as to any murder] ". . . and such a thing has been far from my intentions."[3] "Excusing herself marvellously subtly," says the official report, she held firmly to her denials.

Reiterating eloquently her devotion to the Catholic faith, she reminded the assembly that in Scotland she had never interfered with Protestants; but "tried to win them by gentleness; . . . which I carried too far . . . It has been the cause of my ruin; for my subjects became proud and haughty, and abused my clemency . . ."[4]

"As to Chartley, I never heard of the proposal to burn it; but my deliverance was promised. If foreign Princes were in league, it was to free me from my prison, from which I could not escape; and for the same reason they prepared armed men to receive and defend me." And if the English Catholics offered their aid, it was because they had been so "oppressed and afflicted that they would as soon die as live longer" under such unhappy conditions.[5] As for wishing to take the place of Queen Elizabeth,

> "the very letters you have read aloud sufficiently prove the contrary. In them I expressly declare that I desire no honours or kingdom, . . and that I beg no enterprise of the kind may be undertaken for me. But for the Catholic cause and

[1] Official report of the arraignment Cal IX, pp 311-314.
[2] See ante, E E p 275 [3] Maxwell Scott, p 75
[4] Ib p 76 Bourgoing, p 532 [5] Bourgoing, p. 533, "*Quant à Chartelay*," &c

for God's quarrel" she desired the invasion. And, as to her own fate,—"I shall esteem myself very happy if God gives me the grace to suffer and to endure death for His holy name . . .

"If the Pope gives me the title of Queen, it is not for me to correct him . . . I thank him, all Christian people, and all Catholic nations, for the prayers they daily offer for me, and I pray them to continue to do so . . ."[1]

Had this been the utterance of a King or a General, even the most casual reader would call it a frank and manly defiance. This expression of lifelong convictions consistently acted upon, this testimony to her Catholic zeal, was the last thing in the world by which to propitiate her judges. An artful "serpent" would have spoken in far other sort. But many people to-day are still glamoured by the spurious Queen Mary, invented by Buchanan in her lifetime and revived again and again by the "school" of writers who readily believe in squalid evil but can with difficulty be brought to understand the temper to which honour is dearer than life.[2]

As to Pope Pius's Bull, she stated she had not taken advantage of it, but had endeavoured to prevent its execution. This was an audacious claim, so Burghley retorted that he and the others did not distress themselves about the Bull; "we make no account of the Pope."[3]

Further discussion ensued, in which Burghley alleged that no Catholic had been punished for religion, but only for disobedience to law. Mary responded that many Catholics were in prison because they would not act contrary to their consciences, which would not permit them to accept the Queen of England as head of the Church.[4] She also demurred to the manner of the enquiry, and especially to the reading of documents bearing on her transactions with "other Christian Princes."

Burghley suggested that if she objected to the procedure, she could withdraw; and they would continue without her. She ignored this interpolation; and the discussions continued; until after a while the Solicitor General, Sir Thomas Egerton, who so far had been silent, asked her if she had anything of consequence to add in her own defence.

She then demanded anew to be heard in Parliament, and to confer in person with Queen Elizabeth. With the politeness which was as characteristic as her

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[1] Maxwell Scott, pp 76-77 Bourgoing, pp 533-534

[2] A recent foreign libel, translated into English, and miscalled a biography of Mary, is a notable example of how *not* to write

[3] He said this with extra emphasis, for a reason given by Mrs Maxwell Scott, p 28, from the (Calthorpe) Yelverton MSS, 31, 465 Note in the hand of Beale "The Bishop of Glasgow, the Scottish Q's Ambassador in France, had written to her how W Cecill, son and heir to Sir Tho Cecil, had been at Rome, and reconciled, that there was good hope the L Treasurer, his grandfather would do her what pleasure he could Then, in another letter, he advertised her how Sir Edward Stafford, Her Maj's Ambassador in France, had shewed him a letter from the L Treasurer, whereby he presumed the same L Tr[s] did favour her These letters came to the Q Mty's knowledge," and to Burghley's, and made him "more earnest" against Mary (See E E p 255 ante, for Burghley's own reference to his grandson's visit to Rome)

[4] Lists of prisoners, Catholic Records, Vol I (1562-1580) 1905, Vol 5(1), 1584-1603 (1908)

uncompromising spirit, she added, "I desire no evil to anyone in this assembly; I pardon all that you have said or done against me . . ." She then had some speech apart with Walsingham, and once more turning to the others, she said her cause was in the hands of God.

After she had withdrawn, the Commissioners were preparing to give their verdict against her, when Burghley produced a letter which the Queen had sent in haste from Windsor. Dated at midnight, 12th of October, it commanded them even if they considered the Queen of Scots guilty, to refrain from pronouncing sentence until the Queen herself had seen and considered their reports.

Again we may notice that if Mary's case were a Shakespearian tragedy, instead of a yet stranger matter of fact, this would be regarded as one of the most dramatic moments, when, instead of being able to utter the pronouncement of doom, the judges were bidden to be silent by the very Sovereign in whose name they had been acting. Elizabeth's supreme authority, built up and maintained by themselves was such that they had no choice but to obey.

"From Fotheringhay, the 15th of October," Walsingham wrote to Leicester (still in the Netherlands) that the Queen of Scots "has been publicly charged not only to have been privy and assenting to the murder of her Majesty, but also an encourager of those that should have been the executioners. The matter was so sufficiently proved, *especially by the testimony of her two secretaries under their hands and delivered upon their oaths, that she had no other defence but a plain denial,* so as in the opinion of her best friends that were appointed Commissioners she is held guilty.[2] We had proceeded presently to sentence but that we have a secret countermand, and were forced . . . to adjoin our meeting until the 25th of this month at Westminster."

When here is Walsingham's word in a private letter to one of his most intimate friends, that the testimony of the two secretaries was the chief evidence against her it is the more remarkable that the accepted standard monograph on *"Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot"* endeavours to exonerate the secretaries; and while giving in extenso the series of examinations of Babington, omits Queen Mary's own comments upon these allegations. Thus the book called *"Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot"* is like the proverbial play of Hamlet without Hamlet; for never once in it are we brought face to face with Mary. She, the central figure, is shown chiefly through the Babington letter she asserted she had never written; and so, because of the disproportionate attention to minor details and oblivion of major evidence, which characterises that volume, we must the more precisely consider Mary's words to the Commissioners:

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[1] Orig Cotton MS Calig C IX, f 543 (Cal pp 101-102)

[2] Father Pollen (*M Q of S and the Babington Plot, 1922,* p cxciii) stated, "though the evidence of Nau and Curll was then made to seem so conclusive, we must also remember that the prosecution could easily have done without it" On the contrary, the case turned upon it, as we can see from the correspondence of the Privy Councillors with each other

"Why are not Nau and Curle examined in my presence? they at any rate are still alive . . . Nau, as a servant of the King of France, may have undertaken things not according to my wishes. He confessed publicly that he belonged to the King of France, and that he did not depend on me and would only do for me what he thought good. He often complained of me because I could not consent to many of his projects . . . For my part I do not wish to accuse my secretaries, but I see plainly that what they have said is from fear of torture and death. Under promise of their lives, and in order to save themselves, they have excused themselves at my expense . . ."[1]

This is exactly what had happened. So we may well wonder why Father Pollen, in 1922, instead of stating that Mary was no judge of men,[2] did not give, in his explanation of the plot, her just judgment upon Nau, delivered on the first day of the trial. With her characteristic generosity she added that Nau and Curle presumably fancied she could save herself, they "not knowing where I was, and not suspecting the manner in which I am treated." She had reminded the Commissioners how ill she had been, and how little able to attend to correspondence with her crippled hand and arm; and therefore had been more dependent than before upon her secretaries. But as to Nau's confessions, "I cannot but think he has been acting under restraint . . ," she said: "Feeling himself to be feeble and weak by nature, and fearing torture, he thought to escape by throwing all the blame on me." Examining one of the depositions Nau was said to have made, she added.

"Supposing that—as you all affirm,—he has written it with his own hand; may it not be that while translating and putting my letters into cipher, my secretaries may have inserted things which I did not dictate to them? . . . The majesty and safety of Princes would be reduced to naught, if their reputation depended upon the writing and witnesses of their secretaries . . . But of this I am very sure, if they were now in my presence, they would clear me . . . Show me at least the minutes of my correspondence, written by myself. They will bear witness to what I now assert."[3]

"Then," says Dr. Bourgoing, "the chicaneurs made a great noise, calling out and striving to prove and exaggerate . . , with fury repeating all that had been said or written . . . Like madmen they attacked her, sometimes one by one, sometimes all together, declaring her to be guilty, which gave occasion to Her Majesty to make a very noble speech on the next morning."[4]

In the weeks of suspense after the trial, her spirit was invincibly valiant; as her physician expresses it, she "was far from being troubled or moved . . ."

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[1] Bourgoing, p 525 Abbreviated, Maxwell Scott, pp 63-64 [2] E E pp 292-293, ante

[3] Bourgoing, Maxwell Scott, pp 65-66, Steuart, *Trial of Mary Queen of Scots*, p 37, with slight variations, "The majesty and safety of all Princes falleth to the ground if they depend upon the writings and testimonies of secretaries."

[4] Maxwell Scott, pp 66-67.

"I had not seen her so joyous, nor so constantly at her ease for the last seven years. She spoke only on pleasant subjects, and often in particular gave her opinion on some points of the history of England, in the study of which she passed a good portion of the day; afterwards discoursing on the subject of her reading . . . quite familiarly and joyously, showing no sign of sadness . . ."[1]

Poulet was scandalised by this cheerfulness; and on All Saints Day he told her that she ought to be ashamed after having been accused of crimes so "frightful and odious."

She answered, "My conscience is at rest, and I have already answered my accusers. *God and I know that I have never attempted nor connived at the death or murder of anyone* . . . Being innocent I have rather occasion to rejoice than to be sad . . ." On Poulet then accusing her of "a false and dissimulating conscience," she replied,

"No one can say that he is free from sin . . . I repent of my sins and pray God to forgive me . . . but at present I do not know to whom I could or should confess. 'God forbid that I should ask you to be my confessor. In the present matter I am not guilty, as you well know; and I therefore cannot confess it . . . I am ready to suffer and endure for the name of God, all unworthy as I am,'" encouraged by the examples of the saints and martyrs, whose lives she had lately been re-reading.[2]

While she, despite the near prospect of a violent death, was thus outwardly serene, Queen Elizabeth was undergoing many agitating fluctuations of mood. Walsingham, Burghley, and Hatton deplored to each other, and to Leicester, the delays upon which Her Majesty insisted; and the French Ambassador hoped from this postponement that his Sovereign's intervention might at the twelfth hour avail to save the life and possibly effect deliverance of the captive.

Though Leicester (as we have seen) deprecated the awaiting of formal "solemnities," and had pressed for the speedy execution of the Queen of Scots under a special Commission, the Privy Council judged it advisable to treat in the most public fashion the matter of the conspiracies and the alleged complicity of the royal captive,

The Queen purposely absented herself from the opening of Parliament. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord High Treasurer, and the Earl of Derby acted for her. Both Houses confirmed the sentences of confiscation of the goods and

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[1] Maxwell Scott, p 84 Mrs Maxwell Scott, always ready to do justice to her predecessors, here quotes Hosack, *Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers*, 1874, Vol II, p 426·

"It cannot be denied that even according to their own account, she had maintained throughout a decisive superiority over her opponents Without counsel, or witnesses, or papers, and armed only with her own clear intellect and heroic spirit, she had answered point by point all their allegations . . ."

[2] Maxwell Scott, pp. 85-87 (See also Cal· p 106, Poulet to Walsingham, 24 October "This Queen . . is utterly void of all fear of harm" (Also Bourgoing, pp 540-544)

possessions of Lord Paget, and Charles Paget, Sir Francis Englefield, Francis Throckmorton, Anthony Babington, Thomas Salisbury, Edward Jones, Chidiock Tichborne, Charles Tilney and the others.[1]

"By the hands of the Lord Chancellor," both Houses sent a joint supplication to the Queen, remonstrating with her for her "exceeding great clemency and princely magnanimity" in so long tolerating, protecting and defending the Queen of Scots, despite so many petitions to the contrary. "And now lately a very dangerous plot, . . . set down by Anthony Babington and others, that six desperate and wicked persons should . . . take away your Majesty's life," had not only received the captive Queen Mary's concurrence, (they alleged) but her promise of large recompense to the assassins. Upon which crime the special Commission of Peers and others had given sentence according to the Statute of 27th Elizabeth; the enemy plan being to erect the Scottish Queen into "the imperial and kingly seat of this realm," which would thus have been brought under foreign subjection, and the "ancient nobility banished."[2]

The petitioners argued that if Queen Mary were to escape the punishment of death, "Your Highness's royal person shall be exposed unto many more and those more secret and dangerous conspiracies . . ." It was reiterated that only "the just and speedy execution of the Queen of Scots could secure "the true religion of Almighty God, your Majesty's life, and the safety of all your faithful subjects . . . ."

In reply, Queen Elizabeth gave thanks to God for preserving her, and commended her subjects for their devotion: "after 28 years reign, I perceive in them the same, if not greater good will towards me; which if once I lose, well might I breathe but never think I lived." As to the conspiracy disclosed, and the complicity of the Queen of Scots,

> "there is nothing that hath more grieved me than that one not differing from me in sex, of like rank and degree, of the same stock, and most nearly allied unto me in blood, hath fallen into so great a crime . . . .
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> "Upon the discovery of certain treasonable practices against me, I wrote unto her secretly, that if she would confess them by a private letter unto myself, they

[1] The "Proceedings in Parliament," pp 44-56 of Francis Steuart's *"Trial of Mary Queen of Scots,"* are based on Lord Hardwick's State Papers, Burghley MSS Cobb Parl Hist 779-835, and Camden's *Annals,* but these last were retrospective In Steuart's book, transcripts of the petition and speeches are slightly abbreviated, "your" for "your Majesty" etc For same proceedings from *"Journal-Book of the Upper House,"* see D'Ewes, *"Journals of all Parliaments"* of Q Eliz· pp 400-402 The Parliament called on 23rd Nov 1584, had been often prorogued, and was dissolved, 15th Sep 1586 A new Parliament was called 29th Oct 1586, this being Queen Elizabeth's 6th. It was chiefly for dealing with the case of the Queen of Scots, and preparations to meet a possible foreign invasion It was dissolved 23rd March, 1586-7 See E E, *Table of Parliaments,* facing p. 388

[2] Actually King Philip hoped to purchase and win the ancient nobility, and remained at work to that end as long as he lived.

should be wrapped up in silence. Neither did I write this in mind to entrap her, for I knew then as much as she could confess. And even yet, . . . if she would truly repent, and no man would undertake her cause against me,—and if my life alone depended hereupon, and not the safety of my whole people,—I would, I protest . . . , most willingly pardon her. Nay, if England might by my death attain a more flourishing estate, and a better Prince, I would gladly lay down my life.

"As for me, I see no great cause why I should either be fond to live, or fear to die. I have had good experience of this world, and I know what it is to be a subject, and what to be a Sovereign . . . . I have bestowed benefits upon ill deservers; and where I have done well, have been ill requited.

"While I call to mind these things past, behold things present, and expect things to come, I hold them happiest that go hence soonest. Nevertheless, . . . I put on a better courage than is common to my sex, so as whatsoever befall me, death shall not take me unprepared."[1]

She then, as to legality, stated that the recent Act had not been made to entrap the Queen of Scots but to forewarn her. But lawyers were so wedded to precedent and form that if they had their way, the Scots Queen "must have been indicted in Staffordshire, and have holden up her hand at the bar, and have been tried by a jury of twelve." This being unsuitable treatment for a Princess, "I thought it better to refer the examination . . . . to a good number of the noblest personages . . . . and the judges of the realm."

"For we Princes are set as it were upon stages, in the sight and ken of all the world. The least spot is soon spied in our garments, a blemish quickly noted in our doings. It behoveth us therefore to be just and honourable. But . . . . by this last Act of Parliament, you have brought me to a narrow strait, that I must give order for her death, . . . a Princess most nearly allied unto me . . . . whose practices against me have stricken me into such great grief, that I have been glad to absent myself from this Parliament, lest I should increase my sorrow by hearing it spoken of, and not out of fear of any danger . . . . But yet I will now tell you a secret . . . . It is not long since these eyes of mine saw and read an oath, wherein some bound themselves to kill me within a month . . . . Your Association for my safety I have not forgotten, . . . which I do acknowledge as a strong argument of your true hearts and great zeal . . . ."

Having implied she would meet the wishes of Parliament, Elizabeth proceeded to qualify her promise: ". . . . I hope you do not look for any present resolution; for my manner is, in matters of less moment than this, to deliberate long . . . ." Nevertheless, that delay might not breed danger, she undertook to signify her

[1] When Hosack represented Elizabeth as "the slave of her womanish fears," he presumably overlooked these words. (*"Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers,"* 1874, Vol II, p 487).

intentions "with all conveniency. And whatever the best subjects may expect at the hands of the best Princess, that expect from me . . . ."[1]

The twelfth day afterwards, she sent the Lord Chancellor to the peers, and Puckering to the Lower House, to suggest they should "enter into a new consideration," and devise some means *"whereby both the Queen of Scots' life might be saved and her own security provided for."*

But Parliament answered "that the Queen's safety could not be secured as long as the Queen of Scots lived," unless Mary "acknowledged her offence," or was kept more strictly guarded, or departed out of the realm. They had no hope of her "repentance," in that she would not "acknowledge her fault." And as for oaths and custody, or bonds and hostages, these were no sufficient security; and if she were allowed to depart from England, she would probably take up arms and return as an invader. "In sparing her" Queen Elizabeth would "discomfort and daunt with despair" her own "loving people, and so deservedly provoke the heavy hand and wrath of God."

There followed an eloquent oration upon the incompatibility of the interests of the two Queens:

> "Her friends hold invasion unprofitable while you live, and therefore . . . . your death is first and principally to be sought" As for the Queen of Scots "She hath already provided us a foster father and a nurse, the Pope and the King of Spain, into whose hands if it should mishappen us to fall, what else can we look for but ruin, destruction, and utter extirpation of goods, lands, lives, honour and all . . . . By your death they trust to make invasion profitable for them . . . . and therefore it is meet to cut off the head of that hope."

The refrain was that "Mercy in this case would be cruelty against all."

"She is only a cousin to you in a remote degree; but we be the sons and children of this land . . . . much more is due from you to us all than alone to her." Every possible argument was elaborated on those lines, ending with the assurance that "the whole people of England made humble and instant petition" for the death of the Queen of Scots.

Queen Elizabeth repeated that she wished some other means could have been devised for public security and her own. But they would have it

> "that my safety dependeth wholly upon the death of another"; and "that I, which have in my time pardoned so many rebels, winked at so many treasons, ... must seem to show cruelty upon so great a Princess. I have, since I came to the Crown, . . . seen many defamatory books and pamphlets . . . . accusing me to be a tyrant . . . ." And "what will they not write now, when they

[1] Steuart, pp 47-48 And abbreviated in Cal S P M Q. of S IX, pp 152-153

shall hear that I have given my consent that the executioners' hands shall be imbued in the blood of my nearest kinswoman? . . .

"I am not so void of judgment as not to see mine own perils, . . . nor so mad as to sharpen a sword to cut mine own throat, nor so careless as not to provide for the safety of mine own life."

But "rash and sudden resolutions" were not good. So, again assuring her people of her appreciation of their care for her, "I shall endeavour . . . . to make myself worthy of such subjects. And now for your Petition, ... content yourselves with an answer without an answer. Your judgment I condemn not, neither do I mistake your reasons; but pray you to accept my thankfulness, excuse my doubtfulness, and take in good part my answer answerless . . ."

Whereon Parliament was prorogued, and the fate of the Queen of Scots remained uncertain. Without the Royal Assent, no decision of Lords and Commons had any legal validity.

All now turned upon whether Queen Elizabeth would sign the death-warrant of her heir presumptive.

Postscript.

Although the Calendar of State Papers, Scotland, Volume IX, was issued in 1915, Father Pollen's "*Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot,*" 1922, was not sufficiently revised from that Calendar. Among the most remarkable revelations overlooked is a letter (p. 24) docketed by Lord Burghley "*Babington's motion y^e^ daye afore his death, Septemb. 1586.*" For whom it was intended is not specified:[1]

"Good cousin, speak with Mr. Flower, for I wrote to him yesterday. If he received my letter I know not, but he that keeps me here told me that he spoke with you yesterday morning and delivered to you a letter that I sent to my Lord Treasurer, and a note that I sent to you. And he told me that you had moved Mr. Rawley for me, and promised £1,000 if he would get my pardon[2]

"Hereby I would perform to pay so much, for I have friends would disburse it for me Good cousin, speak in my behalf, and move some one of Mr Vice Chamberlain's gentlemen in the matter, and let him tell his master I can do her Majesty more service than would recompense my fault.

"Good cousin, deal for me, or if you will not, speak with the younger Mr Lovelace, and he will do anything for me. And deliver him this note, and bid him tell Mr Flower that in respect of this service that I can do her Majesty I desire to speak with his master."

Instead of accepting Father Pollen's monograph as the final word on the Babington plot, it behoves us to recognise that his deductions were based on only a small proportion of the evidence. His putting aside of Mary Queen of Scots from the list of Catholics who had died for their faith seems to have been prompted by imperfect knowledge of particulars which ought now to be weighed dispassionately in conjunction with each other.[3] In his preconceived notion that there was no plot worth considering, no danger to Elizabeth, and little reason except malice for the executions, Father Pollen missed the clues he might otherwise have found among the State Papers.

The belief in Queen Mary's concurrence in the assassination plot, rests on the worthless word of Nau and Curle and of Babington. As to Babington, she herself protested that the statement of an intending criminal and murderer ought not to weigh against her own. Recognising as we should that the murder plot was painful to Father Pollen because discreditable to Catholics, let us see also that

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[1] Perhaps "Robyn" Poley, to whom see a copy of an undated letter from Babington, Cal VIII, p 658

[2] In a 12 pp statement by Robert Poley, C p XIX, Cal: VIII, pp. 595-602, it is affirmed that "one of Sir Walter Raleigh's men had received money and undertaken to kill her Majesty within five weeks from that time" Raleigh cannot have been regarded by the Crown as implicated, or he would not have been granted Babington's forfeited estates See E E, ante, p 287

[3] He classed her with those who are "*praetermissi*" (put aside): See *Catholic Records* (1908), Vol 5, I, pp 10, 16 (E E. p 428)

if he had examined the evidence more fully, he would have been better able to form a comprehensive judgment. From Babington's letter to Queen Elizabeth (already quoted), and from this further letter offering Raleigh £1000 to procure a pardon, it seems that Babington's "enterprise" was less that of a devout Catholic ready to die for his faith than of an egotistical nature drawn into conspiracy more from ambition than in chivalrous devotion to the captive.

Babington emerges most ignobly from the present examination. Even if we believe some of the "confessions" might have been "doctored" by the lawyers, there is no reason to doubt these other letters of his, *which were never mentioned in the evidence and only came to light in 1915,* and have been ignored by all commentators on the Babington plot. Whereas Father Pollen rebuked Queen Mary for being no judge of men, her idealising of her cousin Lord Darnley in her youth, and trusting her treacherous half-brother Murray, ought not to blind us to her acumen in later years. Her comments upon Babington, Nau and Curle should no longer be disregarded.

There were certain rules of conduct among gentlemen: one of which was that it is shameful for a man to save his life by accusing a woman. (In the case of Queen Anne Boleyn, Norris went to his death rather than deviate from this code: and Queen Elizabeth favoured the whole Norris family in the next generation as a testimony of her gratitude). Anthony Babington was bold enough in his plan to kill the Queen as long as he thought it would be easy and successful. But no sooner was his project frustrated than he abjectly begged for favour from the very Monarch he had intended to slay.[1] To save his life he was ready and eager not only to transfer his allegiance from Mary to Elizabeth, but to incriminate Mary.

His own words, tardily brought to light, now reveal him as having no fixed principles. So the question is, how much longer are we to remain in bondage to the allegations of such persons as Babington, Nau and Curle? On the one hand we have the word of Queen Mary, who from first to last was consistently true to her religion, when every material consideration might have impelled her to forsake it. On the other we have the assertions of these three who violated the time-honoured code of men of honour. Nau and Curle were pardoned by Queen Elizabeth because they were of no worldly consequence; but to have pardoned anyone of Babington's standing would have been an invitation to the gentlemen of England to assume they could with impunity dabble in treason and plot murder.

Babington's letter makes plain that up to the day before his execution he believed he could purchase a pardon. This confident hope was founded on his assent to the secretaries' accusations against the Queen of Scots, the Sovereign for whom he had professed "all fidelity and obedience."

It would be helpful if each teacher of history henceforth would regard all this

[1] EE p. 263.

as if it were his own reputation instead of Mary's at stake: Would he prefer to depend on the assertions of men whose self-love and cowardice are only too palpable? or would he wish his judges to accept the word of a Queen whose courage had been amply proved, and who, single-handed and in broken health, conducted a valiant and logical defence against the combined wits of the ablest judicial intellects in England?

That Elizabeth genuinely believed Mary a murderess in intention, and that she signed the death warrant in that conviction; but that she was mistaken, and that Mary's defence can be accepted on the main issues, seems to be the reasonable deduction from the foregoing considerations.

PART IV.

"As the difference standeth."

CHAPTER 1.

"THE DIVERSITY OF HUMAN AFFLICTIONS."

SECTION 6

"A Sovereign Queen."

(French intercession for Mary Queen of Scots, December, 1586; for "justice and honour").

"That noble Princess" is now so "humiliated that her greatest enemies might have compassion on her. . . .

Never in the world has such a judgment been given against a Sovereign Queen. Nor has such an idea ever entered our minds that your Majesty could resolve upon so rigorous an execution."

The French Envoys' petition to Queen Elizabeth Dec: 1586.
Cotton MS Calig B VIII f. 160 Cal: S.P.S., M.Q. of S IX, No. 211.

". . . the Queen's Majesty must not have so much regard to the displeasure of the Scottish Queen's kinsfolk, as to the satisfaction of the Nobility and Commons of her realm. . . ."

". . . Answere to the allegation of Monsieur Bellieure as touching the Scottish Queene."
Cotton MS. Ib: f. 314 Cal: IX, No 212, p. 218.

PART IV.

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CHAPTER 1

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SECTION 6

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THAT Henry Duke of Guise had intended to land in England on Queen Mary's behalf, with or without the Prince of Parma, was one of the discoveries made from the intercepted letters. And as some of the Protestants had been vehemently opposed to the prospect of a marriage between their Queen and the Catholic Duke of Anjou (now King Henry III of France), all the more indignant were they against the captive Queen of Scotland for her conspiracy with a prospective French invader.

During the lifetime of King Henry's brother Francis of Valois,—Queen Elizabeth's second French suitor,—Lord Burghley had hoped to combine the forces of England, France, and perhaps Scotland, against the "great Lion" of Spain. But after the death of Francis, possible King Consort of England, there was a change in Burghley's policy towards France. If Queen Elizabeth had married a Prince of the House of Valois, it would have been manifestly indecorous for her to execute that Prince's sister-in-law. So the death of the last marriageable Valois in 1584 had been an added misfortune for Queen Mary.

In 1586 the relations between England and France being nominally amicable, King Henry, both through his Ambassador and by special envoys, interceded for the Queen of Scots. His overtures were coldly received; but Henry instructed that they should be repeated.

While Scottish emissaries were on the way south, ostensibly for the same purpose, the French envoys in London put on paper the following "memorial" to Queen Elizabeth:

"Madam.[1] We have made known to the King our master, your good brother, the answer which it pleased you to make to us, upon that which we had prayed," on his behalf, in two audiences.

". . . His Most Christian Majesty has been in extreme pain on seeing that which we wrote to him," not only in regard to the Queen of Scots "his kinswoman, his ally, and his sister-in-law; but also in respect to yourself, Madam," whom he holds in "high regard and esteem."

King Henry hopes that for the sake of "justice and honour" she will consider the matter anew; no less for the good of herself than in mercy to her captive. When the King thus "speaks in order to preserve the life of the Queen of Scotland, . . . [and] for the cause which is common to all Kings," it is not that he would wish anything to the "prejudice of England." He acknowledges Elizabeth "as a Queen and Sovereign Princess, who has in this matter a common interest with other Kings and Sovereign Princes." But he does not agree that to spare the life of the Queen of Scots would endanger the Queen of England: "There is far less to fear for your Majesty while she is living, and in your hands, than if she were dead."

"Hardly had she attained the age of 25 years, when she was retained as your prisoner, and deprived of communication with persons of counsel, which has made it more easy for those to deceive her, who have maliciously desired" to promote "some imprudent counsels" (meaning the French and Spanish invasion).

But even if, when Queen of Scotland, she had entered England with an army "to deprive you of your estate and life," had she been taken prisoner "she could not by right of war" have expected "any harder treatment than to pay a good ransom."

She had come to England as a suppliant, in "very great affliction: a Sovereign Princess and your nearest kinswoman"; and she has been long "in hope of restoration to her kingdom by your goodness and favour." But all these hopes have brought her "naught but a perpetual prison: . . ."

"This noble Princess" is now so sadly "humiliated, that her greatest enemies might have compassion on her: which makes me hope the more from the clemency and generosity of your Majesty."

As to the death sentence, the King of France protests, *"Never in the world has such a judgment been given against a Sovereign Queen. Nor has it ever entered our minds that your Majesty could resolve upon so rigorous an execution."*

". . . We are now at the feast of Christmas, when it pleased God, instead of avenging Himself upon the iniquity and ingratitude of men, to send his only

[1] "Messieurs Bellieve and De l'Aubespine to the Q" Cotton MS Calig B.VIII f 160 9½ pp French Cal IX, No 211, pp. 202-214. (Also B.M. G 6086) Reduced in E.E. to main points.

son our Lord Jesus Christ into this world . . . Since we are at the feast of the Nativity," nothing "terrible and odious" should be permitted to go forward.

King Henry offers to "bind" his sister-in-law to swear never to undertake any venture "against your Majesty."

> "Your fortune is a very happy one in your kingdom, and your renown glorious among the potentates of the world: . . ." And "Your Majesty will live in greater safety, the Queen of Scots remaining alive . . . Bloody remedies would be rather the beginning of many ills than the end of those which [your] people say they wish to remove . . ."

His Most Christian Majesty prayed that his "sister" would reject a counsel so foreign to her "sweet and benign nature." But if his "affectionate prayer" is disregarded, he cannot but be "greatly offended in particular," as well as feeling deep resentment in the common interest of all Christian Monarchs.

These words appear wise, dignified, and tactful. But what of the man behind the words? Burghley had previously taken the measure of King Henry III, as indolent; and therefore not a formidable foe for England.[1] He knew Henry to have no easy task to keep his crown on his own head; and that France was too tormented by civil strife, and lacerated by "factions" at the Court, to be in any strength for a war against England.

The King of France, as brother-in-law of the Queen of Scots, was obliged by etiquette to expostulate; but Elizabeth's Councillors assessed at its actual value what they classed as the French "rhetoricke." They proceeded to answer point by point, their main arguments being a repetition of what we have already heard: that they did not concur as to Mary's right to be judged as an independent Sovereign; that by placing herself under English protection she became subject to English law. That her rank, ancestry, and relationships were no excuse for connivance at murder, but rather an aggravation of the offence. And that it was obligatory upon Queen Elizabeth to consider the safety of England, and the petitions of her own subjects, before being moved by claims of sex or of consanguinity. As to the intended execution, "Neither is it justly to be counted as an act of blood . . . [in that it is] done by the law, for the safety of her Majesty's person."[2]

Elizabeth is represented as "conforming herself against her own nature" to her subjects "in so just a request," that she might not "alienate and wound the hearts" of her Nobility and Commons: which alienation would be "*dangerous.*"

This last, though addressed to the French envoys, seems to have been intended also to impress Elizabeth herself.

If Queen Mary's son in Scotland and her brother-in-law in France had been

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[1] E E. Vol. V, p 9.

[2] Cotton MS. Calig. B VIII. f 160 et seq 9½ pp. Cal IX No 211, pp 202-214, and Ib f 314, No 212, pp 214-218

prepared to combine the Scots and French fleets and armies as resolute champions of the captive, if their "rhetoricke" upon the sanctity of Crowns and the common interest of all Sovereigns had been combined with an uncompromising spirit,—the end of this story might have been entirely different. But neither in the Presbyterian James nor the Catholic Henry was there one spark of the Christian chivalry, of which as Kings (and, theoretically, as gentlemen,) they were obliged to show at least a semblance on behalf of so near a relation. So their expressions of devotion to justice and honour carried scant weight; for neither potentate had consistently practised the first nor was a convincing exponent of the second. It was the supreme misfortune of the Queen of Scots that her royal relations were men of small minds, who, moreover, in consequence of their own imperfections, wielded in 1586 rather the semblance than the reality of power.

Though the prestige of an anointed King derived much of its dignity from religion, and from racial emotions, the consequences turned more upon the characters of the different Princes than upon the privileges and obligations of their position.

Manifestly, Burghley, Walsingham and Leicester relied on King James's blend of secret pusillanimity with open regard for his own interests, and upon the weakness of Henry of Valois. Far otherwise would it have been had these Monarchs inherited respectively the temper of a Robert Bruce and the strength of a Charlemagne.

That "character is destiny" comes nearer the truth than the majority of epigrams. And when a woman of valiant soul, and fixed principles, is at the mercy of kinsmen whose main objects are profit, ease and safety, her griefs are proportionate to her rank and circumstances. Sufferings and disillusions which in private life might be concealed at the time, and leave no record after death, could not be other than public when the victim occupied so conspicuous a place in the world.

As Leicester in the Low Countries, during the spring and summer, kept pressing for the Scots Queen to be brought to judgment,—when the Privy Councillors at home, by means of intercepted letters, were fully aware of the conspiracy,—why did they wait till October, when elderly lawyers and peers complained of the journey to Northamptonshire in "extreme cold"?

A probable reason is that in the days when fleets were dependent on wind and weather, a naval expedition on a large scale in the late autumn or in winter was out of the question. If Babington, and then Queen Mary, had been tried in May and condemned in June of 1585 or '86, a Spanish fleet could have sailed from Lisbon or La Coruña to avenge them. But that a Spanish Armada could have reached English shores between October and February, was so unlikely, that for the time being, Burghley had no fear of it. And he and his associates calculated that if King Philip's invasion pretext could no longer be ostensibly for the rescue of the

Queen of Scots, it would lose much chivalrous glamour. If Philip henceforth still essayed to conquer England, his war would be plainly one of personal aggression.

On every side, the sufferings and rights of the Queen of Scots were a secondary consideration to the men concerned. Even Father Parsons and Sir Francis Englefield seldom entered into her feelings. She was for them the chief hope of the English Catholic cause; therefore they laboured to draw her into the "enterprise," though, unless it proved successful, it could only lead to her destruction.

Whether Queen Mary, from the time of her landing in Scotland, ever experienced disinterested devotion from any man, unless it were Sir James Melville and his brother, and George Douglas (who contrived her escape from Lochleven), and young William Douglas, is open to question. Even Morgan and Paget, and others who also took great risks for her sake, looked chiefly to the political issues. The more the correspondence of her adherents is examined, the less appearance there is of individual sympathy for Mary, or even of an adequate consciousness of all she endured.

With the death of King Francis II of France, her delicate and shy boy husband, her childhood's playmate, her personal happiness had ended. History and fiction have combined to represent her as attractive to men, and have harped upon her fascinations, wiles, allurements. But if we compare the utterances of open foes like Sir Francis Knollys with those of professed adherents like Mendoza, we will again observe that whereas Elizabeth, both peremptory and vacillating, drew from the men around her a united loyalty, less of emotion than of principle,—her Councillors proclaiming her virtues and concealing her faults,—Mary in her courage, her frankness, and her contempt for meanness, aroused alarm and antagonism.

In June of 1568, when Sir Francis Knollys first met her at Carlisle, only a few weeks after her overthrow at the battle of Langside, he had written to warn Sir William Cecil,

> "She sheweth a great desire to be avenged of her enemies, she showeth a readiness to expose herself to all perils in hope of victory. She delighteth much to hear of hardiness and valiancy . . . *Now what is to be done with such a Lady and Princess?*"[1]

When previously, on the 28th May, Mary had written to Elizabeth, "If it please you [that] I come to you without ceremony or in private, I will tell you the truth against all their lies,"[2] this was precisely what her adversaries, whether English or Scottish, were determined never to permit.

The excuses which Elizabeth's Ministers made, to themselves, and to her, derive substance from being interwoven with untiring services to their exacting and not

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[1] Orig: 11 June. E E. Vol. I., p. 323

[2] French, "Brought by the Lord Herris" (Herries), E.E. Vol. I p. 323

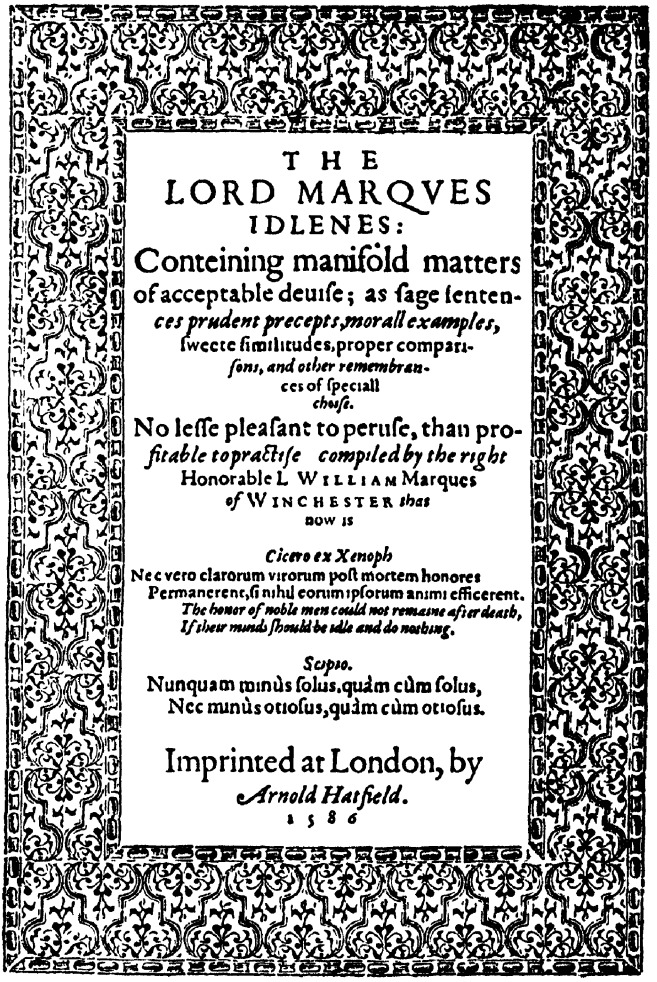
always gracious Mistress. We should recognise Burghley, Walsingham, Leicester and Hatton as allied patriots, consistently devoted to their Sovereign and country, living laboriously, and giving more than they got, or hoped to get, in person. But in the matter of the Queen of Scots in 1586, their arguments, so convincing to themselves, appear the more grim and harsh in contrast to the generosity and benevolence they all four showed both in private life and to their own Sovereign.

To refer to-day to Queen Mary's "trial" at Fotheringhay as if it had been a weighing of the evidence, is misleading. Her condemnation had been settled beforehand. The object of the Commissioners and Judges was to coerce her into such a confession of guilt as she had hitherto refused to make.

Despite attempted "precedents" from classic and other history,—laboriously sought, and set on paper at much length,—some lingering remnant of uneasiness remained.

They hoped the victim would herself assist them. But her exclamation, "Many councillors; but not one for me," rings down the ages. For her to plead for mercy in the present was unavailing. Her answers therefore were an appeal to posterity. Preserved by her accusers as evidence of her "obstinacy," it is through those replies that we reconstruct the drama; and accord her tardily the justice she was fated never to receive in life.[1]

[1] In Cal S P Spanish (1896), Vol. III, pp 690-691, Hume gave an epitome of the French Ambassador's plea to Queen Elizabeth, and added, "no attempt is made to deny Mary's guilt, . . . the appeal is simply *ad misericordiam* and for her life alone" But see E E, ante, p 348, the appeal was also to "justice and honour." Had Mary's adherents interpreted it after the fashion of Hume, they would not have printed it as a pamphlet in 1588, "*Harange faict a la Royne d'Angleterre,*" &c. (B.M G 6086, and in possession of Messrs. Maggs Bros).



Dedicated to Queen Elizabeth by the 3rd Marquess of Winchester,

husband of her cousin Anne, daughter of William 1st Lord Howard of Effingham (See E E II, pedigree facing p 150)

From a copy in the collection of Messrs Maggs Bros, also in B M, and Bodleian

The prelude is a Latin acrostic in six verses the first letters of the six lines forming the word "Regina", the last letters "Nostra", and the initials of words in the last line "Anglae" The "idlenes" of "The Lord Marques" was a condition of vigorous mental activity, as indicated by the quotation from Cicero on the title page Its translation into English shows the book to have been intended for popular reading

Published eleven years before the first edition of Francis Bacon's "Essayes," it treats of some of the same themes Adversity, Ambition, Love, Friendship; Children, "Warres" and warriors, the life of man; "the Beginning of Thinges", "the historie of Private Men, and of Townes", "manie Pretty Sayings," &c But whereas Bacon's "Essayes" are available at prices varying from 6d to £90 (de luxe), these earlier meditations of our Premier Marquess are known only to bibliophiles

As Lord St. John of Basing, he was summoned to Parliament in the lifetime of his father, who died 4th November, 1576. He is ancestor of the present Marquess of Winchester

PART IV.

"As the difference standeth."

CHAPTER 1

"THE DIVERSITY OF HUMAN AFFLICTIONS."

SECTION 7

"Delivered unto the Spaniards."

(Sir William Stanley's Surrender of Deventer, 1586-7).

"As for Stanley, I knew her Majesty herself reposed as great trust in him as in any gentleman of his sort in her realm."

Wilkes to the Earl of Leicester, 24 January, 1586-7 (E E, p 335).

"No man shall give up or deliver unto the enemies any place left in his charge or keeping, upon paine of death.

If anie man flie to the enemies, or be taken upon his departure towards them, he shall suffer death."

Robert Earl of Leicester *"Lawes and Ordinances . meete and fitte to be observed by all such as shall serve her Maiestie . . "* Rules 49 and 50

"A Shorte admonition uppon the shameful treason wherewith Sir William Stanley and Rowland Yorke have betrayed and Delivered for money unto the Spanyardes, the towne of Deventer and the Scons of Zutphen."

Title of English pamphlet, licensed 9 April, 1587

"The Copie of a Letter written by M. Doctor Allen: Concerning the Yealding up of the Citie of Dauentrie, unto his Catholicke Majestie by Sir William Stanley Knight. Wherein is shewed both how lawful, honourable, and necessarie that action was: and also that al others . . . that detaine any townes . . . in the lowe Countries, from the King Catholicke are bound upon paine of Damnation to do the like."

Title of pamphlet written at Rome, 23 April, 1587, and printed at Antwerp. (Reprinted, Chetham Society, 1851).

". . . Dr. Allen was made a Cardinal to please your Majesty . . . as soon as it was known in Rome, they at once began to say that we were getting ready for the war in England. . . ."

Pope Sixtus V to King Philip II. 7 August, 1587. S.P. Spanish. Cal: Vol. IV, No. 37).

NOTE ON THE ENSUING SECTION.

In Protestant Histories, from the 17th century to the 20th, it is usually implied or asserted that the Earl of Leicester invited the loss of Deventer and the Zutphen forts, by carelessly (or treacherously) placing in command two officers of known Catholic and pro-Spanish leanings But this is to forget that it was Leicester who had secured the English control of Deventer, and Leicester who had organised the capture of the Zutphen forts, *always previously regarded as impregnable* It is incongruous and irrational to suppose the General would have courted the undoing of these notable achievements

Furthermore, it would have been impossible for Leicester to put known Catholics in command of towns or forts All officers in Queen Elizabeth's service, from the first year of her reign, had been obliged to take an Oath accepting her supremacy in Church and State, and repudiating foreign jurisdiction, whether lay or ecclesiastical And in 1584 this Oath had been expanded into a pledge actively to oppose her enemies whether at home or abroad (See E E Vol V, pp 206-207)

The contention of Dr Allen was that as Pope Pius V had excommunicated Elizabeth, and forbidden Catholics to accept her as their Sovereign, their allegiance to her was cancelled To which Queen Elizabeth's champions replied that the surrender of Deventer was not a matter of theology but of martial law If Stanley had been a mercenary in the service of the Grand Turk, and had surrendered a fortress *without a shot fired,* his action would have been as flagrant a violation of the duty a soldier owes to whatever Sovereign or State is employing him

He had paid no heed to Pope Pius's Bull and Declaration when issued And in 1586 he was reckoned among the ablest of Lord Leicester's Captains The news, in January 1586-7, of his compounding with King Philip's Governor of Zutphen town, and delivering up Deventer to Spain, appeared astounding Not until 210 years later (1896) was the English Calendar of Simancas MSS published, showing the overtures Stanley had received from Spain.[1]

Dr Allen's editor in 1851, *"Cardinal Allen's Defence of Sir William Stanley's surrender of Deventer,"* Chetham Soc Vol 25, was apparently not aware that a contemporary Answer had been published The Defence and Answer are now for the first time brought together

Opinions may differ as to Stanley's motives, but there need be no further confusion about the main facts The reader, whether Catholic or Protestant, will see that throwing the blame upon Lord Leicester for the loss of Deventer is an injustice arising in the first place either from ignorance or malice, and that it should no longer be countenanced by any serious historian, whether English or foreign [2]

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[1] Vol III, pp 604, 689.

[2] If preferring not to break the sequence of scenes in the last Act of the Queen of Scots' tragedy, the general reader can pass on now to Sections 8, 9 10 But military students may be advised to go into the particulars of the extraordinary surrender of Deventer, now fully elucidated

"DEVENTER THE CHIEFE CITIE OF OVERISSELL"

From "Civitates Orbis Terrarum" of Braun and Hogenberg Ed 1573-1617. Lib. III

No 33 (420 x 345 mm), B M Maps, C 7 d 1

On 8th January, 1586-7, an officer who had "served in good place" under Lord Leicester, and had returned with him to England, thus, in "*A Briefe Report,*" described "Deventer the chiefe citie of Ouerissell", (pp 21-22)

"One of the Haunse townes, large strong, rich, and directing indeed Snowle [Zwolle] and Campen, and the rest of the cities and townes of that countrie, which in manner depende wholly upon it It is seated upon the northeast bank of the river Yssell."

In August, 1586, it has affected neutrality, "inclining more in shew to the Estates party, but yeelding no contributions to the war, and indeed aiding the enemie with victuals and provisions" underhand To put a stop to this proceeding, Lord Leicester made "speedie repaire thither" believing that whichever arrived there first, "the prince or him, with forces," would be well received

" the Prince as we after understood, hastened al he could thither But his Excellencie [Leicester] was first entered, and with him about foure hundred footemen, and two or three cornets of horse He dealt in courteous and gentle sort with the townsmen " and remained there two days, but was then obliged to hasten back to Zutphen

After the fight outside Zutphen, and the subsequent English capture of the forts, Leicester "with the chief of his counsaile" arrived in Deventer again, "minding to essay the garrisoning of that place, being a matter of great importance" But he was called away to Arnhem, where his nephew Sir Philip Sidney lay dying After Sidney's death, he went to Utrecht But "before his departure," the same officer relates, he arranged for the "garrisoning of Deventer"

The Elector of Cologne, the Marshal Sir William Pelham, the Colonel-General Sir John Norris, carried out his instructions, "with some little stur and danger" leaving as "governor of the garrison there Sir William Stanley with 1,200 Footmen English and Irish, and two hundred horse"

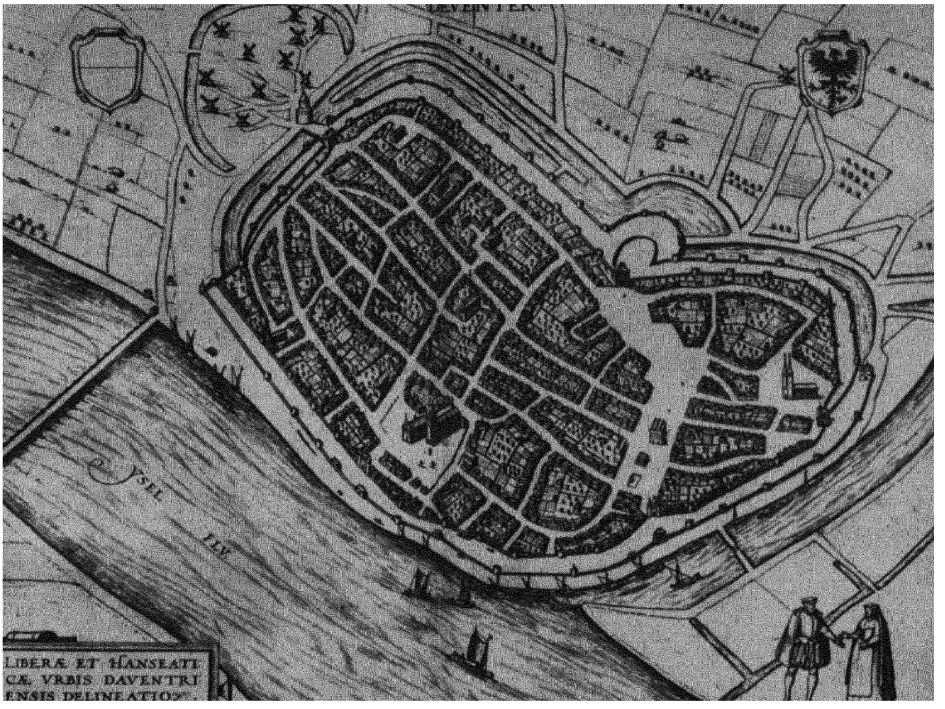
Just after this "there fell out a great and gallant skirmish at the campe" by Zutphen, some "sixe or seaven English miles" from Deventer, thus described in the "*Briefe Report*"

"Order being given for dismissing the troupes into garrison, first some companies, then others were sent away, and now it was thought expedient to abandon the trenches on the other side of the water next Zutphen and so to take up the bridge and come awaie

"First the larger trenches were left, and the men drawne into a small fortification at the bridge ende, with intent the nexte night to take up our bridge also Which Taxis" [i e Tassis, the Governor of Zutphen] "perceiving from towne, and seeing the small companies remaining in that side, he salied with about two thousand footemen, passed the first trenches forsaken, and assaulted the small fortification remaining, with great valure, himself being of the first in person

"Our men being taken on the sudden, were at the first five or sixe of them slaine but the rest stood manfully to it, at the pikes end, until Sir WILLIAM STANLEY comming over the bridge from the Vellowe side with supply of five or sixe hundred footemen, and lieutenant Nicholas Parker with onely five horsemen, drave them away even into the towne gate, and slew many of them " Our soldiers would have "entred the towne pell mel" with their foes had they "not been staied by their leaders"

The promptitude of Sir William Stanley,—whose vigour against the Spaniards had previously been proved in Leicester's presence at Doesburg, and outside Zutphen on the famous "misty morning," made the subsequent news seem incredible,—that Stanley had surrendered Deventer without a shot fired as also that Captain Rowland Yorke had similarly yielded the Zutphen forts


LIBERÆ ET HANSEATI
CÆ, VRBIS DAVENTRI
ENSIS DELINEATIO

PART IV.

"As the difference standeth."

CHAPTER I

"THE DIVERSITY OF HUMAN AFFLICTIONS."

SECTION 7

"Delivered unto the Spaniards."

(Sir William Stanley's Surrender of Deventer, 1586-7).

WHEN Lord Leicester came back to England, the Queen's Army under his command had made an honourable reputation, especially by the capture of the Zutphen forts, which friends and foes alike had believed to be impregnable. And though Lieutenant-Colonel Tassis still held Zutphen town for the King of Spain, his position was unenviable. Since he had lost the forts which controlled the river, as one of Leicester's officers wrote, the town "remaineth so environed with our garrisons as it may be well said to be now besieged":

> "In Deventer, sixe English miles northest upon the river side is sir WILLIAM STANLEY with twelve hundred footmen, and two hundred horse.
>
> In the forts of Zutphen on the Vellowe side with musket shot of the towne at west, is maister ROWLAND YORKE with eight hundred footmen, and one hundred horse."

The narrator enumerated the other English garrisons: "Duisbourge, Brunkhurst, Lokham, Sherenberg, and Ooetecom": showing that as our forces were thus holding the Province, the Spanish troops shut up inside the capital of Zutphen would not be able to "stir out" without risk; neither could "victuals be brought to them but by land . . . . and that through the middest of our garrisons": an exploit "which will require more forces than the Prince can often spare . . . ."[1]

When this was written, on the 8th of January 1586-7, the last thing which would have entered the mind of this officer was that Sir William Stanley or "maister Rowland Yorke" could be purchased by Spain.

A thunderbolt fell into the midst of the Court when news came that "both

[1] p 30 *"A Briefe Report of the Militarie Services done in the Low Countries by the Erle of Leicester: written by one that served in good place . . . Imprinted at London, etc*, 1587

Deventer and Zutphen Sconce[s] were delivered up to the Spaniards," without any defence, and by "base corruption for money."[1]

In the *"Generall Historie of the Netherlands"* it was retrospectively alleged that "the credulitie and light beliefe of the Earle of Leicester" was the reason of the "losse of this goodly and strong towne of Deventer . . . ." and that "It was not without cause" the Dutch Protestants "began to murmur against the Earle . . . ."[2]

This assertion has re-echoed, it being easier to blame Leicester than to examine the circumstances. We must therefore now fully investigate them.

On the 1st December 1586, (21 November O.S.) the Magistrates of Deventer had addressed a complaint to the Council of State, that notwithstanding Leicester's orders to the Captains in garrisons to "comport themselves amicably towards the burghers,"

> "the day before yesterday Governor Stanley required us to lend him 1200 florins for the soldiers, which we were obliged to refuse him, because of the poverty of our town . Afterwards *he demanded the keys of our town, especially the Noremberger gate, together with the ammunitions and cannoneers to be at his commandment, hearing which we were greatly astonished . we felt ourselves much aggrieved to have to give up the keys to him,* for in virtue of our oath we have to guard the town . " But he in the evening reinforced the town watch with four of his ensigns; and "he has brought most of the Irish from the fort on the other side of the Yssel into the town The Irish have committed every excess, as have the soldiers in other quarters, and this by consent of their officers"
>
> The same evening a soldier quartered in a burgher's house "tried to beat the woman of the house, being with child, and taking his sword, was going to strike his host The host defending himself, it happened that the soldier was wounded whereupon the Governor had him imprisoned, usurping our jurisdiction . . "

Stanley's seizure of the keys, coupled with the assertion that he admitted no authority save that of "Her Majesty and His Excellency from whom he held his commission," was calculated to bring hatred upon those in whose names he thus behaved.

The magistrates add that he interfered with merchandise and other traffic; and "tears up the passports which we give," seeming as if he wished to force "all good burghers to fly from the place . . . . truly in our extreme misery and desolation, . . . we had not expected that we should have secret enemies who would plot for us such calamity."

> "This morning the Irish have burnt a great part of[3] the fort on the other side of the Yssel," and Sir William Stanley "has brought about 60 from thence into the town, who are to be billeted this evening. God knows where we shall put them. . . . ."

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[1] *"A Briefe Chronicle,"* 1611 p 419 24 years after the event, this betrayal is included in what is an attempt by Anthony Munday not merely at English Chronology, but chief happenings in the History of the World.

[2] pp 943-944

[3] Query, around (?).

And so the description goes on, of the "miserable state" to which the townsfolk were reduced.[1]

All this was so contrary to the orders of Leicester, that when the complaints reached Englishmen in Utrecht, they could hardly believe such outrages to have occurred in any town commanded by "this worthy gentleman," as Leicester had called Stanley the previous June.

On the 29th of November, 1586, Stanley from Deventer had written to Sir Francis Walsingham, requesting that *"if her Majesty enter not wholly into the wars of these countries" he might "be preferred by her Highness to the King of Navarre."*[2] To wish to serve the Huguenot Henry of Navarre seemed to denote intense zeal for the Protestant cause. And though Sir John Norris complained bitterly to Walsingham of the "hard dealing" of Leicester in giving a large commission to Stanley and less power to himself,[3] the reason would not have been obscure to Walsingham, namely that a few months before, when Norris had received an ample commission, he had refused to obey the Marshal of the Army, and had behaved in so haughty a fashion as to move Leicester to protest that such pride was of the Devil.

The same day in December that Norris wrote he hoped the terms of Stanley's ample commission, contrasted with his own, would not impede the public service, Thomas Wilkes, by the same messenger, reported to Leicester in England that the magistrates of Deventer had sent him great complaints against their Governor Sir William "Standley": *"that he seeketh to take from them the keys of their gates, that he taketh upon him to intermeddle with their civil government, that he infringeth their privileges, seizeth and holdeth their strengths within the town by force, and doth them many other injuries."*

Wilkes adds *"for my own part I do hold Sir William Standley to be a wise and discreet gentleman,"* but he fears the complaints which have been made will "draw hatred upon our nation", wherefore he would urge Stanley to have a milder hand over the townsfolk.[4] Though Wilkes's letter of remonstrance to Stanley (9th December) has been printed before,[5] we must recall the main points. He recapitulates how the magistrates and burgesses of Deventer affirm that Stanley had "by violence wrested from them the keys of one of their gates":

> "that you assemble your garrison often in arms to fear and terrify them, that you have seized one of their forts; that the Irish soldiers do commit many extortions and exactions upon the inhabitants; that a soldier drew his sword upon a woman with child because he might not have what he listed . . :
>
> *"Whether any of these things be true or not, yourself doth best know . . for mine*

[1] Copy French 3 pp S P. Holland XI 38 Cal pp 241-2
[2] ½ p S P. Holland XI 46 Abs. Cal p. 246.
[3] Holog 1 p The Hague. 9 Dec S P H. XI 60 Cal. p 260
[4] Copy. 2 pp S P F. Archives XCI. p 5 Cal. p. 261
[5] In Motley's *"United Netherlands* II pp. 153-4 and is repr Cal S P F. XXI (II) 1927 pp 263-264, from S P F Arch. XCI. p. 10

own part I have always known you to be a gentleman of value, wisdom and judgment, and therefore should hardly believe any such thing to happen where you command"

For the honour of Her Majesty, the reputation of our nation, "and the love I bear to yourself," the people of Deventer "being of the religion, and well affected to his Excellency," ought not to be given any cause of discontent; especially in his absence and by a Governor of his selecting. Leicester did not allow even the Governors of the Cautionary Towns to possess the keys of the gates, which it was the privilege of the *civil* authorities to keep. Stanley's Commission was as Governor of the *soldiers;* it did not authorise him to "intermeddle" in municipal matters.

"You are to consider that we are not come into these countries for defence only, but for the defence of her Majesty and our own native country . if there shall follow any dangerous effect of any of your further proceeding, after this my friendly advice unto you, as I shall be heartily sorry for your sake, so shall I nevertheless be able to testify unto her Majesty that I have done my duty in admonishing you "

He hopes Stanley henceforth will "live there with the people in good terms of amity and love"; and he promises to supply the wants of the soldiers immediately, so that they will be less tempted to disorder.

The same 9th of December, Wilkes wrote to the Queen that already the country was feeling the lack of the supreme Governor, and that she should either send Leicester back as speedily as possible, or appoint some other person of quality and wisdom; the Council being too weak to redress disorders.[1]

Three days later, Sir John Norris reported to Lord Burghley from The Hague that Sir William Stanley would acknowledge no authority as superior to his own, and that Mr. Yorke, in command of the Zutphen forts, had written insolently to the Council.[2] A "Copy of R. Yorke's letter sent to the States 10 December stilo novo" (30 November, o.s.) in French, is in terms hostile to Norris. But nobody reading it would suspect any project of betraying "the fort of the Velue before Zutphen" whence it is dated. Yorke protests that Her Majesty's "miserable poor subjects" in the service of the States are now "dying of cold, yea more than two hundred since my coming . . . By my prayers and example I have persuaded the Captains and soldiers to have patience"; but as some of the troops have been called away without warning, this makes him suspect some "evil spirit" is seeking to bring in suspicions, "the foster-mothers of disorder." For his own part he is resolved to do his duty to Her Majesty and His Excellency; and if enemies attack him, it shall be the worse for them: *"if they make good war, I will make better; for neither by force nor by courtesy shall they vanquish me."*[3]

On Christmas Day 1586, Stanley was still in correspondence with Wilkes, to whom he wrote from Deventer, ". . . . *make trial of me when you will, you shall find it true and in good faith.* I crave you as news comes from England . . . .

[1] Copy 2½ pp SP F Archives XCI. p 11 Cal pp 264-5.
[2] Holog 3 pp Seal. S P.H XI 65 Cal. pp. 266-7.
[3] S P H. XI 47 French. 3 pp Cal· 246-7 Signed by Dutch as well as English officers.

acquaint me therewith, . . . money we have none, nor any other joy save this, that I merit Heaven with patience . . . . "[1]

The following day Stanley wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham, alluding to the dutiful service of his messenger Sir *Edward* Stanley (the same whom the General had knighted and pensioned for the capture of the Zutphen fort). His own predicament he thus describes:—

> "I am at this time driven to lay all my apparel to pawn . . for money to pay for meat and drink . . Were it not in respect of my duty to her Majesty, I could as well run my head into a stone wall as endure it.
>
> "The Captains that are here with me have not a penny to buy them meat and drink, but are fain to live upon bread and cheese The soldier hath lived and so doth still upon half a pound of cheese by the day; and when they fall sick as they needs must do for lack of some warm meat to nourish them, .neither myself hath money to relieve them. I thank God hitherto I have kept them together and I dare avouch there is not so sufficient a troop in these countries But they are now so discontented that I doubt I shall hardly keep them from running away . . "[2]

Wilkes, pitying these miseries, wrote on the 4th of January to Leicester and enclosed Stanley's letter; explaining that only after much importunity has he [Wilkes] obtained from the States enough to pay Stanley and these troops for "half a month." Wilkes supposed that his letters to Leicester have been much delayed by the contrary winds. What threatens *"the destruction of all"* is a rumour which has been spread *"that there is a peace in concluding underhand with the Spaniards."* Many think this a device of the enemy; and a petition has been made to the Council to "prohibit upon pain of severe punishment" any further speech as to this pretended Treaty.[3]

Wilkes had not an inkling that the "underhand" peace overtures were those of Queen Elizabeth herself!

Not many months previously, Sir William Stanley had received, from one of Leicester's "well-willers," complimentary verses on his "courage great and counsale good." This was in company with tributes to such incarnations of Chivalry as Sir Philip Sidney and Sir William Russell, and such fiery spirits as Sir John Norris, from one who sang praises also of Ambrose Earl of Warwick and *"Illustrissimum Heroem D. Robertum Dudleum Comitem Leicestraie . . . Dominum meum unice . . . ."*[4]

Whether Stanley corrupted Yorke, or Yorke beguiled Stanley, is uncertain; but the duplicity of Yorke, as of Stanley, can be seen from his own writings. Having made use of no less a personage than the General of the Horse to take

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[1] Copy ½ p S P Holland XI 86 Cal 287

[2] 1 p S P Holland XI 87 Cal 287-8 Cal p. 297 gives list of Prices of victuals in Flemish and English moneys Fish is cheaper than in England, but beef and mutton relatively dearer Dutch beer is 2d a pot, and English beer 4d because of the duty on it ("impost")

[3] Copy 2½ pp S P.F Arch XCI. p 28 Cal· pp 307-8

[4] *"Marte et arte"* Geoffrey Whitney, *"A Choice of Emblemes"* Leyden 1586. H. Green's subscription reprint, 1866, p 195. There is also another "Embleme" dedicated to Stanley.

Walsingham a letter at the end of 1586, he wrote again in January by Sir Edward Stanley. Though now when we read Yorke's effusion, retrospectively, it is easy to say that he protests too much, when Walsingham received these assurances there was no apparent reason for doubting them.[1]

"Right Honourable

"I know your Honour finds it strange that I have not written since my last by my Lord of Essex" (Various excuses for "my slowness till now".)

"By my last I discoursed of all that passed by his Excellency since his last entering into the field," and, on his departure, of his taking such order as he and the States found best "for the health of these parts" which order is already being undone

His Excellency "now in the end used me very well to my great contentment" But since then there have been "very cross and undirect proceedings" [from the States] "which I always looked for:" wherefore "I and others" would have preferred to return to England with his Excellency. For further information Mr Secretary is referred to "this bearer Sir Edward 'Standley', a discreet brave gentleman."

"His Excellency desired me to finish a Discourse for him which I began the which I send first to your Honour to peruse, add or take away, and then to cause it to be sealed up" and delivered to Leicester with a letter enclosed Apologies ensue lest the discourse be imperfect If so, it shall be made "plainer"

"For occurrences here, the town of Zutphen is marvellous poor of victuals, but there they speak all of peace, and that the Duke of 'Arschott', [Count] 'Mansfield', and 'Champaignie' are to depart for England.

"The people here give it forth [that] if the Queens Majesty please not to embrace them, they know other means The Prince of Parma is still at Bruxelles, and makes great preparations of finances and ammunitions"[2]

wherefore Yorke recommends that Leicester be asked to write advising the States to furnish the frontiers with three months munitions; as he dreads what may happen "if our forces be not ready" when the enemy enters the field.

Anticipating that "our resolutions and preparations" from "Inglond" may be "something tardifs," he has taken great pains with his own charge (which he calls "a badde place,"). He spent "all the monie I had." Of the victuals and pay "his Ex^{cie} had ordayned for me I can receive nothing. . . ."

"I dare not write your Honour all, lest you would think it impossible I humbly beseech your Honour that if her Majesty enters not into the cause, that you will please to send for me home[3] I humbled my mind to please her Ma^{tie}, your Honour, *and the dead*,[4] and now am I content to humble myself lower to please myself, for now since his Ex^{cies} departure, here is no form of proceedings neither honourable nor honestly"

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[1] Signed Not holog S P Holland XII 7 Endorsed "7 Januarie 1586" (7) "From Captain Yorke" Addressed "To the Right Honourable my singular good M(aste)r S^{r} Frauncis Walsingham Principal Sec^{ry} to her Ma^{tie} A portion was printed by Motley, "*United Netherlands* II 157-8, and an abstract appeared in 1927 in Cal S P F XXI (II). A new transcript (5½ folio pp from 2 pp of close writing) has been made for E E from original Spelling modernised, and some repetitions omitted with asterisks

[2] "aminissions"

[3] Sir William Stanley had made the same request, which looks as if the wording of these letters had been discussed between them

[4] Query, Sir Philip Sidney.

This, from one who was then secretly negotiating with the enemy, is followed by more apologies:

"thus craving pardon for this and myself, who resteth more at your honours humble devotion than [any] man in the world, so I, most humble, take my leave, with kissing your honourable and virtuous hands."

The form of salutation was Spanish. (In a grammar book with dialogues between a Spaniard and an Englishman, the Englishman remarks that though his Spanish acquaintance says "I humbly kiss your hands," he would be much offended if a hand were held out for him to make good his word. The Spaniard answers that an Englishman would be most ignorant if he expected any literal application of a figurative expression of good will.[1]) Though we now can see in Yorke's words some indication of the company he had been keeping, Sir Francis Walsingham did not.

" . praying to the Almighty to have your Honour in His protection, with increase of honour, healthful and happy days to you and yours" "From the Forte of the Velou beffore Zutphen this vij Januarie, 1586"

Promising to deserve "good grace and favour," he adds,

"From Germany we have news that the town of Ansborch should be surprised by the papists, but by the last are in doubt There is great levy of soldiers, to what end is not as yet known

"Your honours most affectionated servant to do you service,

ROUPE YORKE"

From this reference to "papists" nobody could have inferred that Yorke was Catholic himself; for "papists" were only so called by their foes.[2] Moreover, Yorke's military career had begun, nearly fifteen years before, with voluntary service on behalf of the Dutch Protestant rebels against the King of Spain. When, after Queen Elizabeth dismissed the Spanish Ambassador, in December 1571, she allowed a small force of Foot to cross to the Low Countries, among them was Rowland Yorke. Landing on the 26th July 1572, he had shown his mettle two days later, when, taken by surprise "at a Litle villadge called Nisckirk one Englyshe myle from Tregose," Her Majesty's men had behaved with much presence of mind. What ensues is from an unpublished Report, formerly among the papers of Walter, Earl of Essex. Written immediately after the event, it shows in what school Yorke was trained:—

"Three or four hundred Spanyardes . had ambushed themselves so closely on eyther

[1] Conversation (English and Spanish) in Minsheu's 1599 edition of Percivale and Doyley's *"Bibliotheca Hispanica"* of 1591, title page of which will be reproduced in chronological place.

[2] There is, however, on July 16, 1586, a note from Dr Doyley to Lord Burghley as to the discontent of certain Dutch gentlemen against Rowland Yorke, "that since, Hemart, their own friend countryman and ally was executed for negligence and cowardice, they find it strange that he a stranger," who had been guilty of "treason," "having served against them . . *frequenting the mass with his beads,* should be in credit" (Holog· S P H IX. 26 Cal 87) Burghley may well have thought that those who complained of the sentence on the outrageous traitor Hemert, were not persons whose opinions were of value especially as they were also "finding it strange" that Sir William Pelham the Marshal had a guard of 100 "billmen, musketeers and horsemen gallantly furnished," and said "they wanted no Marshal until they were in camp"

syde of a Straight by the which we must passe, that they were undescryed of our Scowtes and so setting upon our men at unawares they inforced them somewhat to retyre."

But "under the Leadinge of Captayne Thomas Morgan" some "gent[lemen] to the number of 12 with sordes and Targettes, accompanyed with some Halbartes," charged the enemy "so valiantly as that they drove the Spanyardes into the town of Tregose [Tergoes], followinge them to the gates, . . a long Englyshe myle distant" from the place where the skirmysh started There were slayne of the Spanyardes 30 great and brave Soldiers, besydes two or three of the galantest Captaynes amongst them, there were hurt of them about 50.

"There were slayne of Thenglyshe 12 or 14, besydes 40 hurte of which last the principal persons were Captayn Stanton *and Mr Roland Yorke*"[1]

Nine years later, 1581, Yorke was described as "a Gentleman" who "hath layd for his name perpetually a foundation of high and true nobilitie, . . . Rowland Yorke . . . . bolde of courage, provident in direction, industrious in labour, and quick in execution."[2]

It is not the words of any third person, but Yorke's own letters which reveal a degree of cold-blooded duplicity equalled only by that of Stanley.

The miserable condition of the soldiers, whether in Zutphen forts or Deventer, was no fiction. Wilkes on the 12th of January wrote from The Hague to Burghley that *"the like poverty and want hath hardly been seen in any Army of so great a monarch as her Majesty is"*; and that this is *"no little dishonour" to* England.[3] To Walsingham on the same day, when forwarding the accounts, Wilkes remarked, "It will appear that the charge for this one years war, comprising her Majesty's succours, hath cost in ready money and debt above £560,000 sterling. *I fear it will greatly terrify her Majesty to behold it"* . .

Walsingham will do a laudable deed if he persuade the Queen to send over money for her Army, which is in desperate case for lack of apparel and meat, and in far worse plight than the English in the pay of the States, who though they served long without money have now received a month's pay. whereas few of the Companies in Her Majesty's pay have received anything since the beginning of September, "whereby they are constrained to commit many insolencies . . . "[4]

The abstract of costs was forwarded by Wilkes also to Leicester, repeating that

[1] MS (beginning with the landing "XXVI of July,") *"Extract of the newes wryten from flushinge the 13 of August 1572"* Unpublished Longleat Devereux MSS Vol II ff 7-9

[2] *"The Castle, or picture of pollicy, shewing forth the face, body and partes of a commonwealth, the duety, quality, profession of a perfect and absolute Souldiar, the martial feates encounters and skirmishes lately done by our English nation, vnder the conduct of the most noble and famous Gentleman M Iohn Noris Generall of the Army of the states in Freisland The names of many worthy and famous Gentlemen which liue and hauve this present yeare 1580 ended theyr liues in that Land most honorably Handled in manner of a Dialogue betwixt Gefferay Gates, and William Blandy Souldiars Faber est quisque fortunae suae Anno 1581 At London Printed by Iohn Daye, dwelling ouer Aldersgate" BL quarto p 26 (BM No G10373 and 714 b.17)*

[3] 2 pp S.P H XII 16. and Arch XCI p 31. Cal 313-4.

[4] Copy 1½ p Ib XCI p 35. Cal: 315

if the Queen neither would allow His Excellency to return nor send some other in his place, these Provinces must fall to utter ruin.[1]

Meanwhile Sir William Stanley had defended himself hotly against Wilkes's admonitions.[2] He denied having received any complaints of extortion or exactions, or "drawing of swords"; and protested that his possessing himself of the keys of one gate had been for the better security of the town.

"*I would be the most sorriest man that lives*" if "*by my negligence the place should be lost I assure you that her Majesty hath not a better servant nor a more faithful in these parts, the which I have and will prove with my flesh and blood, although I know there be divers flying reports spread by my enemies which are come to my ears, but I doubt not my virtue and truth will prove them calumniators* So good Mr Wilkes I pray you consider gravely . . and advertise into England soundly"

In a P.S. on the shortage of provisions he complains that fifty pounds and seventy pounds are all the money he has received in five months: "*but yet, God willing, I will never fail my promise to his Excellency, whatever I endure, it is for her Majesty's service and for the love I bear him*"

To his "good friend" Sir John Norris he was equally emphatic, as "*ready for her Majesty's service to discharge all honourable actions,*" amongst which he best appreciates the charge which His Excellency has been pleased to entrust to him.[3] (The letter for Wilkes he addressed to Norris, and that for Norris to Wilkes; whether purposely to let each see that he had vindicated himself to the other, or whether by accident who can tell?)

As the Dutch complaints continued, Wilkes from The Hague on the 17th of December, wrote to warn Stanley of a statement by the Council of Gueldres, that "a lieutenant of some English Company at Deventer hath had access to the enemy at Zutphen, and that *the Irish of your regiment (being for the most part Papists, as it is supposed) do enter into league with the papists of Deventer, whereby are grown some conceits that there is intelligence with the enemy to betray the town of Deventer Albeit I trust there is no such matter,*" considering the importance of the town, and Stanley's own reputation, "to prevent such mischievous attempts as might be made to surprise the town," Wilkes, sending him a copy of the accusatory letter, advises him "to enquire carefully of the Lieutenant"; and if there has been any traitorous dealing, punish him at once. And "*have a careful eye to the Irish people, that they neither deceive you nor offend those that are well affected within the town.*"[4]

Wilkes repeated by letter to Leicester both the magistrates' accusation and Stanley's answer.[5] The frequent assumption that Leicester out of "incapacity"

[1] Copy 1 p Ib 340 and Cal p 314 In extenso, *Cabala*, Pt. II

[2] Dec 14 Docketed by Wilkes "Sir William Stanley's indiscretion Answer to mine of advice to carry himself wisely at Deventer" Orig S P Holland XI 70 Cal XXI (II) pp 271-2 with only a few omissions Previously printed by Motley "*United Netherlands*" II, 154-5 "but not with complete accuracy," remarks editor of Calendar

[3] Ib X. 71 Cal· pp. 272-3.

[4] Copy I p S P F. Arch XCI p 20 Col 278-9

[5] Ref· in his later letter of 18 Dec Ib· p 23 and Ib p 281

and "slothfulness" appointed a known favourer of Spain to such a position of trust, is an amazing mistake, for nobody English then suspected Stanley, who sent Wilkes a yet more indignant letter. Wilkes humbly apologised for criticising him:

> "I protest before God I had no purpose to hurt or offend you, and considering the advice I gave was private between you and me, and proceeding of my good love towards you, meseemeth you have done me a great deal of wrong, not only to take it in so evil part, but to charge me by your letter in scoffing manner with lack of discretion and want of good meaning toward you . . "

He deplores to Stanley that it was not possible to help him sooner with money:

> "howbeit there is now at the last coming to you some pay. You are to consider that neither I nor any of our nation here . . . hath these men's purses at commandment, and therefore whoever will resolve to serve here must be contented to lack where it is not to be had."[1]

Again Wilkes deplored to Leicester, whom the Queen was still detaining in England, the troubles increasing among the States, for lack of their Governor. The promised money for the troops comes in so slowly that the soldiers are in acute misery, "especially at the fort before Zutphen, where they have died extremely with hunger and cold."[2]

On the 28th of January (18th O.S.) the Council of State from The Hague reported to Leicester that Sir William Stanley had spoken disrespectfully of Sir John Norris and Mr. Wilkes, and had been discourteous to the States' agent. They fear that if good order is not taken in Deventer some disaster will ensue.[3]

On the 19th of January,—O.S.,—Wilkes had sent Walsingham further account of the miseries arising from lack of the Governor General. The opening paragraph of his letter has long been in print;[4] but the remainder describing the behaviour of Stanley and Yorke has not yet been incorporated in any general history.[5] "*. . . Stanley . . . I always took to be a gentleman of good judgment,*" but his conduct had become such that the Council sent an express messenger to Leicester to request that speedy order be given to remove him from Deventer; where he was countenancing "notorious and dangerous papists," and offending the magistrates. Not content with forty pounds sterling a month allowed him by the States, he had extracted more "perforce from the Commissioner sent lately thither"; and was demanding "more than was allowed to Sir John Norris or to Count Hohenlohe, or to any Earl that serveth in these countries." He was despoiling the poor villagers in the district; and because of these and other insolencies the burgesses and people had grown to hate the government of Englishmen: "*I know your honour will find this information very strange considering the opinion you have conceived of the wisdom and discretion of Standley . . . .*"

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[1] 18 Decr. The Hague Copy 1¼ pp S P F Arch· XCI p 21 Cal pp 280-1

[2] Copy ½ p Ib· p 23 and Cal· p 281

[3] Fr 2 pp S.P F Arch XC. p. 130 Brief abs· Cal XXI (II) pp 318-9 Published in "*Bijdragen van het Hist: Genootschap,*" Utrecht. Pt. XXXIV. p 136.

[4] Motley U N. II p 174

[5] First printed 1927, Cal· S P.F. XXI (II) pp 322-4: from Copy 4¼ pp. S P F Arch. XCI. p. 41.

Before this could reach England, Deventer was surrendered by Stanley into the hands of the Governor of Zutphen, Colonel Tassis. Norris on the 20th of January, at Utrecht, could hardly believe such news. If the report be true, he exclaims, "*I must account that all Overyssel is lost and the country in great danger . . . .*"[1]

On the 21st, Norris confirms to Burghley "the traitrous delivery of Deventer and the forts before Zutphen by Sir William Stanley, and Rowland Yorke, effected the 19th of this present . . . ."

> "Sir William Stanley, 3 days before the delivery of the town, did possess himself of a great tower joining to one of the gates wherein he placed all his wild Irish, keeping from that day forward his men continually in arms, till the same 19 at 5 of the clock in the morning, he came to the town house, whence he took the keys of the gates by force, and opening the gate of the tower himself, with 5 or 6 more, went out on horseback about twenty score [yards?] off, where he found Taxis, with 700 Foot . . . and some Horse Presently he brought them in and did put them in battle in the market place, and then disarmed all the inhabitants
>
> "Sir Edmond Cary's Company, who were not made acquainted with the treason, refused to serve the traitor, and so were suffered to come away. Some few of the Protestants of the town saved them[selves] over the walls" The rest are now in the hands of "a most cruel enemy The whole country remains wonderfully amazed . . . not knowing who to trust "[2]

Though Norris adds that Stanley was suspected before,—but that the "large commission" given him by Leicester made it difficult for others to deal with him,—if we look back over Wilkes's letters, we shall see that though he and Norris had been perplexed by Stanley's conduct, they had no suspicion of treachery. Their complaint had been of Stanley's arrogance, but never had they impugned his loyalty.

Yet Wilkes, when announcing to Leicester, on the 24th January, that Deventer "upon Friday morning last, somewhat before day . . . . was most traitrously delivered to the enemy by Sir William Standley, as likewise the forts before Zutphen by Rowland Yorke," adds, "it is a thing that hath long been feared here by the manner of his government and the continued intelligence between him and the enemy." Wilkes's own previous writings show him as having believed that any such treacherous intercourse must have been without Stanley's knowledge; if indeed it had taken place at all.

Wilkes describes how Colonel "Taxis" rode in to Deventer with "300 Horse and 600 'Lands knights'; and marched to the market place, wherein Standley received him with great joy and courtesy; and after they had walked awhile together, and disposed of certain Corps du Garde of the Lands knights and Irish at every *carfours* of the town and at the gates" and bulwarks, "*Standley with the whole regiment took their oaths to the King of Spain;* (except Sir Edmund Carie and his men)."

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[1] "At Hague the 12th at no[o]n" ½ p S P. Holland, XII. 29 Cal. p 326

[2] Orig: 3 pp. S.P H XII 31. Cal. 326-7.

". . . . It would grieve your Lordship to understand the conceits of the people . . . . and the dishonour and discredit grown to our nation thereby. Rowland Yorke is said to be the practiser for this treason." As soon as the Spaniards entered the gates of Deventer, he came to enquire if they were in possession; and then "galloped to the fort" (of Zutphen) "where he made the Companies to . . . . forsake the place."

The Dutch reminded Wilkes that Stanley had previously declared he "would be commanded by none but your Lordship or her Majesty." ". . . . I could but assure them that your Lordship therein meant nothing but for their good. *As for Standley, I knew her Majesty herself reposed as great trust in him as in any gentleman of his sort in her realm.*"

But they also blamed Leicester's choice of Rowland Yorke, because when Yorke had some "perfidious dealing" previously with them, His Excellency had answered for him "as for your brother."[1]

Wilkes wrote to Burghley, "*sithence Sir William Standley hath failed (whom all men thought so loyal) I know not whom we may trust*"

"The loss . doth endanger Overyssel, and Utrecht to the very gates the enemy is already coming into the field, and we not able to draw out against him above 3000 men at the uttermost, and leave the towns provided" The Spaniard "groweth strong in all places, and prevaileth against us daily by practice and corruption, and the State here, *through the absence of a Governor, so disunited and distracted,* that unless it may please her Majesty to send over a Governor, and enlarge the succours with speed, it is like all will run to ruin . "[2]

To the Lord General, Wilkes reported also,[3] and to Vice Chamberlain Sir Christopher Hatton he deplored how "these two men" Stanley and Yorke, "to requite my Lord for the honour and favour he did them, have sold and delivered over to the enemy the town of Deventer and the forts before Zutphen: *being two of the principal parts of his Lordships endeavours and victory here . . . .*"[4]

To Burghley, Sir John Norris relates that a month before the betrayal of Deventer, Stanley had sent some of his Irishmen secretly into Ireland, possibly with a view to preparing for a Spanish landing. "But if it shall please her Majesty to continue her countenance to these countries," adds Norris, "*I dare venture my life to give the King of Spain so much to do here that he should have little means to invade any other place.*"[5]

Whatever Norris might say in private, his letter to the Dutch Council of State was much the reverse of humble: He feels with them in their concern at the loss

[1] Copy 2½ pp S P F Arch XCI p 46 Cal pp 331-2
[2] The Hague 24 Jan 1586-7 1 p P S and Seal Holland XII 38 Cal pp 332-3
[3] Letter not found.
[4] Copy ⅓ p S P F. Arch XCI p 49 Cal 333.
[5] 1 p S P Holland XII 32 Cal 327-8

of Deventer, but assures himself they will not draw conclusions derogatory to Her Majesty and the English who are their sole support against the Spaniards.

More truly than tactfully he reminds them that Stanley's offence is not without Dutch precedent, various nobles having betrayed their compatriots and several Governors surrendered their charges to the enemy; and a "countless number" of Colonels and soldiers had done the same.

Urging the encouragement of good relations between soldiers and citizens, he considers the people are showing a right spirit in that they blame the two traitors and not the whole English nation; and he ends by advising them as to the disposition of troops to confront the enemy.[1]

The States General addressed a remonstrance to Queen Elizabeth. Harking back to the loss of Antwerp, "not in despair but in deep regret" at having forfeited at one stroke the gain of last year, the States request her to be more liberal to them in their dire need: so that this misfortune at Deventer may be redeemed, and their just quarrel be supported.[2]

The next day by proclamation they put a price on the heads of William Stanley and Rowland Yorke, offering "1000 pounds" or "40 kronen" for their persons, alive or dead. But despite the treason of these officers, no one was allowed to speak slanderously of Her Majesty and the English, to whom, under God, the Provinces owed their preservation.[3]

Actually there had already been much evil speaking, less against Queen Elizabeth than against her General Sir John Conway from "Middelborrow" (28th January) had written to Walsingham that "the fault here is now wholly laid upon the Earl of Leicester, by placing one whom he knew to be a papist and the other we knew to be a traitor before and not worthy of trust . . . ."[4] But neither the Queen, Leicester, Burghley, Wilkes, nor Walsingham knew Stanley to be a "Papist"; we have seen how he had been asking Walsingham to arrange for him to serve under the Huguenot King of Navarre, the better to disguise his intentions.[5]

In a letter to Burghley, Conway describes how the Governor of Zutphen made a stand in the market place, sounded a drum, and by proclamation ordered "that all burghers should thither repair, and in the State house surrender all their arms; Sir William Stanley did fetch some of the townsmen to come and welcome Taxis

[1] Utrecht 5 Feb Copy 1½ pp French S P F Arch XC p 146 Abs Cal. p 337

[2] The Hague, 6 Feb 1587 Fr 1½ p Holland XII 48 and S P F Arch XC p 163 and Abst in English, Holland XII 49

[3] Copy Dutch 1¼ pp Holland XII 50 Abs Cal p 340 Published in extenso in Dutch by Dr N Japikse *"Resolutien der Staaten Generaal"* Vol V p 508 Now first published in English, E E App pp 379-380

[4] S P Holland XII 51 Cal pp 340-1 says "much damaged" [5] Ante, p 359

[the Governor of Zutphen.] With weeping tears and sad countenances they gave him reverence, seeing themselves so betrayed." Whereon Stanley wept with them, and protested with vehement oaths that he had not done this out of covetousness, but only "for the discharge of his conscience." Sir John Conway adds dryly that the pay from Spain was "said to be £13,000."[1]

Further news was in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham from Henry Kirkman:

> ' . . It was mine evil hap eight days before" [the betrayal of Deventer] "to be taken prisoner, serving on horseback, under His Excellency's troop, where eight of Mr. Dormer's Company was killed; two most grievously wounded, myself most wonderfully 'scaped with a little shot in the face, with loss of my two horses, and 300 dollars ransom; carried to Sutfield [Zutphen,] where I was most honourably used of Taxis the Governor . ."
>
> The next news was of the loss of Deventer.
>
> " . Within four days after, Taxis sent for me to Deventer, where Stanley had persuaded him to stay me, with [offers of] great advancement of preferment [saying] *the King of Spain had made very many ships for Ireland, Stanley to be the General thereof, myself for that he knew me to be a seaman I should make mine own preferment To the which I answered, I would rather serve my Prince in loyalty a beggar than to be known and reported a rich traitor with breach of conscience"*
>
> To this rebuke Stanley retorted, "Conscience, . . that is the principal of mine enlargement, for before (said he) have I served the Devil, and now I serve God, with divers other traitrous allegations . . . ."[2]

By the martial code of honour there is nothing that can be said in defence of an officer who accepts the governorship of a town, and then sells it. But just as in 1844 the editor of *"The Leycester Correspondence"* sentimentalised over what he termed failure of "nerve" on the part of Van Hemert at Grave in 1586,—and appeared unable to see anything disgraceful in Hemert surrendering that newly victualled stronghold immediately after swearing to hold it for six months,—so in 1851 another editor alluded to Stanley as "this unfortunate Knight," and cast all the blame upon Leicester; to whom he stated the previous English capture of the Zutphen forts to have been a considerable "surprise." But it was notorious that "his Excellency's own selfe" had insisted on the escalade.[3] And as it was one of Stanley's Company, and of his name and kin, who had been knighted at the

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[1] 3½ pp with more particulars S P Holland, XII 52 Cal pp 341-2 A later letter (from Dr Thomas Doyley, apparently to Walsingham) Utretcht, 25 March, 1587, encloses copies of Stanley's letters to Sir John Norris, from which it is clear that there is no ground for the charge that it was because of a grievance against Norris that he "played that traitrous part" Other letters are enclosed with further details Stanley's new device on his ensign was "the Bourgognion cross" and a crucifix, and in Spanish the words "For God, King, and Country" By this later report, "his reward is 3000 crowns in ready money and 1,500 pistolets pension in Naples Rowland Yorke is gone into Spain" (S P H XIII 117 2 pp and Cal 420-1)

[2] Middelburg 22 March 1 p S P H XIII 115 Cal. pp 418-9 Editor of Cal (p. 419) adds that Motley, U N II. 165, "gives an account of the interview with Taxis (in *oratio recta*) but erroneously gives the captain's name as Henchman, and makes other mistakes, substituting 'brave man' for 'sea man'; beginning Stanley's speech with 'Continue so' instead of 'Conscience'; and stating that 'Henchman' was still in captivity etc."

[3] *"A Briefe Report,"* etc 1587, E.E (ante) pp 229-231

fort by Leicester for victorious gallantry, the name of Stanley was then in specially good repute.[1]

In a list of "*The names of those English companyes that remayne at the state paye, ratefied by my Lo[rd] before his going over*" (to England) the three firs names are, "The Lo(rd) Audley. S[r] William Stanley. S[r] Edward Stanley."[2]

In Leicester's "*Lawes and Ordinances . . . . meete and fitte to be observed by all such as shall serve her Majestie under him . . . and therefore to be published and notified to the whole Armie,*"[3] after describing as punishable by "death with torments" the crime of concealing treason or conspiracy, Item 9 specifies, "*No man shall have speech or conference, deliver or receive letters to or from the enemie, ... either secretly or openly without manifesting the same presently unto the Generall or Marshall, or having former authorities so to doe . . . .*" Penalty for disobedience, death. And clause 12, No man "appointed to watch or warde" may "depart the place." Penalty, death.

> "*No man shall give up or deliver unto the enemies any place left in his charge or keeping, upon paine of death.*
>
> *If any man flie to the enemie, or be taken upon his departure towards them, he shall suffer death.*"[4]

But it was an English pen which "At Rome the 23 of April 1587," St. George's Day, made the mistake of trying to defend on theological grounds a sort of treachery which the martial codes of all nations condemn. This tract—which did far-reaching harm to the English Catholic cause,—was named

> "*The Copie of a Letter written by M Doctor Allen Concerning the Yealding up, of the Citie of Dauentrie, unto his Catholicke Majestie by Sir William Stanley Knight*
>
> *Wherein is shewed both how lawful, honorable, and necessarie that action was and also that al others especiallie those of the English Nation, that detayne anie townes, or*

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[1] Confusion is of later date In a fervently eulogistic volume of "*Memoirs of The Ancient and Honourable House of Stanley from the Conquest to the year 1741*," published in Manchester, 1769 Sir Edward and Sir William Stanley are rolled into one (pp 52-53)

> "Edward Stanley was a Gentleman of the Army in the Service of Queen Elizabeth, under the Command of the brave Earl of Leicester, in Holland, where at the Siege of Zutphen he acquired great Reputation by a most uncommon action in the attack of a fort of the said town" (There follow fantastic details) "for which the Earl of Leicester Knighted him and gave him Forty Pounds in Hand, and a Yearly Pension of one Hundred Marks during his life But . who could imagine that so gallant a Man, and so well rewarded as he was could forget his duty to his Sovereign, and take up Arms against her in Favour of Spain, whither he was obliged to fly, and die in Exile and Disgrace, either not knowing or forgetting the Spanish Proverb, which they verified in him by Slight and Contempt, to wit that they love the Treason, but hate the Traytor"

Rather "who could imagine" that historian of the House of Stanley, professing to have derived his information from Documents, and correcting some of "Mr Cambden's errors," could have imputed to Sir Edward Stanley the treachery of Sir William!

[2] S P Holland XI 25

[3] B M. C 33 b 1 first reprinted E E, pp 27-31, ante.

[4] Clauses 49 and 50.

other places in the lowe Countries, from the King Catholike, are bound, upon paine of Damnation, to do the like

Before which is also prefixed a gentleman's letter that geue occasion of this discourse

Matt 22 *Reddite ergo quae sunt Caesaris, Caesari* *Render therefore the things that are Caesars, to Caesar*

Imprinted at Antuarpe, by Joachim Trognaesius, Anno 1587"[1]

The 19th century editor who reprinted this, held up as "an example of one unfaithful both to the Queen and the States," not Stanley, but Leicester; whom he further rebuked for a "surprising credulity," in that he had "reckoned upon the complete fidelity of those who served under himself."[2]

(It would have been much more "surprising" had the General distrusted Stanley, after seeing his vigorous action against the Spaniards at Doesburg, and that on the morning of the 22nd of September 1586, when Sir Philip Sidney as a Horseman came by his fatal wound, Sir William Stanley was one of the officers "wounded on foot.")[3]

Matters were not improved by the apology offered on Stanley's behalf from the pen of Dr. William Allen, who drew an annuity from the King of Spain as a Professor of Divinity abroad, and was proportionately unwelcome to such of his own countrymen as had set their faces against Spain.

In 1581, in his "*Apologie,*" Dr. Allen had described Queen Elizabeth's reign as "*most glorious and renowned for the world abrode, and most secure and happie to the subjects at home, had it not been contaminated by the fatal calamities of alteration in religion.*" This "*Apologie*" has given rise to misunderstanding of Allen's political principles; because in it he denied any "*conspiracy against our Prince and countrie,*" ignoring the Northern Rising. Despite the Bull and Declaration of 1569-70 against "Elizabeth the pretended Queen of England," Allen in 1581 still called her "the Queene our Sovereigne."[4]

This was an inconsistency in any ecclesiastic vowing fealty to Rome; for the English Catholics were so placed that they either had to range themselves on the side of the intended foreign conqueror of the country, or disobey the Pope who

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[1] B M G 11910

[2] Intro p XXI "*Cardinal Allen's Defence of Sir William Stanley's Surrender of Deventer January 29, 1586-7 Edited by Thomas Heywood Esq^re, F S A Printed for the Chetham Society MDCCCLI*" 99 pp of Introduction in large print (embodying many errors), and 33 pp of Allen's text in small print The modern title is a misnomer, it was "Mr Doctor Allen" not yet elected Cardinal, who undertook the hopeless task of advocate for Stanley

From Milan last January, 1586-7 Captain Jacopo de Pissa wrote to S V (for Sir F Walsingham) "Dr Alen although he has not succeeded in being a Cardinal, yet makes a brave show in *Rome* with his *coach* and *servants* and will not come hither as soon as was expected"

(Italian Italicised words in cypher, decoded by Thos Phelippes. Cal S P F XXI (I) p 191 (1927)

[3] Whetstone, "*Sir Phillip Sidney,*" &c (1587) And "*A Briefe Report*"

[4] "*An Apologie and true Declaration of the Institution and Endeavours of the two English colleges*" etc (the foreign Seminaries he had founded for English Catholics) B M. 1019. g 4; and G 19575

planned in this way to hasten the collapse of Elizabeth. Actually the anathem: of Pius V had aroused anew the old English abhorrence of foreign coercion.

Whatsoever remnants of English feeling had prompted Dr. Allen to tr persuasion in 1581 instead of denunciation, his whole case for Stanley in 1587 wa based upon obedience to the *"Bullae Pii Quinti. an[no] 1569" (70).*

> "All actes of justice within the realme, done by the Quenes authoritie ever since sh was by publike sentence of the Church and Sea Apostolike, . . declared an Heretike, an an enemie of God's Church, and for the same excommunicated, and deposed from all rega dignitee, as I say, ever sithence an 1570, *al is voide by the laws of God and man, s likewise no warre can be lawfully denounced or waged by her"*

That because of her "defection from the faith, or other enormities no tolerable," the "dutie of service" by her soldiers was no longer "allowable," wa an argument little likely to convince the Queen's defenders.

By Stature 1st Elizabeth, no foreign Potentate or "Bishop" was admitted t possess any jurisdiction over her subjects. To endeavour to regain this control b threats of damnation, supported by the power of Spain, was a policy which coul only have succeeded if the Spanish arms had been entirely victorious.

Dr. Allen's arguments, though a reversal of the martial code, were nevertheles based upon the wording of the *Sententia Declaratoria*: viz:

> *"We do deprive the same Elizabeth of her pretended title to the kingdon And we do command and interdict all and every Nobleman, Subjects, People and others that they presume not to obey her, or her monitions, Mandates an Laws And those which shall do the contrary (to our command) we do innodate wit the like sentence of Anathema"*[1]

But the editor says nothing as to the two English replies to Allen: One, licensec to Richard Jones on the 9th of April, was called *"A Short admonition uppon th shameful treason wherewith Sir William Stanley and Rowland Yorke have betraye and Delivered for money unto the Spanyardes the towne of Deventer and the Scon of Zutphen."*[2] Another, signed G.D., is entitled *"A Briefe Discoverie of Dr. Allen seditious drifts, contrived in a Pamphlet written by him, Concerning the yealdin up of the towne of Deuenter (in Ouerrissel) to the king of Spain, by Sir William Stanley. The contents whereof are particularly set down in the page following*

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[1] "Given at Rome, at St Peters, in the year of the Incarnation . 1569 . "(1570 n s) B M C 18 e 2 Vide E E Vol II, pp. 44—48

[2] This cannot be found. Not mentioned in Redgrave and Pollard's *Short Title Catalogue* nor i B.M Catalogue (Searched the latter under Stanley, Deventer, Yorke, Zutphen, Treason, Unite Provinces, Appendix, Netherlands, General Appendix, etc, etc)

Not in Bodleian; not at Guildhall Not in Hatfield House collection of Political Tracts No is this English tract to be found in Holland There is, however, in B M (597 e 30) *"Een cort exzinneringhe ende waeschouwinghe opt schendelyck verraedt daar met de Colonel Stanley end hopman forck de Stadt Deventer ende Schanse teghens Zutphen, den Spaengaerden om gel verraden engelvert hebben Johannes Van Euerdinghen"* Utrecht 1587 4to This was writte by a burgomaster of Utrecht, named Prouninck Van Deventer; and has been reprinted by Bo in *"Oosprongk der Nederlandsche Oorlogen,"* Vol II. (folio ed) p. 883.

(Quotations from Rev: 17. v. 3, Matth. 15. v. 6, Matth. 7. v. 15.) *"London Imprinted by J. W. for Francis Coldock, 1588" "Authorised under the Counsellors handes."*[1] A copy of this is among Lord Burghley's books; and we may infer it represents the official point of view.

In marked contrast to the vehement methods employed against Queen Elizabeth, "G.D.'s" manners are studiously self-possessed. When he finds Dr. Allen's deductions inconsistent with the premises, he calls this an "oversight." His reply is some 30,000 words; so it will suffice here to take the three main points: (1) From a military standpoint, to vindicate Stanley's conduct is impossible. (2) That Dr. Allen's criticisms against Lord Leicester's administration of the Low Countries are at variance with known and demonstrable facts. (3) That the Pope's dispensing of subjects from allegiance and soldiers from the age-long obligations of their profession, upsets human law and order and is "contrary to the Holy Scriptures." As to Stanley's giving up of Deventer,

> "there is none of them, nor anie soldier . . but knoweth that to yeild a Towne, Forte or holde wherewith a man is put in trust, . so long as there is within it sufficient meanes to defend it, yea though it were not defensible, yet to yield it without due summons is death by the Law of Armes"[2] Much more" is it inexcusable "to render a Towne freely, without either force or demand, or rather corruptly and traitorously to sell it for money . "[3]

Though Dr. Allen had rebuked Drake, and contrasted Lord Leicester and the Prince of Parma to Leicester's detriment, G. D. did not make any counter-attack on Parma: *"I speak not any way to the derogation of the Duke's honor, for I know him to be a worthy Prince and a famous Soldier."* But as to Leicester:

> "I hope your Catholic soldiers will confesse that for the small time he was in those countries, and the little meanes he had both there and elsewhere, he was neither idle nor spent his time and travell in vaine he shewed sufficiencie inough both in *his temperate, prudent, and politick government of the State, and managing of the militarie affairs, neither was he backward for his owne person . at any service in the field where either his counsell, presence, or help of hand was required They all know this to be true"*[4]

After a protest, borne out by independent testimonies of officers who had the means to judge of Leicester's merit as they partook of his services, "G. D." adds that "all the worlde may easily know the cause why the Earle of Leicester is above

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[1] Arber's Stat Regis Vol II p 230, for Anno 1588 "Master Coldok Entred for his copie A brief Discovery of Dr Allens Seditious Dryftes Authorised" &c 4to 128 pp and Summary of Contents 1 p Frontispiece St George slaying the dragon (B M 393 e 10) There was " a second or French edition, [of Allan's book] printed at Paris 1588 a third edition in Latin, printed at Cracow (at the Jesuits' press there?) 8vo 1588" Thos Heywood, p 1 Introd to *"Cardinal Allen's Defence,"* Chetham Soc· 1851.

[2] The death penalty for wrongfully surrendering a fortress or town had not only been carried out the previous year upon Baron Hemert after his betrayal of Grave to the Prince of Parma. Seven years prior to this there had been the case of "Franget, Governor of Fontarabia in . 1580, being found guilty of not making a proper defence against the Spaniards" Brought upon a scaffold" he was stripped of his armour, and his shield emblazoned with his arms was reversed, while the Heralds proclaimed him no longer fit to hold the title of nobility The legal penalty was death, but being old he was allowed to live *"The Analysis of Nobility"* Baron von Lowhen, London, 1754 Ch VIII *"How Nobility becomes forfeited"* p 296.

[3] pp 28-29 [4] pp. 46-47.

all men the most odious to Dr. Allen": namely because he is "one of the greatest and principall patrons" of the English Church.

Dr. Allen had taken as his text "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's." For him Deventer was Caesar's, and Caesar was Philip of Spain; wherefore Sir William Stanley in handing the town over to Spain was acting according to the Scriptures. Also, Dr. Allen argued that as England did not belong to Queen Elizabeth,—the Popes having refused to acknowledge her right, and having forbidden her subjects to obey her,—her Lieutenant-General's orders were invalid, and the duty of English military Governors henceforth was to yield to the King of Spain such cautionary towns as they held for Elizabeth.

This (says G.D.) could be answered on military law alone; but there were other reasons why the majority of Englishmen could not agree with Dr. Allen as to the Pope's right to release the Queen's subjects from their allegiance. The ensuing is the concentrated essence of the Elizabethan argument:

> "If the Pope have any authority to depose Princes, he must have it from God.
>
> "If he have it from God he must have it by some warrant" out of the "word" of God.
>
> "But no place of Scripture giveth him warrant to depose Princes . *God forbiddeth all men to speak evil of Princes . much more to hurt them in deed, and to deprive them of their Kingdoms* . . which the Pope seeketh to doe, and D. Allen maintaineth may lawfully be done.
>
> What God commandeth in one place in Scripture, he doth not countermand in another . Luke 1, Dan 2, 20, and V. cap. 4, 14 and 22. God (not the Pope) putteth downe and setteth up Kings.
>
> The ancient Fathers and Doctors of the Church confirme the supreme authoritie of Princes next immediately under God"

There follow quotations from Scriptures; and the deduction that *Princes even if "Hereticks, Turkes or Heathens" are still Princes,* and that the concern of the Pope should be with their souls, not their crowns. "The Greatest Prince" may be subject to spiritual admonition and moral appeal from the "meanest Minister"; but G.D. holds that neither the minister nor the Pope should claim to be *temporal* masters of the Princes:

> "Christ professed himself not to be a King of this world," and on earth he was willing to be subject to the law Whereas "The Pope presumeth himselfe not to be a subject . . but a superior . . ." which is to put "The Scholler above his Maister," and to make "The Vicars authoritie greater than his from whom he taketh all authoritie ."[1]

If this had been answered the reply would have been that the successors of St. Peter had authority to "bind or loose."

But the editor who in 1851 reprinted Dr. Allen's *"Letter"* of 1587, seemed

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[1] *"Tertul ad Scalpulam Idem in Apologetics"* and other citations p 60 These arguments are given supra as summarised in G D's marginal notes, pp. 54-76.

unaware that the claim of Pius V to dethrone Sovereigns was by no means endorsed by every Catholic Prince: the most notable exception being the Emperor, who "used sharp words" about the Pope to Queen Elizabeth's Ambassador, assuring him that having seen at Prague a copy of the Declaration he had severely rebuked the Nuncio for circulating it.[1] Likewise Philip II and his father, both in turn, when excommunicated, had resisted as firmly as Queen Elizabeth any attempt to curtail their sovereignty.

In the reply to Dr. Allen, the preliminary address to the Reader is not dated; but the peroration contains direct allusion to the intended attempt of Spain to subjugate England by the sword. Englishmen are bidden to fortify their minds and prepare to protect their Sovereign:

> "assuring our selves that fighting in so goodlie, so just, so honorable a quarrell, the successe cannot be but most happie, most prosperous, most glorious: that *if we defend our Countrey we shall remaine free and safe, if we overthrow our Enemies we shall abide victorious: if we die in this quarrell, we shall live eternally To which assurance of freedom, safety, victorie, and life, what comfort can be comparable?*"[2]

Such was the spirit in which a great number of Queen Elizabeth's subjects prepared to meet the "*warres made for the execution of his Holines Sentence, by the highe and mightie King Catholike of Spain.*" The phrase is Dr. Allen's,[3] when in 1588 he again was to urge the nobility and people of England to forsake the "*accursed excommunicate heretike*" Elizabeth, whom he described as "*the very shame of her sexe and princely name, the chiefe spectacle of sinne, and abomination of this our age . . .*"[4]

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[1] Ambas H Cobham to Sir Wm Cecil, from Spires, 17 Sep· 1570 Cal S P Foreign No 1267 p 339

[2] Finis p 128

[3] "*The Admonition,*" etc Dated "From my Lodginge in the Palace of St Peter at Rome this 28 April 1588" Signed "*The Cardinal*" (B M G 6067.) (Title page ensues under date)

[4] Op cit p liiii.

APPENDIX A

POLITICAL AND THEOLOGICAL TRACTS BY DR. WILLIAM ALLEN:

Published abroad between 1567 and 1592 now in the British Museum.

Thomas Heywood when editing in 1851 "*Cardinal Allen's Defence of Sir William Stanley's surrender of Deventer*," in a 99 page Introduction to 33 pages of text, asserted that the British Museum "*however rich in Ninevah marbles is very defective in books required by the student of history*"[1] A list of the original editions of Dr Allen's pamphlets preserved in the Museum is therefore now appended It will be found to include "*A Defense and Declaration of the Catholike Churchies Doctrine touching Purgatory*," which Heywood blamed the Museum for not possessing

Though the most important of Dr Allen's writings are quoted in the text of "*Elizabethan England*," and the circumstances in which they appeared are made plain, the ensuing short titles (1567-1592) arranged in chronological order should be useful The trouble is not that the British Museum lacks 16th century tracts, but that historians too seldom study them, or if reading on the one side or the other are unwilling to consider the opposite arguments

"*Elizabethan England*" by showing the principles of both sides, not in abstract but from their own mouths and pens, is breaking away from the established convention by which each historian is expected to select a "standpoint" and quote only such contemporary material as may garnish it But the historian, be he Catholic or Protestant, cannot himself fully understand what his co-religionists were battling against, unless he hears what their opponents had to say

All Protestants who mean to write Elizabethan history, biography, or essays, should acquaint themselves with Cardinal Allen's line of thought Every Catholic historian needs to become intimate with Lord Burghley, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Francis Drake and the Earl of Leicester, who were the chief preventers of the fulfilment of Allen's hope to become Archbishop of Canterbury, with such power to extirpate heretics as Cardinal Pole had wielded under King Philip II

Whether Allen's "*Admonition*" of 1588 was written by him or for him by another English priest is a question still disputed · but as it was signed by the "*Cardinal of England*," and circulated by his order, it counts as if he had composed it

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST

(1565) "*A Defense and Declaration of the Catholike Churchies Doctrine, touching Purgatory and Prayers for the soules departed*" (3925 de 1) (Modern edition of same, 1886 4257 f 4)

(1567) "*A treatise made in Defence of the lawful Power and authoritie of priesthod to remitte sinnes*," etc 692 a 42 Another copy G 19934

(1576) "*Gulielmi Alani . libri tres*" (4324 k 16)

(1581) "*An Apologie and true Declaration of the Institution and Endeavours of the two English colleges Mounts in Henalt*" (1019. g 4. Another copy *G* 19575)

(1582) "*A briefe Historie of the glorious Martyrdom of XII Reverend Priests*" (By W Allen) (4707 aa. 6) (Modern reprint from the "probably unique copy" 1908 · ed. Fr Pollen, S J)

[1] Op cit Chetham Soc · Vol 25, Introd p lxxiii (B.M R Ac. 8120/25)

(1583) *"Historia del glorioso martirio di sedici sacerdoti Tradotto di lingua Inglese in Italiana da uno del Collegio Inglese di Roma"* (4705 a 8)

(1584) Another edition

(1583) *Apologia G Alani pro Sacerdotibus Societatis Jesu"* (860 b 9)

(1584) *"A True Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholiques that suffer for their Faith,"* etc (By W A) (3938 aaa 45)

(1584?) *"Ad persecutores Anglos* "(ascribed to him in B M Cat) (39322 e 3)

(1587) *"The copie of a letter written by M Doctor A, concerning the yeelding up of the citie of Daventrie also a gentlemans letter that gave occasion of this discourse"* (G 11910) Lacks gentleman's letter, which is printed from a copy in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, in Chetham Soc Vol 25 (1851) *"Cardinal Allen's Defence of Sir William Stanley's Surrender of Deventer* (R Ac 8120/25)[1]

(1588) *"An Admonition to the nobility and people of England and Ireland concerning the present warres made for the execution of his Holines Sentence, by the high and mightie Kinge Catholike of Spain"* (G 60 67)

(1592) *"Biblia Sacra Sixti Quinti . jussu recognita"* (By M A Columna, W A etc) (466 d 5)

To these may be added,

"Copia d'una lettera scritta all illustriss Cardinal d'Inghilterra prima ch'egli fosse promoto al Cardinalato, con la risposta del medesmino tradotta del' Inglese in lingua Italiana Firenze 1588" 8vo Signed A R Translated by A Wisse (B M 8032 a 37)

Also

"Letters and Memorials of William, Cardinal Allen, Ed by the Fathers of the Congregation of the London Oratory" 1878 (B M 2210 f 2)[2] 2nd ed· 1882.

As to the last, biographers and editors usually confine themselves to such aspects of a case as they have undertaken to depict Whether omissions are deliberate or unconscious, it is equally necessary to supplement each modern work by matter from the opposite side If Protestants are offended that the Roman Catholic nominal Archbishop of Canterbury and "Cardinal of England" is now given so much space, especially in regard to his attempted defence of Stanley, 1587, they should notice that space is also given to the Answer to his arguments, which Answer his editor in 1851, who regarded the British Museum as so defective, had overlooked

If any Catholic readers consider the Answer too prominent in the present work, they should observe that whereas Dr Allen's tract was reprinted in extenso in 1851 by the Chetham Society, and is accessible in this reprint in American and Australian Libraries, the only means by which oversea students can at present see the Answer is through such quotations as are now first offered For understanding the England which foiled King Philip, some acquaintance with that Answer is desirable.

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[1] The 1851 title is misleading, for the tract in the orig is by "Doctor Allen" It was written in April, and the Pope's letter to King Philip II as to having made Dr Allen a Cardinal was not till the following August

[2] Further *"Correspondence of Cardinal Allen"* was published in 1911 in Catholic Record Society *"Miscell"* Vol VII pp 12-105· from Collect· M Stonyhurst· letters to and from him extracts from originals now lost, erstwhile in the English College at Rome Though headed as "Correspondence of Cardinal Allen" this selection only covers 1579-85 prior to his reception of a Cardinal's hat. The frontespiece of this Vol VII is the ¾ length portrait of Dr Allen in Cardinal's robes, now at the Benedictine Abbey, Woolhampton, formerly St Gregory's, Douai. Notes on portraits real and alleged, p 13 op. cit.

"AN EDICT AGAINST WILLIAM STANLEY AND ROWLAND YORKE":

February 9 (January 3) 1586-7.

This Edict, well known to Dutch historians, has been overlooked in England Apparently, in common with Stanley's own letters, it was unknown to the editor of Dr Allen's treatise, neither was he acquainted with the printed answer to Allen

The prolix language of the Council of Estate is fatiguing,—so the main points are now italicised [1] This is for students only, it is not necessary for the general reader.

AN EDICT
OFF PROSCRIPTION, AGAINST WILLIAM STANLEY AND ROULAND YORKE w^th^ an Inhibition against the Slaunderors of thEnglish Nacion

The Counsells of Estate of th' Vnited Provincies of the Lowe Contries in Commission neere vnto his Ex^cie^, send all those that shall see or heare these presents read, greating

Though it is so that *William Stanlye and Rouland yorke have allwayes received and enioyed manye and manifolde benefices credits and countenances of her Mat^ie^ of England of his Ex^cie^ and w^thall of all those of these vnited Provincies* Wherefore they ought w^th^all service and loyaltye towards her Mat^ie^ his Ex^cie^ lyke good subiects and servitors and also towards these provincies to be bound allwayes In all obedience thankefully to aknowledge and requite Not w^th^standing it is so That *thesaid William Stanlye having forgotten all honestie, dewtie, and loyalty w^ch^ he ought vnto her M^tie^ his Naturall Prince, his Ex^cie^ and also to these Provincies hath of late most traiterous and vilenouslye betrayd deliuered and yeuen ouer Into the hands of the king of Spayne the Towne of Deuenter w^th^ the good Cittiesens and Inhabitants of thesame w^ch^ ware committed vnto him as Gouuernor upon his othe and credit*

And also the forsayd yorke hath villenouslye deliuered the Schantce or fortes ouer against Zutphen, into the Power of the sayd king the getting whereof had cost his Ex^cie^ and other Lordes and Gentlemen so muche labor these Contries so muche monye and manye Gentlemen and stout soldiers their lyves so that it is not to be doubted but that God (when he seeth tyme) will lett his Just punishment come vpon suche forgetters of all honestie and wicked perJure that have so shamefullye deliuered his People into his Enemies hands

Not w^th^standing as God hath charged vs to further aswell the punishement of the wicked as to requyte and recompence the vertuous, So it is, that we w^th^ foreknowledge and aduise of Lordes of the generall Estates have *declared and declare by these presents the foresayd William Stanlye and Roeland yorke villeyn(s) and traitours to her Mat^ie^ their Naturall Prince to his Ex^cie^ and to all these vnited Provincies and therefore have Proscribed thesame* w^th^ all their complices followers and coadiutors to be abandoned and geven ouer, proscribe abandone and geve ouer by these presents to all men Declaring that *whoso will take opon him to bring thesaid two Chefe traitours a lyve or dead in these vnited Provincies, that he shall be rewarded w^th^ the somme off three thousand gilders w^ch^ shall be* presentlye thereupon told vnto him And if so be that anie suche person w^ch^ here to fore hadde committed anye thinge, thereby deserving death or boddelye correction, will take the same In hand, yt shall be wholye forgeven him as we forgeve thesame by these presents for now and euer And though it be sufficiently knowen to all men

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[1] On Feb· 7 n s order was given for drawing up of this Edict (S P H XII 50) It was issued two days later, 9 Feb (30 January o s) Ib 57 English, and 57^b^ Dutch version The Dutch has been printed by Bor, lib XXII, f 21) and folio ed II p. 882 The English is now first published in extenso Only the MS is in P R O, docketed in an Elizabethan hand *"A Coppye of a proclamatio against Yorke and stanlye, published in Holland Feb. 1586"* (7).

how much the English Nacion have deserved of these vnited Provincies and the greate benefites that hath pleased her Ma^tie and his Ex^cie w^th assistance of monie men of warre and otherwyse effectualye and in dede to shewe vnto thesame For the w^ch we all to gether must aknowledge to be greatlye beholding vnto that Nacion and especialye to her Ma^tie and his Ex^cie in so muche that everie one to his power ought to endeuor himselff w^th all thankefulnesse to requite thesame and to hope for more ayde and assistance of her speciall grace and mere motion by the Tratie that Is to be done and the resolucion that shall please thesame her Ma^tie to take w^th the deputies of the generall Estats *Not w^thstanding it is daylye vnderstood, that vpon the vnhappie losse off the forsayd Towne of Deventer and the schantse afore Zutphen manie wikked spirits evel affected to the common wheale thinking to have found stoff or matter generalye to blame and slaundre the english Nacion and especialye her Ma^tie and his Ex^cie, as though that the forsayed traitours had bene placed In the forsayd Toune and Schantse w^th a predeterminacion to that effect* w^thout dew consideracion that there is no Contrie nor Nacion where not wick'[d] vnhappie and hypocriticall persons are to be found, and that *it is lykewyse against all reason yea wholye bending against the rule of Christian love and Charitie to chardge and impute the faultes and evel dedes of the wicked vnto the godlye and vertuous* And forasmuche as suche slaunderous brutes and blamacions are imagined and taken to diuerte the common people beyng euel Instructed from the respect and love w^ch hath allwayes bene and yet Is boren to her Ma^tie and his Ex^cie, and to cause these vnited Provincies to lose all hope thei ought to have by the gracieus countenance and assistance of her Ma^tie, and by these meanes to cause the people to fal In mistrust and desperacion, and finalye to breng thesame so farre to choose an other partye contrarie to the quiete prosperitie and maintenance of these vnited Provincies So it Is that we desyring carefulye to take ordre there In have by forknowledge and aduise as aforesayd verye *expressely forbidden all men by these presents, of what state qualitie nacion or condicion so ever No more here after Insuriously to blame or slaunder the english nacion nor yet to impute the losse of the forsayd Towne and Schantse vnto her Ma^tie or his Ex^cie vpon payne to be corrected as perturbators or disturbators of the common quiete w^thout anye forbearance* Therefore we ordaine and commaund that all men surcease or *forbeare rashlye to Judge and belieue suche brutes and rapports beyng preJudiciall to the service and prosperitie of these vnited Provincies the honnor and reputacion of her Ma^tie and his Ex^cie* And to the ende that no man doo pretend ignorance not to knowe of these our Ordres we charge and commaund our verye deere, and loving the Gouuernors and Estates or their deputed Counsell of the Provincies respectiuelye of Gelderland and the Countrye of Zutphen Holland Zealand Vtrecht Friesland Ouerryssell and all other officiers Justises and Servauntes to cause these to be published abouts and in thesayd Contries and Provincies where Publicacions are accustomed to be made Proceeding and causing to be proceded against the offenders in manner aforesayd w^thout grace fauor dissimulacion or forbearance For that we have founde it so to be conuenient to the service and prosperitie of these Countries Geven In the hage this 9^th of Februarye 1587 Bardesius V^t 1

By ordre of the Counsell of Estate In Commission nere vnto his Ex^cie

Chr Huygens

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[1] Official letters from the States General were always undersigned by the Secretary or the "Griffier"; and the President of the Council when signing added "v^t" (or "*videt*," i.e "has seen") Bardesius was one of the principal Councillors.

As this Edict completely clears Leicester of blame, it is remarkable that it has been so long neglected in England.

PART IV.

"As the difference standeth."

CHAPTER I

"THE DIVERSITY OF HUMAN AFFLICTIONS."

SECTION 8

"Utter wreck to our Queen from England."

(The end of all hope for the Queen of Scots, January, 1586—7).

"All your upright dealing and your honest travail will be in vain where you believe to obtain weal for our Queen at the Queen of England's hands. You but lose your time, . . . for first they will never meet together; and next there will never be anything else but dissembling and secret hatred for a while; and at length captivity and utter wreck to our Queen from England."

Prediction of Bassentyne to Sir Robert Melville, A.D. 1562
"Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill, 1535-1617" (Latest ed. A Francis Steuart, 1929, p 171)

". . . we have had audience of her Majesty, where we had refusall of all our offers; finding nothing but extremity meant toward our Sovereign's Mother, . . . we intend to crave audience to take our leave the morn and return home. . . ."

Sir Robert Melville to the Lord Secretary London, 10 January, 1586-7
Orig Warrender Papers, Vol. A f 173 In extenso, *"King James's Secret,"* 1927, ed. Rait & Cameron, pp 137-138.

"What thing, Madame, can greatlier touch me in honour . . . than that my nearest neighbour, being in straightest friendship with me, shall rigorously put to death a free Sovereign Prince and my natural mother? . . . .

. . . What monstrous thing it is that Sovereign Princes themselves should be the example-givers of their own sacred diadems' prophaning?"

James VI to Queen Elizabeth, 26th January, 1586-7.
Orig. B M. Cotton MS Calig. C. IX. f. 192.

PART IV

"As the difference standeth."

CHAPTER I

"THE DIVERSITY OF HUMAN AFFLICTIONS."

SECTION 8

"Utter wreck to our Queen from England."

(The end of all hope for the Queen of Scots, January, 1586—7).

IN the field of action Lord Leicester in 1586 had again proved himself valiant and wise. We have seen him warmly compassionate for the sufferings of his "poore soldiers"; ready to praise and reward all according to their merits; constant to his friends, steadfast in loyalty to his ungrateful Sovereign. But his chivalry (so conspicuous when enduring the caprices of Elizabeth,) completely vanishes in relation to the Queen of Scots. Though he was tenderly affectionate to and about Sir Philip and Lady Sidney, ardently concerned for veteran pensioners menaced by the severity of winter, tactful with the tempestuous Count Hohenlohe, and generously admiring of Captain Edward Stanley's exploit,—he is revealed in a totally different aspect when we see him exercising his influence upon the susceptible mind of James VI of Scots, to prevent that Sovereign from championing the captive Queen his mother. Incongruous as the contrast appears between the noble and open-handed General at Doesburg or Zutphen, and the politician working upon the young Scotch King's cupidity, the motive in both cases was the same: the safety of Queen Elizabeth.

In his eagerness to terminate, as he supposed, the dangers to Elizabeth, Leicester lost sight of how it would look to posterity for one Queen to sign the death-warrant of another; and this other her relation, guest, and captive. So fully had he persuaded himself of Queen Mary's complicity in Babington's plot, that he did not reflect how damaging a precedent was being created when a Sovereign Princess was condemned on the word of her own secretaries.

Leicester had come over from the Low Countries at this juncture that he might in person persuade Elizabeth to end the "Parliamentary solemnities" about Mary, and hasten her execution. So long as the captive lived, he argued,

thus long was Elizabeth's life in danger. In this conviction, his utmost energies were directed to the overcoming of Elizabeth's hesitation; and also to dispelling King James's doubts: appealing to him not to sacrifice his chances of the English throne by defending the mother he could not remember having seen.

Not the least of Queen Mary's griefs was that her only son had been brought up from his babyhood by her enemies. And now in the supreme crisis, though for decency's sake James protested against the fatal sentence, he was more concerned to try and ensure his own succession than to save his mother's life. This, however, was concealed from 17th century historians such as Camden, and was not fully revealed until our own time.[1]

The Master of Gray, with Sir Robert Melville, and George Young, clerk of the Council, were sent to London to remonstrate, in King James's name, about the "preposterous and strange procedure against Our Mother." They were bidden by James to remind Queen Elizabeth of her friendly promises so often made in the past to Queen Mary. They were to denounce the illegality of the condemnation; and point out that to allow a Sovereign, "in all degrees of the best blood in Europe," to be tried by subjects was a most dangerous example.

They were to express the grief her death would cause her son; and if it were objected that to spare her life would be to endanger the Queen of England, it should be answered that the safest plan would be to send her out of England "upon security and joint obligations" of the various Princes her kinsfolk. Her death would "inflame the Papists" to seek revenge; whereas for the English Queen to show mercy would be to disarm resentment, and win "immortal glory" To execute the Queen of Scots would not quench but stir up factions; and the enemies of England would find a new head, more formidable than the imprisoned Queen, who was broken in health by her long captivity. But if the English Queen would not grant liberty, would she not at least spare "our Mother's" life, on Mary signing a bond that she would never engage in any further plots? (This does not necessarily mean that James believed her to have concurred in Babington's attempt.)

If Queen Elizabeth would not listen to any of these proposals, she was to be asked what security she would regard as sufficient, and assured that King James would endeavour to meet her requirements and obtain the assistance of other Princes. But it was to be made plain that the life of the Queen of England was as dear to James as "our Mother's or our own."[2]

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[1] The correspondence has been collected and co-ordinated in "*King James's Secret Negotiations between Elizabeth and James VI relating to the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, from the Warrender Papers Edited by Robert S Rait, C B E, Hon L.L D Historiographer Royal for Scotland, Professor of Scottish History and Literature in the University of Glasgow and Annie I Cameron, M A, Ph D*" London 1927. xiii, 214 pp ("*The Warrender Papers*" were subsequently published for the Scottish Hist· Soc , annotated by the same two editors, 2 vols Edinburgh, 1931)

[2] Instruc of K James to the Master of Gray (17 Dec 1586) 4 pp MS Vol B 327 "*The Warrender Papers,*" Abbreviated, Vol I, pp 250-251. And see "*King James's Secret,*" p. 107, and Harl. MS. 1579 f 75, "*Letters and Papers relating to the Master of Gray,*" (1835) pp 120-125.

On crossing the Border in December, on this embassy, Sir Robert Melville could learn no news of his Sovereign's mother, except that her execution was alleged to be intended for the "next Saturday." But he thought they would "not be so sudden."[1]

While the Ambassadors from Scotland were on the way, Lord Leicester replied to a letter he received from King James. He represented "the Quene my mystres" as most forbearing:

> "I think no Prince under Heaven would either have borne so long so many dangerous attempts to the hazard of their lives as she hath done, neither would have foreborne the execution of justice so long . . ." And though "no man can blame your Majesty to speak for the safety of your mother's life," yet Leicester besought him to consider the case impartially; and advised him to "deal more moderately:" the Queen of England being "the person and Prince in the world that may do the most good or most harm" (to James himself).[2]

While penning a long, complex, and plausible epistle to try and prevent James opposing the execution, Leicester shows no sign of remembering how, quarter of a century earlier, his own Sovereign offered him to be a husband to the Queen of Scots.[3] The Scottish peers had not been minded to have an English King Consort; nor had Queen Mary herself been so disposed. If these events were presented in romance or on the stage, no one would fail to see it as a tragic irony that the courtier suggested formerly as a consort for Mary was now vehemently bent upon bringing her to the scaffold. Ironical also it seems that when the Scottish Ambassadors at last obtained an audience in the Presence Chamber, the Court was "dansyng and playing."

Sir Robert Melville found Lord Leicester very affable; but unyielding. And on approaching the French Ambassador "resident here," Melville could "learn nothing but the worst."[4] The next day he reported to Scotland that "Since writing of this other letter we have had audience of Her Majesty where we had refusal of all our offers, and [received] hard answers, finding nothing but extremity meant towards our Sovereign's mother . . . ."

So little hope appeared, that "we intend to crave audience to take our leave the morn and return home . . ."[5] George Young also wrote:[6]

> ". . . . we are here in the greatest perplexity . . . . that ever any men were in: . . . all things disheartening us on every side, and every hour . . . . We have as yet

[1] Undated letter to Maitland, "This Munanday at Berwick." Warrender MSS Vol A 174 *"King James's Secret,"* p 118, queried as 19th Dec

[2] Greenwich 31 Dec 1586 Warrender, 5½ pp MSS Vol A f 184 In extenso, Rait and Cameron, *"King James's Secret,"* pp 122-126

[3] E E. Vol I pp. 254-255

[4] London 9th January, Warrender Papers, Vol A f 177 In extenso, *"King James's Secret,"* in Scots, pp 135-137

[5] Ib f 173, and K J S pp 137-138

[6] To the Lord Secretary. 10 Jan 1586-7 Ib f. 175 K J S pp 139-144, in orig spelling.

but once gotten audience, and therein her Majesty affirmed upon her honour that she could not assure [us] whether she [Queen Mary] was alive or not, . . ."

She had directed the Warrant to be made out "long ago, and wished not to be made privy to the day of execution."

The French Ambassador had pleaded to the utmost, and endangered himself by so doing. Young held it mere "folly to hope." According to one story, the Queen of Scots had already been executed on the Thursday evening, and Queen Elizabeth had shed tears when hearing of it. "To give your Lordship this for certainty I cannot," wrote Young.

The Master of Gray in a letter to King James, two days later, describes a long conversation with Elizabeth in the presence of Leicester and the Lord Admiral and the Lord Chamberlain. She several times appeared "as if she could not comprehend" what Gray and Melville meant. So Leicester explained to her "that our meaning was that the King should be put in his mother's place" (as heir to the English throne). "'Is that so?' the Queen answers: 'Then I put my self in a worse case than before! By God's passion that were to cut my own throat!'" She then bade them remind the King of Scots "what good I have done for him in holding the Crown on his head since he was born, and that I mind to keep the league that stands now between us; and if he break it, it shall be a double fault."

Gray then asked if Queen Mary's life might be prolonged for fifteen days. The Queen refused. Sir Robert pleaded for eight days respite. "She said 'not for an hour.'"

Although "the Earl of Leicester has desired to speak with me in particular, I mind not to speak nor shall not," wrote Sir Robert, feeling it to be useless and hopeless.[1]

Their final audience was in the presence of Leicester, Hatton, Hunsdon, and "my Lord Howard."[2] They found the Queen more amiable than previously; and "so far as we can learne in this matter my Lord Burghley is the most temperate of all the Councillors." But "in divers plays and comedies in public they have brought your mother in a rope to the Queen of England in derision, whereof we mind to complain."[3]

Burghley being "temperate" in manner was a matter of politeness; but it is in his hand that the sketch plan for the execution is drawn and annotated.[4]

King James, on the 26th of January, wrote to Queen Elizabeth asking, "what

[1] K J S pp 145-150

[2] "and my lord Hawart." Not clear whether Lord Howard of Effingham, or Lord Henry Howard, but most likely the former who was a Privy Councillor.

[3] To King James Ib p 171.

[4] Too familiar to repeat here, reproduced in the British Museum series of postcards.

thing, Madam, can greather touch me in honour, (and) that both as a King and a son, than that my nearest neighbour, being in straightest friendship with me, shall rigorously put to death a free Sovereign Prince and my natural mother . . . ?"

What "law of God" could permit the slaying of a Sovereign, a Lieutenant of God? and what a "monstrous thing" it would be for a Sovereign to set the example of profaning the sacredness of a diadem. Apologising for his "longsome letter" he prays God to give Queen Elizabeth grace to "resolve this matter as may be most honourable for you and most acceptable to Him."[1]

But, despite the pious finale, the King of Scots, both himself by letter and by his Ambassadors, made clear that though he protested as a matter of relationship and royal dignity, he had no intention of revenge, whether by arms or diplomacy if his pleadings failed. Elizabeth's alliance was more essential to him than the reversal of the fatal sentence on his mother.

After James came to the throne of England, Camden, that most easily deceived of historians, was to be supplied with a version of the case the least detrimental to the new King's honour. And by erecting an effigy tomb to his mother in Westminster Abbey, and encouraging the circulation of a broadside eulogising her virtues and deploring her misfortunes,[2] he appeared to be moved by filial feeling. But in 1586-7 the plausible persuasions of Leicester and Walsingham produced the effect desired by the Privy Council.

All things seemed to work together for the irrevocable ruin of the Queen of Scotland, as Bassentyne had foretold nearly a quarter of a century earlier, when Melville saw no insuperable obstacle to the meeting and alliance of the rival Queens. Believing his negotiations must prosper, Melville had then rebuked Bassentyne in unmeasured wrath for a prediction so contrary to his own hopes and expectations.[3] But now all he could do or say was in vain; for though anticipating a Spanish attack upon England in the near future, King James (subsequently to be saluted as the "Rex Pacificus,") had no intention of embroiling himself in war, wherein, whether he sided with Spain or England, there would be drawbacks for himself.

Surrounded from babyhood by men whose cynical self-seeking was coupled with a show of sanctimoniousness,—educated without affection, and by a tutor who had poured forth public adulation of Mary when she was prospective Queen of France, but afterwards had blackened her with ferocious calumnies,—the pupil of Buchanan was not the man to outwit or overcome Elizabeth's Councillors. His own position was unhappy and insecure; King in name from his cradle, he lacked both kingly disposition and kingly power.

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[1] "Youre most loving and affectionat brother and cousin James R" Holog. Cotton MS Calig C IX. f.192 Cal. S P. Scot IX, pp 247-248, and K J S pp 179-182

[2] Forthcoming in facsimile, E E under date

[3] E.E. Vol I. p 324.

The story that James was a substituted child, and not the son either of Darnley or Mary, may have arisen from his not inheriting his father's tall stature or strongly defending his mother when she was in extremity. But as we shall find him transmitting Stuart qualities, both good and ill, to his posterity, his legitimacy should stand undoubted: less through the evidence of his own appearance, or accomplishments, than by the continuation of the Stuart characteristics during the next generation. Meanwhile, in the winter of 1586-7, he made no active resistance to the very measure he had denounced as "monstrous" and "preposterous," and as a wound to the honour and dignity of Princes.

TABLE SHOWING DATE AND DURATION OF PARLIAMENTS HELD DURING THE 27th to 31st YEARS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

REGNAL YEAR	PARLIAMENT CALLED	PARLIAMENT PROROGUED	PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED
27th Eliz.	(5) 23rd November 1584	29th March 1585 prorogued to 20th May, & again five other prorogations	15th September 1586
28th & 29th Eliz.	(6) 29th October 1586	. . . .	23rd March 1586-7
30th Eliz.	(7) 12th November 1588	12th November 1588 (to 4th February 1588-9)	
31st Eliz.	(7) 4th February 1588-9		29th March, 1589

In the first 24 years of the reign there were four Parliaments See Tables E E Book I, Vols 1, 2, 3, 4. The dates of those, and of the ensuing 5th, 6th, and 7th Parliaments, are based on the Journals of the House of Lords and House of Commons (D'Ewes, "The Journals of all the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth," *London,* 1682 *The debates for 27th to 31st Elizabeth cover* 144 *folio pages of print, pp* 311-455)

Parliament was only summoned in emergencies, at "her Majesty's will and pleasure", the ordinary business of State being conducted daily by the Privy Council. Instead of heavy taxation all the year round, taxation was light, but when occasion arose for extra provision for defence of the realm, or other causes, Parliament was informed for what purpose money was required, and both Houses voted subsidies accordingly

Of the above-noted Parliaments, the 5th was mainly concerned to unveil plots against the Queen, and administer the consequent Oath for Preservation of her Majesty's Royal Person, as drafted and sworn by the Privy Council prior to the opening of Parliament

The 6th related chiefly to the case of Mary Queen of Scots, and preparations to resist a Spanish invasion After this menace was disclosed by Sir Christopher Hatton in the spring of 1587, *Parliament was dissolved. It was not required during the Armada crisis, adequate subsidies having been voted in readiness in* 1586-7.

The 7th Parliament, 12th November, 1588, *called for thanksgiving after victory, was immediately prorogued until 4th February,* 1588-9. *It was dissolved 29th March,* 1589.

"AUTHORITIE AND DUETIE":

Note on the Elizabethan Penal Statutes

For the good of the Commonwealth, it was held that every subject should be acquainted with the laws, and able to inform himself particularly about those concerning his own trade or profession. To this end was published "*An Abstract of all the penal Statutes which be general, in force and use, wherein is contayned the effect of all those Statutes which do threaten to the Offenders thereof the loss of life, member, landes, goods, or other punishment or forfasture whatsoever Whereunto is also added the effect of such other Statutes, wherein there is anything material and most necessary for eche Subject to knowe Moreouer the Authoritie and duetie of all Iustices of Peace, Sheriffes, Coroners, Eschetors, Maiors, Bailiffes, Customers, Comptrollers of Custome, & what thinges they may, ought, or are compelled to do Collected by Fardinando Pulton of Lincolns Inn Gentleman, and by him newly corrected & augmented*" (Quotation, Deuteronomy, 17, 8 etc Device) "*Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker, printer to the Quenes Maiestie Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum*" Dedicated "To the right worshipful Sir William Cordell Knight, Master of the Roules"[1]

This being alphabetically arranged, with an excellent Index, nobody who could read was supposed to remain ignorant of what he safely could and could not do[2] But to avoid "perils" into which ignorant people might "slide," the Kings of England had previously been in the habit of causing the most important Statutes to be read aloud for the illiterate, in Churches and at Market Crosses

> "Q[ueen] M[ary] provided that the stat[ute] made against unlawfull and rebellious assemblies should be published at every quarter sessions, and at every Leet and Law day And our Soueraigne Lady Q El[izabeth] hath by authority of Parliament established that the statute ordained for the assurance of her Maiesties royall power over al states and subjects within her dominions should be openly declared," not only at "every quarter sessions, and at every Leet and Law day but also "once in every term in the open Hall of every house of every court and Chancery "

The Statutes in extenso were available in print with explanations of any recent abrogations or reformations of the older laws.

The series of increasingly severe Statutes against "Papists" are listed in "*Elizabethan England*" under 1585, treating of their effect upon the Premier Earl of England[3] High treason we have seen in the person of Thomas Duke of Norfolk,[4] also of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland who meant to depose Elizabeth and had levied war against her[5] But there were lesser offences which also came under the heading of Treason (See Pulton, pp 315-317) —

To refuse the oath of the Queen's supremacy, after a second time of offering

To affirm "that she ought not to enjoy the Crown but some other"

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[1] Epistle, 6 pp, dated "From Lincolnes Inn" 8 pp. of Table Text, and 376 leaves, numbered on one side only. Colophon, "Imprinted at London," &c &c. "An Do 1579" B L Sm 4to

[2] In the Index, items catching the eye on the first pages are Admiral, Admiralty, Aliens; "Almes,s[ee] poore people"; Apparell, Archerie, Armour, Arrow-heads, Artificers, "Assaults & frayes, Fighting", Badge, Bakers, Bankrupts, "Barbours, s. Surgeons," Beggars, Bigamy, Bishops, Bloodshed, Bookes, Boates, Boatmen, Bread, Bullion, "Bulles of absolution. s Rome", Burglarie, Butchers.

[3] E E Vol. V, pp 231-232 [4] E E Vol II, pp 127-128 [5] Ib. pp 21-42.

HOLOGRAPH LETTER OF ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER, K G.,

to Principal Secretary Sir Francis Walsingham.

condoling on the illness of Frances, Lady Sidney 23rd Dec 1586. (*E E, pp 250-251*), *and deploring delay in execution of the Queen of Scots*

Now reproduced from the original, Harl MS 225, f 268 Line by line transcript The abbreviations are as follows

K Anto King Antonio
co fro ye Sco Q "come from the Scottish Queen"
mr ser Da "Mr Secretary Davison"
the L "the Lord" [God]
spdy "speedy"
go mr ser "good Mr. Secretary"

I cannot be quyett tyll I may know
how my daughter doth amend, wyshing
her even as to my none child wch god
wylling I shall always esteme hir to
be I wold gladly make a start to
yo^{u} but to morrow K Anto comes here,
but my hart ys there wth yo^{u}, and my
prayers shall goe to God for yo^{u} and for
yrs
There is a letter co fro ye Sco Q that
hath wrought tears but I trust shall
doe not further harm albeyt the delay ys
so dangerous of all things that
ys to be advertysed I know mr ser
Da doth wryte to yo^{u} therefore I wyll
leave to trouble yu And comytt yo
to the L fro grenw^{oh} xxiij of December
Yo^{r} assured frend
R Leycester

because I doubt of yr
spedy repayr hither I
pray yo send my ij leases
go mr ser to se what
may be done

I cannot for myself tell if I may know
how my daughter doth amend, wishing
her every way as to my own child with good
will and shall always show her so
be. I would gladly make a stand to
you but to morrow by. that comes daily
but my [illegible] your [illegible]
pray[illegible] shall you good for [illegible]
you

[illegible] to a house co[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] wrought bard. but I hope shall
do no hinder [illegible] daily to
do dangerous. of all [illegible]
to [illegible] advertised I know not [illegible]
[illegible]. daily wish to [illegible]
[illegible] to [illegible]. And comfort
to [illegible]. [illegible]

because I do [illegible] you assured [illegible]
speed [illegible]
[illegible] my [illegible]
[illegible]

"FOR THE DESPATCH OF THE USURPER"

Further Observations on the Babington Plot

We have seen how, at the executions of the conspirators, Babington was described as standing "in his pride," with his hat on his head, watching the tragic spectacle "coolly as if he had been only a beholder" and not himself among the condemned.[1]

Up to the last moment he may have been hoping for a reprieve, as the reward of throwing the blame upon the Queen of Scots, for whom only a few weeks previously he had been expressing the utmost devotion.

Often as his alleged letter to her has been reprinted,—from 1587 onwards it has appeared in many tongues,[2]—we should here recall the outstanding phrases, and try to realise how startling they must have been to Queen Elizabeth. (These quotations are from Francis Steuart's printing of the MS. endorsed "This is the trewe copie of the letters which I wrote and sent to the Queen of Scottes. Anthony Babington.")[3]

"... It may please your most excellent Majesty by your wisdom to direct us ... myself with ten gentlemen and a hundred of followers will undertake the delivery of your Royal person ..., *for the despatch of the Usurper, from the obedience of whom by the excommunication we are made free.*[4] *There be six noble gentlemen, all my private friends who for the zeal they bear to the Catholic cause and your Majesty's service will undertake that tragical execution.* It resteth that record-ing to their infinite good deserts and your Majesty's bounty, their heroical attempt may be honourably rewarded in them if they 'scape with life, or in their posterity, and that so much I may be able by your Majesty's authority to assure them.

Now it remaineth only that by your Majesty's wisdom it be reduced into method.

'Your Majesty's most faithful subject and sworn servant.

ANTHONY BABINGTON.

When this (with further details) was read aloud to Mary at her trial she answered that whatever Babington may have written, she had not read or received or answered a letter in any such terms.[5] But according to the secretaries Nau and Curle,—Nau having at first denied her complicity,—she rapturously welcomed Babington's plan, and bade him communicate the intended murder "with all diligence" to Bernardino (*sic*) de Mendoza, Ambassador Leiger for the King of Spaine in France.[6] She invoked (so it was alleged) 'the grace of God' upon the assassins, and rejoiced unfeignedly over the approach-ing death of Elizabeth.[6]

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[1] E E. p. 259.

[2] See title page of Dutch version, L L. p. 425, and Bibliog. Note, p. 427.

[3] Spelling now modernised, orig. spelling in *Trial of Mary Queen of Scots* (1923), pp. 134-135.

[4] See the Bull and Declaration, L I. Vol. II, pp. 43-52.

[5] Who knew it previously. L L. VI, pp. 282-285.

[6] Letters in extenso, Steuart, pp. 136-141 (from Cotton MS. Calig. C. Lx), endorsed, 'This is the verie trewe coppie of the Queens letter last sente unto me. Anthony Babington.' *Je pense que cest la lettre escripta per sa Majesté a Babington comme il ne peut souvenir ceste 6 septembris 1586* (presumably meaning that on 6th Sep. Babington could not remember). Further endorsed, 'The lyke I thinke of this was written in frenche by Mr. Nau, and translated and ciphered by me, as I have mencioned in the end of Mr. Babington's letter where Mr. Nau hath first subscribed. Gilbert Curll. Quinto Septembris 1586.' When Burghley docketed '10 September 1586. Nau's long declaration of thynges of no importance sent privately to her Majesty,' it is not clear if the date refers to when it was written or when sent, but apparently the latter, as Nau himself alludes to it in a letter of 9th September. See E E., pp. 269-271 for the "long declaration" in which Nau acquits Queen Mary of any knowledge that Babington intended murder.

There is much reason to accept Mary's repudiation of this letter, but the shock it gave to Elizabeth need not be difficult to understand

As it is by a private letter of Walsingham (as well as by an official memo) that we see how the draft or minutes for these Babington letters were sought in vain among the papers seized at Chartley,—and as all the other compromising matter had been kept by Mary, and was found and much of it deciphered,—the explanation may be that the Babington murder-plot letter was not found at Chartley for the simple reason that Mary had never received it Her protest that cipher letters might easily be wrongly deciphered,—and that statements might have been made in her name without her knowledge,—seems eminently reasonable But it is to be noticed that Mr A Francis Steuart in the "*Trial of Mary Queen of Scots*" (1923) apparently accepted the alleged evidence of the secretaries, as he makes no comment upon it Avoiding discussion whether the trial "was ethical or not," and "whether it ought to have happened, or should have been prevented," he restricts himself to materials illustrating the thesis that "the Scottish Queen's condemnation and death" were "in strict accordance with the laws of England" So asserted Queen Elizabeth and her Ministers, but with such elaborate explanations and apologies as show their consciousness of the position as extraordinary and unprecedented [1]

Mary utterly refused to admit herself as subject to the laws of England But if she actually had been under those laws, the genuine evidence found at Chartley,—her plans for the simultaneous Spanish invasion and a rising of the English Catholics,—would have been enough to render her liable to the death penalty

Nominally she was tried under the Statute of 1584[2] But long prior to that act of emergency legislation, the law had been such as would have met her case in 1586 To conspire with enemies of the Crown, native or foreign, was High Treason penalty death We may therefore ask if Mary—as alleged—was subject to English law, as the unmistakable evidence of her conspiracy for invasion and rebellion was available for the prosecution, why were Burghley and Walsingham eager to add a criminal charge, not legally necessary for the procuring of a capital sentence?

The reason seems to be that Queen Elizabeth's "inclination to mercy" was genuine She had refused consent to many previous suggestions that Mary should be held responsible for the Northern Rising and the conspiracy of the Duke of Norfolk And whereas many Catholic writings take Elizabeth's character not from her own speeches and declarations but from the "*Vie Abominable*" libel of 1584 85,[3] and so brand her an unmitigated Jezebel and hypocrite, she in sober reality was more conscious than her Ministers that the executing of a Sovereign Queen might create a most dangerous precedent. What her personal feelings were can be inferred through the private letters of her Councillors to each other, for plainly they had the utmost difficulty in bringing her to sign the death-warrant

When convinced at last of Mary's murderous intentions, she even thought a secret death would be less injurious to royal prestige than a formal execution

Secretary Nau, as we have seen, at first seems to have supposed that the conspirators and not the Queen of Scots would bear the brunt, and he was concerned to acquit her of complicity Presumably he expected to be taken back into her service But if or when he was informed that under the Statute of Treason she could be convicted on her letters to Mendoza and Charles Paget without further evidence, the idea of gaining favour for himself with Elizabeth, by pretending to have remonstrated with Mary for the conspiracy, may have grown with the rapidity of a tropical weed And as Babington's hope of pardon lay in the personal propitiation of Queen Elizabeth (who held absolute power, and could, if she choose, override the Law,) the self-love of Babington and the egoism of Nau would have coincided

With a baseness amazing in that age of courageous men, Babington did not take the blame for

[1] E E Vol VI, pp 315-318
[2] Statement by Walsingham E E Vol. VI, p 306
[3] Analysed E E Vol V, pp 139-169

his plot upon his own shoulders He loaded the chief onus of it on to Mary It is high time that his treachery and cowardice should be called by their plain names, and that false sentimentality as to his youth and impetuosity should no longer obscure the outlines [1]

If, as it appears, it was Queen Elizabeth's unwillingness to condemn Mary for a political offence, which spurred her Councillors to seek "proofs" of a damning criminal complicity, here we have a further element of tragical irony It is, at any rate, manifest that it was only on the strength of Mary's supposed consent to the murder plot that Elizabeth was brought to accept the argument that one or the other—herself or the Scottish Queen—must die

It was said to Elizabeth that as Mary though "forgiven" for the Northern Rising and the Ridolphi plot, had proceeded from one conspiracy to another, and from conspiracy to crime, she stood revealed as an irreconcilable foe, and that so desperate a situation demanded the most drastic remedy

No modern defence of Mary is convincing when built on the false basis of denying the reality of Babington's plot [2] But granting from the Spanish and other evidence that the conspiracy was exceedingly formidable,—and stood every chance of success had it not been discovered and the conspirators arrested in time, Mary's own defence becomes the more and not the less impressive Her determined adherence to her religion, her proud reassertion of her right to negotiate with foreign potentates, her open scorn for her accusers, and her firm refusal to admit their fitness to judge her,—were not the methods by which to propitiate her foes The contrast between her regal demeanour and that of the two secretaries who brought her to her death in hope to save themselves, will be more and more vividly seen as we proceed to the last Act of the tragedy

[1] The present writer confesses to having been formerly misled as to Babington, and only having realised his character after conducting an independent investigation For the inadequate notion see "*Louise Imogen Guiney, Her Life and Works, 1861-1920 By E M Tennson,*" 1923, London and New York (Macmillan) p 257 But too lenient an interpretation of Babington in particular, and imperfect editorial comprehension of Spanish intentions, does not invalidate the human and literary interest of Miss Guiney's Anthology of English Catholic poets (ch xix, op cit), the patient labour of an American lover of England (still unpublished) The collection includes poems on "the Cause of Mary Queen of Scots"

[2] See E E, pp 292-293

PART IV

"As the difference standeth."

CHAPTER I

"THE DIVERSITY OF HUMAN AFFLICTIONS."

SECTION 9

"Condemned to death."

(The tragedy of the Queen of Scots.)

IT had been on the 25th of October that the Star Chamber pronounced upon Queen Mary the sentence deferred on the 15th at Fotheringhay. The condemnation turned on the assertions of the secretaries Nau and Curle, who were "produced personally" before the judges, and did "eftsoons voluntarily acknowledge and affirm all that to be true which they had before confessed, . . . voluntarily without constraint or threatening."

Curle added "that the letter which Babington wrote to the Scotch Queen, as well as the draft of her answer, were both by her commandment."[1] He said further that "after the deciphering of the said letter written by Babington, and the reading thereof to the Scotch Queen, he admonished her of the danger of those actions," and endeavoured to persuade her not to answer. "She thereupon said she would answer it, bidding him do as she commanded." [2]

Nau had previously made the same pretence of having remonstrated. It is not probable, in so ceremonious an age, that Nau and Curle were in the habit of offering unsolicited advice to a Sovereign Queen. But in the course of their detention they both would have been told that to know of a conspiracy against the Crown, and not reveal it, counted as High Treason: penalty death; and that the conspiracy for a co-ordinated invasion and rebellion had been proved up to the hilt.

After living so long in Queen Mary's pay, the baseness of Nau and Curle, in playing into the hands of her enemies, and swearing whatsoever was most expedient for themselves, has not enough been emphasised; and so the brunt of the blame for Mary's execution falls the more heavily upon Queen Elizabeth. But even after

[1] Meaning presumably that she had invited Babington to submit details of the plot to her
[2] Cal IX p 143, from Cotton MS Julius F VI f 47^b

the Star Chamber sentence, she had delayed signing the Warrant, without which no execution could take place.

Twenty-one Lords temporal, two Archbishops, four Bishops, and forty of the House of Commons, waited on her at Richmond Palace, "affirming the sentence on the Scottish Queen to be just and lawful, and praying her to publish the same and proceed to execution"[1] To these persuasions she so far succumbed that Lord Buckhurst and Robert Beale were despatched to Fotheringhay, to declare to the prisoner how the sentence had been "passed, confirmed," and was "required to be executed"[2] Sir Drew Drury was also sent there to "assist" Sir Amias Poulet who had not been well.[3] They were ordered to reiterate to Mary that the testimony of her secretaries Nau and Curle had been "free, voluntary, and public, . . . without either hope of reward or fear of punishment" The emissaries were bidden to exhort her on the justice of the sentence against herself as the chief "contriver and compasser" of the assassination plot They were to relate how Queen Elizabeth was being pressed on all sides by the petitions of her Lords and Commons, and yet how she still hesitated to sign the Death Warrant.

> ". . . you shall let her know how much the respect of her degree, calling, and nearness of blood to Ourself has moved us to take the course we have done . . " [i.e trial by special Commission]. " . Say, in Our behalf that if the consequences of her offence reached no further than to Ourself as a private person, we protest before God we could have been very well content to have freely remitted and pardoned the same . . Lastly in case you find her desirous to communicate with either of you apart, conform yourselves . . and advertise Us before you return . . ."[4]

Buckhurst and Beale departed from Fotheringhay on the 21st November; and, on the 24th, Queen Mary recapitulated on paper to the Archbishop of Glasgow the charges made against her,[5] and related how Queen Elizabeth's emissaries had assured her she should be neither "saint nor martyr," in that she was not to die for her religion but for intending the murder of their Queen Mary had answered that she was "not so presumptuous" as to aspire to sainthood, but that she would gladly give her life for her faith, and that she had never "contrived, counselled, nor commanded" any injury to Queen Elizabeth's person.

Her letter to Pope Sixtus V, reiterating her devotion to the "Church Catholic, Apostolic and Roman," in which she and her ancestors had been born and baptised, receives less attention in Rome to-day than might be expected.[6]

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[1] Ld Burghley to E of Shrewsbury Lansdowne MS 982, f 74[b] (Copy) Cal IX p 154
[2] Ib [3] Ib
[4] "*Instruccons given to the L of Buckhurst & our servunt Roberte Beale sent by us to the Scottische Queen Nouember 1586*" C P XX, Cal IX pp 156-158 Copies, Cotton MS Calig C IX f 583, and 655, and Harl 290, f 187 And Q Eliz to Poulet 16 Nov 1586, C P XX, Cal p 159
[5] Letter in extenso, Labanoff, Vol VI, p 466 Abbrev Maxwell Scott, pp 101-104
[6] This letter of 23-24 Nov, 1586, printed first by Prince Labanoff, in his Vol VI, p 447, translated, 1895, Maxwell Scott, pp 111-115

". . . I have thought it to be my first duty to turn me to God, and then to relate the whole to your Holiness in writing,—to the end that although I cannot let you hear it before my death, at least afterwards the cause of it should be made manifest to you, which is . . . their dread of the subversion of their religion in this island, which they say I plan, and *which is attempted for my sake, as well by those of your own subjects who obey your laws and are their declared enemies, . . . as by strangers and especially by the Catholic Princes and my relations,* who all (so they say) maintain my right to the Crown of England "[1]

Imploring him to "have prayers said for my poor soul, and for all those who have died, or will die, in the same cause," she begged him to "give your alms, and incite the Kings to do likewise, to those who should survive this shipwreck" Not knowing if she would be allowed to have her chaplain with her, she asked the Pope for a "general absolution, . . ."

. . . [I] "offering my blood willingly . . . [for God] for the unwearied and faithful zeal which I bear to His Church, without the restoration of which I desire never to live in this unhappy world"

"And further, Holy Father, having left myself no goods in this world, I supplicate your Holiness to obtain from the Very Christian King that my dowry should be charged with the payment of my debts, and the wages of my poor desolate servants . . ."

She expressed her "mortal regret for the refusal of her son to become a Catholic" Delegating to the Pope all the authority that she could give, she asked him to confer with the King of Spain "in what touches temporal matters, and especially that you two may together try to ally him in marriage."

Far from uttering reproaches against King Philip for leaving her to her fate, she described herself as much "indebted and obliged" to him; he "being the only one who aided me with his money and advice in my needs." Wherefore, subject to the Pope's approval, she bequeathed to Philip "all that I can have of power or interest in the government of this Kingdom," if her son remained Protestant But if James could be "brought back," she wished him to be aided and advised by the King of Spain, and by the House of Guise, "and to ally himself by their advice and consent, or in one of their two houses . . ."

"You shall have the true account of the manner of my last taking, that, hearing the truth, the calumnies which the enemies of the Church wish to lay upon me may be

[1] The "declared enemies" alluded to were all such of Queen Elizabeth's subjects as felt obliged to obey the Bull & Declaration of Pope Pius V viz,

"We declare the said Elizabeth deprived of her pretended title to the Kingdom aforesaid, and of all Dominion, Dignity, and Privilege whatsoever And also the Nobility, Subjects and People of the said Kingdom, and all others who have in any sort sworn unto her, to be for ever absolved from any such Oath . And We do command all and every Noblemen, Subjects, People not to obey her "—*Sententia Declaratoria,* &c E E Vol II, pp 43-49

refuted by you, and to this effect I have sent to you this bearer,[1] saying to you for the last time *à Dieu* "

On the 24th she added,

"Excuse my writing, caused by the weakness of my arm I hear, to my great regret, bad rumours of some persons near your Holiness, who, they say, receive wages from this State to betray the cause of God I leave it to your Holiness to make examination and to have your eyes on a certain Lord de Saint Jean, much suspected of being a spy of the High Treasurer These are false brethren, and I will answer for it that those who have been recommended to you by me are quite otherwise

"Of your Holiness the very humble and devoted daughter

MARIE
QUEEN OF SCOTLAND, DOWAGER OF FRANCE"

Though her hand and arm were painful from chronic rheumatism, it was with her own pen that she wrote to the Pope, and to the Archbishop of Glasgow, to Henry Duke of Guise, and Don Bernardino de Mendoza. These letters she gave to her servants to deliver after her death.[2]

We have seen how Mendoza affected to consider she had been implicated in the murder plot; but she declared to him that she had never "taken any action to remove" the Queen of England.[3]

Little dreaming in how coldly cynical a fashion Mendoza had from first to last considered her only in so far as her affairs related to the interests of Spain, her most intimate and confidential letter was to him.[4]

"My very dear friend

"As I have always found you zealous in God's cause and devoted to my welfare and deliverance from captivity, I have continued to communicate to you all my intentions in the same cause, in order that you might convey what I said to the King, my good brother, and I therefore desire to devote such small leisure as I have to wishing you this farewell, being resigned to receive the death blow which was pronounced upon me last Saturday

"I know not when or in what guise it is to come, but at least you may be assured and may praise God for me, who by His grace has given me courage to accept cheerfully

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[1] Probably Bourgoing, her physician

[2] Each one is exactly suited to the recipient, and Queen Mary's regal spirit so shines out in them, that we may marvel how Froude had the audacity to depict in his "*History*" a being so different from the actual personage as not even to be a clever caricature

[3] When the editors of "*The Warrender Papers*," 1931, Vol I, p 225, state of Mary that "in the sphere of politics, religion, and personal ambition, she had played for high stakes and had forfeited her life," we may add that it was Babington whose "ambition" and playing for "high stakes,"—and turning Queen's evidence with the aid of Nau and Curle,—facilitated the sentence of death

Hosack in "*Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers*," Vol II, 1894, working before the State Papers had been calendered, was unaware of Babington's baseness, and so to some extent excused him,—as he would certainly not have done if he had seen the further evidence

[4] Paris Arch K 1563 2 In French Docketed "*To Don Benardino de Mendoza from the Queen of Scotland*", and "*Copy of the Letter which the Queen of Scotland wrote to me in her own hand after they had told her she was condemned to death*" Copied by Mendoza's secretary Noted as "Received in Paris on the 15th October, 1587" In extenso Cal S P S Simancas, Vol III pp 663-664 (There printed without paragraphs It is divided now so as to be easier to read)

this very unjust sentence from the heretics, because of the happiness I feel at shedding my blood at the bidding of the enemies of the Church who do me the honour of saying they cannot continue without disturbance if I live

"The other point is that their Queen cannot reign in security in the same case I gladly accept the honour on both points without contradiction, as a very zealous member of the Catholic religion, for which I publicly offered my life As for the rest, I said I had made no attempt to oust her who was in possession, but they called my right into question, and seeing it acknowledged by all Catholics, sought to oppose it I did not choose to contradict them but left the matter to their own judgment

"*They were angry at this, and said that in any case I should not die for religion's sake, but for having tried to murder the Queen, which I denied as a falsehood, for I had never attempted such a thing,* but have left it in the hands of God and the Church to order in this island matters concerning religion

"The bearer of this, promises to give you an account of the rigorous treatment that has been dealt out to me by these people, and *how ill I have been served by others, whom I wish had not shown so openly their fear to die in so just a cause, or given way to their own disordered passions* [1]

"But, withal, they have been able to get nothing out of me except that I am a free Catholic Princess, and an obedient daughter of the Church, and that I was in duty bound to seek my deliverance, since I had tried fair means unsuccessfully, and was obliged therefore to listen to other proposals made to me with the same object

"Nau had confessed everything, Curle a great deal, following his example, and all is on my shoulders I am threatened, if I do not plead for pardon, but I reply that they have already condemned me to death, they cannot go beyond that, and my hope is that God may reward me for it in another world

"Out of spite, because I would not speak, they came yesterday and took away my dais, saying that henceforward I was only a dead woman without any rank They are in my *salon* now, I suppose they are putting up a stage whereupon I am to play the last act of the tragedy

"I die in a good cause, satisfied that I have done my duty I have informed the King your master that if my son do not return to the standard of the Church I consider him the most worthy Prince to succeed, and the most advantageous one for the protection of this island, and I have written to his Holiness to the same effect I pray you to assure the King that I die in the same good intention as I wrote to you, and also to him whom you know, his close and dear friend, and to a fourth person For them I am confident of the King's protection in God's cause You will beseech him not to abandon them, and I enjoin them to continue to serve him in my stead I cannot write to them but please greet them for me, and all of you pray for my soul I have asked for a priest but I do not know if I shall get one They offered me one of their Bishops, but I flatly refused to see him

"Believe what the bearer will tell you, and these two poor girls who have been nearest to me, they too will tell you the truth [2] I pray you spread it abroad, for I fear these people may make things appear different from what they are For the relief of my conscience please have the money you know of paid,[3] and let the churches in Spain remember me in their prayers

"Keep the bearer secretly, he has been a faithful fellow to me [4] God give you a long and happy life You will receive a token from me, a diamond which I hold dear, as

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[1] Nau and Curle

[2] Curle's wife, and Janet Kennedy [3] Possibly sums owing by Queen Mary to Charles Paget.

[4] D Bourgoing

being the one [with] which the late Duke of Norfolk pledged his troth to me, and I have worn it ever since Keep it, then, for my sake I do not know if I shall be allowed to make a Will I have asked permission to do so, but they have taken all my money

"Pray excuse me, I am writing in pain and trouble, and have no one to help me even to scribble my drafts, so I have to write them myself If you cannot decipher my writing the bearer will read it to you, or my Ambassador who knows it

"Amongst other accusations against me there is one about Creighton, of which I know nothing I greatly fear that Nau and Pasquier have much promoted my death, as they kept papers,[1] they are people who are willing to live anywhere so long as they are comfortable Would to God that Fontenay had been here He is a young man of resolution and knowledge

"Farewell once more I commend to you my poor destitute servants Pray for my soul

"From Fotheringay, this Wednesday, 23rd November

"I commend to you the poor Bishop of Ross, who will be quite destitute

"Your very obliged and perfect friend,

"MARIE R"

Mary's high spirit and valour can be seen further in her last letter to the Duke of Guise, and also her magnanimity, for there is not one word of reproach to him for having raised her hopes and disappointed her, no hint that it was the failure of France, Spain, and Rome to come to her aid which had exposed her to the terrible fate she announces:

"My good Cousin, whom I hold dearest in this world, I say farewell to you, being ready, through unjust judgment, to be put to such a death as no one of our race, thank God, has ever received, still less one of my quality But, my good cousin, praise God for it, for I was useless in this world in the cause of God and of His Church, being in the estate I was, and I hope that my death will testify my constancy in the faith and readiness to die for the maintenance and restoration of the Catholic church "

She protested that although no executioner before had "ever dipped his hand in our blood," it was no cause for shame now, but rather was "honourable before God" *"If I would adhere to them I should not have this blow . . ."*

She recommends to his care and kindness her "poor desolate servants," and the discharge of her debts, and prays God to prosper him and his "wife, children, and brothers and cousins," and the King and all his people.

"You will receive tokens from me to remind you to have prayer made for the soul of your poor cousin, deprived of all help and counsel but that of God, who gives me strength and courage to resist so many wolves howling after me

"Believe especially what shall be told you by a person who shall give you a ring of rubies on my behalf I have suffered much these two years and more, and have not been able to let you know it "

She exhorts him that "we, both men and women, may be ready to shed our blood to maintain the fight of the faith[2] As to me, I deem myself born, both on my father's

[1] See her reference at her trial to the misuse of her papers The genuine papers deciphered were letters to Mendoza, Paget, and others, making clear that she had looked for aid from Spain But Pasquier did not deserve to be classed with Nau and Curle, his evidence (as we have seen) was no help to the prosecution E E ante, pp 269, 279

[2] Guise had been equally ready to shed other people's blood E E Vol II, pp 186-188

and mother's side, to offer my blood in that cause, and I have no intention to degenerate Jesus crucified for us, and all His holy martyrs make us worthy by their intercession "

Postscript "Thinking to degrade me, they had caused my canopy to be taken down, and my warder has since come to me to offer to write to their Queen, saying he had not done this act by her command, but by the advice of some of the Council I showed them instead of my arms on the said canopy, the Cross of my Saviour they have been more gentle since

"Your affectionate cousin and perfect friend,

"MARIE,

"QUEEN OF SCOTLAND AND QUEEN DOWAGER OF FRANCE"[1]

But the end was not yet Though consenting to the sentence, Queen Elizabeth again delayed signing the Death Warrant much to the chagrin of Walsingham; and of Leicester who had come across from the Netherlands purposely to urge the execution[2]

While the French Ambassador was pleading that Christmas should be a time of clemency, the Ministers of Elizabeth were maintaining that the execution ought to be carried out prior to the Christmas festivities at the Court Meanwhile Nau had written to Sir Francis Walsingham, asking confidently for "the money which I have already entreated", and enclosing a long list of what he called "necessaries"

"Six shirts the best that are in my coffers A dozen new handkerchiefs A dozen collars with flat bands with simple lace, each with its pair of cuffs of the same fashion A dozen pairs of short hose A dozen large handkerchiefs Half a dozen new night caps A jacket with black velvet sleeves worked [i e embroidered], and breeches of the like velvet A long cloak of black taffeta, entirely trimmed with black lamb A short cloak A long cloak of black cloth A doublet of black satin and the breeches or Venetian hose of the same fashion Two short black silk stockings The hat of black quilted taffeta and another hat of black beaver "

And so forth, including "a cup of silver, . a jug of silver", "a breviary of prayers" and Plutarch's Lives in Italian (It is not possible to imagine anyone less like the heroes of Plutarch than this time-serving secretary. But he saw nothing incongruous in demanding these books, and "the smaller works of the said Plutarch" in French.[3] Exceedingly dramatic is the contrast between Queen Mary's letters when she knew she was condemned to death, and Nau's effusions when he had been the means of precipitating her doom. The most trifling things that belonged to himself were more important to him than the largest issues for the Sovereign he pretended to serve and then betrayed. Presumably he received his selection of hats, ruffs, cuffs, breeches, cloaks, etcetera; or there would have been further petitions).

[1] 24th Nov, 1586 This letter reached its destination safely, and it was not till after the Duke's tragic death in 1588 that Burghley was able to get a transcript of it which is docketed, "*Copy of a letter of the late Queen of Scotland to the late lord the Duke of Guise, killed at Bloys, transcribed from the original written with the said Queen's own hand*" C P xx 2 pp French, and Cotton MS Calig C ix f 598 Cal S P S, M Q of S IX, pp 163-164

[2] Suddenly a rumour was circulated that the prisoner had escaped, and Poulet (9th December) asked for a guard of "forty trained men," and a new supply of powder for his headquarters, in "this dangerous and desperate time" (Cotton MS Calig C IX f 608 Cal IX, pp 188-189)

[3] 2 Dec 1586 C P XX, Cal IX pp 179-180

On the 4th of December, a Royal Proclamation was issued under the Great Seal, denouncing the conspiracy of the Queen of Scots,—Queen Elizabeth expressing herself as "deeply grieved to imagine such monstrous acts" devised by "a Princess born and of the blood royal." (The word "imagine" being used in the sense of to "realise") Her Majesty at first could hardly "think the same to be true", until she saw "such proofs as proceeded from her and the conspirators themselves, who voluntarily and freely, without coercion, confessed . . "

"Being unwilling to proceed against her, considering her birth and estate," Queen Elizabeth recited how she had created a special Commission to examine "Mary, daughter and heir of James V late King of Scots, commonly called the Queen of Scots and Dowager of France"[1] Having "heard also at large, in all favourable manner, what the said Queen did or could say for her excuse," these peers and lawyers were convinced of her complicity By "public assent in Parliament" the sentence was affirmed to be "just, lawful, and true . " (Observe that there is no word quoted from Queen Mary's defence she having declared her condemnation unjust and unlawful, based on the evidence of false witnesses)

It was reiterated that Her Majesty had hesitated to doom the Queen of Scots, but that both Houses of Parliament had assured her that "they could not by any means find or devise how the surety of the Royal Person, and the preservation of themselves and their posterity" might be "provided for" without execution of the death sentence

"Overcome with the earnest requests, declarations and important reasons" of the "nobles and commons of the Realm," the Queen had yielded, in accord with the relevant Statute[2] and so she desired her "loving subjects and other persons" to have "full understanding and knowledge" of the circumstances[3]

All this has been regarded by Mary's advocates as flagrant hypocrisy But the more dispassionately the case is examined, the more apparent it becomes that whereas Mary was telling the truth, Elizabeth was persuaded to put aside the protests of her "sister Queen" and accept instead the combined assertions of the crafty and egotistical secretaries Nau and Curle· whose testimonies in normal circumstances would not have counted in her eyes in comparison with the word of a Queen And whereas Elizabeth thought a secret death, like that of the little Yorkist Princes in the Tower, would be less detrimental to the prestige of royalty than a public execution, Mary dreaded lest she be privately murdered and some false account of her end published to the world So poignantly did she feel this apprehension that she wrote direct to Elizabeth Poulet's reluctance to forward the letter, and his delaying it as long as he dared, are comprehensible if we notice how

[1] Not "Mary Stuart" (which modern designation is as unsuitable as if the present Queen Dowager were to be called "Mary Windsor")

[2] E F Vol V, pp 190 191, pp 206-207

[3] Richmond, 14 Dec 1586 Printed at London 3 pp C P XX (and Cotton MS Calig f 602, and Harl, 290, f 189) Cal IX pp 180-182

proudly it is worded, and with what open scorn for her accusers.[1] Her effort to clear her honour is in so firm a tone of conscious rectitude that no wonder Lord Leicester (when he saw it) was apprehensive of its effects upon the Queen.

Boldly acquitting herself of malice and "cruelty," Mary declared she had ceased to look for justice on earth, but "resolved henceforward to strengthen myself in Jesus Christ alone " who had " given me the courage *in spe contra spem,* to endure the anguish, calumnies, accusations and contumelies of those who [should] have no jurisdiction over me . . "

Proclaiming her readiness "to suffer death for the maintenance, obedience, and authority of the Catholic Church Apostolic and Roman," she adds that when Buckhurst and Beale announced to her the sentence "given by your last assemblage," she bade them "thank you from me for such agreeable tidings" that at last she was coming to the end of her long and wearisome pilgrimage And now, she desired to owe a final benefit solely to Queen Elizabeth, as she saw she could hope for no kindness from the "Puritans"[2]

". . . I wish to accuse no one, but on the contrary, to forgive everyone from my heart, as I desire to be forgiven by all, and in the first place by God"

In the name of Christ, she besought Elizabeth to promise "that when my enemies shall have satisfied their dark desire for my innocent blood, you will permit that my poor sorrowful servants may all together bear my body to be buried in holy ground, and near those of my predecessors who are in France, especially the late Queen my Mother and this because in Scotland the bodies of the Kings my ancestors have been insulted, and the churches pulled down and profaned

"And as I am told that you wish in nothing to force my conscience, . and have ever conceded me a priest, I hope that you will not refuse this my last request . ."

Her body and soul, which when united "never knew how to obtain liberty to live in peace," should find repose after being separated

" *before God I do not in any way blame you, but may God show you the entire truth after my death*

And because I fear the secret tyranny of some of those into whose power you have abandoned me, I pray you not to permit me to be executed without your knowledge, . . ." Although she had no fear of death, she dreaded lest false rumours might be spread to the detriment of her honour.

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[1] "From Fotheringhay the xix December 1586" In extenso, French Labanoff, Vol VI, p 474 Translation Maxwell Scott, pp 130-133 and C P XX (extract only), Cal IX p 198

[2] Misuse of a word The actual Puritans were dissenters from the Church of England, and she had never met any of them in England but Morgan called Poulet a "Puritan" in letters to her

That her servants should be spectators of her end, and that she might send her son a jewel, and return to Queen Elizabeth "a jewel which you gave to me," she asked "in remembrance of King Henry VII your grandfather and mine, and in honour of the dignity we have both held "[1]

"For the rest, I think you will have certainly heard that they pulled down my dais by your order as they said, and that afterwards they told me that it was not done by your command but by that of some of the Council I praise God that such cruelty, which could only show malice and afflict me after I had made up my mind to die, came not from you . . ."

She assumed "that this is the reason why they would not permit me to write to you, until they had, as far as they could, taken from me all external mark of dignity and power telling me I was simply a dead woman . . ."

" If you grant me this my last request, give orders that I shall see what you write regarding it, otherwise they will make me believe what they like."

She prayed for Queen Elizabeth's conversion, and was resolved "to die in perfect charity . . . pardoning all those who are the cause of my death, . . and this shall be my prayer to the end

"Do not accuse me of presumption if on the eve of leaving this world, and preparing myself for a better, I remind you that one day you will have to answer for your charge, as well as those who are sent before . .

"Your sister and cousin wrongfully imprisoned

MARIE QUEEN"

This would not have been forwarded by Poulet, had it not been for "Her Majesty's express commandment to make offer to this lady to convey her letters." As Poulet explained to Davison,

"We have used all convenient means to delay the receiving of this, to the end it might arrive at the Court too late to stay any action touching this lady that might be intended before Christmas."

He thought "that *the delay of the execution until after Christmas will give*

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[1] The learned editors of "*The Waisnder Papers*," 1931, pp 223-225, have overlooked this letter, and render the case in the manner of Froude (but without mentioning his name) "When the fatal day came she died 'most resolutelie' Yet in this supreme moment one feels that she was acting a part It is noteworthy that she asked her servants to attend her to the end"

Ignoring Mary's explanation of her reason for demanding to have witnesses, the editors make that request a reason for accusing her of being "theatrical" and "ostentatious" It is lamentable that the Scottish History Society thus continues Froude's misrepresentations, though Chantelauze and Father Morris more than sixty years ago exposed the flagrant fashion in which that so-called historian had garbled the evidence Moreover "one feels" is an infelicitious phrase in serious history It is not what we modern historians "feel" but what Queen Mary said and did which is the point

great cause to suspect an everlasting delay, . . . either through Her Majesty's too great inclination to mercy, or by reason of the danger of her person . . ."[1]

Walsingham, writing to Leicester, lamented the postponement of the execution as causing him more woe than any private grief.[2] Having consolidated an autocratic Monarchy, Her Majesty's Ministers were obliged to await the Queen's signature to the Death Warrant. Once again she hesitated But if she made any answer to Mary's letter, Mary was not allowed to receive it and so she wrote again, "From my prison of Fotheringhay, the 12th of January" 1586-7[3]

Having prepared herself for death, she most willingly made up her mind "to leave this false world," but wished to put in order some of her personal affairs such as could "offend no one" As regards her petitions through Buckhurst and Beale, some had been granted,

"namely the arrival of my chaplain, and receiving a portion of my money, but of my papers I only received certain extracts. As I do not think you intend that things belonging to me . . . should fall into other hands, . . . [and as] they are necessary to the making of my Will, I implore you that all my statements, books of accounts, and other papers which relate only to my private affairs, be returned to me, and the rest of the money restored "

Sir Amias Poulet and Sir Drew Drury had promised to write to the Queen on her behalf, and she had been expecting an answer since the 22nd of December, when she had been handed "some papers, with a line from my secretary Nau "

"Perhaps not thinking it reasonable to trouble you with my last requests, I fear either that my letter has never been given to you, or that you did not wish to take the trouble to [read] it. The way in which I have been treated has perhaps led [them] to imagine that I meant to beg from you some great grace, and it may even have made them fear that, in the goodness of your heart, this remonstrance would cause you some regrets at consigning one of your own blood, and quality united, to such straits

"But, Madame, they need not fear such pusillanimity on the one side; and on the other you can remove from them all their dread of your too great sorrow by telling them of my request. And as it is your intention only to gratify it at my death, the which has been granted them, they cannot blame you if, through

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1 "*Letter Books of Sir Amias Poulet,*" p 338 with a P S regretting that "your letters of the 14th received the 20th" were not in time to prevent the arrival of the priest, who was admitted on the 17th according to previous instructions But the "inconvenience" was the less in that the priest was of "weak and slender judgment, and can give neither counsel nor advice "

2 i e his daughter's serious illness E E ante, pp 250 251

3 Presumably never delivered to Queen Elizabeth Unknown until discovered by Chantelauze in 1875, " *en tête du Journal de Bourgoing, avec cet mention 'Encore de la propre main de la dict dame à la Royne d'Angleterre,' ce qui vent dire qu'elle fut copiée par l'auteur sur l'original autographe*" Published 1876, Chantelauze, pp 579-582 Translation, Maxwell Scott, pp 143-145

a feeling of family duty, or at least of Christian charity, you grant burial for my body"

She besought Elizabeth "not to keep me any longer in this miserable suspense, which is more cruel than any certainty, but let me fully know your will . . ."

Interceding for her "poor servants, who are losing their time and their health," she enquired if at the hour of her death she wished to divulge some secret, in whom could she confide?

> " . I pray God grant you as much happiness in this world as I expect in leaving it through His Mercy, which I beg for myself and for all those who persecute me, . . being freed from so many miseries by an innocent death And I desire to forgive any who otherwise calumniate me and mine "
> Hoping that her death would clarify "many things in which God may be glorified," she supplicated "His Divine Majesty that all would happen for His honour and your edification, . with that of all this island "[1]

On the 1st of February, Queen Elizabeth signed the death warrant No sooner was this step taken than Walsingham and Davison wrote to Poulet that Her Majesty thought her servants should have found some other way to end the prisoner's life, instead of which they "cast the burthen upon her. . , knowing as you do her indisposition to shed blood, especially of one of that sex and quality . Her Majesty, we assure you, has sundry times protested that if the regard of the danger of her good subjects" did not "more move her than her own peril, she would never be drawn to assent to the shedding of blood . ."[2]

Poulet (who had also heard direct from the Queen,) wrote back to Walsingham of the "great grief and bitterness of mind" caused by having "lived to see this unhappy day," in which his Sovereign wished him to dispose of the captive privately,—"an act which God and the law forbiddeth" He protested that his "livings and life" were "at her Majesty's disposition . . But God forbid that

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[1] This letter having been published in 1876, it is remarkable that it has escaped the notice of the editors of *'The Warrender Papers,'* Scot Hist Soc 1931, whose summary (Vol I, pp 223-225), is that both sides equally licked "christian charity," and that "Both Mary and her accusers played with edged tools and used the same chicanery in their self justification" But "chicanery" is a most inappropriate word to apply to Queen Mary's outspoken, clear, and regal letters, and valiant defence The poison of Froude's influence is manifest in the following editorial pronouncement "There was much that was theatrical, as well as much that was courageous, and something that, from a modern standpoint, was unworthy" in her "manner" of meeting death If "modern standpoint" is to be the synonym for inability to appreciate superlative courage and sublime self-command, then indeed "modern mentality" would embody a sad decline in recognition of the difference between noble and ignoble souls, bravery and cowardice When the accomplished editors find "ostentation and aggressiveness" in Mary's "attitude" at her death, the dispassionate reader can only marvel at a system under which the prejudices and quips of Froude can remain more influential than all the direct evidence of the royal dignity of this Sovereign, who had suffered and endured for nineteen years a captivity which would have broken any except a most heroic spirit That the Presbyterian editors dislike Queen Mary's religion is no just cause for depriving her of the right to speak for herself

[2] Cotton MS Calig C IX f 608 Cal IX pp 188-189 "At London 1st February 1586(7)" *"Letter Books of Sir Amias Poulet,"* p 359

I should make so foul a shipwreck of my conscience or leave so great a blot to my poor posterity, to shed blood without law or warrant "[1]

(This indignation, however, was not accompanied by any pity for the victim). When the suggestion was renewed that Queen Mary should be put to death secretly, Poulet and Drury vehemently denounced such a "dishonourable and dangerous" course And Beale emphatically objected to the precedent of Richard II's murder. He thought it only "safe" to proceed "openly according to the Statute."[2]

On the 7th of February the Earl of Shrewsbury (Earl Marshal) and the Sheriff and others arrived at the Castle, and sent word that they wished to speak with the Queen of Scots She replied she was in bed, but could get up if necessary. Their errand—as her physician relates,—was to read her "a document of parchment, to which was appended the Great Seal of England"; namely the death warrant. She listened to it calmly, and when it was finished, she thanked them for "such welcome news" that she was to be delivered from her miseries

". I am by the grace of God a Queen born and a Queen anointed, a near relative of the Queen [of England], granddaughter of King Henry VII, and I have had the honour to be Queen of France But in all my life I have had only sorrow" She was quite ready and very happy to die, " to shed my blood for Almighty God, and for the Catholic Church . "

She added that if she and Queen Elizabeth could have met, they might have "agreed very well" And placing her hand on an English New Testament which was on her table, she vowed she was innocent of the crime ascribed to her "I have never either desired the death of the Queen, or endeavoured to bring it about, or that of any other person"[3]

The Earl of Kent objected that she was swearing on a Catholic Bible She answered that her oath was worth more when she swore by the book which she believed to be the true version than if it were a rendering she did not accept.[4]

Kent, Shrewsbury, and the others, strove to persuade her to see the Dean of Peterborough[5] She asked to see her priest, but this was peremptorily denied. ("The Queen of England had granted my request, and had allowed him to come to me, and since then they have taken him from me, a thing too cruel).[6]

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[1] Ib p 361 Signed also by Sir Drew Drury

[2] Yelverton MSS 31, f 529 Maxwell Scott, p 171 The executioner was sent down secretly with a servant of Walsingham, "his instrument is put in a trunk, and he passeth as a serving man" Walsingham to Poulet, 3rd Feb Yelverton MS f 533 Maxwell Scott, p 172

[3] Maxwell Scott, pp 176 178 Bourgoing, p 572 "*[Sa Majesté] protesta et jura sur la Bible, qu'elle avait auprès d'elle, le nouveau testament qu'elle avoit en angloys catholicque, qu'elle n'avoit jamais n'y cherché, ny poursuivy la mort de la Reyne, ny de personne qui fut*"

[4] See its title page, 1582, see E E Vol IV, p 150

[5] Maxwell Scott, p 180 Bourgoing, p 574 "*[Sa Majesté ajouta qu'elle] n'y ayant trouvé aulcune edifficatión, que ayant vescu jusques icy en la vraye relligion, qu'ils n'estoit pas le temps de changer, mais que c'estoit à ceste heure qu'il falloit qu'elle demeurast ferme et constante et plus tost pour y faillir, vouldroit perdre dix mille vyes, sy elle es avoit aultant*"

[6] Bourgoing, p 575

But—as afterwards related to the King of France,—however grieved by the manner in which she was treated, she accepted the prospect of death "with very great firmness", thanking God "that it pleases Him to put an end to so many miseries and calamities that I have been constrained to bear these nineteen years . . ." She dared "with a pure heart and clear conscience to go into the presence of God."

> "And since I am called upon to die so violent a death,—compassed by the means of so unjust a judgment, by men under whose jurisdiction I cannot possibly be—," this execution would be "more agreeable" than to remain prisoner to "so hard and cruel a kinswoman. But since she has thus resolved upon it, and with so much severity, the will of God be done"[1]

She enquired how soon she was to die. Shrewsbury named eight o'clock the next morning. She again asked for her chaplain, and also for her papers to be restored to her. Both requests were refused. She expressed hope of being buried beside her husband King Francis II at St Denis, or near her mother's tomb at Rheims, but was told this would not be allowed.

She then wondered if her requests for her servants would be granted? Kent and Shrewsbury had not received orders, but saw no reason to anticipate refusal. As they were bowing themselves out, she asked about Nau and Curle "Is Nau dead?"

Hearing he was alive, she exclaimed that she was "to die for him who accused her, and who caused her to die to save himself."[2]

During her last night on earth she distributed among her attendants her garments, jewels, and plate, and chose special mementoes to be taken to her son, to the King and Queen of France, the King of Spain, her cousins the Guises, and others.[3] She wrote to her priest,[4] and made her Will, and fixed up into separate packets for her servants such little money as she had in her hands.

At the thought of her approaching execution, her ladies, and others around her, fell "almost into despair", but were bidden by her to watch and pray; which they did with her until after midnight. Having then rested on her bed for only a short time, she went into her oratory to pray alone, but soon "re-entered her cabinet in order to write, having her pen in her hand for two hours"[5]

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[1] Add MS 30 633 f 436 et seq (66½ pp) Abbr Cal IX, pp 416-441 Account of proceedings of French Ambassadors on behalf of the Queen of Scots and description of her death Fotheringhay spelt "Faldructzay," and Beale "Milord Belle," Poulet "Sieur Pollet," &c

[2] Bourgoing, p 576 Maxwell Scott, pp 183

[3] Ib p 189 Dr Bourgoing received "two rings, two small silver boxes, the Queen's two Lutes, her music book bound in velvet, and the red hangings of her bed"

[4] Labanoff, Vol VI, p 483 Maxwell Scott, pp 189-190

[5] Add MS 30, 633 The slight variations between this and Bourgoing's description are not worth noting Both accounts agree as to her supreme calm, and her regal thoughtfulness for those who had been dependent on her Her conviction that Nau had betrayed her, did not influence her against her other attendants

Her final letter to her brother-in-law, King Henry of France, survives in the original,—three large pages. The handwriting is steadier and clearer than that of a sonnet she had composed some months before.[1]

She related how after long captivity and many griefs she was at last condemned to death, and had even been refused her papers, and denied her request to be buried in France, "where I your sister formerly had the honour to be Queen . . ."

". . . if you will please to believe my Physician, and those others my sorrowful servants, you will know the truth, and that, thanks be to God, I despise death, and faithfully protest that I suffer it innocent of all crime .

"The Catholic Faith and the maintenance of the right which God gave me to this throne, these are the two points of my condemnation; and yet they will not allow me to say that I die for the Catholic faith, "

Deploring that she was not permitted to see her chaplain, though he was in the castle, she again referred King Henry to her servants to describe the last scene of her life She relied on him to reward her "desolate attendants by giving them their salaries," and to have prayers offered up "for a Queen who has been called Very Christian, and who dies a Catholic, and destitute of all means." For her son she could not answer, and so could only commend him to King Henry so far as he might merit it.

"I venture to send you two rare stones, valuable for health which I desire you to have in perfection, as also I wish you long and happy life[2] You will receive them from your very affectionate sister-in-law, who in dying desires to show her affection for you. I will again recommend my servants to you "

Repeating her requests for prayers for her soul, she ended, "This Wednesday at two hours after midnight Your very affectionate good siser MARIE R."[3]

From the great hall came the sounds of hammering; the scaffold was being put up: so the Queen of Scots had little if any sleep on this her last night on earth.

Self possessed and serene, comforting those around her, and, again expressing her willingness to die for her faith, she lay down on her bed and closed her eyes. Her servants realised that she was praying.

After being ceremoniously dressed, she re-entered her oratory, and there remained kneeling before the altar, until her physician, fearing she would be utterly exhausted, helped her to rise, and brought her some bread and wine. She accepted both, most graciously, and then resumed her prayers Soon came heavy knocking at the door. Her servants hesitated to respond, so the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury made ready to force an entrance if need be. But at the second knocking, the door

[1] Sonnet, E E plate 21

[2] This wish not fulfilled He was assassinated in 1589, by a friar See E E under date

[3] Mrs Maxwell Scott gives this pp 191-193 from a copy For the original see E E, plates 18, 19, 20

Erratum Page 411, line 25 For "good *siser*" read "good *sister*"

was opened. The Sheriff, white staff in hand, came in alone. Seeing the Queen of Scots on her knees, and her servants kneeling beside her, he hesitated a moment before announcing that the fatal hour had struck.

We will now view the last scene of all, through the eyes of her adversaries, and will see how she rose superior to fate, and proved herself in death as in life "a constant and unconquerable soul."[1]

[1] Froude's account of Mary as "terribly agitated" by her approaching death, and as writing "a few lines" to the King of France (actually three large folio pages), has often been rebuked But when Catholic commentators ascribe his attitude to his Protestantism, this cannot be the reason, for he was equally venomous about Lord Leicester, a Protestant and Mary's ruthless enemy The likes and dislikes which Froude allowed to colour his renderings of character and circumstances arose less from theological prejudices than from personal preferences His assertion that Mary's demeanour was "brilliant acting" is entirely unjustified Every word she spoke at the end has the ring of ardent sincerity His assumption that she wished to make a "dramatic sensation," as "a bad woman in the livery of a martyr," is not merely unchivalrous, it is inhuman And when after describing her garments he adds, "Her reasons for adopting so extraordinary a costume must be left to conjecture," etc, etc, the answer is that it was not "extraordinary" in 16th century eyes for a Queen to dress according to her rank But he admits, "Never did any human creature meet death more bravely" Why, then, denounce her valour as counterfeit? His grudge against her yet influences many who would nominally repudiate his authority notably the editors of *"The Warrender Papers,"* Vol I, 1931, quoted E F p 406, n 1, p 408, n 1 When they denounce her "attitude" towards death as 'unchristian" and "unworthy," they must have forgotten her own words Christian valour, patience, and forgiveness could hardly have been more nobly combined So it is to be hoped that the distinguished editors (one of whom is now Historiographer Royal for Scotland, and Principal of Glasgow University), will reconsider and withdraw such phrases, which have given new currency to the calumnies of Froude

THE LAST LETTER OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

"Au Roy tres Chrestien monsieur mon bien bon frere et ansien allye"
"ce Mercredy, deulx heures apres minuict" (8 February, 1586-7), *six hours before her execution*

First reproduced, full size, large folio, in *'Catalogue of the collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents found between 1865 and 1888 by Alfred Morrison 'Letters, the living thoughts of a race departed' Vol IV Printed for Private Circulation, 1890,"* Plate 123, 3 pp, facing p 210, on which is French transcript

After Mr Morrison's death, when the collection was dispersed, the late Leverton Harris, P C, M P and other admirers of Mary Queen of Scots, saved this letter for the Nation The original is now in the Register House at Edinburgh

The handwriting is so firm and clear as still to be easy to read even as reproduced now on a smaller scale

The self-control and dignity, the thought for others, the valour of spirit and vividness of mind embodied in this letter are such as to contrast strikingly with Froude's rendering of the situation "She was dreadfully agitated Her last night was a busy one A few lines to the King of France were dated two hours after midnight"

This calling of three folio pages "a few lines," and not allowing the victim to speak in her own words, is typical of Froude's method

Monsieur mon beaufrere estant par la permission
de Dieu pour mes pechez comme ie croy venue
me rendre entre les bras de ceste Royne ma
cousine ou iay eu beaucoup denuuis & passe
pres de vingt ans ie suis enfin par elle et ses
estats condampnee a la mort & voyant demande
mes papiers par eulx ostez a ceste fin de fayre
mon testament ie nay peu rien refuser qui me
seruist ny obtenir congie de fayre venir
ny quapres ma mort mon corps fust transporte
selon mon desir en votre royaulme ou iay eu
lhonneur destre royne votre sœur et ancienne
alyee
ce nonobstant apres auoir este detenue
ma sentence pour estre executee demain comme
une criminelle a huict heures du matin
ie nay eu loysir de vous fayre vng ample discours
le tout cecy est fascheux mays sil vous plaist
de croire mon medecin et ces autres miens
desolez seruiteurs vous orrez la verite et comme
grace a dieu ie mespryse la mort et fidellement

. proteste de la recepuoir innocente de tout crime
quant ie seroys leur subiecte la religion catholique
& le mayntien du droict que dieu ma donne a
ceste couronne sont les seulx poincts de ma
condamnation & toutesfois ilz ne me veullent
permettre de dire que cest pour la religion catholique
que ie meurs mays pour la querelle du champyon
de la leur & pour preuue ilz mont oste mon
aulmonier lequel bien qui soit en la mayson ie
nay peu obtenir quil me vinst confesser ny
communier a ma mort mays mont fait grande
instance de recepuoir la consolation et doctrine
de leur ministre ammene pour ce fait ce porteur
& ja congnoissez la plusparte de vos subiectz
vous tesmoigneront mes desportemant en ce
mien acte dernier il reste que ie vous supplie
comme vostre chrestien mon beau frere & cousin
allyé & qui mamez tousiours proteste de
maymer quia ce coup vous fayrez preuue en
toutz ces poincts de vostre vertu tant par
charite me soulagyant de ce que pour deschar
ger ma conscience ie ne fays faits vous gist
est de recompenser mes seruiteurs desolez leur

laissant leurs charges labeur faysant, prier dieu
pour une yssue qui a estat nommee tres chrestienne
et mesmes catholique descendue de toutz ses biens
quant a mon filz ie le vous recommande autant
que il le meritera car ie veux plus respondre
par ma vaillance. Ie vous envoye deulx
pierres rares pour la santé vous la desirant
parfaicte avec heureuse et longue vie Vous les
recepvrez comme de vostre tres affectionnee
bonne sœur mourante en vous vendant tes mercys
de bon cœur en vous recommandant
encore mes serviteurs vous ordonnerez s'il vous
plaict ainsi pour mon ame ie soye payee de
partie de ce que me debuez et qu'en chrestien
de Jhesus Christ lequel ie prye demain a
ma mort pour vous me laisser de ses fondz
un obit et faire les ans. moins requises
ce mercredy a deulx heures apres minuict

Vostre tres affectionnee et bien
bonne sœur MARIE

PART IV

"As the difference standeth"

CHAPTER 1

"THE DIVERSITY OF HUMAN AFFLICTIONS"

SECTION 10

"A true constant Catholique."

(The execution of Mary Queen of Scots, 8th February, 1586-7)

"Souhaitez donc fin de calamitay,
Et que su bas estant asses punie,
J'aye ma part en la ioye infinie"

Sonnet in the hand of the Queen of Scots
Bodleian, Arch F c 8, no 24 (See I F, plate 21)

"She said there rested yet one request that it would please them to permit her poor distressed servants to be present" to behold "how patiently their Queen and Mistress should endure her execution, that thereby they might be able to make relation that she died a true and constant Catholique"

R[ichard] W[ingfield]'s "Narracion of the execution of Mary late Queene of Scotland," Cotton MS Calig C IX, ff 589-599 (Stewart, pp 173-184)

"l'iniqua morte, anzi glorioso Martirio dell'innocentissima e Santissima Maria Reina di Scozia"

The Printer to the Reader
'Istoria Ecclesiastica della Rivoluzion d'Inghilterra," &c, Roma, presso Guglielmo Facciotti, 1594, p 755

SONNET BY MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS IN HER OWN HAND

Traditionally believed to have been found among her papers seized at Chartley August 1586

From the original now with two others in the Bodleian Library, Arch F c 8, No 24

(The others were reproduced by Hosack *Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers* 1874, Vol II facing p 1)

(Bequeathed in 1864 by Captain Montagu R N who bought them at the sale of Mr Robert Lemon's MSS, at Messrs Puttick & Simpson's in 1850)

The original is on larger paper with a wide margin but is at its defaced by modern annotations, including the price, only the Queen of Scots handwriting has now been reproduced

Que suis ie helas! et de quoy sert ma vie
Je n suis fors qun corps priue de cueur
Un ombre vayn, un obiect de malheur,
Qui n'a plus rien que de mourir en vie
Plus ne portez, O ennemis! d'enuie
à qui n'a plus l'esprit à la grandeur
Ja consommé d'excessiue doulleur
Vottre ire en brief ce voirra assouie
Et vous, amys! qui m'auez tenu chere
souuenez vous que sans heur, sans sinteg
Je ne scaurois faire aucun bon oeuvre d'ayre
souhaitez donc fin de calamitay
Et que, si bien estimasses punie,
J'aye ma part en la ioye infinie

Que suis ie, helas! et de quoy sert ma vie
Ie n'suis fors qu'un corps vuide de cueur
Un ombre vain, un rien, et le mal heur,
Qui n'a plus rien que de mourir envie.
Plus ne portez, o ennemis, rancune
A qui n'a plus l'esprit à la grandeur,
Ny contemnie d'excessive audace
Voz traictz ie en brief ce que cy renferme
Et vous, amys, qui m'avez tant chers,
Soumettez vous que mes tens, puis ay ie,
Ne me scauroyent aucun bon cueur faire.
Souhaitez donc fin de malheur,
Et que, la bas estant assis, puisse
I'aye mon nom en la gloire inscript.

PART IV

"As the difference standeth."

CHAPTER I

"THE DIVERSITY OF HUMAN AFFLICTIONS"

SECTION 10

"A true constant Catholique."

(The execution of Mary Queen of Scots, 8th February, 1586-7)

IN the letter written during her last night on earth, the valour and constancy, magnanimity and patience of the Queen of Scots shine out, with a dignity which no misfortune could dim, no calamity quench

Any historian, who, after reading this, can still contend for the 'Casket Letters" as authentic revelations, is beyond the reach of argument,[1] for although moods may vary with events, and the same woman may be different at different times, there is not so wide a contrast possible as between the gross and hideous "false and feigned" effusions she was not allowed to see in 1568, and her actual communications with Princes and Potentates in which she kept her regal courtesy and natural grace even in captivity and under the most exasperating conditions

The "Casket" effusions are entirely unlike the genuine Sonnet in her own hand, now reproduced in facsimile, which may be thus literally translated [2]

What am I, alas, and what use is my life?
I like a body deprived of a heart,
A vain shadow, a victim of misfortune
Who has nothing left except death in life

No longer need foes feel envy
Towards one who has lost all wish for grandeur
So consumed have I been by excess of grief
That their wrath against me should be satiated
And you my friends who have held me dear,
Remember that without opportunity and without health,
I know not how to do any good work

Wish me therefore the end of calamity
And that having been punished enough here below
I may have Infinite Joy beyond death"

[1] See F E Vol I pp 337 343 and Vol VI, p 279
[2] Orig in Bodleian Arch F C 8 no 24 F E plate 21

After nineteen years of captivity, nineteen years of hope deferred, nineteen years of praying for release, nineteen years of continuous misery and mortification, deliverance was approaching at last: not through the victory of the Spanish invader, but by the headsman's axe

That her death-warrant was signed by the very Sovereign to whom she had fled for refuge after her own subjects had defeated her in battle, would be acclaimed as a supreme dramatic irony if it had happened in a work of fiction. But we are so familiar with the tragedy that—except for the few whose sympathies are never blurred or blunted by time,—it has long ceased to evoke such intensity of horror as was felt by her adherents To the end of their days, they cherished her memory as of a saint and martyr.

Many a martyr has won a halo on easier terms It was not only the cruelty of so violent an end. Her patience had been daily and hourly tried ever since, in May 1568, she had crossed the Border into England, when the only safe course would have been to seek a refuge in France or Spain

In the early years of her attempted rule in Scotland, when Sir Robert Melville essayed to negotiate a meeting between her and Queen Elizabeth, he had been hotly indignant that Bassentyne the Astrologer told him the stars in their courses fought against Queen Mary, and predicted that the two Queens would never see each other face to face, and that if Mary hazarded herself in England, it would mean captivity, bitter suffering, and an unnatural death [1] Melville had protested against such "devilish arts" of prophecy, but Bassentyne held to it that though the Union of Scotland and England would come to pass, it would not be until after much grief and bloodshed, and that for Queen Mary there would never be prosperity on earth An earlier prediction, by Thomas the Rhymer, was interpreted to mean that her son should "rule all Britaine to the sea", but her father, dying of a broken heart after his defeat at Solway Moss, when she was a few days old, had feared that as the Crown "came with a lass" (Marjorie Bruce), so it would "go with a lass"

Misfortune shadowed Mary from the beginning She was the victim of other people's actions, the sacrifice to effects the causes of which had been set in motion while she was still in her cradle [2] *"Where there is most power of feeling, there of martyrs is the greatest martyr,"* said a philosopher and artist who combined in his own person many different attributes of the Renaissance [3] Further he added, *"While I thought I was learning how to live, I have been learning how to die"* [4]

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[1] *'Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill'* (Sir Robert's brother) See E L Vol I p 324

[2] See especially *"Narratives of Scottish Catholics Now first printed from the Original Manuscripts in the Secret Archives of the Vatican and other collections Edited by William Forbes Leith, S J New edition London 1889"*

[3] *'The Thoughts of Leonardo da Vinci As Recorded in his 'Note Books' Rendered into English by Eduard McCurdy,"* London (1907) p 3

[4] Ib p xvi

To meet death with composure was common to all ranks when few if any doubted that death was the entry into eternal life It was not the fact of death but the manner of it, not the ending of all earthly hope but the bitterness of irrevocable defeat after long patience and endurance, which makes the tragedy of the Queen of Scots so poignant Her nature was incapable of the cold neutrality or dullness by which less ardent minds modify their griefs, so she was never reduced to stupor or apathy, but felt acutely up to the last

Familiar as is the final scene of her uniquely strange career, we must recapitulate the facts, as reported to Lord Burghley three days later.[1]

The Earl of Shrewsbury (Earl Marshal), the Earl of Kent, with the two gaolers Sir Amias Poulet and Sir Drew Drury, and "other Knights and gentlemen of good accompt" were awaiting her in the inner hall, and it is one of those who describes how she greeted them with "a kind of joye" and "very willinglie bended her steps towards the place of execution"

Although only in her forty-fifth year, the mental torment of being debarred from all accustomed activities, had long since undermined her health, and her once famous beauty was now only a memory.

She who in youth had been able to ride sixty miles without fatigue, and had said that had she been a man she would have made a vigorous soldier, was so rheumatic and crippled that she had to be "gentlie supported" out of her bedroom into the hall "by two of Sir Amyas Pawlettes cheife gentlemen"

She was clad in a gown or coat of black satin, "with a traine and long sleeves to the ground," with acorn buttons of jet and pearl. But the black was not as mourning Beneath it was a garment of crimson satin and velvet, with inner sleeves of purple Her headdress was of lawn edged with lace, with a veil of lawn, wired. She wore a rosary at her girdle with a golden cross at the end, and carried a crucifix in her hand.

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[1] Dated 'XI of ffebruary Anno 1586 (7), *"A true narracion of the execution of Mary late Queene of Scotland within the Castle of Fotheringhaie the eight of ffebruarie Anno Domini one thousand & five hundred & eightie six Directed to the right honorable Sr William Cecill Knight Lord Burghleigh Lord highe Treasurer of England By R(ichard) W(ingfield)"* B,M, Cotton MS Calig C IX ff 589 599 In extenso, Steuart, *'Trial of Mary Queen of Scots,"* pp 173 184 See also Cal IX, pp 273 278

In *"The Tragedy of Fotheringay,"* Appendices, the Hon Mrs Maxwell-Scott printed from Bodleian Tanner MS 78 F 129, *"A report of the manner of execution of the Scottish Queen"* &c, and another from Ashmole MS 830, F 13, and a third, Ib F 18 Also "Reasons in the Lord Threasurer Burghley's owne hand concerning the Queen of Scots" Hatfield MSS Cal III p 206, and Mem of Walsingham, with marginal note by Burghley, Ib p 471 Mrs Maxwell-Scott's ch XI, *"The End,"* is based upon Bourgoing's description, and *"La Mort de la Royne d'Escosse"* 1589, also other materials printed by Jebb, and quoted by Hosack, Chantelauze, Kervyn de Lettenhove, and others She reproduced a contemporary drawing of the Execution, with Beale's holograph list of names of those present, from the Calthorpe MS, and a collotype of the memorial portrait at Blair's College, formerly belonging to Elizabeth Curle, one of the Queen's attendants at the execution For history of and inscription on the picture, see Maxwell-Scott, Preface pp vii-ix

"Melvin" (Andrew Melville) present at the execution, must not be confounded with Sir Robert Melville of the prediction, nor with Sir James Melville

Her old servant Melville, in tears, knelt before her, and asked what man on earth was there before, who had such "sorrow and heaviness" as to have to relate how his "good and gracious Queene and Mistress is beheaded in England"? To which she answered, rather should he rejoice that at last he would see the end of all her troubles. "Carry this message from me, that I do die a true woman to my religion, and like a true woman of Scotland and France . . . ."

Commending herself to her son, and asking that he should be assured she had never "done anything prejudicial" to the Kingdom of Scotland, the tears poured from her eyes when she bade Melville farewell.

"Then she turned herself to the Lords," and asked for a sum of money (of which Sir Amias Poulet knew,) to be paid to Curle her servant, and that all her poor servants might receive what she had bequeathed to them,[1] also that they might be allowed to depart safely into their respective countries. On Poulet assenting, she asked further that her servants should be present at her death "that their eyes might behold and their hearts be witnesses how patiently their Queen and Mistress should endure her execution," and that they might testify how she died "a true constant Catholique."

The Earl of Kent demurred, lest "with speeches or other behaviour" they might be "grievous to your Grace and unpleasing to us"; lest they should be "superstitious" enough to dip their handkerchiefs "in your Grace's blood, which were very unmeet" (i.e. which action would have implied recognition of their Sovereign as a martyr).

Mary answered for them, and pleaded anew that the "poore soules" should at least be allowed to take their leave of her. "You might grant me a request of far greater courtesy than this, if I were a woman of far meaner calling than the Queen of Scots."

As Kent still hesitated, she protested with tears of indignation, "I am cousin to your Queen, and descended from the blood royal of King Henry the Seventh, and (am) a married Queen of France, and an anointed Queen of Scotland."

Kent and Shrewsbury then conferred with the others in charge, and it was conceded she should make choice of "half a dozen of her best beloved" servants to be with her.

She selected Melville, and her apothecary, her physician Bourgoing, "and one other old man besides", and of her women those that were accustomed to sleep in her bedroom.[2]

After this, still supported on each side by "Sir Amyas Pawletts gentlemen,"

[1] Technically the will of any person condemned to death was invalid. Hence the request

[2] Not named by Wingfield. They were Curle's wife Elizabeth, and Janet Kennedy, who are depicted in the background of the memorial picture formerly at Douai, and now at Blair's College. See frontispiece to *"The Tragedy of Fotheringay,"* 1924

Melville carrying her train, being "accompanied with the Earl of Kent's gentlemen," the Sheriff "going before her," she passed into the great hall, and with "an unappalled countenance stept up to the scaffold . . . . then and there made for her death; . . . two foot high and twelve foot broad, with rails round about, hanged and covered with black, with a low stoole, a long fair cushion, and a block covered also with black."[1]

She sat down on the stool, and on her right stood the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, on the left Mr. Andrews the Sheriff. "Opposite, before her, stood the two executioners," and round about the scaffold were grouped "gentlemen and others."

Her death warrant was then read aloud by Mr. Beale, the Clerk of the Council;[2] she "listening unto it with so careless a regard as if it had not concerned her at all nay rather with so merry and cheerful countenance as if it had been a pardon from her Majesty . . . ."

But the end was not yet. The Dean of Peterborough, Dr. Fletcher,[3] standing outside the rails, first bowed low, and then subjected her to a long theological exhortation, threatening her with "a furnace of unquenchable fire" if she died in what he conceived to be her errors of dogma, but offering her "a heavenly kingdom" on terms implying that she should forswear her adherence to Rome. To which she answered, "Trouble not yourself, Mr. Dean, nor me; for know that I am settled in the ancient Catholic and Roman religion, and in defence thereof by God's grace I mean to spend my blood."

Dr. Fletcher protested, but "with great earnestness" she replied, "Good Mr. Dean, . . I was born in this religion, I have lived in this religion, and am resolved to die in this religion."

Whereon Shrewsbury and Kent offered to pray for her that she might be "enlightened": to which she retorted that she would thank them to pray for her, but that she would not pray with them after their fashion, who were not of the "same religion."[4]

The Dean then prayed aloud that her "blindness and ignorance of heavenly things" should be alleviated at the last; and that "Elizabeth our most natural Sovereign Lady and Queen" might be protected; and all who wished her any evil should be put to confusion. This was echoed by all, except the Scots Queen and her servants. She, as Wingfield expresses it, with her crucifix in one hand, and "a

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[1] "In order probably to divert the attention of the crowd, and perhaps as an insult to the Queen, the musicians placed in the courtyard played as she entered the hall a mournful dirge commonly played at the execution of witches" Maxwell-Scott, p 207

[2] Walsingham's wife's brother-in-law

[3] Father of the dramatist (E E Vol I, plate 5)

[4] That both Churches stood for God and Christ and the immortality of the soul, did not prevent such extreme bitterness between them, aggravated by the political issues, that each regarded the other as almost heathen.

Latin booke of vaine prayers in her other hand, . [and] without any regard . . to that which Mr Dean said," began in tears but with a clear voice to "pray in Latin." Then she knelt and "prayed in English for Christ's afflicted Church, and for the end of her troubles, for her son, and for the Queen's Majesty", and that Elizabeth might "prosper and serve God aright"

She held up the Crucifix and said she would die at the foot of the Cross

With extreme harshness, the Earl of Kent bade her put aside her "popish trumperies"

Taking no notice of the insult, she replied "that she forgave her enemies with all her heart," and desired God to convert them. Then she kissed the Crucifix, and said, "Even as Thy arms, oh Jesus Christ, were spread here upon the Cross, so receive me, . into thine arms of mercy, and forgive me all my sins"

The two executioners knelt before her, and asked pardon for what they were about to do She answered "I forgive you with all my heart, for I hope this death shall give an end to all my troubles"

With the aid of her two women, she began to disrobe for the fatal blow, "with such speed as if she longed to have been gone out of the world"

While laying aside her outer garment "she never altered her countenance" But Janet Kennedy and Elizabeth Curle, attending on her, were so overcome with grief, that they burst into "very great and pitiful cries"

The Queen embraced and kissed them, and in French bade them "not to be mournful, for, said she, this day I trust shall your Mistress's troubles end" Then with a smiling countenance she turned herself to her men servants, and asked them to pray for her.

Her women covered her face with a Corpus Christi cloth, and "mournfully departed" from the scaffold, but remained in the hall to witness the tragedy.

Queen Mary then knelt upon the cushion, and "very resolutely, and without any token of fear, she spake aloud this psalm in Latin, *In te Domine confido ne confundar in eternum*"

Groping for the block, she "most quietly" laid herself down Her last words were "*In manus tuas Domine*"

One of the executioners held her, while the other with three strokes cut off her head; "and lifted it up and bade God save the Queen."

"Then her dressing of lawn fell off from her head which appeared as grey as if she had been three score and ten years old" (she was forty-four) Her face was so changed from what it had been in life that it seemed scarcely recognisable.

"Then said Mr. Dean, 'So perish all the Queen's enemies.'" And the Earl of Kent "came to the dead body, and standing over it, in a loud voice said likewise."

It was found that her little pet dog had crept under her skirts It could not be moved except by force, and afterwards would not "depart from her dead corpse, but came and lay between her head and shoulders." It was dragged off, and washed

The executioners were "sent away with money", and "everyone was commanded forth of the hall", except the Sheriff and his men, who "carried her up into a great Chamber made ready for the surgeons to embalm her . . ."[1]

But despite the Dean of Peterborough's prayer, Elizabeth's enemies had not all perished Spain, the most formidable foe, remained resolute as before. The sacrificing of Queen Mary did not alter King Philip's ambitions His intended "enterprise" had been less to deliver the royal captive than to extending his own domination Had the Armada sailed sooner, had the landing been successfully effected—Elizabeth hurled to the dust, and Mary enthroned at Westminster,—the Scottish Queen would have been a vassal of the "Leviathan" Such independent power as that of Elizabeth would never have been allowed to Mary Even Mendoza, who purported to be of one mind and soul with her in politics and in religion, cared for her only so far as she served the interests of Spain.

Though the main facts of her tragedy need not be matter for dispute, it remains profoundly mysterious why she came to earth doomed to so sad an existence From the moment she left France, it seemed as if she were under some dire spell that nothing connected with her could prosper, and no project formed on her behalf could be other than disastrous

That despite all these calamities, her religion, which had cost her so dear, was intensified instead of undermined,—and that the cruelty of man never broke her faith in God,—is the outstanding impression left by her life, and by her death.

[1] Her delayed funeral at Peterborough, July 1587, will be described in Vol VII Chronologically it does not come within the limits of the present volume, which ends on 16th February, O S 1586-7

PART IV, CHAPTER I, SECTION 10.

Postscript.

After seeing Queen Mary's execution as described by Wingfield to Burghley, —and in the other renderings, —we may ask whether the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury had reported to Queen Elizabeth or to the Council anything more than transpired in the foregoing narrative?

In Volume IX of the Calendar of State Papers Scotland, 1915, (pages 271-273) there appears in extenso, in its original spelling, a long statement by Shrewsbury and Kent as to that "which we, the sayd earles," witnessed, on the 8th of February at Fotheringhay

In reference to Queen Mary having been invited by them "to confer with the Bishop or Dean of Peterborough," they tell how she answered

> "that she was ready to die in the Catholic Roman faith which her ancestors had professed . . And albeit we used many persuasions to the contrary, yet we prevailed nothing, and therefore when she demanded the admittance of her priest, we utterly denied it to her."

On her enquiring what was the reply to her petition to the Queen about her papers and her burial, they gave evasive answers (Now we come to the point) As to her concurrence in "the practise of Babington," she once more "utterly denied it, and would have inferred that her death was for her religion, whereunto it was eftsoons by us replied that for many years she was not touched for religion, nor should have been now, but that this proceeding against her was for treason, in that she was culpable of horrible conspiracy for destroying of her Majesty's person, *which she again denied . . And being charged with the depositions of Nau and Curle to prove it against her, she replied that she accused none, but said that hereafter when she shall be dead, and they remain alive, it would appear . . what measure had been used with her*"

And so it does appear, at last, with a clarity which ought to be conclusive. We have the reiterated assertions of her accusers, both direct to herself at her trial and at her execution, and to each other in private, that her condemnation turned on the testimonies of Nau and Curle [1]

It suited the counsel for the prosecution to accept the stories of the faithless servants, against all reasonable assumption to the contrary and against the word of

[1] Not Pasquier, her other secretary, whom the French Ambassador had supposed to be in exactly the same danger as Nau, but who from first to last behaved honourably and deserves to be remembered

the Queen of Scots herself. In theory, and in any less urgent case, Elizabeth would have been scandalised at the oath of treacherous and time-serving secretaries being allowed to outweigh the word of a Queen. But we have followed the process by which she was brought to regard her prisoner not merely as the object but the deviser of the criminal conspiracy. Her reluctance to sign the death warrant, her agitation afterwards, and her anger against Davison for passing that warrant on to the Council (as was his business to do) may appear as dissimulation. But there is much reason to believe her repugnance genuine. She only signed the warrant after she had been persuaded that to spare the Queen of Scots would be to condone an outrageous crime, and to invite further and similar conspiracies

Of many elaborate memoranda of reports and arguments left on paper, most revealing are some relating to Nau, which, when taken in conjunction with Queen Mary's own words, are vital to the whole

One of the most sardonic elements in this extraordinary tragedy is that Nau was not content with saving his life and his "movable goods" by accusing the Queen of Scots,— and by pretending that he had remonstrated with her for the letter he alleged he had written to Babington at her dictation [1] He subsequently gave so false a rendering of the events to the French Ambassador, and to the Duke of Guise, that Guise was completely deceived [2] By producing what Guise then took to be "divers evidence from his Mistress's own hand," Nau posed as such a model of "integrity and sincerity" in "his demeanour in the service of the said Queen in this last trouble," that Guise wrote to her executors, "I cannot fail to testify to you the entire satisfaction which I feel therein " Nau is then further commended as "a worthy man and an affectionate servant of our house", due to have "his wages and pensions and all the other rights belonging to his said estate of counsellor and secretary to the said Queen . ."

This retrospective promotion to the imagined status of "counsellor,"—and Nau's dexterity also in getting "some articles of gold and rings which he has declared to me were put by him for greater safety in the Queen's cabinet,"—seem up to the present to have been left out of the story,—although printed in the Calendar more than twenty years ago.

Let us now recognise how Mary's request to Guise to be kind to her destitute servants was most artfully turned to account by her betrayer And as Nau was crafty and plausible enough even to fool the astute Henry, Duke of Guise, with alleged "evidence from his mistress's own hand," could he not also have deceived Walsingham, Burghley and Hatton, as soon as he realised that the way to save himself was to incriminate Queen Mary? Let us remember how Nau had sworn

[1] Cotton MS Julius F VI, f 47b Cal p 143

[2] This appears from Guise's letter to the Executors of the late Queen of Scotland Dated from "the Camp at" (illegible), 5th October, 1587, 1¼ p French, copy Cotton MS Calig D I f 89 Cal pp 489-490

her innocence "on the damnation of his soul";[1] and that it was only after he began to fear he was himself in danger that he reversed his testimony.

Are we to accept the word of this cowardly knave against his own previous oath, and against the solemn protestation of the Queen of Scots,—who took God to witness that though she expected a Spanish invasion, she had never countenanced nor known of any plot to kill Elizabeth? Considering that Mary died reasserting on the scaffold her innocence of that main charge, is it not a debt of justice long overdue that we should call Nau's perjuries by their right name? Though the explanation comes three hundred and fifty years too late to save the victim's life, it should redeem what she valued much more, namely her honour.

[1] E L ante, p 270

Copye

Van eenen brief / Aen den E. den Grave van Leycester / Stadthouder Generael van alle hare Majesteyts Crychs volck inde gheunieerde Prouincien vande Nederlanden / te voozen gheschreuen / maer gheleuert tzynder wedercomste van daer.

Met een verhael,

Van seker begeerten ende verthooningen Aen de Con. Majestept / op twee verschepden tyden ghedaen / voor ende wt den Name van alle de Heeren / ende vande Ghemeynte / onlancx int Parlement bp een versamelt.

Insghelijcx hare Ma. andwoorde selue daer op ghedaen / Hoewel niet weghedzuct met sulcken graue / nach soo leuendich / als zp bp haere Ma. selue wtgheschpoken was.

Noch is hier bygevoecht / Een warachtige Coppe vande Proclamatie onlancx gepubliceert bp de Co. Ma. Oot verclaringhe vande sententie onlancx gheghe-uen tegen de Coninginne vā Schotlant.

Mitsgaders eenighe Brieuen gheschreuen bp de Schotsche Coninginne / aen den verraedt Anthony Babington, met zyne andtwoorde op de selue brieuen / Aengaende hare onderlinghe conspiratien ēn verraedt tegen hare Ma. etc.

Ghedruct by Richard Schilders, Drucker der Staten van Zeelandt. 1587.

Met Priuilegie.

Lord Leicester's Dutch proclamation against the Queen of Scots

See overleaf for translation of title page

(Translation of title overleaf)

"COPY

of a letter / To the Hon^{ble} the Earl of Leycester / Stadholder-General of all her Majesties Forces in the United Provinces of the Netherlands / written earlier but delivered at the time of his return thence

With a narrative of certain requests and representations to her Royal Majesty made on two several occasions / for and on behalf of all the Lords and Commons recently assembled in Parliament

As also her Majesty's answer to the same / albeit not delivered with such grace / or so lively / as it was spoken by her Majesty herself

Further is here added a True Copy of the Proclamation recently published by the Royal Majesty by way of explanation of the sentence recently pronounced against the Queen of Scotland

Together with some Letters written by the Scottish Queen / to the traitor Anthony Babington with his answer to the same letters / concerning their mutual conspiracies and treachery against her Majesty, etc

Printed by Richard Schilders, Printer of the States of Zeeland, 1587

With privilege '

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE III, MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS SOME POST-MORTEM PUBLICATIONS[1]

(a) *ANTAGONISTIC TO HER*

1587 Richard Crompton *"A Short Declaration of the ende of Traytors and false Conspirators against the State, and of the Duetes of Subjectes to theyr Soueraigne Gouernour Wherein are also breefly touched Soundry Offences of the Scottish Queene Committed against the Crown of this Land"* &c Printed by J Charlewood for Thos Gubbin and Thos Newman, 1587 Sm 4to B L

1587 Maurice Kyffin *"A Defence of the Honourable Sentence and Execution of the Queene of Scots, exemplified with Analogues and diverse presedents of Emperors, Kings and Peoples, with the Opinion of learned Men"* &c, *"with Anthony Babingtons Letter to the Queene of Scots, The Queene of Scots Letter to Anthony Babington, xii July, 1586, and Pointes out of the Scottish Queenes Letters subscribed by Carle* [*sic*] *Sept 23, 1586,"* John Windett (1587)[2]

The same "amplified" (1587)

1588 Translation *"Apologie ou Defense de l'Honorable Sentence et très juste execution de defuncte Marie Stouard derniere Royne d'Ecosse* [*&c*] *le tout traduit d'Anglois en François suivant l'original imprimé a Londres par Jean Quinted* [*sic*] *1587 Imprimé nouvellement, 1588*

(b) *SYMPATHETIC TO HER*

1587 *"Il Compassionevole et Memorabile Caso, della Morte della Regina di Scotia, Moglie di Francesco II Re di Francia"* Parma, Filandro Calestani, 1587 Sm 4to

The same Vicenza, Agostino dalla Noce, 1587

(*Collections relative to the Funerals of Mary Queen of Scots, 1588,"* edited by Robert Pitcairn, 8vo Edinb 1822 Only 125 copies printed Reissues of contemporary pamphlets)

1587 *"Discours de la Mort de tres-haute et tres illustre Princesse Madame Marie Stouard Royne d'Ecosse faict le vingt troisieme jour de Fevrier 1587" 4 leaves, sm 8vo* No printer's name or place 1587 (Only 3 copies known)

1587 Fr Dina da Colle *"Vera e Compita Relatione del Successo della Morte della Christianissima Regina di Scotia, con la Dichiaratione della Essequie fatte in Parigi del Christianissimo Re suo cognato," etc* (sm 4to) Milano, per Giac Picaglia, 1587, and the same *Stampata in Genova e ristampata in Vico,* &c (n d)

1587? *"De Jezabelis Angliae Parracido Varii Generis Poemata Latina et Gallica"* sm 4to (1587?)

1587 Robert Verstegen *"Crudelitatum Haereticorum nostri temporis,"* Sm 4to Antwerp Adr Huber 1587 Copper-plate engravings, including one of the death of Queen Mary

1588 *"Theatre des Cruautez des Heretiques de nostre temps, traduit du Latin en Francois,"* sm 4to Anvers, chez Adrian Hubert 1588

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[1] All included in Sotheby's *"Catalogue of the Library of John Scott Esqre C B"* 1905 5th & 6th days sale, pp 141-193 *"Mary Queen of Scots Books and Manuscripts from the 16th to 19th centuries"* See also Maggs Bros Catalogue 505, 1928, pp 478-485

[2] See also Catalogue, p 134, item 1262 Kyffin's autographed copy of Machiavelli's *"Discorsi sopra la Prima Deca di Tito Livio, novellamente emmendati"* 8vo Palermo, gli Heredi degli Antonelli, 1584

1588 P Pedro de Ribadeneyra S J *"Historia Ecclesiastica del Scisma del Regno de Inglaterra, recogida de diversos y graves autores,"* &c Madrid, P Madrigal 1588 sm 4to

1587 Adam Blackwood *"Martyre de la Royne d Escosse, Douairiere de France, contenant le vray discours des trahisons a elle faictes, a la Suscitation d'Elizabet Angloise"* &c a Edinbourg, chez Jean Nafeild, 1587 And 2nd ed 1588 Both most likely printed abroad

1588 The same enlarged *"sont adjoustées deux Oraisons funebres, un Livre de Poemes Latins et François"* Anvers, G Fleysbeu, 1588

The same, *"A History of Mary Queen of Scots, a Fragment translated from the French,"* Maitland Club, 1834

1588 Robert Turner of Barnstable *"Maria Stuarta, Regina Scotiae Dotaria Franciae, Haeres Angliae et Hyberniae, Martyr Ecclesiae, innocens a Caede Darleana, Vindiciae Roberto Bernestapolio"* Ingoldstadt W Eder 1588

1589 Translation *"L'Histoire et Vie de Marie Stuart Royne d'Escosse d Oriere* [sic] *de France, heretiere d'Angleterre et d'Ibernye, en laquelle elle est clairement justifiee de la mort du Prince d'Arlay* [i e Darnley] *son mary, faicte Françoise par Gab de Gattery"* 12mo Paris G Julien 1589

1589 Antonio de Herrera *"Historia de lo Sucedido en Escocia & Inglaterra, en quarente y quatro años que huvo Maria Estuarda, Reyna de Escocia"* sm 8vo Madrid, Pedro Madrigal 1589

1627 Lope Felix de Vega Carpio *"Corona Tragica Vida y Muerte de la Serenisima Reyna de Escocia Maria Estuarda"* Madrid Viuda de L Sanchez 1627 sm 4to With portrait by I de Courbes Dedicated to Pope Urban VIII

1646-1648 Father N Causino, S J [i e Caussin] *"Historia di Maria Stuarda Regina di Francia e di Scotia, portata dal Francese nell' Italiano dal P Berardi, della Compagnia di Giesu,"* Bologna, C Zenero, 1646, and 1648

1692 Seigneur de Brantôme, *"Memoires, contenant Les Vies des Dames Illustres de France de son Temps"* 12mo Leyde J Sambix le Jeune, *a la sphere,* 1692

Bishop Samuel Jebb *"De Vita & Rebus Gestis Mariae Scotorum Reginae,"* &c 2 vols folio 1725

Ib *"Histoire de Marie Stuart, Reine d Ecosse, ou Recueil de toute les Pièces qui ont été publiées au Sujet de cette Princesse,"* 2 vols fol 1725

Ib *"Life and Reign of Mary Queen of Scots,"* 8vo 1725 (See also Bibliographical Note, E E V, pp 27-28, and Vol I p 312)

Whereas the Queen of Scots was regarded by her own adherents as a martyr, she appears on the "modern official lists" only in italics, which denote *"praetermissi,"* i e "those who were put aside because of the deficiency of evidence" See Catholic Records Vol 5, 1908, *"The English Martyrs,"* I, p 288, 10 and 16

The subject is one upon which theologically it would be rash for laymen to hazard an opinion

But politically the Queen of Scots had the most to lose of any Catholic executed in the reign of Elizabeth And that in nineteen years of captivity she suffered infinitely more grief of spirit than the men whose executions followed swiftly on their arrests and arraignments, appears scarcely disputable To be valiant for a short while, in public, is surely less difficult than to keep up courage and faith under a long-drawn process of attrition Moreover, humiliations and subtle insults were more painful to a Queen who had known (in France) prosperity and admiration, than to men accustomed from early youth to the crude harsh methods of the world

Those who are highest have farthest to fall, and proportionate to her rank, talents, and temperament, the fate of the Queen of Scots seems the most tragic in an age of manifold tragedies.

"A Queen Born and a Queen Anointed"

"I am, by the grace of God, a Queen born and a Queen anointed, granddaughter of King Henry VII, and I have had the honour to be Queen of France But in all my life I have had only misfortune"[1]

So said Mary to the Earl Marshal of England on the 7th February, 1586-7, when he announced that she would be beheaded the next morning Long previously she had written, in French, into her Book of Hours, verses as to her woes, past, present, and to come [2]

"Was ever known a fate more sad than mine?
Ah! better death for me than life, I ween
For me there is no sorrow's anodyne
Towards me all change their nature and their mein

Despised and doubted, can the heart forget
Past wrong and pain, nor let its grief be seen?
Ah, well may such exclaim, in wild regret,
'I am no longer what I once have been'

My friends pretend to mourn my misery
They wish me in the tomb, my woes forgot
And if in dying I should helpless lie,
Upon my garments they would cast their lot

The right to bear these Arms doth but belong
To those brave hearts that know not doubt or fear
Heritage of the noble and the strong,
Who quail not when Misfortune draweth near[3]

Age is a malady that nought can cure,
And youth a blessing we can not retain
The birth of man doth but his death ensure,
And happiness is but postponèd pain"

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1 " *que, par la grace de Dieu, elle, indigne qu'elle s'estymoit, estoit, Reyne née, est oincte Reyne, petite-fille du Roy Henry VII^e^, et avoit eu cest honneur d'estre Reyne de France, mais qu'en toutte sa vye elle n'avoit eu que mal* " Bourgoing's *Journal*, ed Chantelauze, 1876, p 572 (Maxwell Scott, 1895, 1924, pp 176-177)

2 The "mattins book" mentioned in the "*Inventorye of the Jewells, &c, of the late Quicene of Scottes*," Feb 1586-7, is supposed to have been a present from King Francis of France "*Ce livre est à moy, Marie Royne*" is written in her hand, and many verses in the margins Described by Prince Labanoff in his "*Receuil des Lettres de Marie Stuart*," 1844, vol vii, pp 346-352, and by Professor Smyth, "*Proceedings of the Soc of Antiquaries of Scotland*," 1862, vol iii, pt iii, pp 394-406 The verses, were first translated by Agnes Strickland, and reissued (in extenso) in "*Queen Mary's Book*," by Mrs Stewart-Mackenzie Arbuthnot, London, 1907, pp 167-169, French, pp 113-115, English Facing pp 88 and 114, see facsimile pages from the volume, which was then in the Imperial Library at St Petersburg

3 The illuminated coats of Arms in the book have been obliterated They presumably quartered England in the fashion to which Queen Elizabeth objected

"My end is my beginning."

SOME RETROSPECTIVE REFLECTIONS

TRULY did the Queen of Scots predict that far from her death producing the results her executioners intended, many further complications would arise for England Her letter to Pope Sixtus indicated her expectation that he and the King of Spain would carry out the intended invasion as vigorously as if she had survived to be rescued

There are no reproaches to either potentate for having failed and disappointed her In sorrow and dignity, and lofty contempt for her persecutors, her letters when she faced the certainty of execution bear out the estimate given of her character by Sir Francis Knollys, when on first meeting her he had been vividly impressed by her regal spirit [1]

But although Queen Mary's letters are so easily accessible in print, there is still a tendency to judge her through modern interpretations rather than by her own graphic and characteristic words Ordinarily a commentator is either carried away with furious disgust against Elizabeth, or the belittling of Mary is attempted in effort to excuse the English Queen. There is a third method, which revives the Casket Letters on the one hand, and the 1584-85 libel against Leicester on the other, and, accepting both, makes Mary and Elizabeth seem equally ill-balanced, hypocritical, and repulsive.

That Agnes Strickland, a Protestant, was a pioneer English vindicator of the Catholic Queen of Scots is not always remembered.

Of short studies by Catholic sympathisers the most appealing is that of Sir Walter Scott's great-granddaughter [2] But Mrs Maxwell-Scott deliberately concentrated upon the main facts, without treating of the political causes or effects. with which the present History is particularly concerned.

Of all the Catholics who ended on the scaffold during the reign of Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, who endured and suffered the most has received the least attention in Rome of the twentieth century. But in *"L'Historia Ecclesiastica della Rivoluzion d'Inghilterra,"* 1594, her misfortunes were deplored by Father Pollini, who dedicated his labours to Cardinal Allen.[3]

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[1] E E Vol I p 329

[2] *"The Tragedy of Fotheringay Founded on the Journal of D Bourgoing Physician to Mary Queen of Scots, and on unpublished MS Documents By the Hon Mrs Maxwell-Scott of Abbotsford"* London, Edinburgh and Glasgow 1924 (Preface to 1st ed 8th February 1895 Text of 1924 ed a reprint of that of 1895, but some differences in the illustrations)

[3] *"Il Signor Guglielmo Cardinale Alano"* Rome Licensed by Pope Clement VIII

Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, executed for the Northern Rising, is there classed among martyrs, as are many other English Catholics, some of whose names in their Italian guise are not easy to identify; but Pollini's History breaks off in 1584, ten years before its publication, and so avoids Queen Mary's end

His book would leave it uncertain whether the Queen of Scots was credited in Italy with the honour of martyrdom: had not the printer appended words of grief and indignation as to "*l'iniqua morte anzi glorioso martirio*" of Mary.[1]

In Spain, Lope de Vega enshrined her valour and fidelity with dramatic fervour, and the crucifix believed to have been carried by her on the scaffold was treasured in our own time by the late Queen Mother Maria Cristina

Looking back to the early days of the Tudors, we must see that compassion for the fallen was never characteristic of that family The beheading by Henry VII of the young Earl of Warwick—son of George Duke of Clarence and nephew of Edward IV and Richard III,—was a needless cruelty. There was then no theological issue at stake, and a gentle dreamy boy, incarcerated for life in an impregnable fortress, could have worked no harm to Henry. But uneasy lies the head that usurps a crown, and the Tudors totally lacked the magnanimity of the Plantagenets.

The art of gaining, grasping, and increasing in power, was as innate in Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Elizabeth, as to walk and talk was natural to other mortals. Edward VI died too soon for us to know whether those who loved him were justified in thinking he would have renewed the glories of the Plantagenets. But his readiness to sign the death warrant of his uncle, the Protector Duke of Somerset, and his regarding the Crown as if it were a family jewel, may indicate that the mental potentialities of another Henry VIII lurked in his delicate frame

Even young Queen Jane was not without a touch of Tudor harshness, when she expressed her resentment against her father-in-law Northumberland His execution evoked from her no compassion, she regarded it as a deserved Nemesis for his ambition, of which she and her family were the victims[2]

The notion that the mere progress of time carries with it an increase of humane and tender feelings is not always borne out by facts No Plantagenet ever openly executed any Queen or noble lady Though King John had not scrupled to have "Maud of Hay" done to death, he dared not do it in public It would have reflected too adversely upon his claim to manly dignity The handing over of Queens to the official executioner was the innovation of Henry VIII who, when his lust or resentment were aroused had no more scruple than a Sultan of Turkey

Henry seems to have cared for England less for England's sake than because England was his own. Whoever crossed his caprices, man or woman, Catholic

[1] "*Martirio dell' innocentissima e Sanctissima Maria Reina di Scozia,*" p 755
[2] E E Vol I pp 45-46

or Protestant, was mown down without mercy. His object being to impress upon the world his personal supremacy, his putting away of Catherine of Aragón in defiance of Spain, his ruthless cruelty to Queen Anne Boleyn when she in her turn lost his favour, his disdain for Anne of Cleves, his beheading of young Queen Catherine Howard, and of the aged Countess of Salisbury, were all characteristic of his monstrous egoism *"A King's face should show grace,"* said the ancient proverb, but in Henry VIII there was the ferocity of a Tamerlane.

Nevertheless, his bold penstroke by which "this realme" became an Empire at his bidding, established and preserved him in the memories and affections of many of the people

When Queen Elizabeth signed the death warrant of the Queen of Scots, she protested she was acting against her inclinations But her father in her place would not have had a moment's hesitation That her own mother had been beheaded inside the Tower of London, and her childhood embittered by the tragedy, may have been one of the causes of her hesitation to doom another Queen to so terrible an end

It seems incongruous to us to-day that Elizabeth claimed to be excessively clement, and harped afterwards upon her many refusals to consent to the death of the Queen of Scots But she may have been contrasting herself with her elder sister, who had shown no pity for Lady Jane Grey, whose youth and innocence and lack of ambition might have disarmed resentment

Whereas the Nine Days Queen and her young husband, still in their teens, were beheaded as usurpers, Elizabeth, with ample proofs in her hands of Mary Queen of Scots' communications with intending Spanish invaders, had over and over again turned a deaf ear to the clamour of the House of Commons, and of the populace, for the death of the "Guisan syren"

After Elizabeth consented to have the Queen of Scots removed from life, she hesitated to bring her to the scaffold Sir Amias Poulett's indignant refusal to turn secret assassin at her bidding is familiar, but is quoted sometimes without realisation of his full meaning It was not solely the stain upon his own conscience; but that he, like Leicester and Burghley, was convinced that the mere vanishing from earth of the captive Queen, as if from natural causes, would not strike the same awe and dismay into the hearts of her followers as if she could be openly condemned

The affectation of a legal right of Elizabeth's Ministers to sit in judgment on a Scottish Sovereign had been based partly on the ancient claim of the English Kings to be overlords of Scotland This reducing of Scotland to a vassal status had been so offensive to the Scots of old that they had fought many a war rather than accept it But that Edward I, the most victorious of the Plantagenets had brought the Stone of Destiny from Scone to Westminster, was never forgotten by Queen Elizabeth's supporters.

The beheading of the Queen of Scots remains one of the most grim tragedies in 16th century history. Such historians as endeavour to explain it away by maligning the victim,—most notably Froude, and his imitators,—still exercise an undue influence But let us look at the event as it appeared when rival interests were trembling in the balance

If Elizabeth had been assassinated, if Philip had conquered England, if the captive Stuart had been placed on the throne as a vassal of Spain, the structure of the English Church and State, for which Burghley and Leicester, Walsingham, Hatton, and Davison had been labouring so long, would have been utterly overthrown. Today English Catholics, in the safe seclusion of the study, commonly believe that all personal dangers to Elizabeth were illusory But the diplomatic correspondence of King Philip proves otherwise

That the Pope rendered no aid to the Queen of Scots in her time of extremity must have seemed the more disappointing to Mary, in that her desperate position was partly the result of his predecessor's pronouncement that Elizabeth could lawfully be dethroned

It would need the genius of a Shakespeare adequately to depict Queen Mary's life and death Her character still remains a theme for vehement and angry controversy, in which neither side appears fully conversant with all the peculiar political elements which combined to make the case of the Queen of Scots no mere insular quarrel but a matter of European significance

The more the circumstances are examined and considered, the deeper grows the sense of fatality. For Mary, from the time of her return to Scotland from France, had not only been persecuted by open enemies she had the more heart-breaking experience of being over and over again betrayed by "friends"

The patient devotion exercised towards Elizabeth by statesmen who had often reason for exasperation with so exacting a Sovereign, contrasts startlingly with the ungallant conduct of many noblemen, both Scottish and English, in their actions towards Mary.

Her career was one of irony upon irony, grief upon grief, and her remark that few of her rank in any age had experienced such prolonged adversity was less an appeal for mercy than the statement of a fact Through it all, she held unwaveringly to a supernatural hope that behind her sorrows there was some hidden purpose, and that her sufferings would bear fruit hereafter "In my end is my beginning."

In this conviction she met death with a blend of resignation and scorn.

Claiming that God would see her vindicated, she endured the subtlest insolence and mortification from men, for those who were mirrors of chivalry to Elizabeth, became relentless inquisitors in everything that bore upon the destiny of Mary.

CHRONOLOGICAL NOTE MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, 1585-1587 [1]

Date	*Event*	*EE pages*
1585	September Decision to move the Queen of Scots from Tixall to Chartley	143
	September—October The Earl of Essex (Lord Ferrers of Chartley) protests against his house being used as a prison	143-144
	Reassurances of Queen Elizabeth that the order will be revoked	143
1585-6	January But Sir Amias Poulet is allowed to proceed with preparations and the Queen of Scots is transferred from Tixall to Chartley, while Essex is away as General of the Horse in the Netherlands	144
	12(2) May Mendoza's cipher letter to Idiaquez about Babington's plot and Spanish aid	282 287
	29(19) May Charles Paget's letter to the Queen of Scots about Father Ballard and the English Catholics	272-273
	4 July Morgan from Paris warns Queen Mary not to correspond with Ballard	275
	27 July Queen Mary's letter to Morgan as to Babington	276
	She realises that the exploits of Drake and Leicester have delayed the Spanish assistance	153-154
	13(3) August Mendoza sends King Philip further particulars of Babington's plot	282-286
	August Queen Mary taken out for a "buck hunt", and her papers confiscated in her absence Her secretaries carried away to London in the hope that they will give evidence against her	271 272
	5 September (27 August) King Philip's letter to Mendoza, about the "principal execution" (i.e. the plot to kill Queen Elizabeth)	288-290
	10 September Burghley dockets as of "no importance" Secretary Nau's protest that the Scottish Queen is innocent of any murder plot	269-271
	7, 13, 15 September Arraignment of Babington, Ballard and their associates	258
	Babington pleads guilty, but appeals for mercy	263
	He offers £1000 for a pardon	342
	20 21 September Execution of Babington and the other conspirators	258 259
	Cold aloofness of King Philip	303
	14 September Walsingham tells the Master of Gray that Queen Mary's secretaries have "confessed" 26(16) Mendoza from Paris sends this same news to Spain	306, 303
	Only two of them incriminate her, the third, Pasquier, is no help to the prosecution	269, 277
	21 September Queen Mary removed from Chartley Too ill to walk to her coach, she has to be carried	321
	22 September (at Burton) She is accused of conspiring Queen Elizabeth's death, but utterly denies any such intention	321
	25 September She reaches Fotheringhay Castle	322
	8 October Meeting of Special Commission in London to consider her case	323
	6 October Queen Elizabeth's letter holding her responsible for the murder plot, rebuking her denial of complicity, and ordering her to answer to the Commissioners	323
	11 October Arrival of the Commissioners at Fotheringhay	223
	12 October Queen Elizabeth orders the Commissioners not to pronounce sentence till she has considered their reports	335

[1] Dates in English style except the Spanish letters, to which the date by English reckoning is added in brackets

Date	*Event*	*E F pages*
14 and 15 October	The Trial at Fotheringhay	323-336
	Vigorous defence by the Queen of Scots of her integrity and honour	327-335
	She admits correspondence with foreign princes, but denies any intention to take Queen Elizabeth's life	326-327, 330
	The word of her secretaries accepted against hers	335-336
15 October	Queen Mary demands to be confronted with her accusers	336
25 October	Sentence passed against her at Westminster, on the word of her secretaries	397
12 November	Queen Elizabeth gives Parliament "an answer answerless" as to the death warrant, and protests her unwillingness to assent to the sentence	338-341
24 November	Mary's letters, to the Pope,	398-400
	the Archbishop of Glasgow,	398
	the Duke of Guise	402 403
	Don Bernardino de Mendoza	400 402
29 November	French envoy lands at Dover on special mission of intercession for the Queen of Scots	347
	His representations	348-350
December	James VI sends Sir Robert Melville and others to plead (but not too insistently) for his mother's life	384 386
4 December	Royal Proclamation denouncing the "monstrous acts" of the Queen of Scots	404
19 December	Queen Mary's letter to Queen Elizabeth,	405 406
	who again delays signing the death warrant	407
1586-7 12 January	The Scottish Queen appeals once more to Queen Elizabeth, especially for reassurance that her body may be sent to France for burial [No sign that this letter was ever transmitted to Elizabeth]	407 408
1st February	Death warrant signed	408
7th February (17th N S)	Announcement, by Lord Buckhurst and Robert Beale, to the Queen of Scots at Fotheringhay, that she is to be beheaded the next morning	409
	She again denies complicity in the murder plot, and states she will die not for a crime but for her Catholic faith	409
8th February 2 a m	Her letter to the King of France (Plates 18, 19, 20)	411
8 a m	The Queen of Scots beheaded in the great Hall of Fotheringhay Castle, in the presence of the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent and other officials of the Crown	415 424
	She repeats her declaration of innocence on the main charge, and commends her soul into the hands of God, and her honour to the judgment of posterity	422
1937 (350 years later)	Clarification of the case, in *"Elizabethan England,"* Volume VI (1585-1587) by which we see that though Queen Elizabeth believed Queen Mary guilty,—and so after much hesitation, and with real reluctance, gave her assent to the verdict of the Commissioners,—this verdict was based chiefly on the perjury of Secretary Nau, who had previously sworn to Queen Mary's innocence "on the damnation of his soul"	423 424

PART IV

"As the difference standeth."

CHAPTER 2

"BOUNTY, COURAGE, AND LIBERALITIE."

SECTION 1

"Few or none shed not some teares."

(Sir Philip Sidney's Funeral, 16th February, 1586-7)

"For his wit, learning, and knowledge in divers languages he was much admired; for his courtesie and affabilitie . . no less beloved, and for . . bounty, courage and liberalitie . . . as greatly honoured . . . there were few or none shed not some tears when the corps passed by them. . . ."

"The Manner of the whole proceeding" of Sir Philip Sidney's funeral by Thomas Lant 1587

"I loved him as your son; I honoured him as a faithful servant of his Mistress; and I admired him as the Flower of his Age."

Henry, Vicomte de Turenne, to Sir Francis Walsingham (S P France, XVI 98)

"Sidney, the Blazing Star of England's glory,
Sidney, the Wonder of the Wise and Sage,
Sidney, the Subject of true Vertue's story."

"The Affectionate Shepherd" Dedicated "to the right excellent and beautiful lady the Ladie Penelope Ritche" by her "perpetually devoted Daphnis" [R Barnfield] 1594

"His fame shall live to the world's end."

"Hexameter upon the never enough praised Sir Philip Sidney" In Francis Davison's *"Poetical Rhapsody,"* 1602

INTERIOR OF ST PAUL'S HERSE OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY 16 Feb 1586-7

"Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur"

Section 1, Plate 2, of Lant's *"manner of the whole proceeding"* of the funeral

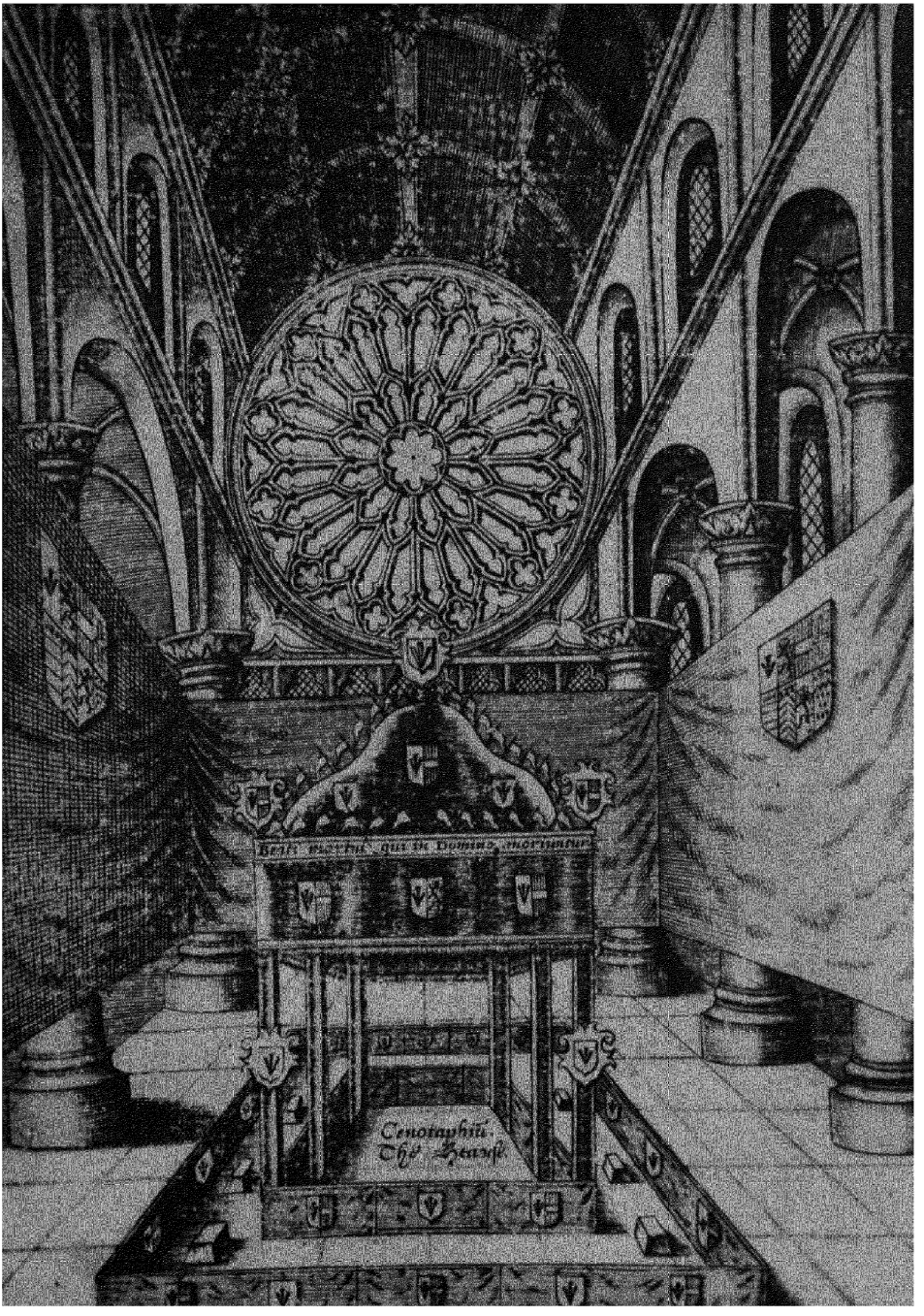
(The plate is in three divisions the central one filled with Latin and English letterpress, the third depicting the beginning of the procession, "Conductors of the Poore")

Notice the large shields blazoned with all the quarterings, and the small ones with the paternal arms of Sidney alone, alternating with Sidney and Walsingham impaled

As Benham's *"Old St Paul's Cathedral"* does not contain Elizabethan views, but is only illustrated from mediaeval MSS and from Hollar's engravings made for Dugdale's *"History of St Paul's"* during the second half of the seventeenth century, Lant's picture, published in 1587, is here selected to show "Paul's" in the 28th year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when the nation was mourning the death of "England's Mars and Muse"

When Hentzner visited our country, thirteen years after Sidney's funeral, he much admired "the Cathedral of St Paul formed by Ethelbert King of the Saxons, from time to time re edified, increased to vastness and magnificence" He remarks that the roof is 'covered with lead, like most others" of the churches in England *Itinerarium*, 1598, (ed 1757, p 20)

This old St Paul's perished in the great fire of Charles II's day


Cenotaphium
Thō Beaufō

Sir Phillip Sidney,

HIS HONORABLE LIFE, HIS VALIANT DEATH, AND TRUE VERTUES:

A perfect Myrror for the followers of Mars and Mercury; who (in the right breaking upon the enemie by a few of the Engliſh, being, for the moſt part, Gentlemen of honor and name) received his deathes wound nere unto Zutphen, the 22d of September laſt paſt; dyed at Arnam the 16th of October following; and, with much honor, and all poſſible mone, was ſolemnly buried in Paules the 16th of February 1586.

By G. W. Gent.

Whereunto is adjoyned, one other briefe Commendation of the univerſal lamentation, the never dying praiſe, and moſt ſolemn funerall of the ſaid right hardy and noble Knight
By B. W. Eſquire.

Dedicated to the Right Honorable the Earle of Warwicke, by his Lordſhips faithful ſervant,
GEORGE WHETSTONES.

Mors honeſta ignominioſæ vitæ preferenda.

Imprinted at London for Thomas Cadman.

Title page of George Whetstone's metrical life of Sir Philip Sidney with "Commendation" by B(ernard) W(hetstone) who was one of the Cavalry in the charge at Zutphen, 22 September, 1586

"Essex that day reviv'd his father's fame,
Lord Willoughby charg'd like a fiery flame"
"Hardy Sidney, much like Mars in viewe,
With furious charge did break upon the foe"

We are nowadays taught that the fight outside Zutphen attracted no attention except because of Sidney's mortal wound This erroneous impression arose from neglect of what was written at the time

PART IV.

"As the difference standeth."

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(Sir Philip Sidney's Funeral, 16th February, 1586-7)

WHILE Walsingham was enduring the first sharp distress of his loss of Sidney, he was brought face to face with monetary confusion. Sir Henry Sidney's services as Lord President of Wales, and Lord Deputy of Ireland, had depleted his private resources, and Sir Philip's expenses as Governor of Flushing had been heavy "Liberalitie," as well as justice, "gained him heartie love, coupled with fame and honour"[1] The old family servants did not realise his financial difficulties, and so believed him to have been able to provide for every eventuality "He had that great care and regard to the conservation of his fame and honor entire when he was gone, that he made a most bountifull and liberall Will." wrote his father's late secretary·

> "which if the same be performed according to his simple, sincere, and good meaning, it will appeare he died not indebted to anie, neither to those that were neare his person, familiars or domesticks, nor to anye other he was indebted unto by bond or borrowing, nor otherwise in credit by waie of overchardge, or in other degree whatsoever, but that he ordered and appointed him satisfaction and honorable contentment"[2]

Such had been Sidney's intention. And during twenty-six days while he suffered "great paine and extreme torment" from his wound,[3] no man could have been more eager to make generous arrangements for those whom his death would bereave. But either through some legal informality in the Will, which was all of his own writing and expression, or by his not estimating exactly what his estate was worth,—he not having been able to leave the seat of war and go home to look after his own interests when his father died,—it happened that a Power of Attorney he sent to Walsingham had results far other than he anticipated It had

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[1] Continuation of Holinshed's *Chronicle*, 1586(7) p 1555 (B M No 2072 8)

[2] "*The Third Volume of Chronicles, First compiled by Raphael Holinshed, Now newlie recognised, augmented, and continued (with occurrences and incidents of fresh memorie) to the yeare 1586*" p 1555

[3] Op cit p 1554

authorised "the sale of such portions of land as might content his creditors."[1] And in his Will he had urged Walsingham and Sir Robert Sidney to sell "as much of my lands lying within the counties of Lincoln, Sussex, or Southampton, *as shall pay all my debts as well as those of my father deceased as of mine own beseeching them to hasten the same, and to pay the creditors with all possible speed,* according to the letter of attorney which Sir Francis Walsingham already hath, sealed and subscribed by me to that end ."[2] But before seeing the Will, Walsingham wrote to Leicester, from Barn Elms, (5th of November, 1586), "Sir Philip hath left a great number of poor creditors, what order he hath taken by his Will for their satisfaction I know not . I have paid, and must pay for him £6000, which I do assure your Lordship hath brought me into a most hard and desperate state,—which I weigh nothing in respect of the loss of the gentleman who was my chief worldly comfort "[3]

By the next day the Will was seen and reported upon by persons "learned in the laws" It was "pronounced imperfect touching the sale of his land for the satisying of his poor creditors

which I do assure your Lordship doth greatly afflict me, [that] a gentleman that hath lived [with] so unspotted [a] reputation and had so great care to see all men satisfied, should be so [exposed] to the outcry of his creditors. *His goods will not suffice to answer a third part of his debts already known. This hard estate of this noble gentleman maketh me stay to take order for his burial until your Lordships return* I do not see how the same can be performed with that solemnity that appertaineth, without the utter undoing of his creditors which is to be weighed in conscience."[4]

That the value of the lands and goods was not adequate to cover the sums required was partly because the estates were encumbered with claims by the Crown. These fines, not paid on the death of Sir Henry, now fell due afresh by the death of Sir Philip, so the estate had to meet two sets of duties within six months.[5] Much of the property was so strictly entailed that there was no option but to pass it on intact to Sir Robert Sidney. The lawyers decided that only the "fee simple lands" could be sold These would not suffice to satisfy creditors and provide for Lady Sidney But she did not stand on her rights· "she claimeth dower of a third part," the lawyers noted, but "waveth her jointure."

Considering the circumstances of Sir Philip's death, and his father's large expenditure for the Crown, also how Lady Mary Sidney by her skilled nursing had saved the Queen's life many years before, and lost her own beauty by infection from smallpox which left Elizabeth unmarked, considering also that

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[1] Walsingham to Lord Leicester, 5th Nov 1586 Orig Cotton MSS Titus B VII f 65 b *Leycester Corresp* pp 453-454

[2] *Letters and Memorials 1746,* (Sidney Papers), Vol I, p 110

[3] Cotton MS Titus, B VIII f 65 b orig *Leycester Correspondence,* pp 453-454

[4] Orig Cotton MS Galba cx f 44 *Leycester Corresp* pp 456-457

[5] Lansdowne MS 50 No 89 *Leycester Corresp* pp 481-482

Philip Sidney was Leicester's nephew, Walsingham thought that even as Lady Sidney did not press for her jointure, much more should the Queen authorise the Court of Wards to remit the fines But his letter to Lord Burghley shows how little sympathy he received from Elizabeth:

> "I humbly beseech your Lordship to pardon me in that I did not take my leave of you before my departure from the Court Her Majesty's unkind dealing towards me hath so wounded me as I could take no comfort to stay there And yet if I saw any hope that my continuance there might breed any good to the Church, or furtherance to the service of Her Majesty or of the realm, the regard of my particular should not cause me to withdraw myself But seeing the declining state we are running into, and that men of the best desert are least esteemed, I hold them happiest in this government that may be rather lookers on than actors
>
> "I humbly therefore beseech your Lordship that as I do acknowledge myself infinitely bound unto you for your most honourable and friendly furtherance yielded unto me in my suit (which I will never forget), so you will be pleased to increase my bond towards you by forbearing any further to press Her Majesty in the same, which I am fully resolved to give over I do assure your Lordship, whatsoever conceit Her Majesty maketh either of me or of mine, I would not spend so long a time as I have done in that place, subject to so infinite toil and discomfort, not to be made Duke of Lancaster
>
> "My hope is, howsoever I am dealt withal by an earthly Prince, I shall never lack the comfort of the Prince of Princes"[1]

Owing to the troubles made by the Queen's harshness and the importunity of creditors, it was not until five months after the battle of Zutphen that Sidney's funeral procession wound its way from the Church of the Minories near the Tower, "along the cheefe streets of the Cytie unto the Cathedrall Church of St. Paules"

Camden merely states that Sidney's uncle the Earl of Leicester "at his return into England ordained a funeral with great preparation after the military fashion"[2] But the scene can be realised by us almost as if we had taken part in the procession,—so fully was it depicted by "Tho Lant, Gent, servant to the said Knight," who with the aid of Derick de Brij, a graver on copper "in the cittye of London," 1587, produced a series of plates giving "the manner of the whole proceeding" summarised thus at the end of the roll of thirty pictures"[3]

> "This worthy Knight, Sir Philip Sidney, in the cause of his God and true religion, and for the honour of his Prince and countrey, spared not to spend his blood . . . .
>
> "For his wit, learninge, and knowledge in divers languages he was much admired, for his courtesie and affability towards all men no less beloved; and for all other his singular parts, of bounty, courage and liberalitie (both to strangers

[1] 16 Dec 1586 S P Dom Eliz Vol CXCV No 64 When Walsingham's latest biographer, Dr Conyers Read, in 1925, conjectured that the Queen may then have given some aid, he was presumably unaware that nearly 25 years later, Walsingham's daughter was still in debt to the Crown on behalf of her father and her first husband, and her father-in law (Particulars will be published in E E under date)

[2] *Annals* ed 1635 p 295

[3] B M No C 20 f 12 a perfect copy with all the plates (That at Penshurst lacks one plate)

and his owne countrey men) as greatly honoured . . . And as he thus lived being of all beloved, so most honorably he dyed."

The public ceremony of his burial was carried out "by the appointment of the right honorable S[r] Frances Walsingham, Knight, principall Secretary and one of her Maiesties most honorable previe Councell (his father in lawe) who spared not any coste to have this funerall well performed."

First walked the "Conductors to the Poore," and then thirty-two poor men in black gowns, their number a reminder that Sidney had died in his thirty-second year

"The poor, whom he, good Knight, did often clothe and feed,
In fresh remembrance of their woe, went first in mourning weed"[1]

After them came the Sergeants of the band fife and drum emitting a "doleful sound" Cavalry and Infantry officers followed with the regimental banners, all the spectators grieving,

"To see his coulers, late advanst, lie trailing on the ground"

Sidney's "servants," his "gentlemen and yeomen," his Porcupine banner with the motto *"Vix ea nostra voco,"* are depicted Among the eminent mourners was Sir Francis Drake, and beside him walked Lord Essex's brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Perrott.

They were followed by "the preacher and chaplains", the pennon with Sidney's arms, his war horse, and his 'barbed horse,' each led by a footman, the war horse ridden by his page Harry Danvers,—trailing a broken lance, symbol of life cut short.

Then was borne his "Great Banner" with all the Sidney quarterings, the ushers to the Heralds preceding it. Of the Heralds, Portcullis carried Sir Philip's golden spurs of knighthood, Bluemantle his gauntlets, Rougedragon his helmet, crested with the Sidney Porcupine statant *azure,* quilled, collared, and chained *or*

The body on a bier was carried by fourteen yeomen, Sidney's brother and heir following as chief mourner, with "four assistants," Thomas Dudley, Fulke Greville, Edward Wotton, and Edward Dyer[2]

The "Earles and Barons of his kindred and frendes," in long black cloaks and tall hats, rode two and two first his uncle Leicester, beside the Earl of Huntingdon (who had prevented Sidney's marriage with "Stella") Next came Stella's brother the young Earl of Essex, General of the Horse, riding beside Henry

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1 " *The universal lamentation, the never dying praise, and the most solemn funerall of the said right hardy and noble Knight By B W Esq[re]*" In George Whetstone's *"Sir Phillip Sidney, His Honorable Life,"* &c 1587 (B M No 641 i 13)

2 MS List of the order of the Funeral bound in with B M copy of Lant's roll (C 20 f 12) Lant's Plate 16 shows these four mourners at each corner of the coffin, Fulke Greville being in front and on the left.

Earl of Pembroke the husband of Sidney's "dear Ladie and sister", and behind them Lord North, with Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby D'Eresby, who was to succeed Sir Philip as Governor of Flushing.

Seven representatives of the Seven United Provinces had come over to do honour to their champion In the procession figured also the "Sword-Bearer of London," on horseback, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, in their scarlet gowns lined with ermine, one hundred and twenty of the Grocer's Company in their livery gowns, and certain "citizens of London practised in arms": Musketeers, Pikemen, Halberdiers, Drums, Fife, and Ensign.

> The streets "all along were so thronged with people" that "the mourners had scarcely room to pass, the houses likewise were as full as they might be, of which greate multitude there were few or none that shed not some tears as the corpse passed by them"
>
> English Captains from the Low Countries with other gentlemen "came voluntary, so that the whole number were about 700 persons
>
> "The great west doore of St. Paules (where ye mourners entered) was kept by some of her Maiesties Guard, the Quier and hearse by 2 Heralds of Armes," Windsor and Chester, "who placed ye nobles and others according to their degrees"

When the sermon was ended, the offerings and other ceremonies finished, and his body interred, the soldiers in the church yard "by a double volye" gave "unto his famous life and death" a martial farewell.[1]

> *"Farewell the worthiest Knight that ever lived,*
> *The multitude did crie"*[2]

"So general was the lamentation that for many months after, it was accounted indecent for any gentleman of quality to appear at Court or city in any light or gawdy apparel."[3]

. . . . . .

Of the condolences received by Leicester, one of the most expressive is from Dr Bartholomew Clerke, whose translation into Latin of Castiglione's *"Cortegiano"* had been prefaced by Edward Earl of Oxford in January 1571-2, when Sidney was eighteen years of age[4]

With Castiglione as his ideal, Clerke wrote the more feelingly of *"your noble*

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[1] "a Marciall *Vale*" End of Lant's *"manner of the whole proceeding"* of Sir Philip Sidney's funeral *"which was celebrated in St Paul's the 16 of ffebr, 1586"* (87 n s) B M No C 20 f 12

[2] B W *"The Universal lamentation* ," in Whetstone's *"Sir Phillip Sidney"* (B M No 641 i 15) The burial was "near to that place where his father-in-law, Sir Francis Walsingham had designed (as I have heard) to be entombed" Sidney's Life, prefaced to 1739 ed of *"Arcadia"*

[3] Collins, *Letters and Memorials* (Sidney Papers) 1746, Vol I p 109 See D E Vol II, pp 173, 178

[4] E E Vol II pp 173, 178

nephew, whose like, as far as I am able to judge for his time and years in all respects, I never found, neither in England, France nor Germany"[1]

And Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne condoled with Walsingham in a most whole-hearted manner [2]

"Friendship makes me share in your loss the death of M de Sidene, and I find as much bitterness in it as sweetness in the memory of his life *I loved him as your son, I honoured him as a faithful servant of his Mistress, and I admired him as the Flower of his Age I regret that he has lasted so short a time, but you, Sir, should rejoice that it is his merits which have prompted God to hasten his reward*

"I know that you hoped much from him But he having died so honourably in the service of his mistress, could you have had any better end for him than this? He found in his youth what others seek with pain in their old age It is he who has gained much, and we have lost much, but let us not complain so grievously of our disadvantage as to grudge him his promotion

"Nevertheless, while wearing mourning, as I ought, for him whom God hath taken from us, I console myself to think that God leaves me still the means to enjoy your friendship, and to give you proofs of my service"[3]

Not only thus in private, but in various tongues in public, in poetry, prose, and doggrel, tributes poured forth; their literary merit varying, their meaning ever the same *"Academiae Cantabrigiensis Lachrymae,"* by Alexander Neville and other scholars of Cambridge, contains a hitherto untranslated Latin Epistle "to the Illustrious Lord Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Governor of Belgium, Lieutenant General to Queen Elizabeth, *the greatest leader of the English Forces" (Anglicarum Copiarum Ducem summum)*

"The death of Philip Sidney, that Knight of great renown, (noble Earl,) besides stupefying all men's minds with sorrow, has pierced my own heart with extraordinary grief," says Neville, testifying to "the ever-ready good will and warm affection of the University of Cambridge (the most flourishing of all Europe,)" not only in appreciation of Sidney's brilliant life, "but also towards you, Oh Earl . . "

And as not long previously the Cambridge scholars, when deploring the early death of Leicester's little son, had enshrined his memory in "learned and polished verses," so now they felt that their grief for Leicester's nephew should have permanent expression

(But alas for their confidence in the power of Latin verse to "eternise" the fame of its subject, —the book of elegies on Leicester's early-dying son has

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[1] 22 Oct 1586 Orig Cotton MS Galba CX f 75 *Leycester Corresp* pp 441-2

[2] S P France, XVI 98 First printed, in orig French, in 1927, *Cal S P Foreign*, Vol XXI p 176, now first translated *supra*

[3] "You know how the enemies of the Church labour to ruin not only France but all Europe The King of Navarre shows heroical constancy, in not fearing his enemies, because his faith is in God" Both the King of Navarre and Turenne wish to aid *"la roine vostre mestresse Continuez moy vostre amitie, et vous serez servy de vostre humble amie et serviteur* TURENNE" S P France XVI 98 Undated 1½ pp Endorsed "Feb 1586"

vanished, and the volume celebrating the talents and graces of Leicester's nephew receives scant attention)

No matter how carefully written were the poems on classic models, more haunting is the English lament,

> *"Silence augmenteth grief, writing increaseth rage,"*

which tradition attributes to Sir Fulke Greville,

> "Who wishing death, whom death denies, whose thred is all too long,
> Who tied to wretched life, who lookes for no reliefe,
> Must spend my ever-dying daies in never-ending griefe"

The dirge rings out in words which even now it is not easy to read unmoved:

> *"Knowledge her light hath lost, valor hath slaine her Knight,*
> *Sidney is dead, dead is my friend, dead is the world's delight"*[1]

But the Queen, though at first "afflicted with sorrow" for "the loss of her deare servant,"[2] was subsequently quoted as calling him that "inconsiderate fellow" who got himself "knocked on the head" words which may possibly have been misreported But if she spoke thus casually of her devoted soldier who had died in a manner so consistent with his life, the "general sorrow" lingered, and frequently found popular expression A needy man of letters who had been a Cambridge undergraduate at the time of Sidney's mortal wound, subsequently lamented,

> "Gentle Sir Philip Sidney, thou knewest what belonged to a Scholler, thou knewest what paines, what toyle and travel conduct to perfection well could'st thou give every vertue his encouragement, every art his due, every writer his desert cause none more vertuous, witty, or learned than thyself"[3]

He had looked not only to the matter but to the motive of literature "Report delivers of the Renowned Sidney," said a bookseller, John Budge, nearly thirty years after the funeral, "that the most unfiled work the poorest hand could offer up, he received with thanks, making love of the man to supply the worth."[4] Actually Sidney had the fastidiousness of a poet, but though not condoning incompetence, he sent few suppliants empty away His vivid sympathies—shown also in his anxiety on his death-bed about his servant Stephen, then a prisoner in Dunkirk—help to explain why he evoked such warm affection.

It is now often reiterated that his reputation exceeded his talents, and that neither in life nor letters can we point to any one achievement impressive enough

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[1] Final poem in Spenser's collection of Sidney elegies *"Astrophel,"* 1595 Title page reproduction under date

[2] Davison to the Earl of Leicester, 4th Nov 1586 Cotton MS Galba C X f 41 *"Leycester Corresp"* p 45

[3] Thomas Nashe, *"Pierce Penniless,"* ed R B McKerrow, Vol I p 159

[4] *Epigrams,* Harington 1615 (Dedic)

to account for the admiration he inspired. But his English contemporaries asked not so much what Sidney had *done* as what he *was* Saluted as an incarnation of perfect manhood, blending the graces of art and poetry with the valour of a chivalrous warrior, animated by unwavering love of country, his "true vertues" remained long an inspiration·

> "This Knight may be termed ubiquitary, and appear among Statesmen, Soldiers, Lawyers, Writers, yea Princes themselves, being (though not elected) in election to be King of Poland He was so essential to the English Court that it seemed maimed without his company being a complete master of matter and language, as his *Arcadia* doth evidence I confess I have heard some of our modern pretended wits cavil at it, merely because they made it not themselves"

Thus declared Fuller, writing in the early Stuart period,[1] and even so late as 1739, six years before Prince Charles Edward's attempt to unseat the Guelph dynasty, a Dublin editor of the "*Arcadia*" was as emphatic

> "The Marcellus of the English nation, Sir Philip Sidney, the short-lived ornament of his noble family, hath deserved, and without dispute or envy, enjoyed, the most exalted praises of his own and of succeeding ages
>
> "The poets of his time, especially Spenser, reverenced him not only as a patron but as a master and he was almost the only person in any age, I will not except Mecaenas, that could teach the best rules of poetry and most freely reward the performances of poets
>
> "He was a man of a sweet nature, of excellent behaviour, of much and withal of well-digested learning, so that rarely wit, courage, breeding, and other additional accomplishments of conversation have met in so high a degree in any single person"

But the most characteristic words are those of Greville, still sorrowing for him after twenty years·

> "*His very ways in the world did generally add reputation to his Prince and Country, by restoring amongst us the ancient majesty of noble and true dealing . This was it which I confess I loved dearly in him, and still shall be glad to honour in the great men of this time. I mean that his heart and tongue went both one way . . . with the Truth, knowing no other kindred, party, or end*"[2]

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[1] "*Worthies of England*" (ed Nuttall) Vol II p 142

[2] "*The Life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney His principal Actions, Counsels, Designes, and Death*" Chapter III



(a) Sir Philip Sidney's Funeral. His pennon and war horse.

From Thomas Lant's "Manner of the whole proceeding" &c. B.M. C. 20. f. 12.

The procession began with 32 "poore men," one for each year of Sidney's age. Then came Sergeants of the Band; and officers of Horse and Foot.

Among mourners walking two and two were *Sir R. Stapleton* and *Sir Edward Waterhouse; Sir Thomas Perrott* and *Sir Francis Drake; Sir Valentine Browne* and *Sir William Herbert,* clad in tall hats and long black cloaks.

Then came "the preacher and chaplains," followed by the Pennon and Warhorse as above. Henry Davers or Danvers, the page "trayling a broken lance," was destined to a remarkable career. Despite many daring ventures, he prospered exceedingly; survived nearly all his old associates; and died Earl of Danby, at his home in Oxfordshire.

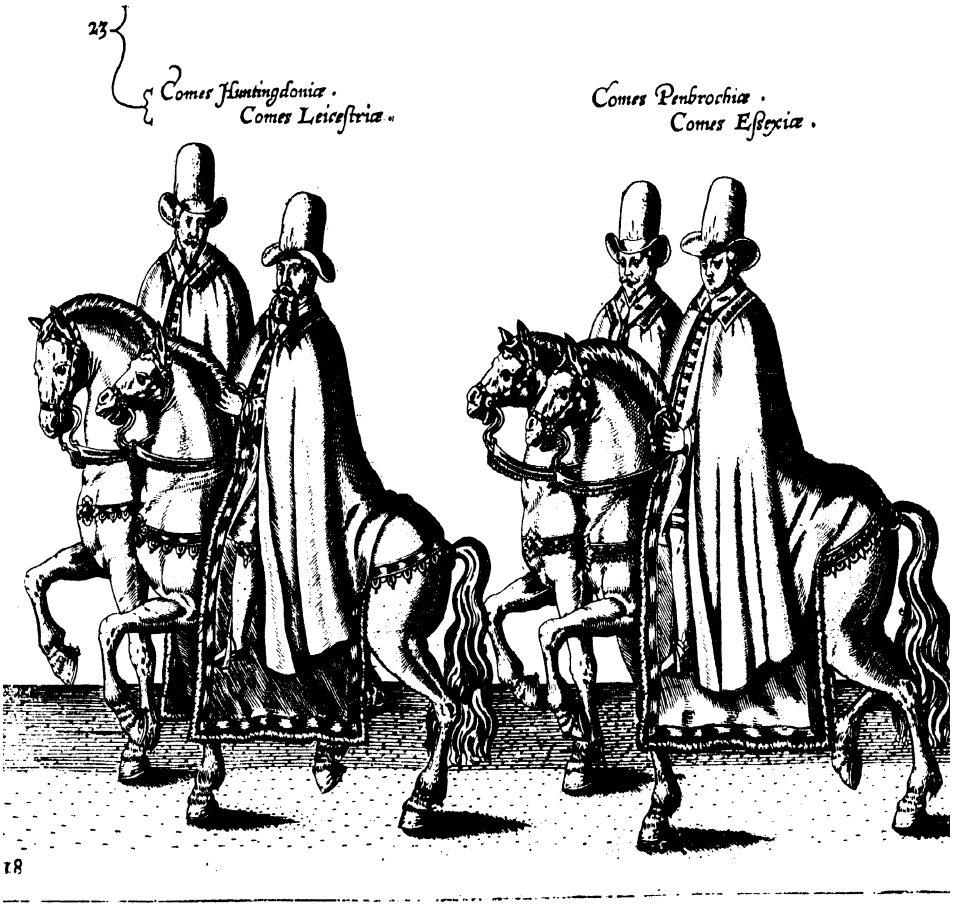


(b) Sir Philip Sidney's Funeral. The "Great Banner."

(From the same, B.M. C. 20, f. 12).

Preceded by the Ushers to the Heralds, the Great Banner (with all the Sidney quarterings), was followed by the Heralds, bearing Sidney's helmet, gauntlets, spurs, etc.

Then the Bier was carried by four yeomen, with four "assistants," *Thomas Dudley, Fulke Greville, Edward Wotton,* and *Edward Dyer,* all intimate friends of Sidney.



(c) Sir Philip Sidney's funeral (continued):
"The Earles & Barons his kindred & friends":

1st two: *Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, K.G.* (who was married to Sidney's aunt, Lady Katherine Dudley);

Lord Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, K.G., brother of Sidney's mother, Lady Mary, wife of Sir Henry Sidney, K.G., and eldest daughter of John Dudley, Viscount L'Isle, Earl of Warwick, and Duke of Northumberland, K.G.

2nd two: *Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, K.G.*, married to Sir Philip's sister, Mary Sidney.

Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, Viscount Hereford, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, etc., brother of Lady Penelope Devereux (Lady Rich), the "Stella" of Sidney's then unpublished Sonnets.

There followed next, also on horseback, *Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby d'Eresby*, and *Roger North, Lord North.*

The pictures are scarcely to be called portraits; but Essex, aged nineteen, is depicted beardless; indicating his youth in an era when clean-shaven faces were not in fashion.

EXEQVIÆ
ILLVSTRISSIMI
EQVITIS, D. PHILIP-
PI SIDNAEI, GRATISS
MAE MEMORIAE AC NO
MINI IMPENSÆ



Paulum sepultæ distat inertiæ Celata virtus.

OXONII Ex officina Typographica Iosephi Barnesii, *Anno Domini* 1587.

Title-page, now first reproduced, of Oxonian memorial verses

Dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney's uncle Robert, Earl of Leicester, K G,

who for over twenty-two years had been Chancellor of the University

(Bodleian Art 4° H 17(11)

(This copy has a large ink smudge which is eliminated from the reproduction)

There is also in the Bodleian "*Peplos Illustrissimi Viri D Philippi Sidnaei Supremis Honoribus Dedicatos Oxonii 1587*" (Art 4° A 9 BS) Dedicated to Sidney's brother-in-law Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, K G

ACADEMIAE CANTABRIGIENSIS *LACHRYMÆ*

TVMVLO
Nobiliſsimi Equitis, D. Philippi
Sidneij Sacratæ

PER
Alexandrum Nevillum.

Eſai. 40.
Omnis caro fœnum, & omnis gloria
eius quaſi flos fœni.

Pſal. 112.
In memoria (autem) ſempiterna
erit iuſtus.

LONDINI
Ex officina Ioannis Windet impenſis
Thomæ Chardi. Anno ſalutis humanæ,
CIↃ.IↃ.LXXXVIJ. *Febr. XVJ.*

Title page, now first reproduced, of Cambridge University Memorial Volume in honour of Sir Philip Sidney

Dedicated to his uncle Robert, Earl of Leicester, K G , P C , Chancellor of Oxford

(Camb Univ Lib Syn 7 58 50, and Bb 12 13, and Syn 7 66 57-7)

The greater number of the elegies are in Latin, a few are in Greek, and one in Hebrew

In an *"Epigram to Sir Philip Sidney,"* by Francis Davison, (son of William Davison, Under-Secretary of State,) is a reference to this anthology,

"Cambridge, worthy Philip, by this verse builds thee an altar
'Gainst time and tempest, strong to abide for ever,
That praise of verses no length of time can abolish
I then pursuing their steps, like glory to purchase,
Will make thy memory famous in after ages "

"Davison's Poetical Rhapsody 1602 Edited by A H Bullen London 1891" Vol II p 90, and Note, pp 194-195

Spenser's book of memorial verses in Sidney's honour, *"Astrophel,"* will be treated under its date, 1595 That same year, Thomas Churchyard,—who had put into rhyme in 1579 *"The Miseries of Portugal,"* and in 1576 had lamented the death of Walter Earl of Essex,—dedicated to Robert Earl of Essex *"A Musicall Consort of Heavenly harmony"* with a second part, *"A praise of Poetrie, some notes thereof drawen out of the Apologie the noble minded Knight, Sir Philip Sidney wrote"*[1] This is not a prose essay quoting Sidney, but a eulogy in verse on *"Sir Philip Sidneyes appology,"* ending (p 43),

"My Sidneies honor heere I raise
As far as fame can flie"

The professional "pen-men" never dreamt of scorning Sidney the amateur They accepted him as an inspiring master *"England's Apelles (rather our Apollo,) Worldes-wonder Sidney, that rare more-than-man,"* were Joshua Silvester's words, early in the next century[2] And later, in the "declining times", when William Browne of Tavistock, in his *"Britannia's Pastoral,"* 1616, looked back yearningly to "the fames of Grenville, Gilbert, Davies, Drake, and worthy Hawkins," Sidney,—dead thirty years before,—was still, for him,

"Th' admired mirror, glory of our Isle,"

" for wits deep quintessence,
For Honour, Valour, Vertue, Excellence"[3]

Moreover, despite the political and theological gulf between the Established Church and the "Papists," one of the most whole-hearted elegies in Sidney's honour came from a member of an ancient Catholic family, Henry Constable Saluting him as

"Sweet Soul which now with heavenly songs dost tell
Thy dear Redeemer's glory and his praise,"

Constable pictured Sidney as more fitted for eternity than for an earthly Paradise

"For thou didst learn to sing divinely well
Long time before thy fair and glittering rays
Increased the light of Heaven
And now thou singst with Angels in the skies
Shall not all poets praise thy memory?
And to thy name shall not their works give fame,
Whereas their works are sweetened by thy name"[4]

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[1] In Henry E Huntington Library, Cal U S A , but not in B M except reprint in *"Frondes Caducae,"* 1816 No 641 1 18(1) Title page there reproduced, as also (p 27) second heading

[2] "Lectoribus," f B 2 of *"Bartas his Deuine Weekes and Workes Translated and Dedicated To the Kings most excellent Maiestie"* etc 1605 (B M C 57 d 41) Sylvester decorates the above with the Sidney pheon, and the boar crest

[3] *"The Poems of William Browne of Tavistock Edited by Gordon Goodwin With an Introduction by A H Bullen" London "The Muses Library"* Vol I pp 284, and 237-238

[4] The second of *"Foure Sonnets written by Henrie Constable to Sir Phillip Sidney's soule,"* first published in 1595, with *"An Apologie for Poetrie Written by the right noble, vertuous, and learned, Sir Phillip Sidney, Knight "*

CHRONOLOGICAL NOTE VOLUME VI

THE LOW COUNTRY WAR[1]

See new sketch map, scale 16 miles to the inch, facing p 236

Date	*Event*	*EE pages*
1585 June	Seven Provinces of the Netherlands, in revolt against Spain, express hope that the Earl of Leicester may command the English forces for their assistance[2]	12
2 and 22 October	Leicester's commission as Lieutenant and Captain General	19 24
	The Royal Navy to be subject to his instructions	21
	The Queen delays signing commission	13 15
8 November	Patent signed for Sir Philip Sidney as Governor of Flushing for Queen Elizabeth	34
14 November	Sir Francis Knollys grudges the cost of Lord Essex's Cavalry	39 40
27 November	Leicester's Commission signed	16
8 December	English Army embarks from Harwich under Captain-General the Earl of Leicester, K G, P C, and General of the Horse the Earl of Essex	16-17
9 December	Leicester, Essex, and their forces, arrive at Flushing	58
24 December	The Provinces give a Christmas Eve banquet at Delft, to the English General and troops	59
25 December	Leicester gives a Christmas Day banquet in return	59
1585 6 January	Overtures of the States to Leicester to act as their Governor	70
10 January	Muster of Essex's Horsemen at the Hague	45-48, 69
22 January	Leicester accepts the office of "Governor General of Holland, Zeeland and the United Provinces," i e Duchy of Guelders, County of Zutphen, Utrecht, Friesland also such towns in Flanders and Brabant as they held	73, 93-94
February March	Prolonged and unreasonable anger of Queen Elizabeth against Leicester, her frame of mind privately described by Lord Burghley as "perillous and absurd"	74 84
	The real cause for this wrath disclosed	80
	Lord Burghley states he will resign his offices of Treasurer and Privy Councillor unless the General receives proper countenance and the necessary payment for the troops	87-89
	The "storm" calms	90
	Leicester plans to succour Grave, in Brabant, besieged since December 1585 by Count Mansfeldt on behalf of the Prince of Parma	105
	Leicester orders Cavalry to Nyckirke to "detain the enemy" from sending more troops to siege of Grave	105
	Count Hohenlohe and Colonel-General Sir John Norris are sent by Leicester to "victual and to supply and furnish Grave with all necessaries"	105
5 April	The relief force, at first beaten back, but subsequently successful, provisions Grave, and captures "one piece of the enemy's ordnance"	105
	Count Hohenlohe captures Battenburg Castle, and victuals Grave by water, twice, and further provisions it for 9 months	106

[1] Dates are Old System (English Style) See E E Vol IV, facing p 218, for Pope Gregory's alteration of the Calendar, 15th October, 1582 after which England, by keeping to the former system, was thenceforth ten days behind the Catholic countries

[2] See Vol V, pp 102 106, for the tragic death of William Prince of Orange, in July, and the despatching of Colonel John Norris in August with a small English force, also the sailing of Drake in September as "Generall of Her Majesty's Navy," pp 275-286

Date	*Event*	*EE pages*
17 April	Leicester confers knighthood on Colonel-General John Norris	214, 217
23 April	English celebration of St George's Day at Utrecht Captain Martin Schenck knighted by Leicester and presented with "a Chain of Gold"	92, 106
	Essex conspicuous in the Garter festival tournament	92
(1st?) May	Prince of Parma (as Leicester calculated) sets out for Grave, bringing an Artillery train of over 40 pieces, with 12,000 Foot and 4,000 Horse	106
May	Leicester, with 3,000 Foot and 1,000 Horse, crosses the Rhine at Arnhem, and captures the forts of "Luytestorte and Batchshorfe," and the "Castles of Alon and Bemall"	106
	Capture of the Island of Gravenswert by Sir Martin Schenck	107
30 May	Leicester receives letters from Baron Van Hemert, stating he need not trouble about Grave as it could hold out for 6 months	109
31 May	The next day, Van Hemert surrenders Grave to the Prince of Parma, who enters by the gates, not even having had to make a breach in the walls	115-116
June	Van Hemert tried by a combined Dutch and English Court Martial at Utrecht, sentenced to death, and executed with two of his Captains	117 118
	Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, Governor of Bergen-op-Zoom, successfully intercepts, near Antwerp, a Spanish convoy of 400 waggons and 1,000 men	130 131
	Queen Elizabeth receives "sundry overtures from Spain"	131
	Venlo surrenders to the Prince of Parma (No English soldiers in that garrison)	122
	Count Maurice of Nassau suggests to Leicester to surprise and capture Axell	164
	Axell taken by Count Maurice, Sir Philip Sidney and others	165, 169
	Gallant but unsuccessful defence of Nuyse for the States by Cloete, who was afterwards unjustly slain by the victors	167 168
8 July	Letter of Queen Elizabeth to Prince of Parma, about peace	166
July	Siege of Berck [Rhineberg] by the Prince of Parma, Sir Martin Schenk and Colonel Morgan being among the besieged	169
July	Return of Sir Francis Drake to England, after his famous raid on Spanish dominions in the New World	151 153
	Observations of the Queen of Scots and Mendoza on this event	153-154
August 14, 17, 19	Various successful operations of Leicester's forces, under Sir John Norris, Sir Thomas Cecil, and Sir William Pelham	169
	At Arnhem junction of troops of Leicester and Essex with those of Brabant and Zeeland under Count Hohenlohe, and of Friesland under Count William of Nassau	171
27 August	Night march of Leicester's forces to Elten in Cleveland Count Maurice of Nassau, the Elector of Cologne and "the Prince of Portugal, Dom Emanuell" accompanying them	171
28 August	Leicester at Elten reviews the Army but (having only some 8,000 men, when the Prince of Parma had 15,000) is not able to undertake to relieve Berck, so decides to try if he could draw Parma away from it by attacking Doesburg	171
29-30 August	Night march of Essex, Sir Philip Sidney and others, with advance guard, to begin the siege of Doesburg at daybreak	171
30 August	Leicester marches from Elten to Doesburg, arriving in the afternoon	172
11 to 12 p m	Leicester, in the trenches, directs the siege operations Sir Wm Pelham wounded	172
1st September	Arrival of the English artillery (only 10 pieces)	173
2nd September	Battery on Doesburg begins	173
September	Prince of Parma leaves Berck to succour Doesburg, but on the way, hears that it has surrendered to Leicester	173
	Essex saves the adversary's women	175

Date	*Event*	*EE Pages*
13 September	Leicester puts Doesburg "in order", and "with his whole camp" arrives before Zutphen, orders a bridge of boats to be made, and encamps his force on both sides of the river	188
September	Leicester visits Deventer, and leaves there some 400 Foot and "two Cornets" [troops] of Horse [See map facing p 236]	188
	The Prince of Parma, from camp at Burckloe, provisions Zutphen town	189
	"Divers light skirmishes"	189
21 September, p m	Leicester, hearing that Parma would be sending an armed convoy of victuals to Zutphen the next morning, selects troops to intercept it	189
22 September, a m	Essex's victorious Cavalry charge against the Prince of Parma's forces	190-193
	Sir Philip Sidney severely wounded	191
	Essex and others knighted for conspicuous valour	217 219
	Count Hanibal Gonzaga and other distinguished officers overthrown by the English	195
	The Prince of Parma gets thirty waggons in, in the night	196
	"After this fight we heard no more of the Prince in 10 or 12 days, he was gone to meet with our Reyters and Almaines" (i e to intercept the German reinforcements)	197
September	Leicester perseveres to capture Zutphen Island and the reputedly impregnable forts	197
	He, and Essex and the Elector of Cologne, plan the surprise of the island "which happily succeeded"	227
	The island entrenched and fortified Siege of the forts continued by Leicester	227 228
26 September	Muster of the Allied troops before Zutphen	203-208
30 September	English artillery planted ready in case the Prince of Parma should come up	228
1st October	Parma's troops in sight of the English	228
2 October, 2 p m	Leicester "pike in hand" directs capture of Zutphen forts He knights Captain Edward Stanley for successfully carrying out his orders	229-231
3 October	Leicester confers an annuity on Sir Edward Stanley, and gives him a written testimonial describing his valiant deeds	235
14 October	The Prince of Parma, at Ringlebert, ill of an ague	230
17 October	Sir Philip Sidney, at Arnhem, dies of his wound bequeathing his "best sword" to the Cavalry General,—"my beloved and much honoured Lord the Earl of Essex"	241-245
November	Zutphen island and forts garrisoned under Captain Rowland Yorke	357
	Sir William Stanley appointed Governor of Deventer	357
11 November	Continuation of peace negotiations by the Queen	290
24 November	Leicester arrives at the Court at Richmond, and urges the execution of the Queen of Scots	383
29 November	Sir William Stanley writes to Walsingham asking to be recommended to the Huguenot King Henry of Navarre	359
1st December	The Magistrates of Deventer complain against Stanley for oppressive behaviour	359-360
1586-7 7 January	Captain Rowland Yorke writes to Walsingham as his own devotion to duty	362-363
8 January	The *"Briefe Report"* summarises English achievements, "the enemy never got one town, castle, fort or sconce wherein any English soldier was"[1]	236
19 January	Wilkes reports to Walsingham the peculiar conduct of Sir William Stanley	366

[1] But what the adversary had not gained in open fight he was soon to achieve by other methods

Date	*Event*	*E E Pages*
20 January	Sir John Norris hears that Stanley has betrayed Deventer to Tassis, Military Governor of Zutphen town for King Philip Also that Rowland Yorke has similarly surrendered Zutphen forts and island, without a shot fired - - - -	367-371
9 February (n s)	Edict of the States denouncing William Stanley and Rowland Yorke -	379 380
16 February	Funeral of Sir Philip Sidney in old St Paul's, attended by representatives of each of the seven United Provinces - - - - - - - - - -	438-455
April 1587	Publication of pamphlets on the surrender of Deventer Dr Allen contending that as Pope Pius had pronounced Elizabeth only a pretended Queen, her officers were not justified in obeying her, and that Sir William Stanley's example should be followed	371-373
	Answered, that the surrender was a breach of military trust, and that irrespective of any question of politics or theology, a definite code of honour prevails among soldiers of every civilised nation, which code had been violated by William Stanley -	373 376
1769	Historian of the House of Stanley retrospectively confuses Sir William Stanley who surrendered Deventer, with Sir Edward Stanley, knighted for capturing the Zutphen forts *(Sic transit gloria mundi)* - - - - - - - - -	371

1937 (Coronation Year) Long established misunderstandings as to the Low Country War now dispelled direct from the evidence Hitherto Lord Leicester, though not allowed credit for victories won when he was present, has been made responsible for the treachery of others during his absence The events being shown in this volume in their actual proportions, the martial reputation of Leicester can be cleared Especially noteworthy is the bringing to light of his "*Lawes and Ordinances*" (ante, pp 27-31), these having been unknown to historians, including even The Hon Sir John Fortescue All have animadverted on the supposed absence of discipline in the Elizabethan Army, taking their ideas not from the doings of the Army itself, but from Falstaff's quips in the play of "Henry IV" (This same astonishing method of judgment is repeated in a recent handbook on "*The Art of War*" See T E, VI, p 214)

Postscript to Volume VI.

Retrospect and Forecast.

In some unsigned "Advices from London" to the Spanish Ambassador in Paris, 1586, 30th June (20th o s) occurs a statement that "Don Antonio is desirous of having a certain book printed which he wishes to dedicate to the Queen of England It is to be filled with arguments intended to lead the Queen to aid him with 10,000 men for the recovery of Portugal"[1]

The English version of the treatise on the "*Right and Tytle of the most excellent Prince Anthonie , King of Portugall*" had been issued in November, 1585,[2] soon after Lord Leicester had been appointed Lieutenant-General for Queen Elizabeth, and before he had actually embarked for the Netherlands Neither the United Provinces nor England were able at this juncture to afford Antonio the aid which Lord Burghley would have liked the Queen to give him in 1581[3]

The affairs of Portugal will be treated extensively under dates when the plans for Antonio's restoration were assuming formidable proportions During 1923-29 the present writer systematically investigated, from MSS in many languages, the extraordinary career of King Philip's first cousin and "obstinate" opponent, and "*Elizabethan England*" is the only modern English history in which it is shown that Antonio was not a mere "claimant" but a definitely elected King[4] The first and last of the dynasty of Aviz, John the Great, and Antonio the Unfortunate, were both Kings by election, both elected in defiance of Spain So King Philip's proclamations against Antonio were worded with a double disdain[5] But that Burghley referred to him as "Don Antonio, King of Portingale who hath a just war against the King of Spain," was revealed in Volume IV of "*Elizabethan England,*" from Burghley's unpublished MS[6] And it was as "a King crowned and anointed" that Queen Elizabeth received him to the acute disgust of Philip II, who complained exceedingly of her being "friendly to him and hostile to me"[7]

In the present volume, a running accompaniment of Portuguese correspondence would too much have diverted us from the principal matters here depicted viz the Low Country War, and the tragedy of Mary Queen of Scots,—considered in relation to each other In subsequent volumes the threads of Dom Antonio's affairs will be gathered up, and we shall again see him as he appeared both to foes and friends During the fifteen years between his defeat at Alcántara by the Duke of Alba,[8] and his death "in a hired lodging" in Paris, on the anniversary of the battle, he never abandoned hope and there was more reason for his expectations than has hitherto been understood

That Portugal, so conspicuous in Volumes III and IV, does not appear (except indirectly) in Volumes V and VI, is not because any less care has been taken to examine the diplomatic correspondence during those years, but because the relations of England to Foreign Powers form a drama which can only be unfolded scene by scene and Act by Act At each date, the events selected for presentation are those which were of the most vital import at the time, or which produced the largest visible results

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[1] Cal S P Simancas, III, p 589 [2] E E, Vol IV, pp 24-25, 39-44 [3] Ib pp 97-114
[4] E E III, pp 220-230
[5] "*don Antonio hijo no legitimo del señor Infante don Luys mi tio, despues de escapar huyendo desbaratado en los arrauales de Lisboa, por el Duque de Alba mi primo del mi Consejo de Estado, y mi Capitan general siguiendo su rebelion se fue a la comarca de la Vera, con alguna gẽte sediciosa y rebelde que le siguio, y otra, mucho cõtra el servicio de Dios, y mio, y con mucho escandalo,*" etc, etc In extenso, Escobar, "*Recopilicion,*" etc (1586), pp 85-86
[6] E E IV, pp 97, 106-107 [7] Ib p 123 [8] Ib pp 1-22

Book I, Volumes I to IV, beginning with the death of Edward VI (1553), and ending with the conquest of Portugal by Spain (1580-1583) took us in English affairs up to the vanishing of Sir Humphrey Gilbert in an Azorean storm,[1] just after he had "comforted" himself answerably to all his hopes in Newfoundland[2]

Book II, Volumes V and VI (1583-4—1586-7), opening with Lord Burghley's warning, "Spain, yea Spain it is in which all causes do concur to give a just alarm," and ending with the beheading of Mary Queen of Scots,—followed by the public funeral of Sir Philip Sidney,—closes the second Act

Book III, with its prelude of "dangers disclosed" in the House of Commons (so that preparations should be accelerated in readiness for meeting the invader,) brings us to the coming of the Great Armada,—the fate of which was to be so astonishing to Spain and to the world,—and the sudden death of Lord Leicester after his exertions in Tilbury Camp, just when overtures were being made from the Low Countries for his return

It may be noticed that each Book terminates with the exit of some prominent figure from the stage of life In the concluding volume we shall come to a time when the outstanding personages are fewer, and—with rare exceptions—of conspicuously less ability than their predecessors Last of all, we shall see the aftermath of the Elizabethan age, not writing "Finis" until some eight years subsequent to Sir Walter Raleigh's execution The irony of Raleigh's end will appear the more significant when we have met him in the place he actually held (and not anachronistically as a colossus bestriding the Elizabethan Court from the beginning,—as present popular fancy imagines him)

Each ruler and statesman, and every prominent man of action in this History, has been studied individually, as also the works of the dramatists, poets, chroniclers, and theologians '*Elizabethan England*" at first consisted of a series of biographies, linked together with explanations of relevant European and oversea conditions, accompanied by a gigantic Date Chart The narrative began at the accession of Elizabeth, and ended with the death of Raleigh But the sense of relief accompanying the supposed completion of a life's work, was followed by a most unexpected but irresistible conviction that this was not the best method of doing justice to all concerned especially Spain Reluctantly but resolutely, the author therefore pulled down the whole edifice, and reconstructed it this time as a vast drama in which the figures on the stage not only speak in their own words, but appear and disappear at the times and in the conjunctions of their actual careers This showing of all the chief characters —and many lesser persons—direct from the evidence, and in their relations and antagonisms to each other, is the nearest possible approach to bringing to life again that age of intense mental and physical activity, of which Shakesperian drama remains the fine flower,—not necessarily unsurpassable, but certainly not yet surpassed

[1] Vol IV, pp 276-278 [2] Ib p 268

NOTE "THE ART OF MAKING DEVISES"

It is sometimes asked why a Dove and a Griffin form the colophon of every volume of "*Elizabethan England*," and what the author and the printer intend by this device

In 16th century imagery, the Dove stands for Peace, Contemplation, and "Divine studies", the Griffin for resolute endeavour and valiant enterprise The combination of the two in one device means that the work here presented embodies the arts and acts both of peace and of war The rose in the dove's beak is the Queen of flowers, the token of harmony, and the national emblem of England

The motto embodies in particular the principle upon which this especial publication has been conceived, performed, and produced, while it typifies also in general the temper which animated the mariners, soldiers, statesmen, poets, musicians, husbandmen, chroniclers, craftsmen, artisans,—and others in that era of "undaunted courages and aspiring minds"

The fascination then exercised by pictorial symbology can be inferred from Lord Leicester in 1585 having accepted and examined Whitney's "*Choice of Emblemes*" just as he was departing for the Low Country war [1]

From the days of ancient Egypt onwards, "the art of making devises" had been cultivated, and it was still to remain in fashion into the mid 17th-century, when Civil War rent England in twain Both sides then exercised considerable ingenuity in the selection of figures and mottoes embodying their ideas [2] And though Sir Philip Sidney had been dead sixty years, one of his devices was held up to admiration, in 1646, immediately after those of Kings and Princes [3]

> "The Italians call a Devise an Impresa, deriving it from the verb Imprendere, to undertake, because the ancient Knights did beare upon their shields a Devise" revealing "the designe of their enterprise [4]
>
> " a Devise is nothing else but a rare and particular way of expressing one's self it is indeed most compendious, since by two or three words" it conveys 'that which is contained in the greatest volumes tending also much to the benefit of History, by reviving the memory of such men who have rendered themselves illustrious in all sorts of conditions, and in the practice of all kinds of Vertue " Devises 'expresse our best fancies," and 'render them in a more delightfull and vigorous manner than that which is used either in speaking or writing "

This art was praised by its exponents as "not only usefull to those that are neare us, but also to those that are further off, yea, to those that shall come after us"[5]

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[1] L L Vol VI, pp 23 24

[2] "*The Art of making Devises Done into English by Tho Blunt Gent 1648*" (Engraved title) (2nd title page), *The Art of making Devises Treating of Hieroglyphicks, Symbols, Emblemes, Ænigmas, Sentences, Parables, Reverses of Medalls, Armes, Blazons, Cimiers, Cyphres and Rebus First written in French, by Henry Estienne, Lord of Fossez, Interpreter to the French King for the Latine and Greek Tongues Translated into English, and embellished with divers Brasse Figures, by T B of the Inner Temple, Gent Whereunto is added, A Catalogue of Coronet-Devises, both on the Kings and the Parliaments side, in the late Warres London Printed for Iohn Holden, at the signe of the blue Anchor in the New Exchange 1650*" (Sm 4to)

[3] In Blount's Dedicatory Epistle "To the Nobility and Gentry of England," dated from the Inner Temple (*"Ex Ædib Interioris Templi 27 Mart 1646"*)

[4] Ch VI "Of the Etimologie and Definition of Devises" p 9

[5] "Of the Excellencie and Vtility of Devises," 13 15, ch VII See also ch IX, "Rules for Devises", pp 20-22, "a just proportion or relation of the Soul to the Body, the meaning to be expressed through the Sun, Stars, Moon, Fire, Water, or "fantastical Beasts and Birds," etc, but not by any human figure It was required "that the Motto (which is the Soul of the Devise) be in a strange language concise or briefe, but not doubtful the more perfect when it exceeds not the number of two or three words " A Devise "ought to be almost like Poesie, understood without difficulty, and with delight" (ch XIII, p 33) But "It importeth not much" if the meaning is missed by "Ideots or grosse Ignoramuses" Without coming under either heading to-day, many people may welcome an explanation of "Emblemes and Devises" which from remotest times down to the end of the 17th century represented a universally recognised symbology



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